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THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA: THE STORY OF THE MIRACLE ON THE HAN RIVER

Materials for the elective academic course for students at a specialised comprehensive school (forms 10–11)

Teacher's & Student's Book

Edited by Kostiantyn Bakhanov

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The materials contain a selection of various sources and tasks for their study, created according to the elective course 'The Republic of Korea: the Story of the Miracle on the Han River' and are primarily an educational and methodological support for the study of this course, but they can be used in other similar elective courses, in the preparation of educational activities, classes of young historians study groups, as well as when students complete projects or write research papers.

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PREFACE

The first question that arises when you pick up these study materials is: Why is the history of the Republic of Korea being offered to you for an in-depth study? From your school geography course, you know that the Republic of Korea is a Ukraine-friendly and highly developed democratic state that has made a rapid economic leap in a short period of time and has become one of the ten most powerful economies in the world. Its entire history is a real "miracle on the Han River" that inspires other countries to global transformations in various spheres of public life and makes its experience relevant for Ukraine. The Republic of Korea and Ukraine have many similarities, despite being located at a great distance from each other, being in the sphere of interests of different states throughout their history, and belonging to different cultural traditions. Korea, like Ukraine, was a place where ancient cultures were spread and throughout its history fought to preserve and strengthen its statehood. Both countries experienced colonization and World War II and had difficult experiences in overcoming their consequences, raising national movements and consolidating the nation. The Koreans and Ukrainians who lived in the Soviet Union suffered repression and deportation from the Stalinist regime. The bloody Korean War of 1950–1953 had a different nature than the current Russia-Ukraine war. At the same time, some of its aspects can be observed in the Russia-Ukraine war, too. This makes the historical lessons of the Korean War of 1950–1953 important for Ukraine. After the end of the war, Ukraine, like Korea, will face a difficult period of recovery. In this context, the Korean experience of post-war reconstruction and rapid economic growth may be useful to us. Over the course of several decades, the Republic of Korea has gone its way from a military dictatorship to a modern democratic state. Therefore, learning how the Koreans overcame corruption and managed to build democratic institutions is important for today's Ukrainian youth. You are witnessing the extraordinary rise and popularity of contemporary Korean culture — the "Korean Wave." You also probably listen to Korean pop singers, watch Korean films, use Korean cosmetics, and from time to time you have a desire to learn more about this country. The course you have chosen is designed to give you the opportunity to acquaint yourself with the history of one of the world's leading countries in the context of the problems of modern Ukraine by establishing historical parallels.

The materials provide a content framework for this course and are designed to support your research and development work with flexible support from your teacher. They do not contain an end-to-end text written by one and the same author, but instead, you are offered a variety of sources in terms of content and nature, with a set of tasks and questions to work through. The contributors have selected them in such a way that you can make the most of the knowledge you have acquired in your previous studies of history and compare certain events, processes and figures in Korean history with similar events and processes in the history of Ukraine. The contributors did not aim to provide you with a detailed academic account of Korean history but rather tried to focus your attention on those aspects of Korean history that allowed the country to become what it is today. These are the features of the Korean national character and the peculiarities of their culture, the resistance to imperial influence and the consolidation of the nation, the development of democratic processes and the influence of civil society on state policy. In other words, these are the aspects that will allow you to understand your own role in the development of Ukraine as a democratic state based on the rule of law by studying the Korean experience.

One of the key approaches to working with these materials is to provide you with the right to choose. Therefore, the volume of resources offered for study is much larger than what is usually presented in a textbook and what can be covered in the time allocated by the programme. By choosing to study this course, you have made your first choice. Next, it is you and your teacher who will choose topics for an in-depth or overview study. And then you will choose the priority subtopics within the topic, the types and character of your work and the options for presenting the results. At the beginning of each topic, the guide assigns the key guiding questions that can be answered after you have worked through the main material of the topic. They encourage you to express your own thoughts about a particular event, phenomenon or person. Do not be afraid to express them. Everyone has the right to their own opinion. However, you should remember that any opinion needs to be substantiated and take into account the fact that the opinion may change if additional sources are available. Also, keep in mind that your classmate's opinion may not coincide with yours, and it has the same right to exist as yours, and you should listen to it. You can work with the materials individually, in pairs or groups, or even as a class. This should also be your choice. A teacher who knows your abilities and preferences will tell you how to do it better. So, we wish you every success. We hope that this training course will allow you to discover your hidden abilities and inspire new ideas.

On behalf of the team of contributors,
Konstiantyn Bakhanov

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THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA:
A UKRAINIAN STANDPOINT

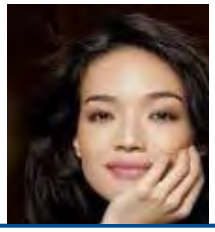
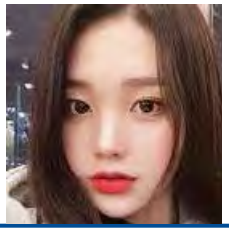
What do we know about the Republic of Korea? Why is the historical experience of Korea interesting for Ukraine?

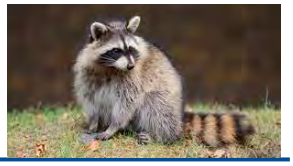
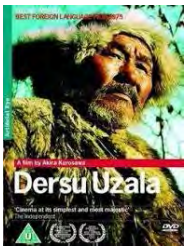
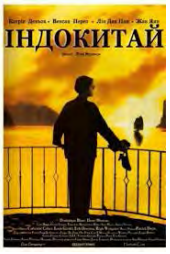
TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- When you think of Korea, what images or associations do you have?
- Try to reflect them in the diagram below.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

▶ Find out if you really know about Korea very little. Choose one of the following answers.

Which of the following drawings shows the outline of Korea?			
Which of the flags is the national flag of the Republic of Korea?			
The total population of South and North Korea is	77 million	127 million	1300 million
The capital of the Republic of Korea is the city of	Beijing / Peking	Tokyo	Seoul
Which picture shows a Korean boy?			
Which picture shows a Korean girl?			
Which variant shows the Korean word for "Korea"?	韓國	韓ㄱ	한국
What flower is the symbol of Korea?			

What animal is the symbol of Korea?			
Which picture shows the national costume of the Koreans?			
The national currency of the Republic of Korea is called			
Which photo shows the logo of a Korean car?			
The form of statehood of the Republic of Korea is	one-party republic, unitary, totalitarian	parliamentary constitutional monarchy, unitary, democratic	presidential republic, unitary, democratic
The unofficial name of Korea is	“Country of the The Land of the Morning Sun”	“The Land of Morning Freshness”	The Celestial Empire
The anthem of the Republic of Korea	Arise! We who refuse to be slaves! With our flesh and blood, let us build our new Great Wall!	May your reign Continue for a thousand, eight thousand generations, Until the tiny pebbles Grow into massive boulders Lush with moss	Until that day when the waters of the Eastern Sea run dry and mount Baekdu is worn away, God protect and preserve our nation.
The Korean film awarded the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival is	 Dersu Uzala	 Parasites	 Indochina

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Acquaint yourself with **source 1** and identify: Which students' ideas rank highest? Why do you think this is?
- What image of the Koreans do these ideas create? Write down some keywords.
- Among the students' ideas about the Koreans, the first place is occupied by culinary peculiarities ("Korean carrot salad") — 60%, and "they eat dog meat" — 12.6%). However, it is known that the Korean carrot salad is not a Korean dish. It is an invention of the Koreans who lived in the USSR. It originates from the traditional Korean dish kimchi (Chinese cabbage with spices), in which Chinese cabbage was replaced by carrots due to its shortage in the USSR.
- As for the consumption of dog meat, according to 2018 data, only 8% of the Koreans, mostly elderly people, eat it, and since 2027, the use of dog meat in cooking is banned by law.
- How can you explain the spread of such misconceptions about the Koreans among Ukrainian youth?

Source 1

Results of the survey of the students of the faculties of the humanities at Ivan Franko National University of Lviv *Korea and Koreans as Viewed by Ukrainian Students*

The survey revealed the following perceptions of Korea and Koreans among the Ukrainian students:

- culinary peculiarities ("Korean carrot salad" — 60%, "eat dog meat" — 12.6%, "Korean cuisine" — 12%, "spicy food" — 7%, "exotic cuisine" — 3.3%);
- ideology, the consequences of the Cold War ("division of the country into South and North" — 12%, "communism" — 9%, "nuclear weapons" — 5%, "Kim Jong-un" — 4.3 %, and "nuclear conflict" – 2.6 %);
- technological achievements ("Samsung equipment" — 7 %, "automotive industry" — 6.7 %, "5G Internet" — 3 %, "high level of technological development" — 2.3 %);
- characteristics of the Korean mentality ("diligence" – 5%, "oriental mentality" — 4.7%, "kind, friendly, smiling people" — 4%, "respect traditions" – 3.7%). There are also isolated answers or images of Korea, for example: "beautiful nature" – 6.7%, "martial arts, taekwondo" — 4.7%, "small country" – 3%, "2002 FIFA World Cup" — 2%, "2018 Winter Olympics" — 2.3%.

Збир Ірина. Подолання стереотипів в українсько-корейській міжкультурній комунікації. *Korean Journal of Ukrainian Studies* (Vol. 1/No. 1/2020). С. 45–46.

TASK 4

- Check yourself. If the chart you filled out looks like the one below, you have a good understanding of Korea and Koreans

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 5

- If you encountered any problems while completing the tests, we recommend that you look up the answers at home in the reference literature on the Internet.
- After having acquainted yourself with **source 2**, explain the national symbols of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK. What do they have in common? What is fundamentally different?

Source 2

State symbols of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK

- KOREA AT A GLANCE: Quick and Easy Visual Book To Help You Learn and Understand Korea, Fandom Media, 2019, P. 7, 8.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

- Acquaint yourself with **source 3**. In the picture above, a Korean man tells an American that they think all Asians look alike, but they do not. Below is a picture of a Korean woman with arrows pointing to differences in facial features: an open wide face, round forehead, an eyebrow arched up and down, long straight black hair, eyes enlarged by surgery, a small nose with a small tip, dark brown eye shadow, and a small mouth with brown and red lipstick.
- Try to check how useful the comic book's recommendations are by referring back to **Question 6** of **Task 2**.

Source 3

A comic strip about the external features of the Koreans

- https://goodhouse.com.ua/poradi/18994-yk-vidrizniti-kitajcya-vid-yaponcya-i-korejcya-z-povedinki-movi-zovnishnosti.htmla

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- The website of the Korean Cultural Centre in Washington, D.C., contains the main information about the Republic of Korea for 2021–2022. Determine what facts you need to further learn about the history of the Republic of Korea.

Source 4

Infographic *Overview of South Korea*

- https://washingtondc.korean-culture.org/en/1025/korea/672

Why is the historical experience of Korea interesting for Ukraine?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 8

- Based on **sources 5–6**, identify the areas in which South Korea's experience is relevant for modern Ukraine.

Source 5

Ranking of the most innovative countries in the world in 2019

- https://n v.ua/ukr/world/countries/5g-i-pivdenna-koreya-novini-svitu-50043707.html

Source 6

Republic of Korea and Ukraine in the world rankings 2018–2022

- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Індекс_демократії
- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Глобальний_інноваційний_індекс
- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Список_країн_за_ВВП_(номінал)_на_душу_населення
- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Індекс_верховенства_права
- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Індекс_якості_життя
- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Індекс_сприйняття_корупції

Index of Democracy (2020)	Global Innovation Ranking (2022)	GDP per capita (2018)	The rule of law (2020)	Quality of life index	Corruption Perceptions Index (2020)	Educational achievements of students (2018)
1. Norway	1. Singapore	1. Luxembourg	1. Denmark	1. Switzerland	1. Denmark	1. PRC
2. Iceland	2 South Korea	2. Ireland	2. Norway	2. Australia	1. New Zealand	2. Singapore
3. Sweden	3. Sweden	3. Sweden	3. Finland	3. Norway	3. Finland	3. Macau
22. Spain		24. Italy	19. Hong Kong	18. UAE	32. Spain	6. Finland
23. South Korea		25. South Korea	20. South Korea	19 South Korea	33. South Korea	7. South Korea
24. France		26. Bahamas	21. Spain	20. Israel	34. Portugal	8. Canada
78. South Macedonia	63. Panama	100. Suriname	73. Moldova	77. Bangladesh	117. Sierra Leone	37. Belarus
79. Ukraine	64. Ukraine	101. Ukraine	74. Ukraine	78. Ukraine	117. Ukraine	38. Ukraine
80. Moldova	65. Egypt	102. Namibia	75. Burkina Faso	79. Kenya	117. Zambia	39. Turkey

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- Read **source 7** and write down the keywords that allow you to compare the fates of Korea and Ukraine. Explain why these very keywords.

Source 7

From the lecture by the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine, Mr. Kim Hyung Tae (2 March 2023)

Korea is a country in Northeast Asia with a 5,000-year history and rich culture. At the beginning of our era, three kingdoms were formed on the Korean peninsula, which lasted for over 600 years. One of them, Silla, later conquered and united the other kingdoms, surviving in this form for about 1000 years. Silla was succeeded by Goryeo and later Joseon, peaceful civilised states with a history of about 500 years.

However, there is another page in Korean history — "The Story of Blood and Tears." Due to its strategically important geopolitical location, Korea has experienced many invasions by foreign powers and suffered from numerous wars, such as the Manchu-Korean War, the Imjin War, etc., and was also under colonial rule. Thus, it went through many trials when the fate of the country itself hung by a thread, and even temporarily lost its own statehood and sovereignty. But despite this, the Korean people have always shown resilience, overcome all obstacles and risen with renewed vigour, thus opening a new page in their history.

"The Story of blood and tears" that Korea went through in its time can be attributed to Ukraine as well.

- Досвід розвитку Республіки Корея і його користь для України. Лекція Посла Республіки Корея в Україні пана Кім Хьонг Те в ДУ "Економіка та прогнозування НАН України." *Економіка України*. 2023. № 3. С. 91–99.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 10

- Acquaint yourself with the synchronistic table of the history of Ukraine and Korea. Think about what similar stages of development the countries went through.
- Which of the stages of development of the Republic of Korea would you like to learn more about? Why?

Synchronic table of the history of Ukraine and the Republic of Korea

History of Ukraine	Century	History of Korea
Trypillian culture	4000 BC	The Comb Ceramics Culture
Trypillian culture	3000 BC	2333 BC — the legendary foundation of Goryeo
Timber-grave culture	2000 BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Cimmerians	10th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Cimmerians	9th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
Greek colonisation	8th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
Scythians Greek colonisation	7th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Scythians	6th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Scythians	5th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Scythians	4th century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Sarmatians	3rd century BC	Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)
The Sarmatians	2nd century BC	108 BC — Chinese invasion of Gojoseon
The Sarmatians Mention of the Sclavians and the Venetians	1st century BC	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
The Sarmatians	1st century AD	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
The Sarmatians	2nd century AD	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
The Sarmatians	3rd century AD	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
The Ants, the Goths, the Huns	4th century AD	The era of the three states, the spread of Buddhism
The legendary foundation of Kyiv	5th century AD	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
The Great Migration of the Slavs	6th century AD	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
The Great Migration of the Slavs	7th century AD	The era of the three states: Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje
Movement of nomadic tribes: the Bulgars, the Khazars, the Alans, the Avars, the Turks	8th century AD	The unified state of Silla
Rus-Ukraine	9th century AD	The unified state of Silla
Rus-Ukraine	10th century AD	The state of Goryeo
Rus-Ukraine	11th century AD	The state of Goryeo
Rus-Ukraine	12th century AD	The state of Goryeo
The Kingdom of Rus	13th century AD	The state of Goryeo
The Kingdom of Rus	14th century AD	The state of Goryeo
Lithuanian-Polish period	15th century AD	The state of Joseon
Lithuanian-Polish period	16th century AD	The state of Joseon
Hetmanate	17th century AD	The state of Joseon
Hetmanate	18th century AD	The state of Joseon

History of Ukraine	Century	History of Korea
Ukrainian lands as part of the Russian and Austrian/Austro-Hungarian empires	19th century AD	The state of Joseon, Korean Empire
World War I	1910 — 1917	Colonial dependence on Japan
Ukrainian revolution, national liberation competition	1917 — 1921	Colonial dependence on Japan, the movement of 1 March 1919
Ukrainian SSR as part of the USSR Holodomor World War II	1922 — 1945	Colonial dependence on Japan, World War II
Ukrainian SSR as part of the USSR	1945 — 1950	Winning independence by Korea, establishment of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK
Ukrainian SSR as part of the USSR	1950 — 1953	Korean War
Ukrainian SSR as part of the USSR	1953 — 1991	Post-war reconstruction, "Miracle on the Han River", Republics 1–6
Independent Ukraine, Orange Revolution, Revolution of Dignity	1991 — 2014	"The Korean Wave", financial crisis, the first summit of the leaders of the DPRK and the ROK
Russia-Ukraine war	2014 — to the present day	Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, the visit of the President of the Republic of Korea Yoon Suk Yeol to Ukraine

TASK 11

- What do you know about the attitudes of the government of the Republic of Korea and the ordinary South Koreans towards Ukraine in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war? Do you think that the evidence of source 8 is an isolated case or a typical one?

Source 8

Film centre in the port city of Busan (2022)

http://koreabizwire.com/talk-of-korea-style-division-in-ukraine-after-war-is-nonsense-envoy-says/241280

THEME 1

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA: THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

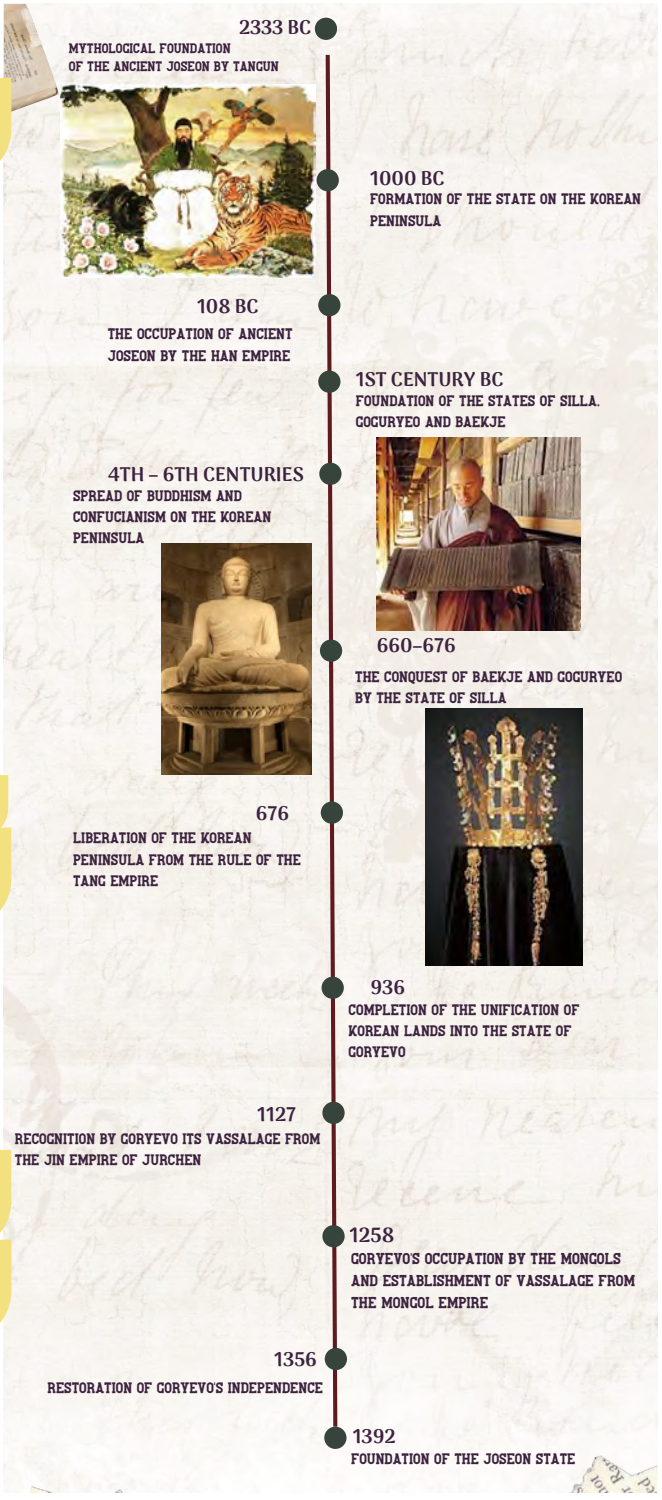
How did the Korean state come into being and how did the traits of the national character of the Koreans develop?

1. Formation of the Korean state.
- 1.1. Natural conditions of the Korean Peninsula.
- 1.2. The myth of Tangun and the early religious beliefs of the Koreans

2. The era of the three states. Goryevo.
- 2.1. The period of the Three States.
- 2.2. The spread of Buddhism.
- 2.3. Confucianism in Korea.
- 2.4. Unified Silla and Goryevo

3. Joseon. Cultural achievements of the Joseon period.
- 3.1. Early Joseon.
- 3.2. The Golden Age of Sejong the Great.
- 3.3 The naval commander Yi Sun-sin, the hero of the Imjin War.
- 3.4. The Culture of the Middle Joseon.
- 3.5. Christianity in Korea.

4. Traits of the national character of the Koreans.
- 4.1 The Koreans through the eyes of the Europeans.
- 4.2. The national character of the Koreans in everyday life.
- 4.3. National holidays as a mirror of the historical and cultural heritage of the Koreans



1. The formation of the Korean state

How did the statehood develop on the Korean peninsula?

What contribution did the ancient Korean states make to the development of world civilisation?

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the state on the **Korean peninsula (1.1)** is shrouded in mystery. According to one version, its beginnings are associated with **the mythical Tangun (1.2)** who is considered the ancestor of all the Koreans and the founder of the state of Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon) in 2333 BC. Gojoseon was ruled by a monarch, the Wang who ruled relying on a code of eight prohibitive articles.

The Gojoseonian people grew barley and millet, and later rice that was delivered from China. They believed in spirits and turned to **shamans**. The society in the country was stratified, and slavery existed. The state waged wars with varying success, was culturally and politically influenced by China, and in 108 BC was conquered by it.

In the first century BC, several Korean states of the next generation emerged south of the former Gojoseon, three of which eventually became the main ones: Goguryeo (37 BC — 668), from which the modern name of the state — Korea — is derived, **Baekje** (18 BC — 660) and **Silla** (57 BC — 935). **(1.3)** These states established a new order of succession (from father to son), created an extensive state apparatus, and there was a division into administrative units. The officials were divided into ranks, and even the colour of their clothes depended on their rank. The fields in the country belonged to the Wang (king), but the forests and rivers were in public use. The states expanded their territories at the expense of their neighbours and fought wars, attracting each other and the neighbouring Japan and China to their sides.

Buddhism began to penetrate these territories through China, and in the fourth to sixth centuries, it became the dominant religion on the peninsula. With the spread of Chinese writing in the countries, **Confucian moral standards** began to be cultivated in Korean society. Under their influence, the kingdom of Silla developed a system of education for selected young men — **khwarans**.

In the middle of the seventh century. Silla, with the support of China, conquered Baekje and Goguryeo. A new period in Korean history began — the unified Silla period (668–936).

It was a period of confrontation with China and centralisation of the state power. The Wangs tried to subdue the nobility. To do this, they changed the structure of the state apparatus, strengthened control over officials, replaced the payment to the officials with land plots, giving them the right to a share of the harvest, created a higher state school for the officials, and carried out administrative and military reforms. However, in the ninth and early tenth centuries, the government weakened, and peasant and aristocratic uprisings began to break out. In the late Goguryeo, Wang Geon (Taejo) seized the power. He conquered Baekje and annexed Silla, forming a **new state called Goryevo (High and Beautiful) (1.3).**

Goryevo was also an aristocratic state. It relied on an extensive establishment of officials who had to pass a special examination called the gwageo. At first, Goryevo had to resist the attacks of the Qidans and Zhurchens, and since 1231, it resisted the Mongol invasion for 30 years.

In 1259, Goryevo was forced to recognise the supremacy of the Mongol khan, which lasted for more than 80 years.

The Goryevo epoch (1.4) is considered to be the heyday of Buddhism. It was during this period that numerous temples were built, and outstanding literary and artistic works were created, such as the **Tripitaka** Koreana (i.e. "Three Baskets") or the world's first printed book, Jikji. Close ties with China and the Mongol Empire contributed to the borrowing of technologies and ideas, including Neo-Confucianism. During these times, Goryevo became an important point on the Silk Road, exporting metal products, paper, **ginseng**, and **celadon**.

Neolithic settlement of Amsa-dong, Seoul

- https://post.naver.com/viewer/postView.nhn?volumeNo=31631548&memberNo=30808112

1.1. Natural conditions of the Korean Peninsula

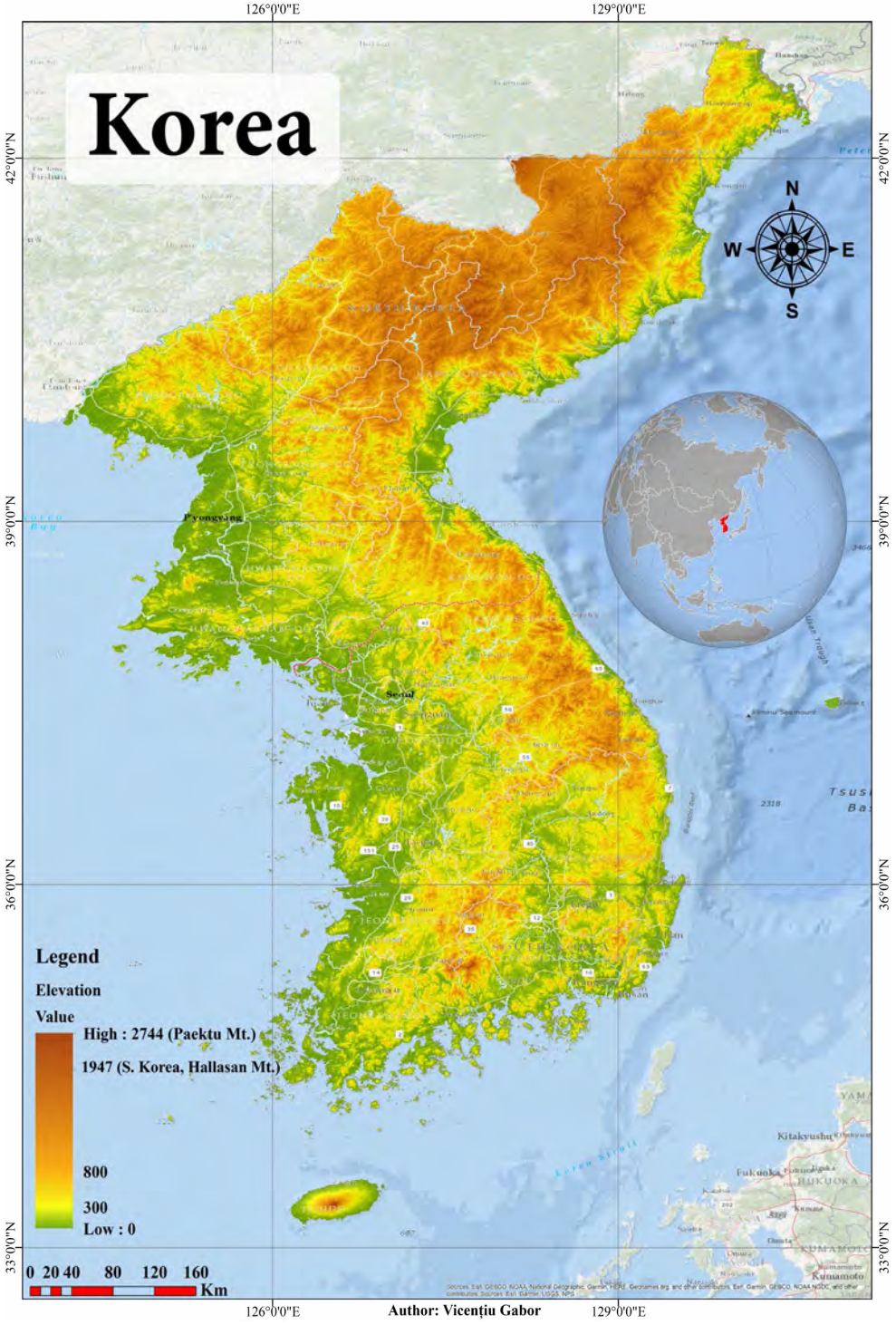
How did the natural conditions of the Korean Peninsula affect the material and spiritual life of the Koreans?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- Remember, what you know from the course of geography about the natural conditions of East Asia and the Korean Peninsula in particular.
- Refer to **sources 1–3**. Based on the sources, previous knowledge and historical analogies, try to describe the main occupations of the inhabitants of the peninsula

Source 1

Geographical map of the Korean Peninsula[1]



[1] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Korea.png

Source 2

Historical map of Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon)[2]

- https://sengokudaimyo.com/podcast/tag/Shang

Source 3

From *Description of the Kingdom of Korea* in the Diary of Hendrick Hamel (1666)

"The country which we call Korea is called Joseon-kuk by the locals. It is situated between 34 ½ and 44 degrees north latitude and extends from north to south for about 1,100 km, and from east to west for about 510 or 550 km. Korean cartographers depict Korea as an elongated rectangle, similar to a playing card, although it has several capes that jut out into the sea.

The country is divided into 8 provinces with 360 cities and even more fortresses and castles, some of them are located in the mountains and some along the coast. It is very dangerous to get to this country by ship without knowing the coastline, as there are many reefs and mudflats that make it difficult to pass safely.

Korea is densely populated and, in good years, is able to fully meet all its needs thanks to the abundance of rice, grain and cotton that grow in the southern part of the country. In the southeast, the country is very close to Japan.

In the west, the kingdom is separated from China by the Nanjing Bay. In the north, the country is connected to one of the northern provinces of China by a large high mountain, so it is not exactly an island...

Travellers, who travel from Korea to China, almost always sail by ship through the narrowest part of the bay because it is piercingly cold in winter in the mountains, and in summer the passage by land is dangerous because of wild animals. During some winters, the rivers freeze over. Then you can continue on the ice. It freezes hard, and there is a lot of snow...

In the north, they eat barley and millet because rice does not grow there. Cotton does not grow there either..."

- Ковальчук Ю.А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX – початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2019. С.106–107.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

- Have a good look at visual **sources 4–7** – dioramas from the exposition of the Korean Museum of Agriculture.
- What information can you get from them about the occupation, way of life, and organisation of life of the Koreans?

Source 4

Exposition of the Museum of Agriculture of Korea [3]

- https://i0.wp.com/thesoulofseoul.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/IMG_1297.jpg?w=401&ssl=1

Source 5

Exposition of the Museum of Agriculture of Korea [4]

Source 6

Exposition of the Museum of Agriculture of Korea [5]

Source 7

Working in the forge. Exposition of the Museum of Agriculture of Korea [6]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Acquaint yourself with **source 8**. Using the approach suggested in the article, analyse the physical map of the Korean peninsula and the description of Korea in historical **sources 1–3**.
- Try to determine what traits of the national character of the Koreans should have contributed to the formation of the geographical conditions of their residence.

Source 8

From A. Masliak's article *Formation of the Psyche of the Ukrainian People: Geographical Factor* (2014)

"Contemporary Ukrainian experts in ethnopsychology, relying on the works of O. Kulchytskyi of the mid-twentieth century, emphasise the importance of the geographical environment for the formation of the national character: "The internal perception of the nature of mould humus for the farming community is, first of all, the fertility of the land, its gentleness, generosity and kindness. These states correspond to the feelings of trust and religious gratitude. The static form of the forest, with its dense and mysterious gloom of gaps, creates in its processes the experiences of the "restrained motor form", a sense of caution, prudence and suspicion, restrained waiting and patience."

- Масляк А. Формування психіки українського народу: географічний чинник. *Вісник Національного університету оборони*. № 1 (38)/ 2014. С. 263.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 4

- Some historians believe that the difference in the landscape of the peninsula — mountains in the north and plains in the south — is a prerequisite for the formation of significant differences in the psychology of the so-called "highlanders" (more independent, suspicious; those who unconditionally obey the authorities and very warlike) and "lowlanders" (more flexible, ritualistic and more receptive to everything new). Among the Koreans themselves, there are stereotypes of northerners as more down-to-earth and brutal at the same time, and southerners as more poetic and prone to maintain their outward appearance.
- Do you think these conclusions are correct?
- Have you had any experience of communicating with people living in mountainous and flat areas? Have you noticed any significant differences in their personalities?

1.2. The myth of Tangun and early religious beliefs

Who is Tangun and what role does he play in the historical and national consciousness of the Koreans? What is shamanism and why does it remain popular the among Koreans?

Kazakh 500 tenge coin with the image of Tangun

https://bbs.ruliweb.com/best/board/300143/read/64908846?m=humor&t=now&page=9&view=list

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 5

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 9** and **10**, and explain how they reflect the Korean worldview.

Source 9

The myth of Tangun

The celestial ruler Hwanin had a son, Hwanung who liked to watch people from heaven and secretly dreamed of ruling them. When his father found out about this, he gave his son three heavenly seals as well as a three-thousand-strong retinue and sent him to earth. Hwanung landed on the top of Mount Taeboksan, where people built an altar to the spirits under a large tree. This place became the dwelling place of God, from which he did his 360 (according to the number of days in a year) deeds, guiding people with the help of the spirits of rain, wind and clouds. He taught them to distinguish between good and evil, to determine the degree of responsibility and punishment, to cure diseases and cultivate the land.

One day, a female bear and a tiger, who lived on a mountain, came to Hwanung and asked him to turn them into people. Hwanung gave them magic wormwood and garlic and set a condition that they should eat only these and spend one hundred days in a cave, avoiding light. The tiger lacked fortitude and endurance, and after a while he came out of the cave, and the female bear who had met this condition turned into a beautiful girl 21 days later. However, there was no one around her who could marry her. The girl wanted children very much and every day she came to the altar under the tree to pray for a child. Having heard her prayers, Hwanung took on the form of a man and married her. They had a son, Tangun, who in 2333 BC founded the kingdom of Joseon ("The Land of Morning Freshness") on the Korean peninsula. It was he who became the ancestor of all the Koreans and the founder of the Korean state. He ruled the Koreans for 1500 years, and when he turned 1908, he turned into a mountain spirit.

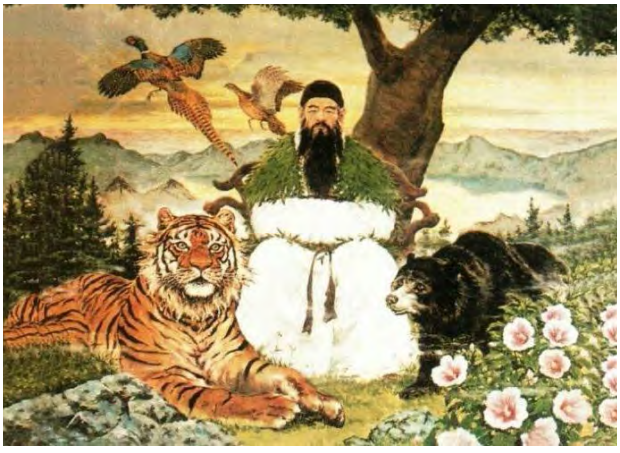
The myth of Tangun is set out in the book *Samguk Yusa* (*The Remaining Information on the Three States*), written by the Buddhist monk Iryeon (1206–1289). Two public holidays of the Republic of Korea, which fall on the same day — 3 October — are associated with this myth.

This is the day of the foundation of the Korean nation, or "Heavenly Day" ("Opening of Heaven Day"), the day when Hwanung descended to earth (3 October 2457 BC), and the day of the foundation of the Korean state, the day when Tangun created the first Joseon state (3 October 2333 BC).

It is interesting to note that until 1961, the chronology in Korea was calculated from 2333 BC and was called Tangi.

Source 10

The legendary Tangun[7]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

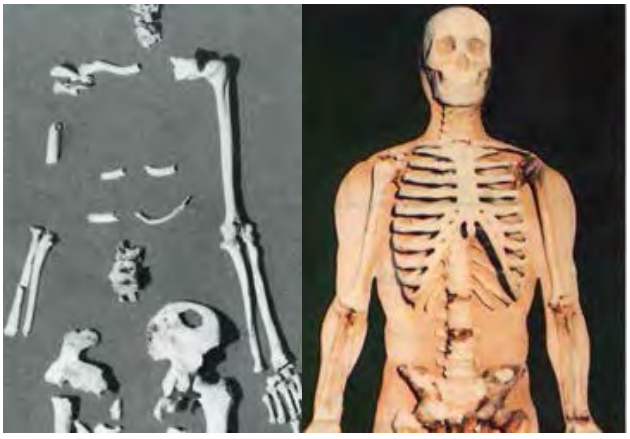
- Explain the symbolism in the image of the legendary Tangun (**source 10**).
- The researchers of Korean history, analysing the myth of Tangun, find in it important evidence of totem ancestors, places of worship, ancient tribes and their relations, migration processes,

relations among the natives and new tribes, main occupations, astronomical and moral ideas of the ancient Koreans, etc. Try to find as much information as possible in the myth.

- Recall ancient Ukrainian mythology and try to compare the mythological ideas of the Koreans and Ukrainians.

Source 11

Remains considered by DPRK historians to be the skeleton of Tangun[8]



SUMMARY OF INFORMATION ON THE ORIGIN OF THE KOREAN NATION

The Korean nation ethnically belongs to the North Mongolian branch of the Mongoloid race, and the Korean language is hypothetically attributed to the Altaic language group. People first settled in Korea about 7,000 thousand years ago during the Paleolithic period. The Korean nation was born on the lands stretching from the northeastern regions of China to the Korean Peninsula. Three of the Paleolithic sites: Sokchanni (the city of Konju), Turubon (the city of Changwon), and Chongokni (the city of Yeongcheon) are located in what is now South Korea, and the cave sites of Komunmoru and Sinnisan (near Pyongyang) are located in what is now North Korea. The Eastern Yi tribes (Emek and Han), from which the Korean nation is genetically descended, came to the Korean Peninsula from northeastern China and assimilated the culture of neighbouring peoples during the Neolithic period and Bronze Age.

- Park Sung Joo, Lee Sung I. Korean History and Culture. Seoul. 2018. P. 16–17.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 11** and **12** related to North Korea. In the early 1990s, the DPRK announced the discovery of fragments of the mausoleum and the remains of Tangun's skeleton. South Korean and Western historians were very sceptical about this news. Why do you think this is?
- How scientifically sound do you think the North Korean historians' approach to historical research is?
- Try to find historical parallels to this attitude to history.

Source 12

From the book *Tangun Is the Ancestor of Korea. A Collection of Research Articles* (Pyongyang, DPRK, 1994)

"In the past, the history of Tangun and Ancient Korea was distorted by grovellers and Japanese corrupt scholars and did not correspond to the historical truth. Kim Il Sung, having familiarised himself with the state of affairs in detail, recommended the scholars to take up the basic principle: in order to truthfully present the history of our nation from the Juche standpoint, it is necessary first of all to correct and clear of lies the history of Tangun and Ancient Korea, which was brutally distorted in the past by Japanese imperialists. He ordered the excavation of King Tangung's tomb. Archaeologists from the Academy of Social Sciences have recently carried out this instruction of the great leader and conducted excavations. The tomb of King Tangun, the founder of the Korean nation, is a valuable historical monument that testifies to the five thousand-year history of our people."

- Tangun Founder-King of Korea. (Collection of Treatises). Foreign Languages Publishing House Pyongyang. Korea, 1994, p. 2.

Shamanism

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 8

- Read the summary of information. Think about the appeal of shamanism to the Koreans. Why did the religions that spread later on the Korean peninsula, although they relegated shamanism to the background, coexist peacefully with it?

- Why shamanism and shamanic festivals, which attract thousands of spectators, are still popular in Korea? This is evidenced by the number of shamans in the country (according to various estimates, 40–100 thousand).
- How did shamanism influence the national character of the Koreans?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- Compare the images in **sources 13** and **14**. Determine how much the modern shamanic ritual has changed compared to the 18th century. Why?

Source 14

Modern shamanic ritual[10]

https://www.koreanquarterly.org/features/journey-to-naerim-gut-from-the-old-world-to-the-new/

Source 13

Yun-bok. *Shaman's dance* (18th century)[9]

https://nrpark.tistory.com/13748601

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

- *Shamanism is a religious practice based on the belief in the ability of a person in a trance to mediate between the world of the living and the world of spirits. According to shamanic beliefs, the universe consists of three parts: The Upper World (Heaven), the Middle World (Earth), where people live, and the Lower World (Underworld), which are connected together by the World Axis (World Tree, mountain and pillars). In this system, a Person is not a toy or a grain of sand in the hands of the all-powerful celestial forces but is a being endowed with their own will, strength and activity.*
- *The leading figures in this religious practice are shamans who become a shaman either by heredity or as a result of a spiritual illness after undergoing a special ritual. In Korea, they are mostly women. The main task of shamans is to perform a ritual (gut) at the request of a person or a group of people. The nature of the gut depends on the situation of the customers and is not limited to invoking blessings and good luck, curing diseases caused by exhausted spirits, or calming the restless spirits of the dead to encourage them to move on.*
- *Gut is a colourful performance, during which a female shaman changes colourful costumes. Each costume represents a different spirit that speaks through the female shaman. All this is accompanied by periodic dancing and singing, which supposedly demonstrate the mastery of the spirit, and bright ritual paraphernalia in the form of swords, plates, bells, tridents, drums and flags.*
- *The most common rituals of Korean shamanism are the following: dodang-gut, a communal ceremony to attract good luck to a village or family, performed during new beginnings (New Year or the beginning of the spring season); sitgim-gut, a ceremony to purify the spirit of deceased loved ones who cannot enter the world of the dead; and kosa, a ceremony to bless new beginnings.*
- *Each area, and even each female shaman, has its own pantheon of spirits to whom she appeals, but mostly these are the highest gods of heaven: the supreme god Hwangin, the father of Tangun, the ancestor of the Korean people; Yolladewang, the judge god who determines the place of the soul in the afterlife according to the deeds committed during life; Chilsong, the god of fate; Ilwolsongsin, the god of the sun and moon; and the spirits guarding nature: Sansin — the spirit of the mountains, the deity responsible for the birth of a child, Enwan — the god of the sea, Jowangsin — the guardian of a hearth, Songju — the guardian of a home, Tocju — the guardian of a garden.*

2. The era of the Three Powers. Goryevo

What cultural monuments demonstrate the achievements of the Koreans during the Three States and Goryevo periods?

2.1. The period of the Three States

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 10

- Acquaint yourself with the summary of information and **source 15**. Explain the name of this period in Korean history.
- Why do you think the first powerful state was Goguryeo, located in the north of the peninsula?

Source 15

Map of the Three Korean States[11]

The Three Kingdoms Period of ancient Korea (57 BC — 668 AD) is called so because three kingdoms dominated in it: Baekje, Goguryeo, and Silla. These same states were in constant rivalry, and so they formed shifting alliances with each other and with the two leading powers in the region: China and Japan. Eventually, the kingdom of Silla, with considerable help from the Tang dynasty, came to dominate and formed a single state, the United Kingdom of Silla, in the late fifth century AD.

Goguryeo

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 11

- Based on **sources 16 and 17**, explain why researches into ancient Korean history believe that this legend reflects the real processes that took place at that time. What do you think they were?
- The image of Jumong is very popular in contemporary Korean cinema and literature (**source 18**). Why do you think this is?

Source 16

The legend of Jumong

According to the legend in the *Samguk Sagi*, the founder of Goguryeo is Jumong (Tongmyŏng), the son of a heavenly king and the daughter of a river lord who gave birth to an egg, from which Jumong (the Sharpshooter) emerged. He was taken care of by the Wang of the state located in the north of the peninsula. From an early age, Jumong was very talented, especially in archery. This caused jealousy on the part of the Wang's sons, with whom he grew up. They decided to kill the boy. Warned by his mother, Jumong fled to the south with three comrades. Here he founded a state, which he called Goguryeo, and instead of his ancestral name He, he took the new name Go (High).

Source 17

The statue of the legendary Jumong in the Goguryeo Tomb Complex. Pyongyang[12]

Source 18

Poster of the drama *Jumong* [13]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 12

- A complex of tombs dating back to the Goguryeo period (V–VI centuries) has survived to the present day and is now located in North Korea and China. These tombs contain murals that are a valuable historical source of information about the daily life and culture of Goguryeo. Have a good look at **sources 19 and 20**. What historical information did you learn from looking at these murals?

Source 19

The mural depicting a hunting scene by Goguryeo of Muyeongcheon. 5th century AD [15]

Source 20

The mural from the Goguryeo tomb complex (5th century AD) [14]

Silla

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 13

- Acquaint yourself with **source 21** and think about what the myths about the founding of Goguryeo and Silla have in common. What does this evidence and how can this be explained?

Source 21

The myth of founding Silla

Hyeokgeose was the founding monarch of the state of Silla and the ancestor of the Al Bak (Pak) "shining" dynasty. According to *Samguk Yusa*, when the chiefs gathered together to discuss the election of the king and the creation of the kingdom, a strange light shone from the sky, and where a white horse was crouching, a large egg appeared, from which a boy emerged. When he turned 13, he became the king of the state called Seorabeol and married a girl who, according to the legend, was born from a dragon's rib. From them, the Pak family came, which today is the third largest in Korea.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 14

- Have a good look at **source 22**. How can you explain the potter's use of the warrior image in this piece? What function do you think this pot had?

Source 22

A ceramic pot in the shape of a warrior (5th century AD)[16]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 15

- Compare the ceramic products of the Trypillian culture (**source 23**) and the Korean Three States period (**source 24**). How can you explain the similarity of their house shapes?
- What symbolism do you think the image of the house had?

Source 23

Trypillian ceramics[17]

Source 24

Korean ceramics[18]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 16

- Read the summary of information and have a good look at **source 25**. Why do you think ondol is considered an important monument of material culture?
- What are the fundamental differences between the Korean and Slavic home heating systems?

Ondol is a specific system for heating a room by heating the floor. It originated in the fifth century BC in the north of the Korean Peninsula and spread throughout its territory during the Three Kingdoms Period.

The secret of ondol was that during the construction of a house, stones were laid under the floor, which were heated by a fire in the room. This was usually the kitchen where food was cooked. The smoke and hot air from the kitchen moved through a system of tunnels under the floor, thus heating the stones. The floor retained the heat and heated the room where people lived, and the smoke exited through a high chimney on the other side of the house, which provided good draft and protected the living quarters.

Source 25

The scheme of an ondol dwelling[19]

2.2. The spread of Buddhism

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 17

- Recall the material from the history of the ancient world related to the emergence of Buddhism (**source 26**). Deepen your knowledge of Buddhism by reading **source 29**. Find out what the main virtues of Buddhism are.
- Recall what processes were involved in the adoption of Christianity in Rus-Ukraine and try to explain why Buddhism spread to the Korean peninsula at that time.
- How did the spread of Buddhism affect the spiritual world of the Koreans?
- What moral qualities did it foster in the Koreans? What do the moral values of Buddhism and Christianity have in common?
- How can you explain why the Buddha's birthday, 19 May, is celebrated as a holiday in modern Korea

Buddhism became the official religion of one of Korea's early kingdoms in 372 after a priest arrived from China with Buddhist images and scriptures. From the time of its introduction, it had the enthusiastic support of the rulers and the aristocracy. By the middle of the 500s, Buddhism was officially accepted by all the three kingdoms that reigned in Korea at that time.

Buddhism reached a glorious era during the Unified Silla dynasty (668–935). Gojoseon, the capital of this dynasty, was described as the city where the roof lines of Buddhist temples looked like flying geese, and pagodas were as numerous as the stars. By the beginning of the Goryevo dynasty (918–1392), the fervour for Buddhism had become so great that princes and sons of prominent families were encouraged to become monks.

Then, during the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), the reform-minded Confucian scholarly officials imposed a number of severe restrictions on the practice of Buddhism, in particular, reduced the number of temples and confiscated Buddhists' lands and goods. Despite these policies of repression, the religion survived in Korea. Today it is once again a vital force, attracting a large number of followers.

- https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-asia/korea-japan/korean-art/a/introduction-to-korean-buddhism

Source 26

From the textbook by O. Bandrovsky and V. Vlasov *World History* (for the 6th-grade students, 2019)

Ancient India was the birthplace of a religion that was destined to become one of the world's modern religions — Buddhism. Its origin is associated with the name of Siddhartha Gautama, who lived in the 4th — 5th centuries BC.

According to the legends, Prince Siddhartha accidentally learnt that everyone is facing old age, illness and death. Stunned by this discovery, at the age of 29, he renounced his high position, left his wife and son, and became a hermit. Siddhartha attained spiritual enlightenment while sitting in deep thought under a Bodhi Tree near the city of Buddh Gaya. Since then, Siddhartha had been called the Buddha — the Enlightened One. All life, the Buddha said, was suffering: "Birth is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering, union with what is displeasing is suffering, separation from someone we love is suffering." Only those who overcome the thirst for life, subdue any strong feelings, limit desires, and thus achieve peace of mind — nirvana — will achieve salvation. The Buddha persuaded that every person is capable of saving themselves through self-improvement. Buddhism considers generosity and virtue to be the main moral obligation of everyone, and the greatest virtue is boundless mercy for all living things, tolerance and forgiveness.

- Бандровський О., Власов В. Всесвітня історія. Історія України: (інтегрований курс): підруч. для 6-го кл. закл. заг. серед. освіти. Київ: Генеза, 2019. С. 74–75.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 18

- Compare the statues of Buddha (**sources 27 and 28**) and explain why the statues created at almost the same time present completely different images of Buddha.
- The Buddha image is widely represented in Korean art, both in sculpture and painting. However, sculptural images are more popular. Why do you think that is?

Source 27

Bronze Buddha statue with bodhisattvas (the 6th century) [20]

Source 28

A gilded statue of the coming Buddha (about 600) [21]

Source 29

From T. Kuchera's textbook *Religious Studies* (2016)

The essence of the content of this religion is set out in the first Benar sermon of the Buddha — "On the Four Noble Truths."

The first truth is "There is suffering." Life is suffering. Everything suffers, the whole world is full of suffering. All existence is suffering: life, illness, old age, and death.

The second truth is: "Suffering has a cause," and this is our ego, which has desires... and, in particular, the desire for life. Even death does not eliminate suffering, because there will be a new birth, which means a new life, which means a new suffering. The source of suffering is within a human being. It is not the absence of the desired but the desire itself. In other words, it is not distance from the goal but the desire for the goal itself. The whole philosophy of Buddhism is based on this truth.

The third truth is: "As far as suffering has a cause, it has a beginning and an end. Suffering can be stopped, and a person can be liberated from it. The way to liberation from suffering is to overcome the thirst for existence, to overcome the attachment of human existence to the cycle of life and death.

The fourth truth is: "There is a way to end suffering." This path is the so-called Noble Eightfold Path, which, accordingly, includes eight steps or stages:

- step 1 — right views — understanding the basic truths and tenets of Buddhism; a person needs to believe that life is suffering, and it is necessary to learn and experience the great truths;
- step 2 — right intentions, a person must decide to take the path of ending suffering, i.e. limiting their desires;
- step 3 — right speech — a person should renounce slander, perjury, swearing, dirty words; the speech should be truthful and devoid of any effects;
- step 4 — right behaviour (actions) — the need to live in harmonious unity with the outside world and oneself, and not to cause any harm to living nature or living beings in general;
- step 5 — right lifestyle — the need to follow the Buddhist precepts in everyday life, namely not to kill, not to steal, to be chaste, not to cheat, and not to drink alcohol;
- step 6 — right aspirations — diligence and sincerity in everyday work;
- step 7 — right thinking (mindfulness) — control over thoughts, because it is thoughts that determine the shape of one's future life;
- step 8 — right self-absorption (concentration), contemplation — renunciation of all earthly things, all joys, regular meditations that help to establish a connection with the cosmos, achievement of inner peace, the ability to achieve a deep meditative trance, and complete stillness (nirvana).

Кучера Т. М. Релігієзнавство: навчальний посібник. Київ: КНЕУ, 2016. С. 43–44.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 19

- Have a good look at the photograph (**source 30**). How can you explain the choice of location for building the temple? How does this characterise the attitude of the Koreans to the Buddha and his teachings? Why is this place still one of the most popular in Seoul?
- Read the summary of information and have a good look at the images in **source 31**. Explain what scientific knowledge was used in the construction of the temple.
- How do Korean artists use art to convey the main ideas of Buddhism?
- What feelings should these sculptures evoke in the visitors to the temple?

Source 30

Bongeunsa Temple in Seoul (was founded in 749)[22]

Sŏkkuram Temple

Sŏkkuram (Seokguram), or "Stone Cave Monastery", is a Buddhist temple in a natural grotto built in the mid–13th century by Kim Daeseong to honour his parents in this world (Pulguksa) and in the past life (Sŏkkuram).

An exquisite Buddhist shrine carved into solid granite rock, Sŏkkuram contains a monumental image of the main Buddha sitting in a lotus position and looking out to sea. He is watched over by about 40 guards, his disciples and bodhisattvas, realistically and gracefully carved in high reliefs and bas-reliefs. The ceiling in the grotto is decorated with crescents and lotus flowers. The architecture of the grotto is symmetrical and uses the principles of the golden ratio. The dome has a rotunda diameter of 6.84–6.58 metres.

The temple is considered a masterpiece of Buddhist art in the Far East and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Source 31

3.3 metre Bonjon Buddha (Seokguram Grotto)[23]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 20

- The tradition of building pagodas came to Korea from India via China. However, in Korea, pagodas began to be associated not so much with the stages of ascent to Buddhist truths (enlightenment) as with the ideas of worshipping Heaven, renouncing everything worldly, and engaging with the heavenly. The highest tier of the pagoda was considered to be a symbol of the human soul and eyes, and the buildings themselves were seen as a pathway for the movement of spirits from Heaven to Earth and back again.
- Why do you think the Koreans gave a new interpretation to these architectural structures?
- Try to describe the pagoda (**source 32**) as an architectural monument using the following scheme:

1. Who, where and when was the monument created by (or a brief retelling of the legend about it)?
2. The purpose of the building.
3. The central facade.
4. Design of the portal (main entrance) .
5. The building in the architectural ensemble of the territory .
6. What makes it memorable? How does it impress?
7. Why should it be preserved?

2.3. Confucianism in Korea

Source 32

The oldest and largest surviving stone pagoda in Korea[24]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 21

- In honour of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Korea, the Korean Garden was opened in the Hryshko National Botanical Garden in Kyiv, a replica of the garden located in Changdeokgung Palace, which was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997. The Korean Garden's exposition features a replica of the pagoda visited by Korean kings (**source 33**).
- Why do you think a pagoda was chosen as a symbolic architectural structure to create the flavour of Korea in the Botanical Garden?

Source 33

A model of a Korean pagoda. Hryshko National Botanical Park, Kyiv[25]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 22

- Recall what you know about Confucianism from the course of the history of the ancient world, referring to **sources 34 and 36**. Deepen your knowledge by reading **source 37**. Define the essence of Confucianism. How can you explain the spread of Confucianism in Korea?
- Researchers of Korean history point out that the Koreans did not take Confucianism's instructions on submission (service) so rigidly, but interpreted them mainly as mutual responsibility. In addition, Confucianism in Korea played the role of a moral and ethical teaching for the upper strata of society. How can you explain this?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- *By the second century BC, Confucianism became the official state religion of China of the Han Dynasty. Temples were built in honour of Confucius in all administrative capitals. The study of classical Confucian texts (e.g., the Book of Documents, the Book of Changes, the Book of Songs, and the Spring and Autumn Annals) became an important part of the education of every member of the Chinese elite, the knowledge of which was tested in the exams for those who wished to enter the civil service. This model was transferred to Korea, China's long-time trading partner.*

- *In 372 AD, the Confucian Academy was established in the Kingdom of Goguryeo. In 682 AD, the National Confucian Academy was founded in the Unified Silla. In addition to studying at home, many young people from aristocratic families were sent to study in China, where they gained the necessary knowledge of classical Confucian texts to enter and pass the Chinese administration's exams and gain valuable diplomatic experience that they could bring back to Korea and thus continue their careers there.*

https://www.worldhistory.org/article/969/confucianism-in-ancient-korea/

Source 34

From O. Bandrovsky and V. Vlasov's textbook *World History, History of Ukraine* (for the 6th-grade students, 2023)

Ancient China was diverse in terms of religious beliefs.

In the fifth — third centuries BC. there emerged their own worldview teachings in different kingdoms. Confucianism had many supporters.

The founder of this doctrine was Confucius (Kung Tzu in Chinese) (551 — 479 BC). He belonged to an impoverished noble family, was a priest for a long time, and then opened his own school. Confucius travelled a lot around the country. He was revered as a great sage, although he did not invent anything new, but only collected and wrote down ancient legends and instructions, mostly of moral character like the following statement: "To study and not to reflect is a waste; to reflect and not to study is a danger...." He presented his teachings in the form of dialogues with his students, which were collected in the book *The Discourses and Sayings*.

According to Confucius' teachings, the supreme deity is Heaven. The emperor was considered to be the Son of Heaven, so the power over other people was given to him by God. The thinker formulated rules of behaviour, the observance of which allows one to achieve self-improvement. Confucius recognised obedience as the highest virtue: the young should obey their elders, and the people should obey their rulers. "A ruler should be a ruler, a father should be a father, a son should be a son", Confucius said. He urged officials to study because, in his opinion, only an educated person can hold public office.

- Бандровський О., Власов В. Всесвітня історія. Історія України: (інтегр. курс): підруч. для 6-го кл. закл. заг. серед. освіти. Київ: Генеза, 2023. С. 69–70.

Source 35

The statue of Confucius at Gwollis Temple. Osan (South Korea)[26]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 23

- Have a good look at the sculpture of Confucius (**source 35**). How can you describe it? Does it have anything in common with Buddha sculptures?
- Why did Confucianism coexist peacefully with Buddhism and shamanism for some time

Source 36

Excerpt from Confucius' book *The Discourses and Sayings*

"To study and not to reflect is a waste; to reflect and not to study is a danger... The one whose natural qualities outweigh education is a savage. The one whose education outweighs his natural qualities is an ordinary clerk. The one who has a balanced education and natural qualities is a noble person... What you do not wish for yourself, do not do to others... A wretched person seeks profit, and a noble person seeks justice. A noble person blames himself, a and wretched person blames others. If the people have everything, then the ruler needs nothing; but if the people live in poverty, then the ruler cannot have everything..."

- Бандровський О., Власов В. Всесвітня історія. Історія України: (інтегр. курс): підруч. для 6-го кл. закл. заг. серед. освіти. Київ: Генеза, 2023. С. 82–83.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 24

- Based on **source 38**, explain which Confucian virtues are reflected in the system of education. What does the photograph evidence about this?
- Have a good look at the image in **source 39**. Determine what features are inherent in the architecture of Confucian religious and educational buildings

Source 37

From T. Kuchera's textbook *Religious Studies* (2016)

"Confucianism emerged in the sixth century BC as a trend in Chinese public thought. At the same time, early Confucianism was only an ethical and political doctrine based on ways to find a «middle way» for a society and a person in order to restore the cosmic order. The main way to restore this order for a person is to achieve the ideal of junzi. This is the ideal personality. The defining feature of junzi is zhen — humanity, humaneness...

The main features of Confucianism are, first of all, the worship of Shen — spirits and deities... Tian, or Heaven, is proclaimed to be the supreme principle that preserves order. At the same time, it is not so much a deity as an Omnipresent Principle, "hidden and indefinite."

The next feature is the cult of the emperor as the "Son of Heaven", the "vicegerent of Heaven on earth." Thus, the emperor was the head of secular and spiritual power and should ideally have the qualities of zhen (humanity)...

The cult of ancestors is widespread in Confucianism. Each deceased relative was honoured by three generations.

The doctrine of Jen-min, or "Correction of Names," is widespread in Confucianism. According to these canons, every person is obliged to know their own place in society and in no case claim a "wrong" place. Thus, every person must know their family and class affiliation, as it were they that were established by the "law sent down from heaven", and it is considered a great sin to violate this state of affairs.

The doctrine of Xiao is a filial duty, the honouring of parents and older sons. Xiao is a relationship between people where a son honours his father, a woman honours her husband, the younger honour their elders, the homagers honour their rulers, and the ruler honours Heaven. The cultivation of this law has led to the hierarchy of parents and children in a Chinese family...

As a religion, Confucianism does not know priests, that is, there is no clergy. Instead, all rituals are performed by a zhu, a government official or the head of the family.

In Confucianism, a ritual is understood as a way of regulating relations in society and is perceived as an imitation of the universal law of nature, li. Confucius interpreted li as a generalised characteristic of a person's right attitude towards others and himself, and then li acquires the meaning of a ritual."

● Кучера Т. М. Релігієзнавство: навчальний посібник. Київ: КНЕУ, 2016. С. 36–38.

Source 38

In a Confucian school[27]

Source 39

Daesongjeong Shrine at the Confucian School in the city of Gangneung. It was originally built during the Joseon Dynasty, the 14th century AD[28]

Khwarans

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 25

- Acquaint yourself with the historical background and explain why the Khwarans appeared at that time and in that very state of Silla.
- In modern popular literature and cinema, the Khwarans are called "The Poet Warrior Youth" and "Flowering Knights." How correct do you think these comparisons are?
- What do they have in common and how do they differ from European knights?
- Can the Khwarans be compared to the Cossacks? By what criteria?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the sixth century, in the kingdom of Silla, among aristocratic youth, and sometimes commoners, they began to select candidates for a specific society whose members were called khwarans, or "flower boys."

It is believed that this was a military organisation where future heroes were trained. However, military training was only a part of their lives. The first place was occupied by spiritual perfection: comprehension of the Path, learning ethical norms, studying literature and music, writing poetry, and travelling around the country to worship mountains and rivers. The khwarans had to combine physical strength and courage with nobility and grace. Training began at the age of 15 and lasted 3–4 years. Afterwards, the mentors released their students into the world and helped them to settle down in life according to their abilities, just as in the Confucian school

for training officials. In their behaviour, the khwarans had to adhere to a number of rules: to be loyal to their country, to obey their parents, to be a loyal friend, to never retreat in a battle, and to never take a life unnecessarily.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 26

- Have a good look at **sources 40 and 41**. How did the Goguryeo muralist portray a khwaran, and what features did he emphasise (**source 40**)?
- How are brave men portrayed in contemporary Korean cinema? What are the similarities and differences in these images?

Source 40

A Khwaran. A mural from the Goguryeo period[29]

Source 41

A film poster of the historical drama *Khwaran*[30]

Taekwondo

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 27

- Read the historical background, have a good look at **sources 42** and **43** and answer the question: why is taekwondo considered the national sport in Korea?
- Why do people describe taekwondo as more than a sport? How do you understand this?

An important part of the training of khwarans was mastering the martial arts techniques of subak and taekwon, known since the Three Kingdoms of Korea. During the Goryevo period, the level of mastery of these techniques influenced the advancement of military careers and was the reason for an ordinary soldier to be promoted to the rank of an officer.

After the liberation of Korea from the Japanese occupation, the tang soo do (Chinese fist) and kong soo do (karate) techniques spread on the peninsula. However, martial artists of the young state, which sought to get rid of Japanese and Chinese influences, felt the need to unite all Korean traditional martial arts (tang soo do, kong soo do, subak, taekwon, etc.). This was done by General Choi Hong-hi. No later than in 1955, a new style of martial arts was given the name of Taekwondo (Taekwon-Do) and was included in the military training programme.

Translated from Korean, "Tae" means kick, "Kwon" means punch, and "Do" means way. Thus, Taekwondo is the "way of the foot and hand through knowledge." Sometimes taekwondo is also called "boxing with your feet."

Source 42

Subak[31]

Source 43

Tae Kwon Do[32]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 28

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 44–46** and identify what the principles of Taekwondo are.

Source 44

From the Constitution of the International Taekwon-Do Federation

"Taekwondo is an art of physical, mental and moral training practised through unarmed combat techniques. It is practically used for self-defence and has a positive impact on human health.

Those who practice Taekwondo have a duty to promote and disseminate it through the International Taekwon-Do Federation, which was founded by General Choi Hong-hi, without discrimination of any kind (religious, racial, national or ideological), always acting in accordance with democratic goals in line with the Taekwondo Principles: courtesy, honesty, perseverance, self-control and indomitable spirit.

Finally, the members of the Federation must pledge to act as good citizens of a society based on peace, freedom, justice, humanity and morality.

Source 45

The founder of Taekwon-Do, General Choi Hong Hi[33]

Source 46

ITF Constitution[34]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 29

- The World Taekwondo Federation has branches in 206 countries and has about 30 million athletes. How can you explain the popularity of this sport in the world and Ukraine? (**source**s **47** and **48**).
- Ukraine's national taekwondo team refused to participate in the World Championships because of the participation of teams from Russia and Belarus. How does this relate to the principles of taekwondo?

Source 47

A taekwondo poster[35]

Source 48

Vitalii Solovei, 2015 World Taekwondo Champion[36]

2.4. United Silla and Goryevo

What cultural monuments did the era of unified Silla and Goryevo in Korean history give the world?

Unified Silla

Unified Silla (668–935 AD) was the first state to rule over the entire Korean peninsula. After centuries of battles with other powers during the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC–668 AD), Silla enlisted the help of China's Tang Dynasty to finally defeat its rivals and form a unified Korean state. In the next century, the kingdom would flourish and give the world some of the finest works of art and architecture. In the tenth century, Silla's glory passed to the northern kingdom of Goryevo, which ruled the peninsula until 1392.

The name "Unified Silla" has been used after the division of Korea in 1945, as it reflects the current political situation on the peninsula to some extent.

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TASKS AND QUESTIONS 30

- Acquaint yourself with the map "Unified Silla" (**source 49**) and compare it with the map "Three States of Korea" (**source 15**). Determine what territorial changes have occurred. What does this indicate?

Source 49

The map of the Unified Silla [37]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 31

- Have a good look at **source 50**. Pay attention to the central part of the crown. What do you think it looks like? What could it symbolise?
- Some researchers see a connection between this crown and Scythian jewellery. What do you think suggests this connection?
- There is an opinion among historians that the period of unified Silla was the time when the Korean nation began to form. If you support this view, what were the factors that united the Koreans?

Source 50

The Crown of the Kingdom of Silla [38]

Kim Yu-sin

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 32

- Acquaint yourself with the historical background and **sources 51** and **52**. Determine how Kim Yu-sin saw the ideal Korean society.
- To what extent was his vision consistent with the Korean worldview?
- What ideas can be seen in the general's views?

The unification of the three states is associated with the name of Kim Yu-sin (595–673 AD). He was a military commander in the Kingdom of Silla and led a huge army that crushed the rival kingdom of Baekje in the 660s AD. His exploits earned him a legendary status and a high position during his lifetime.

One of the legends says that before he was born, his father had a dream that the planets Saturn and Mars were falling on him, and his mother had a dream that a little boy entered her room dressed in shiny golden armour. These were considered powerful signs of Kim's future brilliant military career. At the age of 14, he joined the khwarans of the Dragon Flower Tree Group and was a model of good deeds and spirituality in it.

Another legend tells how sixteen-year-old Kim entered a cave in the mountains. After purifying himself and praying for four days, he swore to Heaven that he would fight to defeat the Kingdom of Goguryeo and received a magic formula of unknown meaning. A year later, he asked Heaven for special powers for his sword. Three days later, the light shone from the sky and his sword trembled.

Kim Yu-sin lived for 79 years. Towards the end of his life, when he was ill, he was visited by the Wang. In his last speech, Kim expressed his vision of what he considered to be an ideal society.

Source 52

From *Samguk Sagi* by Kim Bu-sik (1145). *Book Forty-three. Biographies. Part 3. Kim Yu-sin*

"I am a stupid and untalented servant, how could I bring any benefit to the state with my actions? Fortunately, it was only because His Serene Highness Majesty had no doubts about his choice and gave him the task and not the other person. Your servant shared a little of the Wang's wisdom and achieved the smallest of merits. The three states have become one home, and the common people are no longer torn by ambivalence. Although we have not yet achieved the Great Prosperity, but temporary peace has been established. Your servant sees that since ancient times, among those who have sat on the throne of kings, "there has been none who did not do well at first, but few who remained virtuous to the end." It is deeply regrettable that the work of several generations can be undone in one morning. I pray that Your Majesty will always bear in mind that it is not easy to achieve success, and also remember that it is difficult to maintain what you have achieved. Therefore, keep petty people away from you and bring only noble men near, and ensure that harmony and peace reign above in the government, and that below the people and everything in your possession are in prosperity and peace. Then there will be no natural disasters or turmoil, and the foundations of the state will not be shaken. And Your servant will die without any regrets."

- https://coollib.net/b/639210-kim-busik-samguk-sagi-t3-raznyie-opisaniya-biografii/read

Source 51

Kim Yu-sin[39]

Gwageo

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 33

- Based on the historical background and the image in **source 53**, discuss, the influence of which doctrines was the introduction of gwageo?
- How does the introduction of the state examination for candidates for public office characterise the Korean society at that time?
- What traits of the Korean national character did the practice of state examinations contribute to the formation of the national character?

Gwageo is a state examination for applicants for public office that was borrowed by the Koreans from the Chinese. It was introduced in the late seventh century in Silla, but the aristocracy resisted it, so it was abandoned for a while. Goryevo reintroduced gwageo in 958.

The examination system was initially quite simple. However from the end of the tenth century, they began to be conducted in two stages: preliminary exams, organised by the department for the care of higher education for the members of the royal family and people from high-ranking families, and final exams, which were held in three stages under the supervision of the other department — the Ministry of Heavenly Rituals. The interval between the stages of the exam was measured in years. Since the eleventh century, the state gwageo examinations were held every two years, and the number of examinees was about 35. It was not allowed for the examiners to be relatives of those who took the exam. The main subject of the examinations was Confucian doctrine: knowledge of the main Confucian canonical books was required. However, in some cases, examinations could be given in the knowledge of medicine, geography, and arithmetic. The gwageo was taken in Chinese in written and oral form. Candidates were required to meet high standards, such as the ability to write a structured essay and recite Chinese classics by heart. The topics of the essays ranged from literature to government.

Source 53

The state gwageo examination[40]

The state of Koryo

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 34

- Acquaint yourself with the historical background and **source 54**. Compare the maps of **sources 49** and **54**. Determine what territorial changes took place.
- What is the cultural significance of the Goryevo period?

Source 54

The map of Goryevo[41]

Goryevo was a Korean state from 918 to 1392. It was a period of cultural and artistic prosperity, especially in architecture, ceramics, printing and papermaking. In the thirteenth century, the kingdom survived repeated Mongol invasions and became dependent on and culturally influenced by its northern neighbours. The name of modern Korea comes from Goryevo.

The Tripitaka Koreana

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 35

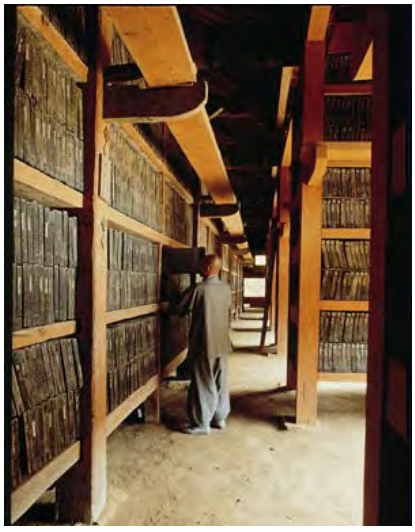
- Why is the Tripitaka Koreana considered a cultural monument of world significance?

The Tripitaka Koreana (Three Baskets) is a collection of Buddhist texts of Indian origin carved on 81,258 wooden planks. It was created in the eleventh century during the war against the Qidans with the hope that the carved sacred texts would help the kingdom survive in difficult times through the divine intervention of the Buddha. The Tripitaka was destroyed by fire during the Mongol invasion of Korea in 1232, but it was rebuilt in 1237–1249 on the order of Wang Gojong.

The making of the Tripitaka Koreana is a symbol of national loyalty and the desire to repel invaders. That is why in 1962 this monument was recognised as a national treasure of Korea and in 2007 it was included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. It is currently kept at the Haines Buddhist Temple in South Gyeongsang Province in the Republic of Korea.

Source 55

The Tripitaka Koreana[42]



Samguk Sagi

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 36

- Think about the significance of the *Tripitaka* and *Samguk Sagi* for the formation of Korean self-awareness (historical background).
- How can you explain the fact that the cultural monuments created at the same time belong to different cultural traditions: Buddhist and Confucian? Why are they equally valued by the Koreans?
- How can you explain the fact that the author of the *Samguk Sagi*, Kim Bu-sik (**source 56**), who is considered a strong Confucian, was a practising Buddhist and founder of the family Buddhist temple during his lifetime and, according to sources, swore an oath to heaven and earth, mountains and streams, gods and spirits in critical situations?

The *Samguk Sagi*, or *Historical Records of the Three States*, is the oldest surviving chronicle of Korean history. It was compiled by the government official and historian Kim Bu-sik in 1145. The chronicle contains the history of Korea during the Three Kingdoms period, which was almost lost during the incessant wars. Kim Bu-sik sought to demonstrate the valuable lessons of good governance and moral behaviour based on the principles of Confucianism.

Researchers highly appreciate his work because it focuses exclusively on the events in the history of ancient Korean states and is free of Chinese overlay. This work had a profound impact on the Korean people, the idea of the Korean state, and laid the foundations of Korean identity and nationalism.

Source 56

Kim Bu-sik[43]

Jikji

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 37

- What do you think *Jikji* represents as a monument of Korean culture?
- What significance did it have for the further development of the culture of the Korean peninsula?

Jikji, short for Anthology of *Teachings of Great Buddhist Monks*, is the oldest surviving book, printed using movable type at Heungdeoksa temple in 1377, that is 78 years before the first printed book in Europe, Johannes Gutenberg's *Bible* appeared. The appearance of this book was made possible by the fact that a century and a half earlier, in 1234, metal printing plates were first invented in Goryevo. *Jikji* is now kept in the National Library of France.

Source 57

Jikji[44]

Ginseng

Ginseng is a perennial herbaceous plant that is known as the "king of oriental medicine" because of its healing properties. Its most valuable part is the root, which has been used for treatment since ancient times.

The Chinese associate the emergence of ginseng with a mythical noble knight named Gin Seng, who fought with a contender for his sister's hand in marriage and died in battle. The grieving sister cried for a long time, and a plant grew where her tears fell, which she named after her brother, a brave and strong warrior. A Korean legend tells of a boy who could transform into a plant or animal of his own will. One day, he got into a fight with a tiger. The young man killed the predator but also died from his wounds. From the drops of blood of the boy and the tiger that mixed together, a plant grew that had incredible, almost magical properties.

The first mention of ginseng harvesting by the Koreans dates back to the first century BC. They call ginseng "a cure for all diseases", "the root of life" and "the root of immortality", as it is a natural health stimulant with no side effects. The Korean ginseng is considered special and highly valued around the world. Thanks to its cool climate and rich soil, the Korean ginseng has a large number of beneficial properties. It treats serious illnesses, improves brain function, eliminates inflammation, relieves nervous tension, etc. In ancient times, the Korean ginseng was so rare that only the imperial family was allowed to consume it in China. Therefore, it was ginseng that Korea often sent as a tribute.

There are two types of the Korean ginseng: red and white. White ginseng, obtained by drying fresh ginseng, can be stored for more than a year. And ginseng becomes red after special processing of the dried, unpeeled root. This product can be stored for over 10 years. It is believed that red ginseng has the best medicinal properties. Since ancient times, ginseng has been a component of medicinal mixtures or used to make a decoction.

Source 58

Traditional uses of ginseng[45]

Source 59

The red Korean ginseng[46]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 38

- Answer the following questions: How did the Koreans explain the healing properties of ginseng?
- What explained the high price of ginseng as a commodity?
- What other products that appeared in Europe at that time can be compared to ginseng?

Seladon

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 39

- Have a good look at visual **source 60**. Give a general description of Korean celadon products.
- Explain how Goryevo celadon handicrafts combined cultural borrowings and the national specificity of Korean culture.

Celadon is a unique type of ceramics, the production of which began in the Goryevo period and was interrupted by the Mongol invasion. The Korean word for celadon, *jongja*, translates as "blue porcelain."

What makes celadon products special is the brilliant glaze of a rich blue-green colour (a shade of jade), which was obtained by mixing iron-containing clay and glaze and subjecting each product to double firing.

The celadon technology came to Goryevo from China. However Korean celadon wares differ from Chinese ones by the special colour of the glaze, which has been poetically compared to the blue autumn sky of Korea, permeated with a greyish-soft haze. Barely noticeable to the eye, the thin, cobweb-like network of glaze cracks creates a peculiar play of light on the surface of Goryevo celadon products. That is why the Chinese praised Korean celadon as "the best under heaven."

The Korean contribution to world ceramics was the use of black and white inlay images, such as clouds, cranes and flowers that were placed under the glaze. When viewed, the images created an optical effect as if they were floating above the surface of the piece. Poets and banquet guests enthusiastically described the flights and floating images on the tableware.

In addition, Korean craftsmen first applied the technique of inlay to celadon, which involved cutting patterns on the surface of the ceramic and filling them with gold and silver.

Royal tombs of the Goryevo period

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 40

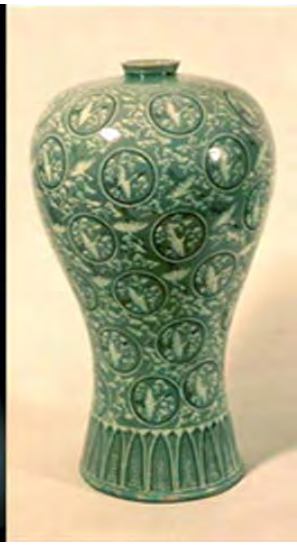
- The royal tombs have survived to this day, the most famous of which is that of King Gongmin Hyonjongrung and his wife, the Mongolian princess Noguk. Those twin burial mounds are built of stone and decorated with wall paintings on the inside.
- Have a good look at **sources 61** and **62**. Determine what features of this architectural structure are compared to similar structures in other countries.
- What kind of social system does the presence of such buildings indicate?

Sources **61** – **62**

The Royal Tomb at Kaesong, North Korea[48]

Source **60**

Products made of celadon[47]



Glossary

Bodhisattva	is an exemplary Buddhist tutor monk who has comprehended the truth himself and helps others to do the same.
Buddhism	is a religious doctrine of spiritual awakening, liberation from the thirst for existence and pleasure, and the achievement of complete peace (nirvana). It originated in India in the sixth to fifth centuries BC.
Wang	is a ruler in ancient Korea.
The Great Silk Roads	is a system of caravan roads that connected China with the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.
Ginseng	is a medicinal plant whose root is used in medicine.
Gwageo	is a state examination for applicants for public office.
Qidans and Zhurzhens	are nomadic peoples of medieval Manchuria.
Kong soo do	is Korean karate.
Confucianism	is a Chinese ethical and religious doctrine about achieving the state of a "noble man" and adherence to the principles of humanity, virtue, charity, respectability, ancestor worship and filial respect.
Gut	is a shamanic ritual associated with communication with spirits.
Ondol	is an underfloor heating system.
Pagoda	is a religious building in the form of a tiered tower.
Samguk Yusa	is *The Forgotten Acts of the Three States* is a collection of Buddhist legends about Korean history of the Three States period (first century BC — seventh century AD) written by the monk Iryeon (1206–1289).
Seladon	is pale grey-and-green ceramics.
Sŏkkuram	is a Buddhist temple in a natural grotto.
Subak, Tang soo do, Taekwon	are Korean martial arts.
Tangi	is the Korean chronological system from the birth of Tangun, which was in effect until 1961.
Tangun	is the legendary founder of the Korean nation.
Tripitaka	is The Three Baskets, a collection of sacred Buddhist texts of Indian origin, first translated in Korea and carved on wooden planks in the thirteenth century.
Taeboksan	is a sacred mountain considered to be the dwelling place of God.
Taekwondo	is "Way of the Foot and Fist" — a popular Korean martial art.
Totem	is a creature or object considered to be the ancestor of a tribe.
Hwanin	is the supreme god in Korean mythology.
Hwanung	is the son of Hwanin.
Khwaran	is a member of an elite group of young people in Silla times who was engaged in military training and studied Korean culture and religion.
Jikji	is the oldest Korean book, printed in the 14th century using the movable type method. This method was invented and used in China three centuries earlier.
Juche	is the pro-communist state ideology of North Korea, developed by the "eternal president" Kim Il Sung.
Shaman	is a cult minister, an intermediary between people and spirits.
Shamanism	is the belief that a person can mediate between the world of the living and the world of spirits.
'Japanese imperialists'	is a term commonly used in Korea to refer to the era of colonial enslavement of Korea by Japan.

3. Joseon. Cultural achievements of the Joseon period

What was the contribution of the Joseon period to the development of Korean and world culture?

INTRODUCTION

In 1392, as a result of a military uprising, power in Goryevo passed to General Yi Seong gye (Taejo) who founded a new dynasty, gave the state a new name — Joseon and proclaimed Seoul its capital. The state philosophy of **early Joseon (3.1.)** became Neo-Confucianism, which started to displace Buddhism. The new state began to rely not so much on the hereditary aristocracy as on the bureaucracy that was based on **yangbans. Legislation** was systematised and **streamlined**.

Joseon reached its peak during the reign of **Sejong the Great (1418–1450) (3.2)**. It was then that the Korean alphabet, **Hangul**, was created and a number of scientific discoveries were made.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Joseon was attacked by Japan (the Imjin War), in which the naval commander **Yi Sun-sin** became famous **(3.3)**. In the mid-seventeenth century, as a result of a series of Manchu invasions, Joseon became dependent on the Qing Empire. At the same time, the country was rapidly developing trade and introducing new agricultural technologies. A new philosophical doctrine called **Silhak** was born. At the end of the eighteenth century, during the **reign of Jeongjo, the country experienced a new rise (3.4)**.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Christian preachers began to appear on the peninsula, which is considered the beginning of the spread of **Christianity in Korea (3.5).**

The groom at the wedding procession. Kim Jun-gun, late nineteenth century. Drawing on silk

- http://soi.today/?p=100341

Why is Joseon called a yangban state?

Yangbans

Yangbans were the highest privileged class in Joseon, similar to the European nobility. The word "yangban" means "two parts" because the yangbans were clearly divided into two groups: the military, whose members were traditionally not allowed to hold higher government positions or advance above the 3rd rank, and the civilian.

All yangbans were supposed to be in civilian or military service, but this rule was not followed. A family whose members had not served for more than three generations officially lost their status and became a hereditary petty bureaucracy. Only yangbans could apply for any administrative position.

Yangbans enjoyed a number of privileges. They could not be tried in an ordinary court, but only in a special courtroom. They were subject to lenient conditions of imprisonment. If a yangban was sentenced to death, he was given the opportunity to commit suicide to avoid the shame of public execution.

The special status of a yangban was emphasised by his clothes and special head dress. When meeting a yangban, everyone had to show respect: a commoner riding a horse had to dismount, and a person on foot had to bow. It was strictly forbidden to sit or smoke in the presence of a yangban. In court, yangbans testified standing up, not on their knees, like others. They left their homes accompanied by a large number of retinue.

Yangbans considered only public service and agriculture worthy of their dignity, and considered trade and crafts to be shameful occupations. Their main income came from renting out their land holdings. The yangbans entered civil service on the recommendation of their superiors or after passing state examinations in the Confucian canon, philosophy, and history.

A typical day for a yangban looked like this:

07:00 — a walk in the spacious courtyard — a time for deep reflection;

11:00 — time for diligent study — studying Confucianism for the state exam, receiving guests who were watched by women through special holes in the wall;

13:00 — abundant meals with many treats (the main of the five meals);

16:00 — leisure time — men play "go", and women play "thuho" (throwing arrows into a special vessel) or do needlework;

19:00 — end of the day — visiting parents and reading literature or holy books.

Source 63

Kim Deuk-sin. A peasant and a woman showing respect to a riding aristocrat and his two servants[49]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 41

- Read the historical background and have a good look at **sources 63** and **64**. Discuss why the yangbans became the backbone of the Joseon state.
- Compare the position and habits of the yangbans with those of European nobles. How can you explain these differences?
- Using **source 63**, explain the privileges of the yangban. How is this shown in the picture?
- Have a good look at the photograph (**source 64**) and identify what in the yangban's appearance indicates their status.

Source 64

The appearance of a yangban[50]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 42

- Why do you think the yangban looked like this in the popular imagination (**source 65**)?
- What features of the yangbans were deliberately emphasised in the mask? Why?

Source 65

A yangban mask in Korean satirical theatre[51]

A yangban mask for the traditional Hahwe character, the masked tank: a wide nose with large nostrils, smooth and curved eye and eyebrow lines, and a lower jaw attached with ropes. This gives the mask the ability to acquire different expressions – from a generous smile to a threatening frown. Sometimes the mask was painted in half with white and red paint, or smallpox or leprosy damage to the face was drawn.

"The Great Collection of Laws

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 43

- Based on **source 66**, what is the significance of "The Great Collection of Laws"?
- How do you understand the term "yangban bureaucratic state"?
- What are the similarities and differences between "The Great Collection of Laws" and the "Ruska Pravda" of the Yaroslavychs in Rus-Ukraine?

Source 66

From the book *A New Look at Korean History* (2010)

"The process from the compilation to the publication of the Great Collection of Laws was not without its difficulties. During the Taejo reign (1392–1398), Jo Jun compiled all the laws ... and compiled *the Laws of State Administration in Six Sections*, thus creating the first official collection of written laws, which meant the

Portrait of King Taejo

legal consolidation of the new dynasty's rule. ...In 1485, the final edition of *the Great Collection of Laws* was published.

The Great Collection of Laws consisted of six sections: on the civil servant personnel, on the taxes, on the rituals, on the army, on the punishment, and on the labour service. Each section had specific clauses and paragraphs, and the main feature of the collection is that it has a common structure and there are generalised abstract formulations. The compilation of the *Great Collection of Laws* was of great importance because it prepared Korean laws proper and recorded them, and thus ended the unrestricted interference of Chinese laws. Most importantly, however, with the help of that collection, the principles of Joseon dynasty rule were consolidated, and although the Confucian ideal was an absolute monarchy with a Wang at the helm, it clearly proclaimed the priority of the rule of law.

"*The Great Collection of Laws* is not just a complete collection of laws. Its compilation and publication also meant that the state and social system were perfectly prepared. The Joseon state, founded by the transfer of the Heavenly Mandate, through the process of strengthening the power of a Wang, developed Confucian politics and achieved stability in the life of the people and the development of culture, and through several stages of adaptation and transformation, it established itself as a yangban bureaucratic state with centralised power, and *the Great Collection of Laws* itself reflected its structure and character."

- Новий погляд на історію Кореї: підручник / за ред. Хо Сун Чьол; переклад з корейської Ю.А.Ковальчук. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2010. С. 120–121.

The monument to Taejo (Lee Seong-gye), the founder of the Joseon Dynasty in Seoul

- https://m.cafe.daum.net/hw89dy/Vrv1/29

3.2. The Golden Age of Sejong the Great

Why is the reign of King Sejong known as the Golden Age in Korean history, and why is Sejong called the Great?

Sejong the Great (reigned 1418–1450)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 44

- Acquaint yourself with the historical background and determine what the achievements of Wang Sejong were.
- Why is he called the Great in Korean history?
- Try to show the contribution of Sejong the Great to the development of Korean statehood and culture in the form of a diagram.

Sejong went down in history as a wise and strong ruler who took care of his country like a good gardener. He encouraged the development of scholarship and had actively acquired knowledge throughout his life. Sejong revived the ancient system of education for a ruler and his sons and the court academy itself and the Pavilion for the Assembly of the Wise. It consisted of 20 sages who were in charge of various scientific matters, from compiling encyclopaedias to developing the original Korean alphabet (Hangul).

Hangul was created in 1446 and consisted of 28 letters that were easy to remember, so ordinary people could read texts. The national alphabet united the Koreans and raised their national self-awareness. Sejong is credited with the invention of a rainfall measurement gauge, a water clock and a sundial. All these devices were developed in his palace by the inventor Jang Yeong-sil.

Sejong paid great attention to the dissemination of agronomic knowledge and contributed to the publication of *Popular Discourses on Agriculture* (1430). The trained peasants began to harvest two crops a year – first, they planted rice seedlings, and after the rice harvest, they sowed barley or other crops. An irrigation

system of 3,000 artificial reservoirs was created. In addition, the king reorganised the system of weights and measures and ordered his scientists to compile a *Geographical Description of the Eight Provinces*, which became the most detailed geographical document of its time.

During Sejong's reign, printing technology changed dramatically. He established a foundry to produce copper and lead printing plates. During this time, more than 350 books were published.

Historians consider Sejong to be a humanitarian king. He introduced three degrees of justice before a final sentence was passed and banned cruel punishments such as flogging.

The king was concerned with improving public morality, officially banned sacrifices to the spirits of nature, and called for living by Confucian rules: "The one who behaves in accordance with the established norms is happy, not the one who hopes for help from the spirits of rivers or mountains." As for Buddhism, Sejong pursued a traditionally restrained policy, but this did not prevent him from visiting Buddhist monasteries.

In foreign policy, the king succeeded in cancelling the payment of the traditional tribute in gold to the Chinese emperor and established relations with Japan. In order to stop pirate attacks on the Korean coast, he organised punitive expeditions to pirate bases and simultaneously developed trade.

The reign of Sejong the Great is often described in historical literature as the Enlightened Stability: "The people got rich, the state prospered, and the order was maintained." However, Sejong is most revered in Korea for his educational activities. That is why his birthday in May is celebrated as Teacher's Day.

Source 67

The monument to Sejong the Great in Seoul [53]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 45

- Have a good look at the monument to Sejong the Great (**source 67**). Explain its symbolism.
- What idea do you think the sculptor tried to convey?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 46

- Have a good look at the small architectural forms that are placed in front of the Sejong Monument and reflect the inventions, in which he was involved (**sources 68 and 69**). What do you think these inventions are?

Sources 68 – 69

Inventions of Sejong the Great[54]

Source 70

From *Song of the Dragon Flying to Heaven* (1445), attributed to Sejong

"It was decided long ago:
In the land north of the Hangang
He will multiply virtue
He will establish a state there,
To rule the Li family forever.
Wise heirs of his,
But only by the will of Heaven,
With the support of the people
The dynasty has been strong for centuries.
Remember this, my lord!"

- Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven. Moskow: Vostochnaya Literatura Publishers, 2011.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 47

- Based on **source 70**, explain what Sejong saw as the key to successful rule. How does this characterise him?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 48

- Read **source 71**. Do you agree with Kwon Ki-Chang's opinion on the similarity of Yaroslav the Wise's activities in Rus-Ukraine and Sejong the Great's in Joseon? Justify your opinion.

Source 71

From an interview with Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine Kwon Ki-Chang (9 November 2019)

"In ancient times, Korea consisted of the so-called Three Korean States, a period that lasted for about seven centuries. That was the time when Chinese characters came to Korea. This is a very complex writing system, inaccessible to the majority of the population, which remained uneducated. And in the fifteenth century, the reign of King Sejong began who is one of the two most important heroes of Korean history. King Sejong is the Korean version of Yaroslav the Wise.

Prince Yaroslav spread Christianity, which was brought to Ukraine by Volodymyr the Great, built St Sophia, and promoted the Byzantine tradition in every possible way. King Sejong did the same. He cared about the lives of ordinary people. He cared about the development of culture and the dissemination of information about the ancient traditions and the history of Korea, and he engaged the best scientists and inventors in those processes. And how many right, good things he did for the internal governance of the country! Volodymyr the Great also cared about the nation-building of Ukraine, including fighting to protect Ukrainian lands from attackers and strengthen them by uniting them. Moreover, Yaroslav the Wise, as I learned from the books, focused his efforts on educating the population and uniting the people with a common culture. So, to some extent, King Sejong was doing the same thing.

However, one of his most significant achievements was the creation of the Korean alphabet. Not only did he instruct Korean scientists to do so, but he personally immersed himself in the process and took a direct part in it. Moreover, King Sejong was forced to do so in a certain degree of secrecy. After all, the Korean elite of that time was so pro-Chinese that the vast majority of ministers opposed the creation of a Korean alphabet.

- http://www.golos.com.ua/article/323836.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 49

- Acquaint yourself with **source 72**. The portraits of Yaroslav the Wise and Sejong the Great are on the national banknotes of Ukraine and the Republic of Korea. How can you explain this way of honouring these historical figures?

Source 72

A hryvnia with the image of Yaroslav the Wise and a won with the image of Sejong the Great[55]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 50

- Over the past decades, the Republic of Korea has released more than ten films about the life of Sejong the Great (*Sejong the Great* (2008), *I Am the King* (2012), *The Tree with Deep Roots* (2011), *The King and the Rain* (1998–2000), *The Language of Our Land* (2019), etc. How can you explain the relevance of appeal to Sejong's figure in contemporary Korean cinema?
- Have a good look at the poster for the film (**source 73**). What qualities of Sejong did the author of the poster want to emphasise?

Source 73

The poster for the film *Sejong the Great*[56]

Hangul

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 51

- Acquaint yourself with the historical background and **sources 74–77**. What makes the Korean alphabet (Hangul) unique in comparison with the alphabets of other nations? Why is it a UNESCO World Heritage?
- Think about the significance of the creation of Hangul for the Koreans.
- Do you think it is possible to compare Sejong's work on the creation of the Korean alphabet with the work of Cyril and Methodius in Rus-Ukraine?

Hangul, the Korean alphabet, is the only writing system in the world that has the name of its creator and the exact date of its creation — "the 12th month of 1444 according to the lunar calendar", as evidenced by an entry in Volume 113 of the Sejong Sillaek (Chronicles of the Reign of King Sejong).

In the preface to his book Hongmin Chonim (A Guide to the People's Correct Pronunciation with Explanations and Examples), the famous official and scholar Jeong In-ji (1396–1478) explained the need to create Korea's own alphabet by saying that books written in Chinese characters were difficult to read and communicate in writing; the written representation of Korean words using hieroglyphics was inconvenient.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 52

- In 1926, Korea began to celebrate Hangul Day, which is still one of the most popular holidays in South Korea. Why?
- Hangul elements are often used in modern design (**source 75**). How can you explain this respect for Hangul?

Source 74

***The Hungmin Chongum* manuscript, a UNESCO World Heritage**[57]

Source 75

Hangul as an element of modern clothing design. From the exposition of the King Sejong the Great Museum[58]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 53

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 76** and **77**. Explain what principles Hangul is based on.
- Why is Hangul considered one of the easiest alphabets in the world?

Source 76

From Yu. A. Kovalchuk's textbook *Country Studies: Korea* (2011)

The Hangul alphabet is called a scientific alphabet because its five basic consonants copy the shape of the articulatory apparatus when pronouncing the corresponding sounds. ㄱ (g) and ㄴ (n) indicate the position of the tongue, ㅁ (m) — the position of the lips, ㅅ (s) — the gap between the upper and lower teeth, and ㅇ (nasal "n") — the hole in the throat. In addition to this assumption, it can be asserted that the Korean alphabet is based on elements of hieroglyphic writing, which at that time was a model of beauty and graphic harmony…

The vowels reflect the concepts of yin and yang and the harmony of the universe. The main elements of the vowel letters are "–" (earth), "·" (sun) and "ㅣ" (man). The vowels are formed by combining these components and, according to the location of the "sun", can be light "ㅏ" — (a), ㅗ (o) ("sun" in the east and above the "earth") and dark — ㅓ (wide "o"), ㅜ (u), ㅡ (i) ("sun" in the west, under the "earth" and "earth" without the "sun"). These vowels are used to form the rest.

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Країнознавство: Корея: навчальний посібник / Ю. А. Ковальчук. Київ: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр "Київський університет", 2011. С. 139–140.

Source 77

From an interview with Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine Kwon Ki-Chang (9 November 2019)

"...Sejong's invention was unique and very clever. ...the Korean language is one of the easiest to learn and the most convenient to use. It consists of basic vowels and consonants, which, when combined into unified characters, form a simple writing system of 24 characters in total. Now that we have keyboards, Hangul has also proved to be very convenient. How, for example, do you fit almost 30,000 Chinese characters into a keyboard? Or even 5,000 of the most commonly used ones? ...This accessibility of the language makes the Koreans one of the most educated countries in the world with the highest level of literacy. In fact, the Koreans are very grateful to King Sejong for his immensely generous gift to his people — the language. That is why there are only two statues on the main street of Seoul — Seoul's "Khreshchatyk" — and one of them is the statue of King Sejong the Great."

- http://www.golos.com.ua/article/323836

3.3. The naval commander Yi Sun-sin, the hero of the Imjin War

Why is Yi Sun-sin considered a national hero of Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 54

- Based on the historical background, explain the origin of the name and scale of the war.
- Using **source 78**, describe the course of the hostilities during the Imjin War. Note that the blue arrows on the map indicate the Japanese offensive in 1592 and 1597, and the red arrows indicate the counteroffensive by Korean and Chinese troops.
- Read **sources 78–82**. Explain why Yi Sun-sin is considered a national hero of Korea.

Source 78

The Map of the Imjin War (1592–1598)[59]

The common designation for this conflict comes from the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese designation for the year 1592. It is also known as the Japanese invasion of Korea, Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, the Campaigns of 1592 and 1597 (in Japan), the Rescue of Korea, the Eastern Expedition (in China), and the First Great East Asian War. This war was one of the seminal events in east Asian history and was the largest conflict in the world in the sixteenth century in terms of the numbers of soldiers involved. While the contemporary War of the Spanish Armada featured approximately fifty thousand combatants, this war featured an excess of three hundred thousand.

Kenneth M. Swope. Imjin War (1592–1598). The Encyclopedia of War https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9781444338232

Source 79

From V. Rubel's textbook *History of the Medieval East* (2002)

"The national hero of the Korean people's war of liberation against the Japanese invaders was Admiral Yi Sun-sin (1545–1598).

Yi Sun-sin was born into the family of a petty official. He brilliantly graduated from the Royal Military School in 1576, showed outstanding abilities as a naval commander, and from 1591 served as commander of the left-wing fleet (one of the two fleets of Joseon). He was the first to realise the advantages of armoured ships and develop tactics for their use.

A standard geobukseon (armoured ship) was sheathed in iron, had sharp iron rams on all sides and 14 guns, and was distinguished by a short but wide hull, which guaranteed the high manoeuvrability of a ship.

At the beginning of the invasion, Yi Sun-sin organised "naval farms in the countryside", which provided sailors with stable food, and confiscated all metal utensils from the population to cast copper and bronze cannons. These urgent measures preserved the autonomous combat capability of the fleet in the face of the complete loss of centralised sources of supply. The Korean Navy was taken by surprise, but within a few weeks after the tragic start of the war, the fleet stepped up its actions. During the first three months of fighting, Yi Sun-sin's flotilla sank nearly 300 Japanese ships and seized control of the Korean Strait. Busan was recaptured from the invaders, depriving them of the opportunity to supply expeditionary forces from the territory of Japan. The successes of the fleet restored the Korean confidence in their own abilities. Korean diplomacy became more active.

Nominally, Joseon was considered a vassal of the Ming Empire. During the period of peace and tranquillity, this was hardly mentioned on the peninsula, but when the country was occupied by the interventionists, the Koreans turned to the "overlord" for help, and the Chinese "Son of Heaven" Zhu Jun (Shenzong) did not refuse, pleased with the opportunity to once again demonstrate the power of the empire and confirm its status as a "great power."

Concerned about the "audacity of the eastern barbarians," the Ming sent a 50,000-strong army to the Japanese front, which, together with the remnants of

Korean forces, stopped the aggressor and recaptured Pyongyang in late 1592. A spontaneous partisan war broke out behind enemy lines.

The Japanese unleashed mass terror on the peninsula, the shamefulness of which will forever be reminded by more than 200,000 ears cut off from the executed Koreans (they were brought as trophies and buried in Kyoto, naming the place "Mimizuka" ("Tomb of Ears"). The invaders destroyed not only people but also culture. In particular, they levelled the city of Gyeongju (the former capital of Silla) to the ground, destroying priceless architectural and fine art monuments, but the scorched earth tactic did not yield the results the samurais wanted.

Cut off from Japan by the Korean fleet, surrounded by hostile vigilantes, and left without ammunition and food, the interventionists began to lose conquered territories and suffer defeats, and morale fell with them. Muskets and multi-barrelled "chariots of fire" (carts with 50 muskets that were ignited by a single wick) went into service in the Korean army. It seemed that the aggression had been stifled, but the court squabbles at the Joseon court almost rescued the Japanese.

The king's courtiers were frightened by the growing authority of Yi Sun-sin. The result was a denunciation of the admiral. In 1597, Yi Sun-sin was removed from the post of the fleet commander "for cowardice and disobedience of orders" and sentenced to death but was later mercifully demoted to a sailor, and the fleet was led by the brave but talentless naval commander Won Gyun. The consequence of the personnel changes was the disaster of June 1597, when the Japanese sank the entire Korean fleet (12 combat units remained) along with its talentless admiral. Having seized control of the sea, the aggressors sent fresh reinforcements (140,000 soldiers) to the peninsula.

The Korean court immediately came to its senses and returned all positions and powers to Yi Sun-sin. The Chinese also supported their neighbour. The General Battle of the Fleets took place in November 1598 in Noryangjin Bay. Yi Sun-sin's Korean squadron (12 ships), supported by a Chinese flotilla (5,000 sailors), delivered a crushing blow to the invaders. The Japanese lost 200 ships (out of 300), 10,000 sailors, and their last hopes for a successful outcome of the war. In the midst of the battle, Yi Sun-sin was killed."

● Рубель В.А. Історія середньовічного Сходу: підручник. Київ: Либідь, 2002. С. 118–120.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 55

- Have a good look at **source 80**. Describe the artistic peculiarities of the monument to Yi Sun-sin. What emotions does it evoke? Why?
- Analyse **source 81** according to the following scheme:
- What is the most important thing in the picture? (highlight the semantic compositional centre).
- How is it depicted (colour, tone, structure and placement)?
- What is depicted around the centre (secondary elements of the composition of the work), and how are the details connected to it?
- What did the artist want to convey with his work?
- What thoughts come to mind when you look at the painting?
- Choose synonyms that reflect the idea and mood of the painting. Imagine that you are a character in the painting. What place would you choose in the painting? What could you see and hear?

Source 80

The monument to Yi Sun-sin in Seoul[60]

Source 81

The naval battle of the Imjin War[61]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 56

- The naval commander Yi Sun-sin is the second historical figure to have a monument erected in the centre of Seoul (**source 83**). Why do you think these two figures are so highly valued by the Koreans? What do they have in common?

- Have a good look at **source 84**, acquaint yourself with **source 82** and identify what makes this ship special. Why is it depicted in school history textbooks when it comes to the Imjin War?

Source 82

From the report of the naval commander Yi Sun-sin

"Foreseeing the Japanese invasion in advance, I created a turtle ship, which I specially built with a dragon's head, from whose mouth we can fire cannons, and with iron spikes on the top, pierce the enemy's legs if they try to board. Thanks to the fact that it is shaped like a turtle, our people will be able to see everything outside, but the enemy will not be able to see what is inside. It manoeuvres so well that it can take on hundreds of enemy ships in any weather to attack them with guns and flamethrowers."

Черевко І. Життя та діяльність корейського адмірала Лі Сун-сіна (1545–1598): історіографія. *Часопис української історії*. Київ, 2016. С. 76.

Source 83

Commander Yi Sun-sin. Painting by Jung Hyun-lo (1977) [62]

Source 84

A turtle ship on display at the Korean Museum [63]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 57

- Acquaint yourself with **source 85**. How do the following statements describe Yi Sun-sin?

- A few decades later, Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi became famous in Ukraine during his naval campaigns, but he also died of a wound during a battle. Can these historical figures be compared?

Source 85

From the statements of Admiral Yi Sun-sin

"...We had orders from the king, and if a situation like this [as it is now] arises, we must decide to die together. How can we doubt giving our heads for the king's generosity? There is only one way for us: either victory or death!"

"In my opinion, sir, it is unfair to promote a person on the basis of a false order, because this will cause a qualified person to lose the opportunity for promotion. In addition, no exceptions should be made in personnel regulations, even for special people."

"The battle is at its peak. Cover me now with a shield and do not let any of the soldiers know about my death."

Черевко І. Життя та діяльність корейського адмірала Лі Сун Сіна (1545–1598): історіографія. *Часопис української історії*. Київ, 2016. С. 76.

3.4. The culture of middle Joseon

What new phenomena appeared in the culture of Korea during the Middle Joseon period?

Silhak

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 58

- Read the historical background and determine the essence of the Silhak doctrine. What aspects of Joseon social life did it cover? What was the reason for its appearance? What evolution did it undergo?
- Do you think that the doctrine of Silhak is a purely Korean phenomenon or does it have certain analogues in other countries?
- It was around that time, in 1627, that the first Ukrainian encyclopaedic edition of Pavma Berinda's "Slavonic-Rus Lexicon and Names Interpretation" was published. Look up the contents of this book on the Internet and try to explain the appearance of similar publications at that time. What are the similarities and differences between these encyclopaedias?

Yi Su-gwang as the first theorist of the Silhak doctrine and the author of the first Korean encyclopaedia

Yi Su-gwang (1563–1628) was the son of a minister of war. Since childhood, he showed talent. At the age of 16 he passed the exams for lower government positions, at 23 — the exams of the highest level, and at 28 he was already drafting decrees on behalf of the king and was part of official missions to China.

In 1614, Yi Su-gwang published the famous work *Chibon Yusol* (Selected Sayings of Chibon), based on nearly 350 sources and his own experience gained during official trips to China. This encyclopaedia, which consists of three and a half thousand articles, contains biographies of more than two thousand sages, basic ideas about the universe, the most important information on geography, ethnography, Catholicism, Western culture, foreign languages, and the food culture of the world's peoples. Much of the information in the encyclopaedia did not fit within the existing system of knowledge. In the East, the first such collections of knowledge appeared in China in the twelfth to tenth centuries BC, and in the West, *The Natural History* by the Roman scholar Pliny (first century).

Some Korean historians consider Yi Su-gwang to be the first theorist of the Silhak doctrine, which was developed by his followers.

The concept of Silhak means "sciences that have practical significance." It was used to contrast the science of concrete state management and economic management with the "abstract" considerations of morality and ethics inherent in Confucianism. The ideas of this doctrine included improvement of agricultural technologies; equal rights of members of society to use land with priority rights for those who cultivate it; gradual election of the king; refusal to study only Confucianism; self-sufficiency of Korea as a state with its own history.

Source **86**

Sciences[64]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 59

- At the same time as the Silhak doctrine was emerging in Korea, humanist ideas were spreading in Ukraine. What do you know about humanism in Ukraine from your school history textbook? See **source 87**.
- At first glance, Silhak and humanism seem to be completely different, but if you look closely, you can find some common ideas. What are they?

Source 87

From H. Shvydko and P. Chornobai's textbook *History of Ukraine* (for the 8th-grade students, 2016)

"Humanism is a trend in European culture, whose representatives turned to the treasures of classical Greek and Roman culture, which opened the world of human feelings, heroism, and beauty. In Ukraine, the bearers of humanist ideas were the children of magnates and gentry who were educated in Prague, Krakow, and Italian universities.

Yurii Drohobych (Kotermak), Pavlo Rusyn, and Stanislav Orikhovskyi are considered to be the founders of humanist culture in Ukraine. They studied at European universities and worked in Halicia, and their activities were aimed against oppressing the masses and promoting a secular worldview and respect for antiquity worthy of emulation. They denied the divine origin of a government and a state and defended the non-interference of the church in public affairs. The humanists believed that a person has the right to a full life, freedom of conscience, speech, and faith.

They and their followers considered history to be a means of awakening the people's self-awareness and historical memory, a means of fostering patriotic feelings and love for the homeland. After the Union of Lublin, Ukrainian humanists proclaimed the ideas of unity and the duty to defend the native land.

The second cultural and religious wave from the West was associated with the Reformation. It caused a need for higher education and contributed to the spread of schools, an increase in the number of books, and a desire to bring the literary language closer to the vernacular one."

● Швидько Г.К., Чорнобай П.О. Історія України: підруч. для 8-го кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закл. Київ: Генеза, 2016. С.63.

Jeongjo era

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 60

- Read the historical background. Why do you think the reign of Chongjo (**source 88**) is called the Korean Renaissance?
- What ideas of that time can be traced in the king's activities?
- What was Jeongjo's reason for holding solemn ceremonies.
- Have a good look at **sources 89** and **91**. Think about how visitors might have felt about the appearance of the fortress and the magnificence of solemn ceremonies.
- Acquaint yourself with **sources 90–92**. What importance did the government place on solemn ceremonies.
- How did the Koreans treat them? How can you explain this.

Jeongjo (1776–1800)

The reign of Jeongjo is known as the Korean Renaissance.

Like his predecessors, Jeongjo adhered to the policy of "equidistance" towards different aristocratic groups and a commitment to Confucianism. He re-established a court academy to train candidates for higher official positions, where he personally gave lectures and attended exams to ensure their objectivity. According to Jongjo, the fair distribution of civil servant positions was to put an end to intrigues and struggle among different groups of influence.

Jeongjo introduced regular meetings with ordinary people and representatives of the lower ranks of the yangbans in order to "hear the people" and get a real picture of the state of affairs in the country.

He was the first Korean ruler to realise the dangers of uncontrolled money issue and introduced the issue of a fixed number of coins per year.

Source 88

Jeongjo[65]

Source 89

Hwaseong Fortress[66]

Source 90

From *Memoirs of the Experiences of the Officers and Sailors of the ship "Sperwer"* by Hendrick Hamel (1666)

"When the king leaves the palace, he is accompanied by all the aristocrats (dressed in blue silk robes with the state coat of arms or other emblem embroidered on the front and back, and a large wide belt over it). The cavalry and infantry, which the king keeps, march in front, all wearing the best uniforms, carrying many flags and playing various musical instruments. They are followed by the royal retinue, made up of the most prominent citizens of the city. In the middle of the retinue, they carry the king in a palanquin that looks like a gilded little house. It becomes so quiet that you can hear people breathing and horses walking. Right in front of the king rides a secretary or other servant with a small closed box, into which homages can put appeals to the king: about the arbitrariness of officials, about dishonest judges, about unjust punishment for parents or friends, etc. These appeals are tied to a bamboo stick, hung on a wall or passed over a fence, and then collected by servants and put into a box. When the king returns home, the box is delivered to him, and all the appeals are submitted to the king for consideration. The monarch then announces his final decisions, and they are immediately implemented without objection. All the streets that the king passes through are blocked on both sides. No one is allowed to open doors or windows or leave them open, let alone look out over a wall or fence. When the king rides by, aristocrats and the military have to turn their backs without looking back and hold back their coughs. That is why most soldiers put a small wooden stick in their mouths, like horses' reins."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX – початок XX століття: посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 118–119.

Source 91

Reconstruction of a ceremony at Hwaseong Fortress. From the museum's exposition [67]

Source 92

Reconstruction of a solemn ceremony in Hwaseong Fortress. From the museum's exposition [68]

Gyeongbokgung Palace

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 61

- Read the **historical background** and have a good look at **sources 93–96**. Explain why Gyeongbokgung Palace is not only an architectural monument but also a symbol of Korea.

Gyeongbokgung Palace ("Palace of Radiant (Shining) Happiness") is the largest of the "Five Grand Palaces" in Seoul. During the Joseon Dynasty, it was considered the main royal residence.

The palace was built in 1392–1395. At the end of the sixteenth century, it was destroyed by fires and enemy raids. The palace was rebuilt at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After the assassination of Queen Ming by enemy agents in 1895, Emperor Gojong left Gyeongbokgung. The Korean government did not return here either. In 1911, the palace was destroyed by the Japanese. Of the buildings of the palace complex (about 330), only 10 main buildings survived, which the Japanese converted into the residence of the governor-general.

Today Gyeongbokgung Palace is a huge open-air museum. Its main buildings are the Geunjeongjeon Throne Hall that is a lightweight structure on supports with bright paintings and colourful animal figures, and the Gyeonghoeru Pavilion, built on 48 granite columns in the middle of an artificial lake. During the lotus blossom, the entire surface of this lake is covered with bright flowers.

The entrance to the palace complex is decorated with a gate. It is here that the bright and colourful changing of the guard ceremony takes place, which completely repeats the ceremony of the Joseon dynasty period

Source 93

The royal banquet hall of Gyeongbokgung Palace[69]

Source 94

The Throne Hall of Gyeongbokgung Palace[70]

Source 95

A Gyeongbokgung Palace pavilion[71]

Source 96

Royal Guard of Honour at the gates of Gyeongbokgung Palace[72]

Korean painting of the Joseon period

Source 97

From the book *Treasures from Korea. Art and Culture of the Joseon Dynasty 1392–1910* (2014)

The Korean painting of the Joseon period is full of traditional symbols, the most common of which are the following:

PINE TREE. The pine tree is one of the most common symbols of longevity in East Asia. Because it remains green even in the harshest winters, it stands for resilience, endurance, and strength against adversity. The tree's gnarled bark was thought to resemble an old man's skin. A fourth-century Daoist text suggests that drinking the resin of a thousand-year-old pine will enable one to "live as long as the sun and the moon." The pine tree, bamboo, and plum tree are known as the Three Friends of Winter because they are evergreens.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 62

- Based on your knowledge of East Asian symbolism from **source 97**, try to describe the symbolic meaning of the image on the screen from the Joseon royal palace (**source 98**).

SUN. The sun is identified with longevity because it rises in the sky each day, without fail. The sun and moon represent the complementary yet opposing forces of yang and yin, which animate the cosmos in East Asian philosophy. The sun is pure yang, the male principle of the universe that is light and active and generates life.

CRANE. Cranes live long lives, some species as long as eighty years. In some Asian folktales they are said to live as long as five hundred years. Cranes mate for life, and therefore symbolize harmony, a wish for a long marriage, and respect for one's parents and ancestors. Cranes also signify promotion at court, as

they appear in the rank badge of Joseon civil officials. In Daoism the crane symbolizes transcendence and serves as a means of transport to heaven.

WATER. An almost universal symbol of life, fruitfulness, and abundance, water is linked to longevity across time. In Daoist philosophy, water is one of the five eternal elements— together with earth, fire, metal, and wood—that make up the cosmos. A section of the important Daoist text Dao De Jing reads, "Nothing under heaven is softer or more yielding than water; but when it attacks things hard and resistant there is not one of them that can prevail."

MOUNTAIN. Mountains and rocks keep their shape forever. The breathing of mountains is believed to activate the universe. They are the abode of Eight Daoist Immortals and on them are said to grow the mushrooms of immortality. In Korea and China, important state rituals were conducted in the mountains, and the dominant mountain peak became the emblem of the emperor.

CLOUDS. As producers of rain, clouds sustain long life. In their swirling forms they contain the Daoist qi (chee), or breath of life. When their vapors gather around the mountaintops, they represent the uniting of yin and yang, soft and hard, changeability and permanence. The shape of clouds in some Joseon dynasty paintings, like this screen, resembles the form of the mushroom of immortality, reinforcing their connection to longevity.

DEER. Nibbling as they do on forest vegetation, deer are believed to have a special talent for sniffing out the elusive mushroom of immortality that grows high in the mountains. They are frequently shown as the companion of Shou Lao, the Daoist god of longevity. Ground horn of deer has long been used for medicinal purposes in East Asia and is believed to promote health and long life. White Deer Lake on JeJu Island in Korea was said to be the place where immortals came "to bathe and drink in the milk of the white deer."

TURTLE. Turtles are noted for their long-life span. In addition, with their dome-shaped upper shell, flat lower shell, and legs in the four corners of their bodies, they were early emblems of the universe and the cardinal directions. In Korean mythology, the turtle is a messenger of good news in water, its counterpart being the tiger, the messenger in the mountains. In this screen, streams of breath emanate from the turtles' mouths, perhaps delivering their sacred messages.

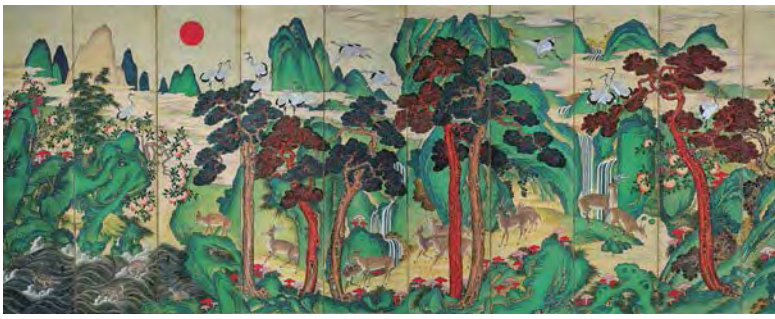
MUSHROOMS. The sacred, cloud-shaped lingzhi mushroom grants immortality to those who eat it. This mushroom springs from the roots of trees that grow high in the mountains where the Daoist immortals live. According to legend, it can be found only by a deer, crane, or phoenix.

BAMBOO. Bamboo is one of the most versatile and abundant materials in East Asia, eaten by both humans and animals and used to make everything from houses to paper. It remains green throughout the four seasons and therefore symbolizes long life. Because it bends rather than breaks, bamboo represents resilience, and its simple shape, humility. According to Confucian ideology, bamboo possesses the qualities of a great scholar: humility, uprightness, flexibility of mind, and grace.

- Treasures from Korea. Art and Culture of the Joseon Dynasty 1392–1910: A resource for student and teachers. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014. P. 13.

Source 98

A 10-winged screen with ten symbols of longevity (18th century)[73]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 63

- In "History: A Children's Encyclopedia", the Joseon period in Korea is described as follows (**source 99**).
- How clear is the choice of subjects?
- Would you change anything? Would you add anything to the page on Joseon history in the children's encyclopaedia? What would you add and why?

Source 99

A page from History: *A Children's Encyclopedia*[73]

Korea's Joseon Dynasty

The Joseon Dynasty ruled over the Korean Peninsula (modern-day North Korea and South Korea) from 1392–1910. During this time, Korea went through a golden age of culture and learning as well as significant social change.

▲ GYEONGBOKGUNG PALACE

From 57 BCE until 668 CE, ancient Korea was ruled by three kingdoms. Then one of the three kingdoms, Silla, gained control over the entire peninsula, and stayed in power until 935. The kingdom then briefly split before being reunited under the Goryeo kingdom for a period of 470 years.

The Goryeo kingdom was overthrown by General Yi Seong-gye, who named his dynasty Joseon and became its first king, taking the title Taejo. The new dynasty expanded its boundaries and moved its capital from Kaesong (in modern day North Korea) to the city of Hanseong (modern-day Seoul, the capital of South Korea). Over the next 500 years, the Joseon Kingdom went through great changes. Neo-Confucianism – a philosophy based on the traditional teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius – was promoted, and a strict social class system was put in place. The period also saw many important advancements in literature, science, and astronomy.

After several invasions from China and Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries, the kingdom entered a period of isolation for nearly 200 years, and declined in the late 19th century as Japan gradually took over control of Korea.

FACT
Joseon Korea had a strict class system. People were born into one of four classes – *yangban* (aristocrat), *chungin* (middle class), *sangmin* (commoners), or *cheonmin* (outcasts).

SEJONG THE GREAT

Sejong the Great (reigned 1418–1450), was the fourth Joseon ruler. He created the Hangul script that made it easier for everyone to read and write Korean. He also promoted science and technology, which led to many inventions.

◀ TURTLE SHIP

102

3.5. Christianity in Korea

How did Christianity appear and spread in Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 64

- Based on **sources 100 and 101**, find out how Christianity began to spread in Korea. Why in this way? Who was the bearer of this religion in Korea?
- Why did the authorities persecute Christians? Why, despite the persecution, did Christianity continue to spread and today Christians are the largest religious community in the Republic of Korea?
- How historical is **source 101**? What does John Paul II mean by saying "the Church of silence in the north of this tragically divided land"? Make a chain of keywords that would allow you to tell about the formation of the Catholic Church in Korea.
- How do **sources 100 and 101** and **102–105** correlate? Why is there a bust of Pope John Paul II in the Korean capital?

Source 100

Based on the materials of the encyclopaedia

"Catholicism was first introduced by Confucian scholars who met in China during the late Joseon period. In 1603, Korean diplomat Lee Gwang-jung returned from Beijing with several theological books written by Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci. He started disseminating information in books and introduced Christianity to Korea. In 1758, King Yeongjo of Korea formally outlawed Catholicism as an "evil practice." Catholicism was reintroduced by Yi Seung-hoon in 1785, and since then French and Chinese Catholic priests have been invited by Korean Christians. The Joseon royal family saw the new religion as a destructive force and persecuted its early followers in South Korea, culminating in the Catholic persecution of 1866, which killed 8,000 Catholics nationwide, including nine French missionaries. Murdered. With Korea's opening to the outside world in the late 19th century, religious tolerance towards Christians gradually increased."

- https://academic-accelerator.com/encyclopedia/christianity-in-korea#google_vignette.

Source 101

From *Mass for the Canonisation of the Korean Martyrs, homily of Pope John Paul II* (Seoul, 6 May 1984)

"The truth about Jesus Christ also reached Korean soil. It came by means of books brought from China.

Yearning for an ever greater share in the Christian faith, your ancestors sent one of their own in 1784 to Peking, where he was baptized. From this good seed was born the first Christian community in Korea, a community unique in the history of the Church by reason of the fact that it was founded entirely by lay people. This fledgling Church, so young and yet so strong in faith, withstood wave after wave of fierce persecution. The years 1791, 1801, 1827, 1839, 1846 and 1866 are forever signed with the holy blood of your Martyrs and engraved in your hearts.

After years of pleading for more priests to be sent, your Christian ancestors welcomed the first French missionaries in 1836. Some of these, too, are numbered among the Martyrs who gave their lives for the sake of the Gospel, and who are being canonized today in this historic celebration.

The splendid flowering of the Church in Korea today is indeed the fruit of the heroic witness of the Martyrs. Even today, their undying spirit sustains the Christians in the Church of silence in the North of this tragically divided land."

- Mass for the canonization of Korean martyrs. Homily of pope John Paul II. URL: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/1984/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19840506_martiri-coreani.html

Source 102

St Andrew Kim Taegon (1821–46), the first Korean priest and martyr, patron saint of the clergy in the country[75]

Source 103

Memorial stele in honour of the Korean martyrs. Seoul, Republic of Korea[76]

Source 104

Korean Christian martyrs. A painting on the walls of the Roman Catholic Church in Bocaue, Philippines, in honour of the first Korean priest and martyr Andrew Kim Taegon[77]

Source 105

A bust of Pope John Paul II in a park in Seoul, erected in 2014 to commemorate his visit to Korea in 1984[78]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 65

- Get acquainted with the Korean works of art of the 20th and early 21st centuries on Christian themes (**sources 107–111**). How can you explain the relevance of this theme in contemporary Korean art? How does the selection of **sources 100–105** and **107–111** correlate?
- What is the peculiarity of the artistic means used by the contemporary authors of these works (**107–111**)? How can you explain these ways of representing the image of Jesus Christ and biblical characters?

Source 106

Kim Ki-chan (1914–2001) was a deaf and semi-mute artist. He began painting biblical scenes during the Korean War of 1950–1953 [79]

Source 107

Kim Ki-chan *The Last Supper*[80]

Source 108

The *Korean Christ* Icon by Franciscan monk Robert Lenz (b. 1946)[81]

Source 109

The *Korean Virgin* mosaic by Luka Lee Nam-gyoo (1931–1993)[82]

Source 110

The Statue of Jesus Christ at Myeongdong Catholic Cathedral in Seoul, South Korea[83]

Source 111

The Statue of Jesus Christ, Yeongcheon, Republic of Korea[84]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 66

- Have a good look at the photos from the contemporary media (**sources 112 and 113**) and think about how they describe Christianity in South Korea.

Source 112

Cardinal Nicolas Cheong Jin-suk's festive Mass on the occasion of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and Korean Liberation Day at Myeongdong Cathedral[85]

Source 113

The Evangelical Church of Yoido (founded in 1958) receives 200,000 worshippers every Sunday[86]

Glossary

Boarding	is a method of naval combat — coupling with a ship for hand-to-hand combat.
Abstract considerations	is general reasoning detached from a specific fact.
Vassalage	is the subordination of the conquered country to the conquering country.
Won	is a Korean monetary unit.
Humanism	is a philosophical and ethical position that emphasises the value of human beings, their freedom and independence.
Imjin War	is the war between Korea and Japan (1592–1598); the name comes from the year in which the war began.
Qing Empire	is the last monarchical dynasty that ruled China from 1644 to 1912.
Yin and Yang	is a Chinese view of the world as a combination of interconnected opposites (dark and light, passive and active, cold and hot, female and male, etc.)
Irrigation system	is a set of methods for irrigating land.
Camarilla	is advisers and intriguers close to the ruler (from the Spanish for "room", "secret office").
Geobukseon	is an armoured ship (turtle ship).
Goryeosa	is the official History of Korea, created in the fifteenth century by a team of court historians led by academician Jeong In-ji (1396–1478).
Gyeongbokgung	is the Royal Palace of the 14th century (Seoul).
Manchus	is the name of the people that they adopted after they abandoned the self-name of the united Zhurchens.
Ming Empire	is the Chinese Empire (1368–1644).
Mimizuka	is the "Tomb of the Ears" in Kyoto.
Heavenly Mandate	is (Chinese: tianmin) is the right to rule a country sanctified by traditional Far Eastern beliefs, which was granted to the monarch by the divine Heaven.
Neo-Confucianism	is an ideological doctrine supplemented and developed by the followers of Confucius, which was spread in Korea since the 14th century.
Renaissance	is a cultural and philosophical movement of the late Middle Ages and early modern times, based on the ideals of humanism and guided by the heritage of antiquity.
Self-awareness	is a person's awareness of himself/herself.
Silhak	is a movement aimed at relying on real knowledge and socio-economic reformation in Korea.
Hereditary aristocracy	are privileged descendants of old families.
Hangang	is the Khan River.
Hahwe	is a traditional Korean dance in masks.
Joseon	is the official name of the Korean state in 1392–1897.
Yangban	the state of Korean society during the Joseon period, similar to the European nobility.

4. The national character of the Koreans

What influenced the formation of the traits of the Korean national character and how do these traits manifest themselves?

INTRODUCTION

The national character of modern Koreans has been shaped by a number of factors. There exist differences of opinion among historians about the beginning of its formation and they link this process to the time of the Gojoseon or Joseon period. Europeans, who visited Korea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, already clearly identified the features of **the Korean national character (4.1)**. It can be clearly seen in the folklore and literature of that time. The national character of the Koreans left its mark on their attitude to their own course of life, appearance, home, etc.

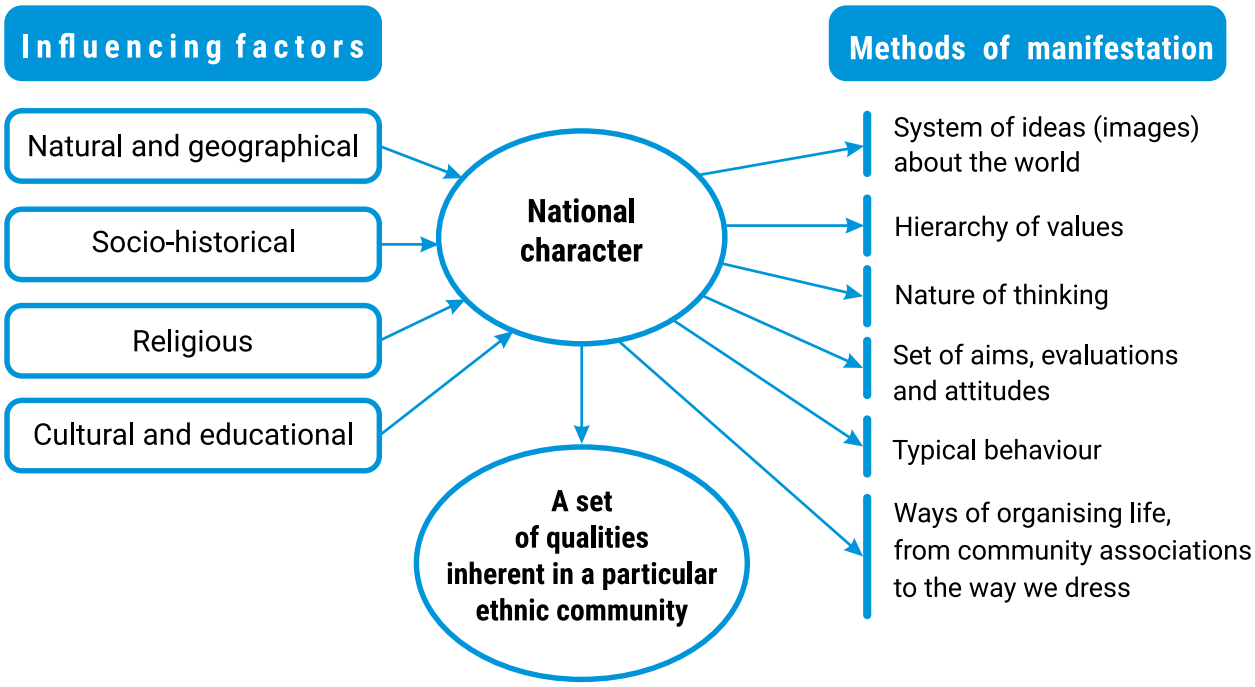
A characteristic feature of the Korean national character is sensitivity and emotionality, which are reflected in the cheong strategy, han and hin emotions, and the art of emotional intelligence called nunchi.

The national character has a significant impact on the lives of **modern Koreans and the political culture of the society (4.2)**. Despite the different natural, geographical, socio-historical, religious and cultural conditions, the Koreans and Ukrainians share a number of similar national character traits.

National holidays have become a kind of mirror of the national character and **cultural heritage of the Koreans (4.3).**

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 67

- Acquaint yourself with **source 114** and the summary of information. Find out what the national character is.
- What influences its formation? How does it manifest itself?
- Based on the facts you know from Korean history, try to determine what could have influenced the formation of the national character of the Koreans. Justify your opinion



Source 114

From T. Kyrychenko's textbook *Ethnopsychology* (2017)

"...national character is a set of the most stable, basic for this national community features of perception of the surrounding world and forms of reactions to the world. The majority of contemporary domestic researchers believe that such a phenomenon as a national character does not have a biological origin. The traits and properties of national character are determined by the totality of socio-economic, historical and geographical conditions of a particular nation. This is particularly evident in the fact that in different parts of any nation living on a vast territory with a variety of geographical and climatic conditions, due to certain types of economic activity, there is a certain difference in psychology, customs, traditions, etc. Representatives of a nation living in border areas with other states may "borrow" some psychological traits of neighbouring nations as a result of economic and cultural ties."

"Any trait of the national character cannot be rigidly tied to a particular nation — each of them is universal. Therefore, it is more correct to talk not so much about a different set of traits as about the degree of expression of a particular trait or about the specifics of its manifestation. The originality of the national psychology of a nation is not expressed in any unique psychological traits, but rather in their unique combination, manifestation in certain customs, historical traditions, folk art and language (L. Orban-Lembric)."

- Кириченко Т. Етнопсихологія: навч. посібник. 2017. С.108–109. https://moodle.znu.edu.ua/pluginfile.php/1008403/mod_resource/content/1/Кириченко%20С.%20Етнопсихология.pdf.

National character is formed under the influence of natural, geographical, socio-historical, religious, cultural and educational factors and is manifested in the system of ideas about the world, the hierarchy of values, the nature of thinking, a set of aims, evaluations and attitudes, typical behaviour, ways of organising life from community associations to the way of dressing.

< Scheme. A national character: factors of formation and ways of manifestation

4.1. The Koreans through the eyes of the Europeans

How did the Europeans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see the Koreans?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 68

- Analyse the given descriptions of the Koreans (**sources 115–125**) and identify the main features of the national character of the Koreans of the relevant historical period.
- What features of the Koreans did the Europeans consider noble? Which were incomprehensible and unacceptable from the point of view of a European?

Source 115

Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1832–1852)

"The Koreans are generally taller than the Japanese. However, their height rarely exceeds five and a half feet (approximately 165 cm). They are stout, stately, strong and agile. However, there are two types of tribes among the Koreans that are completely different from each other. One part of the natives has a flattened nose, between the inner eye sockets, with notable wide nostrils; the eyes are slanted, widely spaced from each other, and the cheekbones are protruding. In the other part of the natives, the bridge of the nose is elevated and straight, and the whole face of such a Korean is somewhat similar to the type of a Caucasian (European) tribe ... in general, there is more nobility in the whole appearance of such a Korean than in a rough figure of a Mongol.

The Korean people are serious and respectable in their communication, but they can easily indulge in fun and frankness. Their gait is light and cheerful. Their posture is freer and more confident than that of the Japanese. In short, everything about them expresses energy and pride, and in everyday communication, they do not show friendliness and ease, by which the Japanese of all walks of life surprise. The Koreans are said to be kind, honest and constant. However they are not very restrained at a good table, they like strong drinks and are generally more inclined to indulge in oriental bliss than the Japanese.

In everything they showed the kind of politeness that one would not be expected from the people who had previously been described to us as rude and savage."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX – початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 72–73.

Source 116

A Korean woman (19th century)[87]

Source 117

Working in the field in the rain (19th century)[88]

Source 118

Claude-Charles Dallet's *The History of the Church in Korea* (1874)

"The very first thing that is instilled in a child's mind is respect for parents. Any disobedience is immediately and severely punished. However this does not apply to a mother... A son hardly obeys her and can disobey almost with impunity...

The great virtue of the Koreans is their innate respect for and daily observance of the laws of human brotherhood... We have seen above how various groups, especially the family, form tightly knit entities to protect, support, and help each other. However this sense of brotherhood extends beyond kinship and belonging to a particular group. Mutual assistance and generous hospitality to all are defining features of the national character, qualities that, admittedly, set the Koreans above all peoples affected by the narcissism of our contemporary civilisation.

Hospitality is considered by all to be the most sacred duty. According to the custom, it is not only a shame but also a grave offence to refuse a bowl of rice to someone, an acquaintance or stranger, who visits during lunchtime."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 271–272.

Source 119

Percival Lovell. *Chosön: The Land of the Morning Calm* (1886)

"To say that the father of a family is, until his death, the law for his descendants, is to express only half the fact, and, besides, the least essential half. One must take into account the powerful filial reverence to get a true idea of the strength of this custom.

The Korean desire for something beyond the reach of the senses and the universal desire for the supernatural is expressed in a belief that, although lacking in sublimity, is quite picturesque..."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 286–288.

Source 120

Charles Louis Vara's *Journey through Korea* (1888–1889)

"Hospitality is the first duty here, and it is always open and even generous... In addition, the Koreans give each other the most complete assistance in times of need. They help with the work in the field, raise funds for victims of fire or flood and make contributions for families celebrating weddings, holidays, funerals, etc. From all this, it follows that there is great solidarity among the Koreans, and people seem to be one family.

Although the Japanese, for whom they were teachers in the past, are now ahead of the Koreans in achievements in industry and the arts, the Koreans will soon catch up and overtake them because of their moral superiority."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 297.

Source 121

Hanyang's children. Photo by Chai Long (1889)[89]

Source 122

A large family from the Joseon Dynasty[90]

Source 123

Arnold Henry *Savage Landor. Corea, or Cho-sen* (1895)

"The Koreans are naturally hospitable... It is considered a sign of bad manners to show off your wealth, and the richer a person is, the less they flaunt it and the simpler they live so as not to make their neighbours jealous. Self-denial and causing yourself inconvenience are virtues that are highly valued in Cho-sen."

"I have met people in Cho-sen whose minds would be considered outstanding in any country, even in the Western one. If they set out to learn something, they will not stop until they achieve their goal, and I guarantee that they quickly understand everything, even those things they have never heard of before. They easily acquire foreign languages, and their pronunciation is infinitely better than that of their neighbours, the Chinese and Japanese."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX – початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 316.

Source 124

Lillias Gorton Underwood's *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots, or Life in Korea* (1904)

"Most people hardly have any religious faith. Confucianism, which is simply a philosophical system of morality, holds the people most firmly in the grip of laws that oblige them to worship their ancestors. This custom, imposed by the strongest and most widespread superstitions in the minds of the Koreans, binds them tighter than iron shackles."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX – початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 366.

Source 125

Homer Bezaleel Halbert. *The Passing of Korea* (1906)

"Confucianism is not a religion, but simply a patriarchal law. Confucianism completely lacks a mystical element, and this makes it incapable of satisfying the religious aspirations of the Koreans. Buddhism is the polar opposite of Confucianism. It is the most mystical of the non-Christian cults. However this is where the rational side of the Korean temperament comes into play. While Confucianism contains too little mysticism for them, Buddhism contains too much. Therefore, having nominally accepted them both, the Koreans have not made them part of themselves.

I would venture to say that the Christian religion, stripped of all its human embellishments created by people, is exactly in line with the emotional temperament of the Koreans.

The East lacks an individual element. Individuality is vague here, and people do not consider themselves important members of society, but only parts of a social whole. A unit that makes up their society is not the individual, or even the family, but a clan, a community, and a mass. That is why when people work, they come together and accomplish tasks through joint efforts."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX – початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 372.

Source 126–127

The scenes of everyday life in the exposition of the Museum of History. Seoul[91]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 69

- Have a good look at **references 126** and **127**. These are reconstructions from a museum exhibition that show scenes from the everyday life of the Koreans. To what extent do they reflect the national character of the Koreans?

Reflection of the national character of the Koreans in literature

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 70

- Read **source 128**. Proverbs reflect a certain generalised idea. This is a kind of teaching with the help of an allegorical expression. Think about what qualities and actions they encourage and what they condemn.
- Under the influence of what teachings were these sayings made?
- Think about whether Korean proverbs can be compared to Ukrainian proverbs. Why?

Source 128

From the book Wisdom of the People. *Korean Folk Proverbs and Sayings* (1978)

- During the day a bird hears a word, during the night a mouse hears a word.
- A journey of 1000 li begins with a single step.
- Where you plant beans, beans will grow, where you plant haricot beans, haricot beans will grow.
- To hear a beautiful word, you need to say a beautiful word.
- Do not rush to drink your kimchi soup.
- No news is good news.
- The source of a spring must be clean, then its lower reaches will be clean.
- After three years of training, even a dog will start reciting poetry.
- A dragon emerges from a stream.
- Do not try to cover the whole sky with your palm.
- In one word, pay off the debt of a thousand nannies.
- When a tiger dies, its skin remains, when a human dies, their name remains.
- Whoever steals a needle will steal a cow.
- If dog shit becomes a medicine, it will be impossible to find it immediately.

https://tsytatybest.blogspot.com/2020/12/korejski-narodni-pryslivja.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 71

- Based on the summary of *The Story of Sim Cheong* given in **source 129**, identify the main idea of the work.
- What traits of the national character of the Koreans emphasise the author of the story?
- Under the influence of what popular ideas of the time was this work written?

Source 129

From A. Akimov and A. Akimova's article *Analysis of Literary Works of Korean Medieval Prose* (2018)

"The Story of Sim Cheong" (eighteenth — nineteenth centuries). The characters of the story are ordinary disadvantaged people. A respectable man Sim Hakgyu became blind in his youth. As a reward, fate sent him a beautiful, kind-hearted wife. For a long time, they had no children. Finally, to their great joy, their daughter Sim Cheong was born. However the birth of the child cost the mother her life. The blind Sim Hakgyu raised his daughter alone. He carried her to the neighbouring wet-nurses and sang lullabies. At the age of seven, Sim Cheong became a guide for her beggar father. From the age of eleven, she begged for alms herself and, inspired by a high consciousness of her daughter's duty, she took care of her father's food. At the age of fifteen, Shim Cheong bloomed like a flower. The fame of her beauty and rare virtues spread far beyond the village.

One day, when Sim Cheong went to the village to ask for alms and was delayed, her worried father came out to meet her and fell into a ditch. He was pulled out by a Buddhist monk who happened to be passing by. The monk told the blind man that he was saved by the will of the Buddha who could even restore the old man's sight if he donated 300 bags of rice. Sim Hakgyu had a dream of getting an unheard-of amount of rice. At this time, rich merchant seafarers arrived in the village and needed to buy a beautiful and chaste girl to sacrifice to the sea king. When Sim Chong learned of her father's secret hopes, she sold herself to the merchants for 300 bags of rice without his knowledge.

Sim Chong was rewarded for her moral courage, she became queen and met her father, who was still deceived and blind. But the great joy of hearing Sim Chong's voice restored the old man's sight

Акімова А., Акімова А. Аналіз літературних творів корейської середньовічної прози. *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук: міжвузівський збірник наукових праць молодих вчених Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка*. Дрогобич: Видавничий дім "Гельветика", 2018. Вип. 21. Том 1. С. 59.

4.2. The Korean national character in everyday life

How are the traits of the Korean national character manifested in everyday life?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 72

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 130–135**. How are the traditional rituals of the Korean life cycle reflected the ideas of the ancient Koreans?
- The influence of what teachings and beliefs in it is felt?
- What traits of the Korean national character can be traced in the rituals of the life cycle?

The Life cycle of the Koreans

Source **130**

From A. Galiieva, V. Kurmanbekova, Zh. Aksanaliieva and A. Zhukabaiieva's book *Ethnic Semiotics of Koreans* (2020)

"**The main milestones in the life of a Korean.**

Since the Joseon period, the Koreans have identified four important milestones in their lives (rites of a life cycle), which are necessarily accompanied by ceremonial dinners (tables).

The first table is set on the first anniversary of the child's birth. Immediately after the birth of a child in wealthy families, mothers were given a drink with honey and bitter medicine made from bear liver, a symbolic communion with the bear and Tangun. When a child turns one, he or she is dressed in new clothes and a bright hanbok with colourful sleeves.

The celebrations begin with an offering to the spirits of rice and seaweed soup. In the morning, symbolic items are placed on the table: three bowls of bread (symbol of wealth); a pen (learning); a bowl of peas or beans (hard work, optimism); a bowl of rice (symbol of divine food and protection); a book (symbol of wisdom); thread (longevity and a good performer); a needle for girls (a good hostess); a sword for boys (determination and a military career); money (entrepreneurship); scissors for girls (a symbol of life and death, which simultaneously means union and separation), as well as fruit as a symbol of abundance, prosperity and earthly joys. After "choosing the fate", congratulations and gifts to the birthday boy or girl, the parents invite guests to a gourmet table and treat them throughout the day. Those who have children under the age of one are sent goodies from the children's table.

The second table is associated with the transition to the status of an adult — the conclusion of a wedding contract. Brides and bridegrooms wear luxurious traditional costumes for the wedding ceremony. A bridegroom with gifts and a wild goose, which symbolises faith, order, wisdom and fidelity, a long and happy marriage, goes to the bride's house, where the relevant ceremonies take place. At a traditional wedding, guests are treated to beef, a variety of kimchi, sauces, rice, pastries, special dishes with rice and seafood, soups and broths, vegetables, and fruit. The bride and bridegroom take their vows during the wedding.

The third table is set on the day of the 60th birthday when a person completes the full zodiac cycle (5 elements, 12 zodiac signs). According to an ancient custom, celebrating this anniversary is the duty of children, and failure to do so deprives them of respect and shames their descendants. Traditionally, the ceremony begins with honouring parents, if they are still alive. The celebrations include respectful bows by the children to the birthday boy or girl in a clear sequence: sons in order of seniority, then daughters, grandsons and granddaughters. The guests present gifts to the hero of the day. After the congratulations, a lavish meal begins. The children of the person celebrating a jubilee set the festive table, which should include dried and fresh fruit, a variety of cookies, pies, white and red breads, sugar and honey products, seafood and fresh fish, fried chicken, beef, and rice as a symbol of divine food, laid out as high as possible.

The fourth table is a memorial one. It is associated with the cult of ancestors. After preparing the deceased for burial, a table was brought into his/her room, on which three bowls of rice porridge, vodka and food were placed for various spirits, and three pairs of rice straw sandals were placed next to it. In ancient times, an old person was carried by their eldest son on his back to a dense forest and left there. Later, it was believed that at the last moment of life, a person should stay at home with their family, and the last resting place should be as high as possible in the mountains.

Traditionally, families commemorate the first and third anniversaries of death and commemorate certain parents' days. Respect and love for deceased ancestors must be expressed as long as a person lives."

● Галиев А.А., Құрманбекова В., Ақсаналиева Ж., Жукабаева А. Корейлердің этникалық семиотикасы. Алматы, 2020. Б. 129–177.

Source 131

Childhood. Exposition of the Ethnographic Museum. Seoul[92]

Source 132

Engagement. Exposition of the Ethnographic Museum. Seoul[93]

Source 133

Honouring the elders[94]

Source 134

Celebrating the 60th anniversary. Exposition of the Hwaseong Fortress Museum[95]

Source 135

A funeral rite. Exposition of the Ethnographic Museum. Seoul[96]

Hanbok is a Korean national costume

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 73

- Based on **sources 136–139**, explain how the traditional Korean clothing emphasises their national character.

Source 136

Traditional Korean clothing

Hanbok in translation means "Korean clothes." This word means and unites the traditional clothes that the Koreans have worn for several centuries. Hanbok has been known since ancient times. Its image can be found on the frescoes of tombs from the Goguryeo period (37 BC — 668 AD). The costume acquired its modern look during the Joseon Dynasty period. The hanbok, sometimes called the "face of the Koreans", reflects the philosophical views and aesthetic tastes of the people. It is the national costume through which the Koreans often express their identity and sense of national unity.

The man's hanbok consists of a shirt and a loose jacket with rather wide sleeves and two ribbon ties, and loose trousers with ties at the waist. Ordinary people wore such clothes, and they did not prevent them from working. Aristocrats wore an ankle-length coat, which was also belted.

A woman's hanbok consists of a blouse with two ribbons-ties on the chest and a wide, long, high-waisted skirt. They were made of hemp or cotton fabric in grey, green, brown or black. In winter, an embroidered and fur-trimmed vest was worn over the blouse.

A traditional everyday costume of an aristocrat was made of light white fabric made from Chinese nettle. Festive clothes were made of silk and they were coloured. Winter clothes were made of two layers of silk or cotton.

Colour in a Korean national costume had a symbolic meaning. The Koreans are very fond of white. In the past, they were even called "people in white clothes." The white colour is associated with freedom and naturalness, and therefore means purity of spirit. The red colour symbolises prosperity and well-being, blue — stability and constancy, black — creation, and yellow — the centre of the Universe.

The children's costume is bright and combines blue, white, red, black, and yellow, which signify the west, south, north, and centre.

Traditional Korean footwear: leather or silk shoes with floral ornaments, worn with white socks.

In modern Korea, the national costume is not worn every day but is worn on New Year's Eve and on special occasions, such as the 60th birthday, wedding ceremonies or official receptions.

- https://koreancenter.org.ua/pro-koreiu/kultura/tradytsii/styl-khan/khanbok/

Source 137

A traditional Korean costume. Exposition of the Ethnographic Museum. Seoul [97]

Source 138

A stylised modern national costume [98]

Source 139

From the descriptions of Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1832–1852)

"... the Koreans dress unpretentiously. Both sexes prefer white and only occasionally replace it with blue. Ordinary people wear cotton fabrics, while the rich wear silk. The white clothes of ordinary people are easily soiled... Men's costumes consist of a sleeveless jacket that goes down to the hips and wide trousers... Men comb their hair on top of their heads in a bundle... The custom of men to tie a hair mesh headband around their foreheads and cover their heads with a pointed cap made of the same material seems rather strange. The headbands, called manggeon, are made with great skill. The manggeon is a feature of the national costume, and every Korean covers his forehead with this headband and even hides it from the rain and sun under a huge hat with very wide brims. These hats are made of straw or bamboo and covered with a glued black or white cotton cloth to protect themselves from sunlight or humidity. The pointed hat, in which a forelock or a bundle of hair are placed like in a case, is tied with a ribbon or braid under the chin. In winter, a fur hat is worn underneath the hat, covering the entire head to the back of the head. Upper-class people also wear a white cloak.

The women's clothes are also simple. A linen blouse, an undergarment almost the same as that worn by men, and a short top dress with pleats make up their attire. The wide trousers, visible from under the short skirt, make a rather strange impression. Ladies' dresses below are very wide, the arms are completely covered by the sleeves, and the hair goes down to the forehead in curls and is gathered into a chignon at the back of the head and supported by a richly decorated hairpin. Women of the lower strata comb their hair smoothly on the top of their heads in a parting on both sides and put it over their ears in natural strands or palm-wide hairstyles."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 73.

The home of the Koreans

Source 140

Karl Gützlaff. *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832 and 1833 With Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands* (1832)

"During our excursions, we entered several abandoned houses. Usually, there are two rooms inside in the shape of an oven. The kitchen is a separate building attached to the house. To heat the room in winter, the locals use a large hole under the floor where they burn wood, and this heats the whole room. Each house is surrounded by a fence made of dry bamboo. These houses are usually built very close to each other, and the yards form squares with small alleys between them."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 235.

Source 141

Basil Hall. *A Voyage to Lu Chu and Other Places in the Eastern Seas in 1816* (1826)

"Inside, the house was by no means in keeping with the taste and neatness of the yard. The only room was dark and dirty, the walls and ceiling were covered with cobwebs and soot. The floor was in protrusions and depressions, like some of the village huts I had seen back home, with puddles here and there. The hearth was located between two large cauldrons deeply embedded in the rough brickwork, and we had no idea what these vessels were for. A couple of fish were lying on the hot coals of the fire... On the wall, opposite... the hearth, on two shelves, there were many rough earthenware dishes and two or three round shiny metal pots and pans. The roof was covered with straw lying on a frame of poles, and its edges extended more than

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 74

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 140–147**. Think about how the Korean housing characterises its inhabitants. To what extent does it correspond to their perceptions of the world around them?
- Take a virtual tour of a traditional Korean village.
- A resource for review: Namsangol Traditional Korean Village in Seoul, South Korea. ***http://depositfeelings-axioma.blogspot.com/2016/04/namsangol-traditional-korean-village-in_9.html.***

a yard (about 90 cm) from the walls while creating shade over the narrow veranda in front of the house and protecting the windows from rain — such a precaution is essential to preserve windows made of oiled paper glued to small square holes in a wooden frame. The walls were built of stones and clay, very clumsily mixed."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 219–220.

Source 142

Arnold Henry Savage Landor. *Corea, or Cho-sen* (1895)

"The Koreans have the custom of sleeping on the floor in cotton-lined clothes, using a wooden log for a pillow. ... While people sleep on the floor (warm ondol floor), it often happens that the floor gets so hot that it almost roasts them, but the carefree inhabitants of Cho-sen do not seem to mind the roasting.

On the contrary, they almost seem to enjoy it, and when they are well done on one side, they turn to the other side to ensure that they are evenly roasted. I was very surprised by how the Koreans tolerate this because I found such conditions extremely uncomfortable."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 317.

Source 143

Peter Vay. *Empires and Emperors of Russia, China, Korea and Japan* (1906)

"The Korean home, no matter how fragile it may look, is a real fortress. It has its own traditions, and its inhabitants form a really separate society. It is guided by patriarchal principles and organised in a completely oriental way. The house is clearly divided into two parts: the front part is inhabited by men, and the inner part is reserved for women. No matter how small the house is, this rule is strictly observed. Even if the parts of the house are sometimes separated only by a paper partition, its moral force is as strong as the walls of a fortress. Conventions are stronger than stone walls."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 384.

Source 144

Homer Bezaleel Halbert. *The Passing of Korea* (1906)

"All Korean houses, whether they are the homes of the common people or the palaces of kings, are built according to the same plan. The only difference is the scale." "The Koreans have a passion for surrounding their homes with endless walls, turning the yard into a real labyrinth. ... The best Korean houses are the most isolated, their charms can only be seen at close quarters, having gone through countless gates and passages. It's impossible to stand back and admire the building from the outside, like a European house. From the street, you can't see anything but a straight row of ordinary Korean walls, from which it is impossible to judge what is inside. So, the Koreans do not put their best stuff out there."

- Ковальчук Ю. А. Корея в описах західних авторів (IX — початок XX століття): посібник-хрестоматія. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2017. С. 373.

Source 145

A modern photo of the interior of a nineteenth-century house. Ethnographic Museum. Seoul [99]

Source 146

Interior of a nineteenth-century house. Ethnographic Museum. Seoul [100]

Source 147

Reconstruction of a nineteenth-century street. Ethnographic Museum. Seoul[101]

Features of the emotional sphere of the Koreans

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 75

- Based on **source 148**, explain how the emotions of cheong, han and hin characterise the modern Koreans. Are similar emotions inherent in the Ukrainians?
- Based on **source 151**, describe the essence of nunchi art. In 2019, Yuny Hong's book "Nunchi: the Korean Art of Emotional Intelligence" was published in Ukraine. How relevant and useful do you think this book will be for the modern Ukrainians?
- Have a good look at **sources 149** and **150**. What emotions do the authors express in their graphic works and with what means?
- Try to explain how Hannah K. Lee conveys the essence of nunchi (**source 150**).

Source 148

From Tudor Daniel's book *A Geek in Korea: Discovering Asia's New Kingdom of Cool* (2014)

"**Cheong**. I sometimes refer to cheong as an 'invisible hug'. Cheong is a bond that exists between people that connects their destinies. If you have a cheong with someone, then one day you may have to try very hard for that person. You may even feel the need to change or break the rules to help this person. Cheong is not just a friendship. It can also exist between members of larger groups: the Koreans are obliged to help graduates of their school, university, hometown residents, or those they served with in the same military unit through cheong. If I were a company executive and a candidate for a position graduated from the same school as me, I would say: 'What a coincidence!' and that would be it. However, if I were a Korean, I would feel like I had to hire him.

Han. Like cheong, han plays a central role in Korean identity. Han is a deep and melancholic feeling that arises from a burden that cannot be removed. Perhaps you have felt oppressed by someone powerful; perhaps someone close to you has died suddenly; or perhaps the love of your love of your life has left you. You cannot do anything about it, so you humbly carry this pain for the rest of your life. This is what han is.

Hin. Hin is pure joy. This concept is not as well-known as han, but I think it should be. Even at traditional Korean funerals, there was excessive alcohol consumption, singing songs, etc.

If you want to 'dispel' your han (han-puri) or just go a little crazy, Korea is a great place to do it. In Korea, everyone, young or old, rich or poor, can get drunk, dance in a silly way or sing at the top of their lungs. Tapgol Park in Seoul is often full of pensioners drinking rice wine and dancing to old Korean music."

- Tudor Daniel. A Geek in Korea: Discovering Asia's New Kingdom of Cool, 2014. P. 10–11.

Source 149

Graphic *Korean Emotions*[102]

The Korean national character and political culture

Source 150

Graphic *Nunchi* by Hannah K. Lee[103]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 76

- Read **source 152**. Compare the results of your research on descriptions of the nineteenth-century Koreans with the data of modern research. Have the features of the Korean national character changed? If so, how and why?

Source 151

From Yuny Hong's book *Nunchi: the Korean Art of Emotional Intelligence* (2019)

"Nunchi is a Korean word that is literally translated as 'eye measurement'. The essence of this word is the ability to assess the thoughts and feelings of other people, which allows you to establish harmonious and trusting relationships with others.

Nunchi rules

1. First of all, free your mind. Get rid of preconceptions to consider the situation reasonably.
2. Remember the observer effect in nunchi. When you enter a room, the atmosphere changes in it. Realise your own influence on the situation.
3. As soon as you enter a room, remember that everyone else has been there longer than you have. Observe them to get relevant information.
4. Never neglect the opportunity to be silent. If you wait long enough, you will get answers to all your questions without having said a word.
5. There are rules of etiquette for a reason.
6. Understand hints. People do not always express their thoughts directly, and that is their right.
7. Sometimes harm done to someone unwittingly is no better than harm done on purpose.
8. Act quickly and with agility."

- Юни Хонг. Нунчі. Корейське мистецтво емоційного інтелекту. Харків: КСД, 2019.

Source 152

From Ye.O. Boldeskul's article *Korean Mentality Peculiarities in the Folktales about Fools* (2020)

"The Koreans have a very high rate of fear of uncertainty — 85 out of 100. It is manifested in the planning of their life for many years ahead, clear laws and rules, very high motivation to study and work, a sense of insecurity, a search for stability, a high level of neuroticism in society, and a high number of suicides.

According to M. Seligman and K. Peterson's "Values in Action" questionnaire, out of 24 positive character traits, the Koreans, compared to the Americans and Japanese, have the most pronounced 1) flexibility of thinking, broad-mindedness (9); 2) love of learning (23); 3) courage (22); 4) perseverance, perseverance (17); 5) kindness (2, the same as the Japanese); 6) social intelligence (12); 7) fairness, impartiality (7, the same as the Americans); 8) leadership (21); 9) forgiveness and mercy (20, the same as the Americans, 19 for the Japanese); 10) spirituality, religiosity (24, the same as the Japanese).

It was the Koreans whose traits proved to be most characteristic of: 1) flexibility of thinking, broad-mindedness (9); 2) love of learning (23); 3) courage (22); 4) perseverance, persistence (17); 5) social intelligence (12); and 6) leadership (21). Korean researchers have identified the following as important peculiarities of the Korean mentality: border-centrism, collectivism, face-saving, ingenuity, patriarchy, and a special attitude to etiquette.

Foreigners have noted that the Koreans are curious, hospitable, patriarchal, good-natured, gentle, peaceful, literate and intelligent."

- Болдескул Є. О. Особливості корейського менталітету в народних казках про дурнів. *Закарпатські філологічні студії*. Вип. 13. Т. 3. Ужгород: Видавничій дім "Гельветика", 2020. С. 223.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 77

- Based on **source 153**, determine how the national character of the Koreans has influenced their political culture.
- Try to compare the political culture of the Koreans and Ukrainians.

Source 153

From A. Tkach's article *Manifestation of Confucianism Ideas in the Political Culture of the East (Experience of the DPRK and the Republic of Korea)* (2014)

"The main features of the South Korean administrative culture are: 1) authoritarianism, which implies that the interests of the state, superiors, and authorities are above the interests of an individual; 2) hierarchy, which implies the prevalence of vertical relations over horizontal ones; 3) corporate character reflects the Korean term "chiptanjuiji", which is traditionally translated as "collectivism", but in fact means the desire not so much to unite into a single whole as to separate a small group from the whole society, dividing it according to the "friends and foes" formula; 4) personalism, or the desire to show preference to informal relations and not to formal ones, which is coloured by personal sympathies and preferences; 5) ritualisation, i.e. adherence to traditions and the desire to do everything in accordance with them, attaching increased importance to an external form; 6) immaterialism, i.e. the preference for social prestige over material values, and the preference for moral incentives over material ones; 7) non-involvement, or what Baek Wan-gi calls fatalism, and South Korean political scientists consider a certain type of political culture, which is manifested in a certain passivity of the masses and a tendency to ignore risks, and to rely more on fortune than on active planning for the future."

Ткач А.О. Прояв ідей конфуціанства в політичній культурі країн Сходу (досвід КНДР та Республіки Корея). *Людина, суспільство, політика: актуальні виклики сучасності: матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції (м. Одеса, 22–23 травня 2014 р.)* / Одеса: Національний університет "Одеська юридична академія", 2014. С. 110.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 78

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 154** and **155**. Discuss how the national character of the Koreans has influenced their business communication.
- What are the peculiarities of Korean business communication and what should be taken into account when establishing business relations with Korean partners?
- Try to compare the business qualities of the Koreans and Ukrainians.

Source 154

From A. Lovochkina's textbook *Ethnopsychology* (2002)

"The national traits of the Koreans include, on the one hand, patience, discipline, hard work, optimism, perseverance, and, on the other hand, non-compliance.

...Traditional South Korean morality places a high value on personal communication and personal contact, without which no problem can be solved in the country. That is why the Koreans always insist on a personal meeting, even in those cases where, in your opinion, a telephone conversation is sufficient. If you do not give a definite answer to a request for a meeting, it is possible that the Koreans will show up in your office without an appointment, as they may take an ambiguous answer as a willingness to meet.

The Koreans are generally open-minded, very polite and well-mannered people. Therefore, you need to remember that a warm attitude towards you may not mean that you are lucky enough to make your partners very interested in your proposals. It may be that they are just being polite, and you should reciprocate.

The Koreans have a different approach to establishing business relationships than in Western countries. It is difficult or almost impossible to establish contact by directly contacting a South Korean company in writing. A face-to-face meeting is desirable, which should be best arranged through an intermediary. Your intermediary, who is familiar with your potential partners, will introduce your organisation, your proposals and your personal status within the firm.

Korean society is strictly hierarchical and quite authoritarian. A person's prestige depends on their position and age and is often earned through hard work. Therefore, if a foreigner does not show sufficient respect for the people of Korea and their traditions, his or her chances of success will decrease. So, you need to have a clear understanding of the relationship between your own status and that of your partner. Your business cards will help to determine this, as Korean businessmen will be interested not so much in your name as in the organisation you work for and your place in it. Speaking of names, you need to remember that the first word in Korean is a surname (the most common: Kim, Lee, Park, Choi, Han, Nam, Jeong, Song), and the next two are personal names.

Korean businessmen are considered to be quite assertive and aggressive in negotiations. Traditional upbringing and morals do not always allow them to move on to the problem that must be solved. As a rule, negotiations, especially initial ones, have a rather lengthy protocol part. However, unlike representatives of Japanese companies, the Koreans do not tend to discuss secondary issues for a long time in order to ensure a smooth transition to the main issue. Korean

businesspeople are characterised by clarity and precision in outlining problems and ways of solving them.

The Koreans are not used to openly expressing disagreement with a partner, proving him or her to be wrong, and they expect the same from their interlocutors. When communicating with Korean businessmen, you should not use expressions such as: "I need to think about it", "the proposal needs to be studied in detail", "it will not be easy to resolve this issue", as they perceive this not as a readiness for long-term efforts to find out the possibilities of implementing the idea, but as a statement of its unacceptability at this stage. They do not like looking far into the future; they are usually more interested in the immediate result of their efforts.

The Koreans are very attentive to the style of dress: for men, it is always a business suit, most often with a white shirt and tie in calm colours, while for women, trousers are not allowed in an official setting. It is not customary to smoke in the presence of those who are older and more senior."

- Львовчкіна А. М. Етнопсихологія: навч. посіб. Київ: МАУП, 2002. С. 131–133. https://maup.com.ua/assets/files/lib/book/n135.pdf.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 79

- Read the official information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (**source 155**). Why do you think it is important to take into account the national character of the Koreans when planning and travelling to Korea?

Source 155

From *Recommendations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ukrainian citizens planning a trip to Korea* (2012). Some peculiarities of the Korean mentality

"In Korea, they do not like number 4 because the word the 'fourth' sounds the same as the word 'death'. The Koreans try to avoid this number altogether. For example, in many multi-storey buildings in the country, the fourth floor is denoted by the letter "F" (from the English "floor").

In everyday life, the Koreans sit, eat and sleep on the floor. When entering a Korean home, you must take off your shoes.

It is indecent to walk around with bare legs in the presence of elders.

Talking about ruin, even in jest, means bringing down an evil fate.

You cannot leave chopsticks in rice while eating, as this is associated with funerals.

Traditional Korean morality highly values personal communication, without which it is impossible to resolve important issues in South Korea.

When men meet, it is customary to shake hands. Women do not shake hands.

You should not look directly into the eyes. An open mouth is considered rude, so cover your mouth when laughing. Do not blow your nose in public.

Show modesty, patience and respect for elders.

Prestige in this country depends on age and position."

- https://mfa.gov.ua/news/69-rekomendatsii-mzs-gromadyanam-ukraini-yaki-planuyut-poizdku-do-korey.

National traits of the Koreans and Ukrainians

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 80

- Based on **source 156** and your own knowledge of Ukrainian history, give examples of how the Ukrainian national character traits have been manifested in specific historical circumstances.
- Which of the qualities inherent in the Ukrainians are also inherent in the Koreans? How can this be explained?

Source 156

From M. Sliusarevskyi's article *Ukrainian Mentality. Illusions and Collisions* (1998)

The Ukrainian mentality has the following features: diligence, economic management, deep emotional connection with the land, peaceful disposition, hospitality, care for the family, determination, courage in defending the Motherland, individualism, introversion, focus on self-improvement, democracy, tolerance, hypertrophied love of freedom bordering on anarchy, deep emotionality, restraint, a combination of elegiac moods and irresistible optimism, and a developed imagination that manifested itself in folk art.

- Слюсаревський М. М. Український менталітет. Ілюзії і колізії. Київ: Гнозис, 1998. С. 209–211.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 81

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 157 and 158**. Explain how even the stylised national costumes of the Ukrainians and Koreans reflect the national character of the peoples.

- Using your knowledge of the national character of the Ukrainians and additional information from the Internet, try to compare the features of the national character of the Koreans and Ukrainians and explain the similarities and significant differences.

4.3. National holidays as a mirror of the historical and cultural heritage of the Koreans

How do Korean national holidays reflect their historical experience and national character?

Source 157

Stylised national costumes of the Ukrainians[104]

Source 158

Stylised national costumes of the Koreans[105]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 82

- Acquaint yourself with **source 159** and determine how the national holidays of the Republic of Korea reflect the main milestones of Korean history.
- What national values do they evidence to honour?
- Based on the list of national holidays of the Republic of Korea, what religious and political teachings can be said to influence the modern Koreans?

Source 159

From Yu. A. Kovalchuk's textbook *Country Studies: Korea* (2011)

"The Republic of Korea has the following official holidays: New Year's Day is on 1 January; Lunar New Year's Day — three days, from the 29th day of the 12th month to the 2nd day of the 1st month; the commemorative Day of March the 1st Movement — 1 March; Buddha's Birthday (according to the lunar calendar) — the 8th day of the 4th month; Children's Day — 5 May; Soldiers' Memorial Day — 6 June; Independence Day — 15 August; Chuseok (according to the lunar calendar) — three days, from the 14th to the 16th day of the 8th month; the Day of the Founding of Korea by Tangun — 3 October; Christmas — 25 December. The days of parliamentary and presidential elections are also declared holidays.

In old Korea, it was customary to take 15 days off for the New Year. Under the Japanese rule, the celebration of the New Year was moved to the date in accordance with the solar calendar. This rule remained in place after the liberation of Korea. Gradually, people, who were used to celebrating the arrival of the new year in the Western style, joined the traditional Korean celebration. Nowadays, 1 January is not dedicated to family celebrations, but only to official greetings.

1 March is celebrated in honour of the events of 1 March 1919. On this day, leaders of liberation civic and religious organisations roused a large number of citizens to peaceful demonstrations. The Declaration of

Korean Independence from the Japanese Empire was proclaimed in Seoul's Tapgol Park, which gave rise to the intensification of the liberation struggle throughout the country. The 1 March holiday is intended to remind the Koreans that independence came at a very high price, to inspire love and pride in their motherland in their hearts, and to foster the national identity in the younger generation.

Every year on *5 April*, on *Arbor Day*, citizens are encouraged to plant young trees to restore forests and protect mountain slopes from weathering. This holiday fosters a love of nature and a careful attitude to the resources of our country. It was introduced in 1946 and made a public holiday in 1949. In 2007, it was proposed to revise the date of the Arbor Day and move it to March, as the climate has undergone significant changes over the past 50 years.

On *5 May*, the Koreans celebrate *Children's Day*. The tradition of celebrating this holiday was established by the anti-Japanese liberation organisation "Sektonhwe", founded by the three activists in 1923. Children's Day was declared a day off in 1975. The day is marked by events where successful and diligent students are awarded, sports competitions, performances, exhibitions of children's art, etc. are held. Parents fulfil all their children's wishes: they buy them gifts and treats, take them to amusement parks for funfair rides, to cinemas, etc.

On *8 May*, *Parents' Day* is celebrated to maintain the custom of special respect for elders, traditional for Confucian society, which, however, began to disappear in the process of urbanisation. On this day, you should obligatorily visit your parents, grandparents, and other elderly relatives who live separately, and thank them for their care and love. In 1910, during Lent, an American woman, expressing her gratitude and love for her mother, handed out white carnations in church. This is the origin of the Korean custom of giving carnation bouquets to parents on 8 May.

On *15 May*, teachers are honoured. For the first time, *Teachers' Day* was celebrated on 26 May 1963 by the activists of the Red Cross student organisation, and later the date was moved to 15 May, the birthday of Wang Sejong, who became famous for his educational activities. To celebrate the holiday, the government provides teachers with financial assistance, and students prepare celebrations. It is also customary to visit your former teachers and help them in times of need.

6 June is the *Day of Remembrance of Soldiers* Who Died for the Motherland, which has been celebrated since 1956, and it has been a public holiday since 1982. The date was chosen based on an ancient tradition of ancestor worship in early summer. On this day, the president and other state officials visit soldiers' cemeteries, where the memory of the dead is honoured with a special ceremony. At 10 am, a siren sounds and all citizens stand for a minute of silence. Mourning flags are also displayed.

On 17 July 1948, the Constitution of the Republic of Korea was drawn up, and it is celebrated every year as a public holiday. On Constitution Day, government officials and members of parliament exchange greetings and take part in events aimed at maintaining the democratic spirit in the country. It was decided to cancel this day off in 2008.

15 August is *Independence Day* ("the holiday when the light returned"). On this day in 1945, Korea gained independence after 35 years of the Japanese rule. This day was declared a holiday in 1949. National flags are hung everywhere, and nationwide celebrations are held. 15 August 1945 is considered to be the date of the conditional liberation of Korea. On this day, Japan conceded defeat in World War II, but divided the Korean peninsula immediately came under the control of the United States and the Soviet Union. The first president of the Republic of Korea, Rhee Syng-man, was sworn in only on 13 August 1948.

1 October is considered *Armed Forces Day* in honour of the events of 1950 when South Korean units managed to break through the 38th parallel during the Korean War. The memorial day was finally removed from the list of official holidays in 1990.

3 October is the feast of the *Opening of Heaven*. According to legend, on this day in 2333 BC. Tangun, a descendant of the heavenly ruler, founded the oldest Korean state. Therefore, this date is considered the day when the Korean nation was born. According to the other version, on this day, the heavens "opened" and Tangun's father Hwanung descended to earth in 2457 BC. The holiday began to be celebrated in the early 20th century by the followers of the new religion who worshipped Tangun. It was of great importance for maintaining the national consciousness of the Koreans in the face of the threat of Japanese domination.

9 October is *Hangul Day*, celebrated in honour of Wang Sejong, the initiator of the creation of the national alphabet. It was celebrated for the first time on 4 November 1926, in 1940 the original of the first document written in the Korean alphabet, the Hunmin Jeongeum, was found. On Hangul Day, events are held to promote the Korean language and writing, including competitions for foreigners to write and perform in the Korean language as well as events to promote the purity and correctness of the language.

Buddha's Birthday is celebrated in some East Asian countries on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month. In the Republic of Korea, this holiday became an official day off in 1975. On this day, the Koreans visit Buddhist temples to pray for health and good luck in life. Festive processions with colourful lotus-shaped lanterns take place in many cities. Buddhist temples and streets are decorated with such lanterns, covering almost all free space. On this day, many temples hold charity dinners and tea parties, to which everyone is invited.

Chuseok is one of the two main holidays in Korea, celebrated on the 15th of the 8th month of the lunar calendar. On this day, the Koreans from all over the country usually travel to their homeland to meet their

relatives. Chusok coincides with the autumn harvest season, the time of plenty. Traditionally, the first harvest should be offered to the ancestors in gratitude for their protection throughout the year. During the holiday, relatives gather at the same table, which is set not only for guests but also for ancestors. Relatives dress in hanbok and perform a commemoration ceremony, addressing their ancestors as if they were alive. After the completion of the ceremony, everyone enjoys food and socialising.

It is also customary on Chusok to share delicious food with neighbours and have a good day, wishing each other well: "No more, no less, no more, no less than 365 days a year." In this way, the Koreans honour their ancestors, believing that in this way they inherit their good fortune and spread it."

- Ковальчук, Ю. А. Країнознавство: Корея: навчальний посібник. Київ: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр "Київський університет", 2011. С. 274–280.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 83

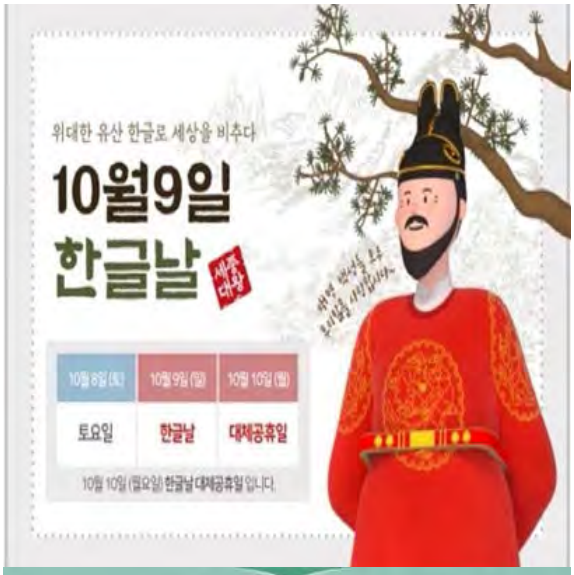
- Have a good look at **sources 160** and **161**. Based on **source 159**, identify which public holidays of the Republic of Korea are shown in the infographic (**source 160**) and posters (**source 161**).
- Explain the symbols used by the authors of the infographic and posters.

Source 160

The main holidays of the Republic of Korea[106]

Source 161

Posters for public holidays in the Republic of Korea[107]



Glossary

Authoritarianism	is absolute subordination to the authority of one person or group of people.
Allegory	is an artistic means, hiding the real behind an artistic image.
Anarchy	is the belief that people can live without leaders.
WHO	is the World Health Organization.
Hypertrophied character	is a tendency to exaggerate and distort significantly.
Democratism	is the belief in the right of the people to influence the government.
Elegiac mood	is a sad, mournful mood.
Emotionality	is an ability to react vividly and openly, poor ability to restrain own feelings.
Hierarchy	is ranking in order of importance.
Individualism	is recognition of the importance of individual freedom and autonomy.
Introversion	is a focus on one's inner thoughts, ideas, and feelings.
Corporate character	is group isolation or separation.
Mentality	is a way of perceiving and interpreting the world by a certain community (nation, state, etc.).
National character	is a set of psychological and mental qualities and corresponding behaviour inherent in a particular ethnic community.
Informal relations	are relationships formed on the basis of personal preferences.
Nunchi	is the ability to assess the emotions and thoughts of other people.
Optimism	is a positive outlook on life, a belief in the best possible outcome.
Assessment	is an opinion about the qualities of something or someone.
Patriarchal character	is a commitment to old traditions and rejection of change.
Self-improvement	is actions of a person aimed at improving personal qualities and acquiring new ones.
Attitude	the way someone or something is treated.
Typical behaviour	is a set of human actions in response to different situations that are inherent in most members of a particular community.
Tolerance	is the ability to tolerate other people.
Natives	are local people.
Fatalism	is the belief that all present and future events are predetermined by forces beyond human control.
Han	is a sense of depression in the Koreans.
Hanbok	is a Korean national costume.
Hin	is the emotion of joy in the Koreans.
Cheong	is the sense of connection with other people inherent in the Koreans.
Guideline(s)	is a clearly defined general direction of behaviour.
Notion	is a sensual image of objects and phenomena known to a person.

THEME 2

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

What were the historical circumstances and peculiarities of the formation of the independent Korean state?

1. Korea in confronting the encroachment of the neighbouring states.

- 1.1. Modernisation of Korea.
- 1.2. Korea in the foreign policy of the neighbouring states.
- 1.3. The Korean Empire.
- 1.4. The establishment of Japan's protectorate over Korea.
- 1.5. Annexation of Korea by the Japanese Empire.

2. Korea in the era of Japanese colonial dependence.

- 2.1. Ideological foundations and goals of the Japanese colonial regime.
- 2.2. The policy of assimilation.
- 2.3. Colonial modernisation of Korea.
- 2.4. Echoes of Japanese colonisation.

3. The Korean independence movement.

- 3.1. Korean ethnic nationalism
- 3.2. The March 1st Movement 1919.
- 3.3. Tactics of the struggle for the independence of Korea.

4. The Koreans and Ukrainians in the Far East.

- 4.1. The Far Eastern settlements of the Koreans and Ukrainians.
- 4.2. The attitude of Russian imperial authorities to the Koreans.
- 4.3. The Ukrainians and Koreans of the Far East in the struggle for independence.
- 4.4. The Soviet view of Korea and Koreans.
- 4.5. Victims of Soviet deportation.

5. The "Korean question" in World War II. The Declaration of independence.

- 5.1. The "Korean question" in world politics.
- 5.2. Gaining independence by Korea.
- 5.3. American and Soviet occupation zones in Korea.

1. Korea in confronting the encroachments of the neighbouring powers

Why did the territory of Korea become an arena of struggle for the Great Powers?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- Remember when the state of Joseon was founded.
- Why and when did the rulers of the state of Joseon turn to the policy of isolationism?
- What were the consequences of this policy for Korean society?

INTRODUCTION

Korea in the Late Joseon period (seventeenth – nineteenth centuries) adhered to the principle of isolation. Contacts with the outside world were limited to annual visits to China by representatives of the Korean authorities and occasional meetings with foreign sailors. It was through these channels that some technologies and ideas came to Korea.

Korea's favourable geographical location was the reason for the encroachment by both the neighbouring and Great European powers, which used any excuse to do so. For example, the persecution of Christians by the Joseon authorities was the reason for military intervention by France in 1866 and the United States in 1871. The main goal of these interventions was to force Korea to become a country open to international trade. Pressure from Japan resulted in an agreement in 1876, under which Korea had to open its ports to Japanese ships. Soon, similar agreements were concluded with the United States, Russia, Italy, Germany and France. This opened the way for the **country's modernization (1.1)**.

Government innovations were accompanied by the pressure on Korean population. This led to a series of popular protests. The largest of these were the soldiers' revolt of 1882 and the peasant uprising of 1894. To suppress them, the king turned to China for help. China's intervention led to the **Sino-Japanese War (1.2)**. It ended with the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. According to it, Korea was recognised as independent but gradually came under the Japanese area of influence.

In 1897, Gojong, the last ruler of Joseon, proclaimed Korea an empire, the **"Great Han" (1.3)**, and carried out a series of reforms in various fields. He modernised the Korean army's weapons and introduced new rules stipulating clothing and hairstyles. The government initiated the construction of power plants, water pipelines, postal, telephone and telegraph communications, railways, public parks, etc.

After the victory in the Russo-Japanese War, **Japan imposed a protectorate agreement on Korea (1.4)**. A Resident General was appointed to Korea who was in charge of foreign policy and had the right to use Japanese troops. The Korean army was disbanded. Instead, control over the security forces, judiciary, and media was established.

In 1910, Korea was forced to sign the **Annexation Treaty (1.5)**, under which it turned into a Japanese colony.

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An escort of honour. Seoul, 1900

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File: A_Korean_Drum_%26_Bugle_Corps_Escorts_the_Grand-Master_of_the_Emperor's_Royal_Stables_Through_Seoul_in_1903.jpg

1.1. Modernisation of Korea

What historical circumstances encouraged Korea to modernisation? What did it consist of?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

- Recall what you know from your school textbook about modernisation and refer to **sources 1** and **2**.
- The process of modernisation is the transition from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a secular, urban, industrial one. It covers various spheres of social life (**source 1**). Try to determine what will help and hinder the process of modernisation in Korea.
- Consider this question. In Japan, the Meiji reforms contributed to the modernisation of society. To what extent could Japan's experience be useful for Korea?

Source 1

From I. Burneiko, H. Khlibovska, M. Kryzhanovska, and O. Naumchuk's textbook *History of Ukraine (for the 9th-grade students,* 2017)

Source 2

From P. Polianskyi's school textbook on world history for the 9th-grade students (2017)

"The era of the 'Asian Awakening' (19th — early 20th centuries) was marked by the emergence of the germs of industrialisation in traditional Eastern societies. It was a complex and controversial period when, on the one hand, Eastern traditions were preserved, and on the other hand, the modernisation of the economies of the Eastern countries began.

In the East, the formation and development of an industrial society went hand in hand with the preservation of a traditional, medieval way of life. ...By the beginning of the twentieth century, Asian countries had been turned into colonies and semi-colonies of the leading European powers. "Westernisation", i.e. the copying of European and American models of government, legislation, education, clothing, etiquette, etc., was also a consequence of the colonisation of Eastern countries.

Strengthening of the national bourgeoisie, formation of the middle class, and the penetration of the ideas of democracy and social justice — all these innovations contributed to the intensification of national movements and accelerated democratic revolutions in the East.

The growth of mass national liberation movements in Asian countries was primarily explained by the fact that in response to the constant oppression and cruelty of the colonisers, the ideas of anti-colonialism spread throughout the East and united various social groups.

The unprecedented rise of the national consciousness led to numerous spontaneous protests by peasants and artisans, strikes by workers, the emergence of secret organisations and sects, and the formation of professional associations of urban and rural enterprises.

This was largely explained by the influence of the political values of the metropolises on the population of the colonies. The traditions and norms of parliamentary democracy in European countries were welcomed by intellectuals, entrepreneurs, students and youth in the East. Even the most moderate of them could not help but be indignant at the glaring discrepancy between the liberal ideas of the West and the real political practice of the metropolises in the colonies. They demanded that the rights of citizens of the leading European countries (Great Britain, France, etc.) be extended to the inhabitants of the East. The refusal of the colonial authorities to meet these natural demands only increased tensions and contributed to the strengthening and spread of national movements."

Полянський П. Всесвітня історія: підруч. для 9 кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закл. Київ: Грамота, 2017. С. 161.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Acquaint yourself with **source 3** and determine which facts from the list below indicate that the process of modernisation was underway in Korea.
- What areas of Korean life did this process cover?
- Who is the initiator of modernisation?

Source 3

Based on the data of the British Wikipedia

Early modernizations (1883–94)

1883: The Ministry of Presswork and Publication was opened for the modernisation of the printing industry.

The first edition of the Hanseong sunbo was published on this year. This is the first newspaper to be published in Chosun.

1884: the first modern domestic corporation in Korea was established.

1885: The first Royal Medical Clinic was opened with the introduction of modern medicine.

1885:The Korea-Chinese Cable Treaty is signed and enforced, leading to a telegraphic connection between Hanseong and Peking.

1886: There was the establishment of the first public school.

1887: The Korean Imperial Telegraphic Office was opened for a more efficient management of the telegraphic lines operating in Korea

1888: The Americans taught at the first modern military academy.

1888: Korea independently constructs the Southern Cable Line, connecting Hanseong and Busan.

1890: The Korean Merchant's Association for Fairness is opened.

1893: The Korean Imperial Naval Academy is established.

Japanese interventions (1894–97)

1894: June. The Gabo Reform is initiated

Korea was recognised as completely independent from external Chinese interference;

- yangban privileges were cancelled;
- people were appointed to government positions on the basis of merit, not social status;
- the army was formed on the basis of conscription, regardless of origin;
- the Korean language was introduced into records management;
- Torture of suspects and witnesses was prohibited;
- trade monopolies were eliminated;
- all forms of slavery were prohibited;
- child marriage was prohibited.

Later modernizations (1897–1905)

- 1897: Gojong declares the Korean Empire

1898: The Seoul Electric Corporation, or the Korea-American Electric Corporation was opened as a joint-venture company between Americans Henry Collbran, H.R. Bostwick and Emperor Gojong.

1898: Brown reported blueprint of the Pan-Korean railway.

1899: Several Korean entrepreneurs and high-ranking officials establish the Daehan Chunil Bank. The bank operated as both a local bank and central bank.

1899: American businessmen opened the first tram lines within Seoul

1899: The promulgation of the Korean Imperial Legislation.

1899: The establishment of the Northwest Railway Bureau

1900: The Korean Empire became a member of the Universal Postal Union.

1900: The Korean Empire opens its own exhibition pavilion in the Exposition Universelle of Paris.

1901: Proclamation of ordinances for the new currency (adoption of the Gold Standard). Franz Eckert arrived to Seoul for establishment of the Korean Imperial Marching Band. He composed the Korean Imperial National Anthem.

1901: A system for issue of legal documents for ownership was created.

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Gwangmu_Reform

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 4

- Consider **source 4**, which shows a commoner and a former yangban. What aspects of the modernisation of Korean society does it show?

Source 4

A cartoon from a Korean newspaper (1908)

Advisor to the Night Labour Society: "Hello, we have to work for our country, and people have to learn." Worker/commoner: "Yes, thank you. I will do that."

1.2. Korea in the foreign policy of the neighbouring states

How did Korea become the focus of attention of the Great Powers?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 5

- Think about the reasons for the interest of the Great European and neighbouring Asian Powers in Korea's openness.
- What means did these states use to achieve their geopolitical goals?
- Based on **sources 5–7**, try to explain why foreign powers in the 60s and 80s of the twentieth century, despite their military advantages, did not conquer Korea

"Discovery" of Korea

Source 5

From Yu. A. Kovalchuk's textbook *Country Studies: Korea* (2011)

"The Western powers in this period persistently demanded the opening of the Far Eastern countries for trade and missionary activities. Great Britain, France, the United States and other countries were interested in relations with Korea. China's defeats in the two Opium Wars (1840–1842, 1856–1860) and the signing of several treaties with European powers in 1860 meant that the Qing state turned into an unofficial colony. In the 1850s, Japan was also forced to make concessions to Western powers. Foreign ships increasingly appeared off the coast of Korea.

Expressing dissatisfaction with the complete ban on imports to Joseon, in 1866 the French fleet captured the Island of Gangwa and attempted to attack Seoul. The victory over the Western forces gave the Korean leadership confidence in Joseon's strength to resist interference. Hostility to the West was reinforced by an incident in 1868, when the German merchant Oppert secretly arrived in Korea to steal the bones of the father of the Daewongun (the regent father ruling during the king's minority) from the grave and use them to blackmail the ruler, demanding that Joseon allow trade with Europe. But Oppert's plans were thwarted by government troops.

In 1871, Gangwa was attacked by American warships. The pretext for the attack was the burning of an American merchant ship by the Koreans. Although the Americans' superiority in weaponry was obvious, the Koreans fought without sparing themselves and forced the enemy to retreat.

In the 80s of the nineteenth century, Joseon signed trade agreements with the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and France. A fierce struggle for influence on the Korean Peninsula between Great Britain and Russia ensued, which ended in a bilateral agreement not to interfere in these territories. Thus, the weak state of Joseon found itself in the centre of the interests of several giants."

- Ковальчук, Ю. А. Країнознавство: Корея: навчальний посібник / Ю. А. Ковальчук. Київ: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр "Київський університет", 2011. С. 85–88.

Source 6

Map of East Asia in 1860–1870

The area of the 1862 uprising is marked in red, the French invasion of Korea in 1866 is marked with a green arrow, and black ships are the locations of foreign ships

Source 7

Engraving by A. Zuber. *French troops on the Island of Gangwa* (1866)

Korea in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

- Analyse **source 8** and determine which wars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were fought on the territory of Korea and what consequences they had for the Korean state.

Source 8

Map *Countries of South and East Asia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries*

Source 9

From O. Hisem's textbook on world history for the 9th-grade students (2017)

"The first object of Japan's expansion on the mainland was Korea, which was vassalage to China. Having concluded an unequal treaty with Korea in 1876, Japan continued its expansion under the pretext of promoting the national liberation movement. When an uprising broke out in Korea in the early 1990s and Chinese troops moved to suppress it, Japan sent its forces to the south of the peninsula. The conflict on the Korean Peninsula developed into the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, which ended in China's defeat and the signing of a peace treaty. China recognised Korea's independence."

- Гісем О. В. Всесвітня історія для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів з поглибленим вивченням історії: підруч. для 9 класу загальноосвіт. навч. закладів. Харків: Вид-во "Ранок", 2017. С. 197–198.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- Acquaint yourself with **source 9** and answer the question: What caused the Sino-Japanese War?
- What pretext was used for it?
- How did this war affect Korea?

ЗАВДАННЯ і ЗАПИТАННЯ 8

- Take a good look at **source 10**. What in this painting shows that the artist was a supporter of Japan?
- What artistic means did the artist use to depict Japan's dominance?

Source 10

Japanese painting "Signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki between China and Japan after the defeat of the Qing Dynasty in the Sino-Japanese War" (1896)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- Based on **sources 10** and **11**, explain why Article 1 of the Treaty between China and Japan is dedicated to Korea.
- How did this treaty determine the fate of Korea?
- To what extent did this formulation of the question meet the interests of Japan.

Source 11

From the *Treaty of Shimonoseki* (1895)

"Article 1: Independence of Korea.

China recognizes definitively the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea, and, in consequence, the payment of tribute and the performance of ceremonies and formalities by Korea to China, in derogation of such independence and autonomy, shall wholly cease for the future."

- https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Shimonoseki

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 10

- Analyse **source 12** and determine the consequences of the Treaty of Shimonoseki for Korea.

Source 12

Cartoon from the American *So Courteous* magazine in 1895

The text on the sheet held by a Korean: "I hereby grant you a permit to traverse Korean territory"

Korea in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 11

- Based on **source 13**, explain how Korea was linked to the war between Russia and Japan.

Source 13

Map *The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905*

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 12

- Based on **sources 14** and **15**, explain why the Treaty of Portsmouth decided the fate of Korea, which was not a party to the Russo-Japanese War.
- How was the fate of Korea decided? What further consequences could it have had?

Source 14

American postcard dedicated to the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905)

Source 15

From the *Portsmouth Peace Treaty* (1905)

"**Article 2.** The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledged that Japan possesses in Corea paramount political, military and economical interests, engage neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Corea.

It is understood that Russian subjects in Corea shall be treated exactly in the same manner as the subjects and citizens of other foreign Powers, that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects or citizens of the most favored nation.

It is also agreed that, in order to avoid all cause of misunderstanding, the two High Contracting Parties will abstain, on the Russian-Corean frontier, from taking any military measure which may menace the security of Russian or Corean territory."

https://worldjpn.net/documents/texts/pw/19050905.T1E.html

1.3. The Korean Empire

Why did Korea declare itself an empire after gaining independence?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 13

- Recall the material from theme 2 (1.1 and 1.2), acquaint yourself with the historical summary of information and think about this question: Was the declaration of Korea as an empire a tribute to political fashion, a manifestation of the monarch's personal ambitions or was it due to the foreign policy circumstances? Justify your opinion.

The Korean Empire is the name of Korea from 1897 to 1910. The new name was given to the state, which had previously been ruled by the Joseon Dynasty for 500 years, in order to emphasise its sovereignty and draw analogies with the ancient Korean state. The proclamation of the empire is associated with the name of King Gojong who officially ruled Korea since 1863 but was strongly influenced first by his father and later by his wife, Queen Ming. His reign saw attempts to resist the invasion of the great powers, the "opening of Korea", and the introduction of a series of reforms that put the country on the path of modernisation. During the Sino-Japanese War, which was fought on the territory of Korea, Japan organised the assassination of Queen Ming and introduced a series of reforms aimed at strengthening Japanese influence on the Korean state apparatus. In these circumstances, Gojong, fearing for his life, moved to the Russian mission in Seoul. In 1897, he returned to the royal palace.

In October 1897, Gojong was solemnly declared an emperor. The coronation ceremony incorporated both traditional Asian and Western attributes. Gojong called the new empire Daehan and the new era, Gwangmu, "shining and martial."

In 1898, he endorsed the country's constitution, which transferred all power to the emperor. In 1907, Gojong abdicated and lived in Japan-annexed Korea as an honorary king. His mysterious death in 1919 gave rise to a mass movement for Korean independence.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 14

- Recognition of Korea's independence led to a rise in patriotic sentiment within the country and changes in government policy. First of all, it concerned the symbols of past dependence. In 1896, the sixteenth-century gate in Seoul, where representatives of China were solemnly welcomed, was demolished. The Independence Gate was built in its place. Read **sources 16** and **17**.
- Think about what this architectural monument symbolises.
- What European architectural structure does it resemble? Why?
- How important do you think it is to destroy old monuments and build new ones in difficult times for the country?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS FOR THE CURIOUS

- The Independence Gate in Seoul is indirectly related to Ukraine. Look for additional information and try to find this connection.

Source 16

From the Korean Independence newspaper (1895)

"And now an arch is to be raised on the same spot to stand forever as a negation of Manchu dominance to show that Korea is once and for all cut off from the blighting influence of Chinese patronage; cut off, we hope, also from the system of fraud, corruption and trickery which today makes that most populous empire the laughing-stock of the world. This arch means independence not from China alone but from Japan from Russia and from all European powers..."

- Soh Jaipil, editor. *The Independent*, 20 June 1895.

Source 17

Independence Gate

1.4. The establishment of Japan's protectorate over Korea

What did the establishment of the Japanese protectorate mean for Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 15

- Based on **source 18**, determine what the establishment of the Japanese protectorate meant for Korea.
- Refer to **source 14** and explain how the Protectorate Treaty is consistent with Article 1 of the Treaty of Portsmouth.

Source 18

From the Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty (1905)

"ARTICLE I.

"The Government of Japan, through the Department of Foreign Affairs at Tokyo, will hereafter have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Corea, and the diplomatic and consular representatives of Japan will have the charge of the subjects and interests of Corea in foreign countries.

ARTICLE III.

The Government of Japan shall be represented at the Court of His Majesty the Emperor of Corea by a Resident General, who shall reside at Seoul, primarily for the purpose of taking charge of and directing matters relating to diplomatic affairs. He shall have the right of private and personal audience of His Majesty the Emperor of Corea. The Japanese Government shall also have the right to station Residents at the several open ports and such other places in Corea as they may deem necessary. Such Residents shall, under the direction of the Resident General, exercise the powers and functions hitherto appertaining to Japanese Consuls in Corea and shall perform such duties as may be necessary in order to carry into full effect the provisions of this Agreement."

- https://worldjpn.net/documents/texts/pw/19051117.T1E.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 16

- Analyse **source 19** and explain what features of the signing of the protectorate treaty the cartoonist emphasises.

- For several years, King Gojong had been appealing to world leaders and international conferences not to recognise the treaty. In 1963, the UN International Law Commission recognised the protectorate treaty as illegal from the point of view of international law. What do you think was the basis for King Gojong's appeal and the UN Commission's decision?

1.5. Annexation of Korea by the Japanese Empire

What did the annexation of Korea by the Japanese Empire mean for Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 17

- Acquaint yourself with **source 20** and find out how Japan explained the annexation of Korea and what were its real goals.
- What measures, based on the spirit of the treaty, should the Japanese administration in Korea have taken?

Source 19

Newspaper cartoon of the signing of the Korean Protectorate Treaty (1913)

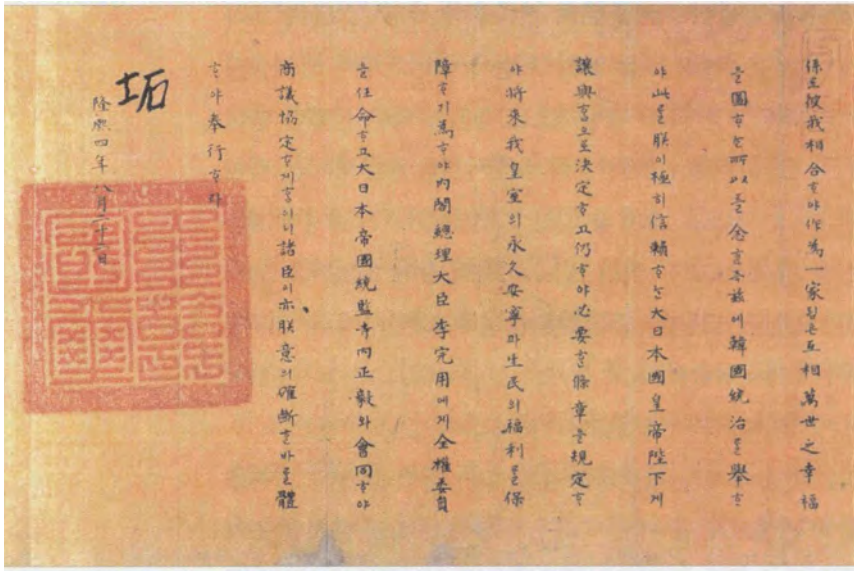
King Gojong (centre) disagrees with the treaty proposed by the Japanese representatives. There is a Japanese soldier with a sabre behind the Korean delegation

Source 20

From the Treaty of Annexation of Korea (1910)

"Notwithstanding the earnest and laborious work of reforms in the administration of Korea in which the Governments of Japan and Korea have been engaged for more than four years since the conclusion of the Agreement of 1905, the existing system of government in that country has not proved entirely equal to the duty of preserving public order and tranquility; and in addition, the spirit of suspicion and misgiving dominate the whole peninsula. In order to maintain peace and stability in Korea, to promote the prosperity and welfare of the Korean people, and at the same time to ensure the safety and repose of foreign residents, it has been made abundantly clear that fundamental changes in the actual regime of government are absolutely essential. The Government of Japan and Korea, being convinced of the urgent necessity of introducing reforms responsive to the requirements of the situation and of furnishing sufficient guarantee for the future, have with the approval of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, concluded, through their respective plenipotentiaries, a treaty providing for complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan..."

- Greg Sill. Japanese occupation in Korea 1910–1945. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/Lessonby Time/4_Modern/Japanese_Occupation_in_Korea.pdf



The Treaty on Annexation of Korea

2. Korea in the era of Japanese colonial dependence

What impact did the Japanese colonisation have on Korea and the Koreans?

How does the colonial past influence contemporary Korean-Japanese relations?

INTRODUCTION

After the annexation of Korea, a harsh (so-called "sabre") regime was imposed throughout the peninsula. After the "March 1st 1919 Movement" unfolded in Korea, the Japanese authorities were forced to soften the regime and move to "cultural rule." However, in the early 1930s, against a background of implementing an aggressive foreign policy, the Japanese Empire returned to harsh methods of governance in Korea.

In the occupied territory, Japan tried to spread the Shinto religion and the **Japanese imperial ideology of kokutai (2.1)**, promoting the idea of Japan's special mission and the unity of the Japanese and Korean peoples. Therefore, the colonial authorities' policies in education, culture, and social relations were aimed at **assimilating Koreans (2.2)**. In the field of economy and development of communication routes, the empire promoted limited **colonial modernisation (2.3).**

The colonial period in Korean history left a deep mark on various spheres of social life and the historical memory of the **Korean people (2.4)**.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 18

- Acquaint yourself with **source 21** and determine:
  - – What steps of the Japanese government allow us to define it as colonial?
  - – Why does the author assert that this policy delayed the process of modernisation in Korea?
  - – What role did military coercion play in the Japanese colonial policy?
  - – What stages of the Japanese policy does the author identify? How do they differ?
- Japan's colonial policy in Korea is reminiscent of the Bolsheviks' policy in Ukraine: "war communism", "red terror", "new economic policy", Ukrainisation, and repressions of the late 1930s. In your opinion, is this similarity a coincidence or a certain pattern of invaders' actions?
- If you feel that your arguments are insufficient, return to this question after studying the topic.

Source 21

From Young Ick Lew's book *Brief History of Korea — A Bird's Eye View*

"The untimely Japanese occupation stymied Korea's modernization process just as the country was taking steps to implement self-initiated reforms. Some historians who condone Japanese policy towards Korea claim that considerable progress was made in Korea's economic and educational systems during the colonial period. They argue that the Japanese occupation was in the long run beneficial to the modernization of Korea. Although it cannot be denied that there was some degree of economic progress between 1910 to 1945, the main beneficiaries were the Japanese and a handful of Korean collaborators. The majority of the Korean populace was reduced to a state of impoverishment and illiteracy.

Japan ruled Korea through the office of a Governor-General, who was usually a military man from the Japanese army or navy. During the first stage of the occupation (1910–1919), the Koreans were controlled by a draconian gendarmerie-police system, which deprived them of many basic civil freedoms. The stringent social controls finally produced a massive, nation-wide demonstration on 1 March 1919, referred to as the March First Movement. It compelled the Japanese to loosen their constricting grip on the Korean populace. During the second phase of colonial rule (1919–1932), the Government-General permitted the Korean people a degree of freedom of expression and assembly. In the early 1920s, for example, three Korean newspapers were published in the vernacular, and in 1927, a Korean political party composed of both rightist and leftist nationalists, the Sin'ganhoe (New Korea Society), was established. Because of the relatively tolerant political climate, even the socialists were able to get away with forming a clandestine Korean Communist Party in Seoul in 1925. It was also during this period that some modern colleges, including the Japanese-sponsored Keijo [Seoul] Imperial University and a half a dozen private Korean colleges were organized with public or private funding.

The third phase of Japanese rule (1932–1945) saw a return of draconian rule to Korea as the Japanese ruthlessly exploited Korean manpower and resources to support their war efforts in Manchuria (after 1932),

mainland China (after 1937), and the Pacific (after 1941). The Korean people were forced to stop using their own language, to adopt Japanese names and to worship at Shinto shrines. In the end, however, such ruthless measures served only to further incense the Korean population and to fuel nationalist fervor."

- Young Ick Lew's book *Brief History of Korea — A Bird's Eye View.* New York: The Korea Society, 2001. P. 23.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 19

- Take a good look at **source 22**. This photograph is often used as an illustration of Japanese colonial rule in Korea, although it was taken before the establishment of the Japanese protectorate over Korea. Why do you think this is so?

Source 22

Japanese troops entering Seoul through the West Gate (1904)

2.1. Ideological foundations and goals of the Japanese colonial regime

What ideas did the Japanese colonial regime rely on? What goals did it pursue?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 20

- Acquaint yourself with the summary of information and **source 23** and think about what Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism have in common. What are some uniquely Japanese characteristics?
- Why did the Japanese government actively propagate Shintoism in the occupied territory of Korea? What role did it play? Why were representatives of other religions, especially Christianity, persecuted?

Shintoism (translated as the "Way of the Gods") is based on the belief in the existence of many gods and spirits who, like the sun goddess Amaterasu, live in different places and install themselves into different things. Therefore, the main purpose of a person is to live in harmony with nature and to follow a number of rules:

- physical and spiritual purity and avoidance of destruction;
- physical well-being;
- harmony in everything and prevention of imbalance;
- abundance and fertility;
- family and tribal solidarity;
- subordination of an individual to a group;
- honouring nature;
- understanding that there are opportunities in the world for both doing good and doing evil;
- the belief that the souls of the dead can influence the lives of the living, and that the soul of a deceased person joins the collective soul of their ancestors.

The main deities in Shintoism are Izanami, the goddess of creation and death, and her husband Izanagi, who are credited with the creation of the Japanese islands; the sun goddess Amaterasu and her brother Susanoo, the god of the sea and storms and the goddess Inari, the patroness of rice, fertility, trade and craftsmanship

- https://termin.in.ua/syntoizm-synto/

Source 23

Based on materials for the lesson *Japanese Occupation of Korea: 1910–1945*

"RELIGION. Early on, Japan promised Koreans religious tolerance. But before long, the Japanese government required Koreans to pay respect to Japanese Shinto beliefs, especially the worship of the Japanese emperor and his ancestors.

Korean Buddhist institutions were unified under Japanese Buddhist religious leadership. Japanese monks are not celibate, as most Korean Buddhist monks are.

After the March 1, 1919 Independence Movement, religious leaders who were connected to "foreign" religions, especially Christianity, were persecuted. For example, 3,804 Presbyterian church leaders were arrested, 47 leaders were shot or beaten to death and 12 churches destroyed.

Three thousand Christian leaders were arrested and scheduled to be killed on August 15, 1945 because the Japanese military feared they might start a revolt as the war was ending."

https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Monographs_LessonPlans/High_School/5%20The%20Japanese%20Occupation%20of%20Korea%201910–1945.pdf, p. 60.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 21

- Take a good look at **source 24**. In Japan, the goddess Amaterasu holds the place of honour as the supreme deity, because the belief in a great revered goddess, who illuminates the heavens, has ensured the blood unity of the Japanese and the divine power of the emperor for many centuries, uniting the people into one family — the Japanese state.
- Why do you think the Japanese colonial authorities actively promoted the cult of Amaterasu in Korea?

Source 24

Amaterasu is coming out of the Heavenly Cave. Japanese woodcut by Shunsai Toshimasa (1887)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 22

- Take a good look at **source 25** and explain what the author meant by this illustration.
- What role do Amaterasu and other characters play in this image?
- To whom is this picture addressed? What feelings should it evoke in a viewer?

Source 25

Cover of *Tokyo Puck* magazine depicting the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910)

The idealistic illustration depicts Korea's first Governor-General, Terauchi Masatake, pushing back a stone from the cave entrance to reveal Amaterasu, whose radiance touches a reverently bowed Korean couple and a rooster heralding the morning.

According to Japanese mythology, the Amano-Iwato Cave ("Paradise Cave in the Rock") is the place where the goddess Amaterasu drove her brother, the god of storm Susanoo, for his bad behaviour. Thus, the earth was deprived of light.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 23

- Based on **source 26**, answer the following questions:
- Why do you think it was in the middle of the nineteenth century that there was a need to discuss what made the Japanese "Japanese"?
- What European processes can this be linked to?
- What European ideas are considered unacceptable to the Japanese? Why?
- What is the role of the emperor? To what extent is this role political or ideological? How does it affect society?
- In what ways did the authors of the treatise see the exclusivity of the Japanese people?
- What did the authors mean when they wrote: "Our nation early saw the introduction of Chinese and Indian cultures and even succeeded in evolving original creations and developments"?
- Why did the Japanese government support these ideas, especially in the second half of the 1930s?
- Is there anything in kokutai similar to the ideas of national socialism, fascism and racism? What is it?
- Think about how the ideas of kokutai might have influenced the Koreans.

Kokutai (translated as "Body of the Nation" or "National Essence") is a set of ideas that form the basis of Japanese identity. These ideas had been hotly debated in Japan since the mid-nineteenth century in order to define the special qualities that "make the Japanese Japanese." From the end of the nineteenth century, kokutai became an integral part of the empire's public policy and education system. In 1937, on behalf of the Ministry of Education, a group of prominent scholars wrote a treatise that provided a canonical interpretation of the "national essence" of the Japanese people. The 156-page treatise was published in more than two million copies. Kokutai became the official ideology of Japan on the eve of the World War.

Source 26

***Kokutai no hongi* (1937)**

"Our Mission. Our present mission as a people is to construct a new Japanese culture by adopting and sublimating Western cultures with our national polity as the basis and to contribute spontaneously to the advancement of world culture. Our nation early saw the introduction of Chinese and Indian cultures and even succeeded in evolving original creations and developments. This was made possible, indeed, by the profound and boundless nature of our national polity, so that the mission of the people to whom it is bequeathed is truly great in its historical significance.

Loyalty and Patriotism

Our country is established with the emperor, who is a descendant of Amaterasu Ōmikami, as its center, as our ancestors as well as we ourselves constantly have beheld in the emperor the fountainhead of her life and activities. For this reason, to serve the emperor and to receive the emperor's great august will as our own is the rationale of making our historical "life" live in the present; and on this is based the morality of the people.

The beginnings of modern Western free economy are seen in the expectation of bringing about national prosperity as a result of free, individual, lucrative activities. This tendency created a chasm between rich and poor and finally gave rise to ideas of class warfare. Later, the introduction of Communism brought about the erroneous idea that economics was being the basis of politics, morality, and all other cultures and considered that by means of class warfare alone an ideal society could be realized. The fact that egoism and class warfare are opposed to our national polity needs no explanation. Only where people one and all put heart and soul into their respective occupations, and there is coherence or order in each of their activities, with their minds set on guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the imperial throne, is it possible to see a healthy development in the people's economic life."

- Primary Source Document with Questions (DBQs) on selections from the kokutai no hongi (fundamentals of our national polity), 1937. http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/japan/kokutai.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 24

- How does **source 27** relate to the text of the treatise?
- What visual images are used?
- To what extent are these images universal?
- Recall the propaganda art of the USSR and Nazi Germany in 1920–1930. What common artistic devices are used?

Source 27

Japanese propaganda poster *The Heavenly Light. Eternal peace. Glorious Harmony*

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 25

- How are the standpoints expressed in **sources 28** and **29** correlate? Whose points of view are presented?
- Based on **sources 28** and **29**, explain how the Japanese Empire justified the annexation of Korea.
- Why did Japan believe that only it could implement reforms in Korea?
- What was the real purpose of Japan, in carrying out its colonial administration in Korea?
- How did Japanese administrators explain the need for their own governance of Korea? To what extent are their arguments acceptable? Why?

Source 28

Colonial administrator Nitobe Inazō on Japan's mission in Korea (1919)

"I count myself among the best and truest friends of Koreans. I like them.... I think they are a capable people who can be trained to a large measure of self-government, for which the present is a period of tutelage. Let them study what we are doing in Korea, and this I say not to justify the many mistakes committed by our militaristic administration, nor to boast of some of our achievements. In all humility, but with a firm conviction that Japan is a steward on whom devolves the gigantic TASKS AND QUESTIONS of the uplifting of the Far East, I cannot think that the young Korea is yet capable of governing itself."

- Bruce Cumings. Korea, A Unique Colony: Last to be Colonized and First to Revolt. *The Asia-Pacific Journal. Japan Focus.Volume* 19. Issue 21. Number 2. Article ID 5646. Nov 01, 2021. P. 3.

Source 29

From Canadian publicist F. A. MacKenzie's report *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (1920)

"...It became more and more clear, however, that the aim of the Japanese was nothing else than the entire absorption of the country and the destruction of every trace of Korean nationality. One of the most influential Japanese in Korea put this quite frankly to me. "You must understand that I am not expressing official views," he told me. "But if you ask me as an individual what is to be the outcome of our policy I can only see one end.... The Korean people will be absorbed in the Japanese. They will talk our language, live our life, and be an integral part of us.... We will teach them our language, establish our institutions and make them one with us." That is the benevolent Japanese plan; the cruder idea, more commonly entertained, is to absorb the Korean lands..."

- https://www.koreanquarterly.org/tag/gwan-sun-yu/

2.2. Assimilation policy

Why did the Japanese colonial authorities promote the concept of a single nation and seek to assimilate the Koreans?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 26

- Find evidence of Japanese colonial policy towards Korean society in **sources 30–32**. Make a list of such steps in education, culture, and social policy.
- Based on **sources 30–32**, characterize Japan's colonial policies in education, culture, politics, and society. How are the measures of the imperial authorities in different areas interconnected? Prove that this policy was assimilationist in nature.
- Why did the colonial authorities attach great importance to symbolism and rituals? Is it possible to compare the attitude of the Japanese colonial authorities toward the Korean language with the attitude of the Russian Empire's government to the Ukrainian language? Is there anything similar in the educational and cultural policy of the Russian administration in the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine in 2022–2023 to the measures taken by the Japanese colonial authorities in Korea?
- Researchers of colonialism distinguish between such types of colonial rule as British rule (when colonies retain certain self-governing structures), and French rule (when colonies are fully subordinated to the metropolis). What type of government do you think Japan's administration of Korea belongs to?
- Korea was a very specific colony. It became a colony later than the others (1910) and was liberated earlier (1945). Korea was not Japan's first colony, so previous experience was used in it. The metropolis was not a Christian country. The representatives of the metropolis and the colony belonged to the same race and the same Far Eastern civilisation, were influenced by Confucianism, had hieroglyphic writing, etc. How did all this affect Japan's colonial policy in Korea?

Source 30

From the book A *New Look at Korean History* (2010)

"The policy of destroying the Korean nation was carried out along with the propaganda of the theory of common ancestry of Japan and Korea, according to which Japan and Korea have common roots and are the same people. Therefore, in accordance with the policy of "turning the Korean people into subjects of the emperor", the Koreans had to devote their bodies and souls to the "holy war." In all schools, enterprises, and villages, the people were required to recite the "oath of the emperor's subjects" and to perform Shinto ceremonies. Families were forced to hang a sacred plaque of the ancestor of Japan, the goddess Amaterasu, in their homes and worship her. After the provocation of the Sino-Japanese War, the use of the Korean language was banned in schools at all levels. There was even a barbaric practice whereby only those who changed their name to Japanese-like were allowed to enter schools at all levels, serve in administrative bodies and receive food and household items."

- Кмі Чжонбе, Мні Хьонгу, Пак Йонун, Чжо Ґван, Чхве Доксу, Чхве Ґвансік, Чжон Унйон, Пак Хьонсук, Чжон Тхехон, Лі Чжінхан. Новий погляд на історію Кореї: підручник; за ред. Хо Сун Чьол. Переклад з корейської Ю. А. Ковальчук. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2010. С. 272.

Source 31

From Homer B. Hulbert's book *The Passing of Korea* (1906)

"The Koreans have suffered especially in the matter of real estate. On the strength of Korea's promise to supply all the land necessary for Japanese military operations, the latter have gone in and seized the most valuable property in the vicinity of the largest towns in Korea. During the year 1905 there was no such thing as justice for the Korean either from the private Japanese or from the officials. The military put their hands upon eight square miles of the most valuable land near Seoul simply for the building of barracks and parade grounds for twelve thousand men, when experts affirm that one-sixteenth of that space would have been ample. That land could not be bought in open market for six million dollars, but the Japanese knew the government could not pay a proper price, so they gave two hundred thousand dollars, to cover the cost of removal only. And this is all the Koreans could ever hope to get. The most elementary laws of human right and justice have been daily and hourly trampled under foot. Hardly an effort has been made to carry out any reform that would better the condition of the Korean people."

- https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_passing_of_Korea/Chapter_14

Source 32

From the materials *Japanese Occupation of Korea: 1910–1945*

EDUCATION. The Japanese promoted education in Korea, but schools discriminated against Korean students. Schools for Japanese students in Korea prepared them for university, while schools for Koreans stressed skilled trades instead of higher education. Exceptions were made, however, for Koreans deemed exceptionally talented and politically "safe" students. Exceptional students were permitted to attend universities in Japan, but there was no national university in Korea. E. By the 1930's, education was carried out in Japanese; all Korean teachers had to learn and then teach their students in Japanese.

CULTURAL ISSUES. During the 1920's, the Japanese permitted expressions of Korean culture, but by the 1930's their attitude was that "Koreans are to be Japanese." All indications of a separate Korean culture was to be removed.

In 1940, Koreans were told to give up their Korean family names and take Japanese last names. Children could not go to school and adults could not get jobs unless they changed their names.

Traditional Korean dances, like the Hahoe Mask Dance Drama, were outlawed, particularly because the folk dance dramas often mocked authority.

The Koreans had their own alphabet called hangul. Use of hangul was outlawed and all documents were written in Japanese.

Japanese archaeologists excavated many ancient sites in Korea and took Korea art and cultural treasures to Japan.

POLITICS. Japanese officials ruled Korea. After the death of the last Korean ruler, the crown prince was forced to marry a Japanese princess and to live in Japan with only infrequent visits to Korea.

To show Japanese power, the Japanese had a huge building erected between the entrance gate and the palace buildings in the old royal palace compound. The building towered over the streets of Seoul and later became the National Museum. The National Museum was torn down in 1997 because it was such a painful reminder of the Japanese occupation.

Members of the Korean independence movement were arrested and killed. Korean officials were fired from their jobs; Japanese officials took their places.

SOCIETY. In theory, the Koreans were supposed to be Japanese, but there was a double standard in the ways in which Koreans and Japanese were treated. Koreans were not allowed to attend Japanese schools.

Japan encouraged the Confucian ideals of respect for male authority and for one's elders. It viewed any efforts to improve conditions for women with suspicion and suppressed them.

Volunteer organizations, like the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts, were suspect and had to be under the direction of the Japanese government.

- https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Monographs_LessonPlans/High_School/5%20The%20Japanese%20Occupation%20of%20Korea%201910–1945.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 27

- Take a good look at **source 33**. What is the originality of Shinto architecture? What caused the choice of place for it? What function did it perform?
- How can you explain its spread in Korea in the 20s of the twentieth century? Why were the Koreans forced to work in it?

Source 33

The Temple of Thousand Steps

The most impressive Shinto shrine in Seoul is the Temple of Thousand Steps, which was built in 1925 with forced donations from the Koreans and has been still used as a city park.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 28

- The photograph (**source 34**) shows archaeological excavations in Gyeongju that had taken place over 15 years. How can you explain the interest of the Japanese authorities in historical research in Korea and archaeological one in particular?

Source 34

Archaeological excavations in Gyeongju (1908–1922)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 29

- Based on **source 35**, characterize the significance and features of the method of teaching the Japanese language in Korean schools.

Source 35

A Japanese language lesson in a Korean school in the 1930s

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 30

- Analyse the photograph (**source 36**). Characterize the attitude of the Japanese authorities towards the Koreans.

Source 36

Japanese officers talking to an elderly Korean (1930s)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 31

- Based on the photograph (**source 37**), determine the characteristics of the colonial justice system in Korea and its importance in the system of Japanese rule.

Source 37

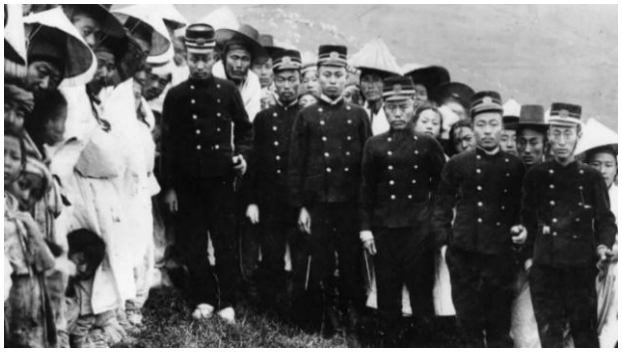
A Court in Seoul (1910)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 32

- Acquaint yourself with the photograph (**source 38**) and think about the role of gendarmes in the system of colonial administration in Korea. Why was this role entrusted to the Japanese rather than the Koreans?

Source 38

Japanese gendarmes in Korea (1910)



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 33

- **Source 39** is the poster "Naisen Ittai" ("Inland Lands — Japan and Korea are a single whole") had been distributed from 1937 as part of the policy of building the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. What were the consequences of this policy for the Koreans?
- Japan's concept of "The Same People" in relation to the Koreans echoes Putin's similar concept of the Ukrainians. How can you explain this?

Source 39

Poster *Naisen Ittai* (1937)

"Naisen ittai" means "the inland lands (i.e. the Japanese Islands) and Korea are a single whole." Under this slogan, the colonial administration held various events aimed at assimilating the Koreans, including sports competitions.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 34

- Recall what the Japanese aims were in their national policy on the Korean Peninsula.
- Using **source 40**, think about what function the oath served. Why did the Japanese authorities attach such importance to it?
- Why were the Japanese convinced that the Koreans would abide by it? Why was the oath introduced in 1937 and not earlier?

Source 40

From the Pledge of the Imperial Subjects (1937)

"We the Imperial subjects shall serve the nation loyally and faithfully.

We the Imperial subjects shall, through trust and love, cooperate to strengthen our unity.

We the Imperial subjects will endure hardships and train ourselves to promote the Imperial way."

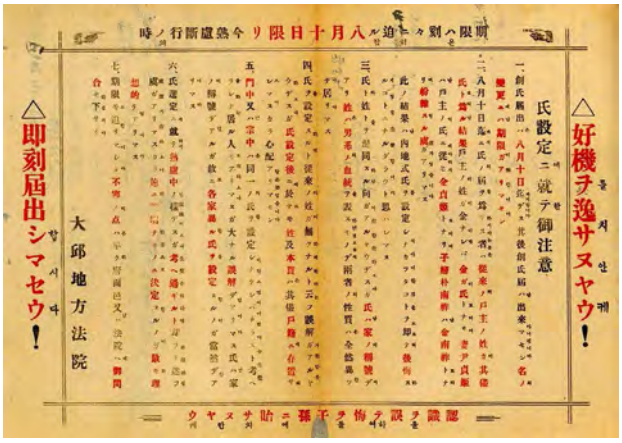
- Greg Sill. Japanese occupation in Korea 1910–1945. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/Lessonby Time/4_Modern/Japanese_Occupation_in_Korea.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 35

- **Source 41** is the Decree on the change of names and titles. Why do you think the colonial authorities paid so much attention to this issue?

Source 41

The Korean Name Change Decree



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 36

- Based on **source 42**, characterize how the ordinary Koreans perceived Japan's educational policy in Korea.
- How did it affect them?

Source 42

From the memoirs of the Koreans about the occupation by Japan

"YANG SŎNGDŎK, male, born 1919, electrical engineer, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, interview:

"Every family had big discussions whether to go along or resist. My eldest brother, who took over the rice dealership, didn't change his name at all, because he was dealing mostly with other Koreans. But for those of us who had to go to school or get jobs, we had to come up with the new names. This was just a tactic to make Koreans into Japanese. They didn't do this blindly, you know. They had very sinister plans. The purpose of changing names was obviously to make us sound Japanese, so that the younger generation would know nothing but the new names, and their thinking and their attitudes would become Japanese. This was all part of their long-range plan to eliminate any vestige of Korean consciousness."

PAK C. [anonymous], female, born 1927, housewife, interview.

"I don't remember that the Japanese teachers made me conscious of being Korean and thus different from themselves. I think I was brainwashed to identify with them. Oh, this mind game is truly terrifying, it is so effective. I know so little about my own country."

- Brian S. Hussey. CONSEQUENCES OF JAPAN'S OCCUPATION OF KOREA: DOCUMENT BASED QUESTION. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/LessonsbyTopic/History/Consequences_of_Japans_Occupation_of_Korea.pdf

2.3. Colonial modernisation of Korea

- **How did Japanese colonisation affect the Korean economy?**
- **What was the colonial nature of the modernisation of Korea under Japanese rule?**

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 37

- Based on **source 43**, explain the colonial nature of Korea's modernisation during the occupation.

Source 43

Japanese occupation in Korea: 1910–1945

"ECONOMIC ISSUES Japanese projects in Korea, particularly building its infrastructure of railroads and roads were designed to exploit Korean resources for the benefit of Japan.

By 1945, Japan held almost 85% of all property in Korea, of which 83% was owned by the Japanese government or the large Japanese conglomerates.

Railroad lines greatly increased in Korea from 1910 to 1945.

Forced from their small farms as the economy went to larger scale production, Koreans emigrated. By 1945, 11 percent of Koreans went abroad."

- https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Monographs_LessonPlans/High_School/5%20The%20Japanese%20Occupation%20of%20Korea%201910–1945.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 38

- Based on **source 44**, explain how the Japanese government tried to solve the problem of labour shortages in heavy industry. Why did this problem arise in the late 1930s?
- Can the Japanese mobilisation policy be compared to the similar policy of the Soviet authorities in Ukraine?
- The Japanese authorities mobilised more than 1.5 million Koreans to work in industry, while at the same time, several tens of thousands of Koreans were mobilised into the Japanese army. How can you explain this?

Source 44

From G. Sill's book *Japanese occupation in Korea 1910–1945*

"The National Labor Mobilization Ordinance depleted the labor force from rural areas and light industries in order to meet the increasing demands for labor by newly established heavy war industries. Those who hid were hunted out and forcibly shipped from villages and town to various industrial sites. ...

In addition many Korean workers were mobilized to meet the labor shortage in Japan. From 1939 to 1945, close to one million Korean youths were shipped to mines and factories in Japan. As a result, the Korean population in Japan jumped from 690,502 in 1939 to 2, 400,000 at the end of the colonial period. Moreover, tens of thousands of young Korean women were sent to war fronts to provide sexual services to Japanese troops.

When Korea's twenty-five million people were liberated from Japan, Korea was an exhausted land. Its natural resources and manpower had been ruthlessly exploited, and its energies had been sapped for Japan's vain dream of dominating all of Asia."

- Greg Sill. Japanese occupation in Korea 1910–1945. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/Lessonby Time/4_Modern/Japanese_Occupation_in_Korea.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 39

- Acquaint yourself with **source 45** and try to solve the following problem: historians do not agree on the assessment of the colonial modernisation of Korea during Japanese rule. Most believe that it was a means of exploiting Korea's natural and labour resources, leading to imbalances in the development of economic sectors, regions, etc. Others try to see the colonial modernisation as a positive thing in the creation of infrastructure, large monopolies, and annual economic growth, which influenced the country's further development and even contributed to the post-war "economic miracle" to some extent. What do you think about this?

Source 45

Based on Kim Nak-Nyeon's materials *A Reconsideration of 'Colonial Modernization'* (2011)

Kim, Nak Nyeon ed. (2006) estimated the national account statistics for the period from 1911 to 1940, 12 relying on the standards established by the UN in its 1993 System of National Accounts. According to this system, the annual average growth rate of the economy was 3.7% while the population growth rate was 1.3%. Therefore, the growth rate of per capita income was 2.4%.

The fastest growing sectors were mining, industry, electric, and construction (annual average 9%), followed by the service sector (5%). As a result, structural change was also rapid as agriculture declined from 68% to 41% in this period, while mining and industry increased from 5% to 14%. In that regard, growth in trade and investment led economic growth. Reliance on trade increased from the 20% level to 60% while the investment rate increased from 5% to 14%. Private consumption expenditures increased at an annual average of 3.3% which, considering population growth, resulted in an estimated per capita growth rate of 1.9%. Although grain consumption showed a slight decrease, consumption of other foodstuffs and industrial products increased.

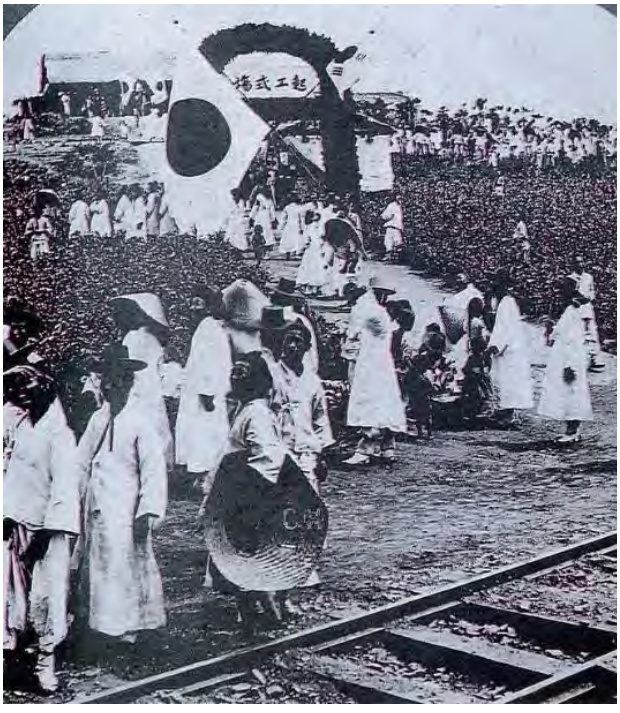
- Kim, Nak Nyeon A Reconsideration of 'Colonial Modernization'. *Korean Social Sciences Review*. Vol. 1, No. 1, 2011. P. 230–231.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 40

- Take a good look at the visuals on pages 46–48. What aspects of life in Korea during Japanese colonisation do they show?

Source 46

The ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the Seoul — Busan railway (1901)



Source 47

A streetcar in Seoul

Source 48

A view of Seoul in the early colonial period (1908–1922)

2.4. Echoes of Japanese colonisation

How does Korea's colonial past influence Korean attitudes to Japan today?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 41

- Based on the data from **source 49**, what are the reasons for the Cold War between Japan and the Republic of Korea.

Source 49

From a BBC poll (2014)

A 2014 BBC World Service poll found that 13% of Japanese had a positive view of South Korea's influence and 37% had a negative opinion, while 15% of South Koreans had a positive view of Japan's influence and 79% had a negative view. Summing up the results of the survey, the media characterized relations between the two countries as a state of the "Cold War."

https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Японсько-південнокорейські_відносини

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 42

- Based on **sources 50–53**, characterize the nature of the problem of "comfort women." How did this problem affect the historical memory of the Koreans?
- Why do these women in the Republic of Korea have memorials to them, with many flowers around them?
- Why, despite Japan's official apology, is this issue raised by the Koreans from time to time?

Source 50

First-hand accounts that were collected in 2006 by the British photographer Chris H. Steele-Perkins

"Pak Ok-Seon, born in 1924, was from a poor family of eight children. She went with friends to find work in a textile plant in China but was made a sex slave in Manchuria for four years. She tried to commit suicide

a number of times. She escaped when the sex station was bombed. She is still scared of the Japanese and has received no compensation, 2006.

Kil Won Ok was 13 when she was taken to Beijing by the Japanese to help build a factory. A friend told her there was a place to make a lot of money. They took a train there but were put into a sex station where they were beaten frequently if they resisted. They also had their feet stomped on as punishment. Now is the happiest time of her life, 2006.

Kang Il-Chul, born in 1928, was taken by a military police officer who said she was being conscripted for the National Guard. Instead she was taken to a sex station in China. Twice she attempted suicide. She is not interested in financial compensation but wants public acknowledgement by the Japanese, 2006."

- Lou A. Kindschi. Comfort women — teaching to the truth. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/2011_Lessons/Comfort_Women__Teaching_to_the_Truth.pdf

Source 51

Statue of Peace

The sculpture of a teenage girl is a monument to former "comfort women" installed in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul

Source 52

A sculpture of a "comfort woman" on a bus seat

It was placed to commemorate the 5th International Memorial Day for 'Comfort Women' (Seoul, August 2017).

Source 53

Lee Yong-soo touches the memorial statue in Seoul in 2019

It symbolises women like her who were forced to work in Japanese army brothels in wartime.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 43

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 54** and **55** and answer the following question: why, despite Japan's payment of reparations, repeated financial assistance to South Korea, and preferential loans, does the Korean side raise the issue of compensation from time to time?
- How do you feel about the Japanese's position on the issue of responsibility for the colonisation of Korea: why should the new generation be held accountable for the criminal acts of their ancestors (especially since Japan played a significant role in financing the Korean "economic miracle" several decades ago)?
- Based on the recent mass media reports, characterize the current state of Japan-South Korea relations.

Source 54

From O. Matskevych's article *Japan and South Korea: Divided by History* (2020)

"When the Treaty on Basic Relations was signed between the Republic of Korea and Japan in 1965 at the insistence of the United States, the former considered it imposed and unfair. Under the terms of the agreement, Japan provided South Korea with $500 million in loans and another $300 million in financial assistance. However, according to the Koreans, the damage from colonial rule was so significant that such "reparations" were not enough. In addition, they did not take into account the interests of every citizen but became financial assistance to the South Korean government. Tokyo believes that all losses have already been compensated. In addition, at the time of reaching the agreement,

the Republic of Korea was a weak agrarian state with a nominal GDP per capita of $100 (7 times smaller than that of Japan).

In 1998, the President of the Republic of Korea, Kim Dae-jung, visited Tokyo, where he received an official apology for the Japanese occupation of 1910–1945. For the Japanese themselves, the moral side of the issue is important: why should the new generation be responsible for the criminal actions of their ancestors (especially if Japan played a significant role in financing the Korean "economic miracle" several decades ago)?."

- Мацькевич Олеся. Японія та Південна Корея: розділені історією. Adastra. 20.09.2020. https://adastra.org.ua/blog/yaponiya-ta-pivdenna-koreya-rozdileni-istoriyeyu

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 44

- Based on **sources 56** and **57**, explain the essence of the dispute between Japan and the Republic of Korea over the name of the sea. Express your own attitude to this problem. Explain why geographical atlases in Ukraine use a double name.
- Do you think it is worth raising the issue of historical grievances from 80 years ago? Are there similar problems in Ukraine? How do you think historical understanding should be achieved?

Source 56

Sea of Japan naming dispute

A dispute exists over the international name for the body of water which is bordered by Japan, Korea (North and South) and Russia. In 1992, objections to the name Sea of Japan were first raised by North Korea and South Korea at the Sixth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names. The Japanese government supports the exclusive use of the name "Sea of Japan", while South Korea supports the alternative name "East Sea", and North Korea supports the name "Korean East Sea."

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for South Korea, the name Donghae (literally East Sea) has been used in Korea for over 2,000 years, including in History of the Three Kingdoms (1145), the monument of King Gwanggaeto, and "Map of Eight Provinces of Korea" (1530). The first documented map to name the area the Sea of Japan was the world map drawn by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci in China (1602) named Kunyu Wanguo Quantu. No Japanese record published up to the late-18th century indicated any name for the body of water. Furthermore, South Korea has pointed out that a few 19th-century Japanese maps referred to the sea as Chōsenkai (lit. 'Sea of Joseon'), including the Simplified Map of Japan's Periphery (1809) and New World Map (1844). South Korea argues there was no standard name prior to Japan's military expansion in the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Additionally, it specifically states that the name Sea of Japan was not widely used, even in Japan, as late as the mid 19th century. Thus, South Korea argues that the current name reflects active promotion by Japan during a time when Korea could not represent its interests internationally

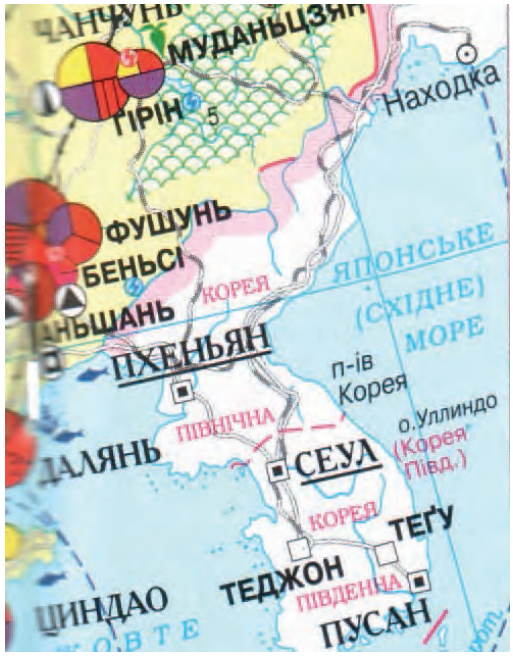
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sea_of_Japan_naming_dispute

Source 55

South Korean President Yoon Suk-Yeol (right) and Japanese Prime Minister Kishida Fumio shake hands after talks in the presidential office in Seoul (7 May 2023)

Source 57

From *Atlas. Geography: Regions and Countries* for the 10th-grade students (2019)



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 45

- A mural depicting American actress Ava Gardner in Los Angeles provoked a strong reaction from Korean artists and neighbourhood residents who demanded that the painting be painted over or changed. Why do you think this is?

Source 58

Beau Stanton's Ava Gardner Mural on the wall of Robert F. Kennedy High School in Koreatown, Los Angeles, USA

Glossary

Amaterasu	is the sun goddess in Japanese mythology and the ancestor of the Japanese imperial family.
Annexation	is the action of forcible annexing the territory.
Assimilation	is the adoption by a people of the culture and identity of another people.
Boy scout	is a boy, a member of a children's scouting organisation.
Westernisation	is the process of transition of a person, group of people or society as a whole from its own traditional system of values to the system of values of Western civilisation, copying European and American models.
Governor general	is the Head of the Japanese colonial administration in Korea (1910–1945).
Resident General	is a representative of the Japanese government (ruler) in Korea during the protectorate (1905–1910).
Draconian regime	is a brutal regime.
Discrimination	is the reduction or deprivation of human rights of a certain group of people on a collective basis (skin colour, gender, origin, religion, etc.).
Gendarme	is a person who serves in the military police or political investigation police.
Daehan Empire	is a Korean state (1897–1910).
Industrialisation	is the second stage of the Industrial Revolution, during which production was concentrated in large enterprises in heavy industry, transport and energy. It took place in different countries at different times, depending on the pace of modernization.
Industrial society	is a society in which industrial production outweighs agricultural production, urban population outweighs rural, and production is mechanised and automated.
Kokutai	is an ideology that justifies the national identity of the Japanese.
Modernisation (modern — most recent, up-to-date)	is a historical process of transition from a traditional agrarian society to a secular, urban and industrial one.
Asian Awakening	is a period of the beginning of modernisation processes in Asia (nineteenth — early twentieth centuries).
Protectorate (to protect = to defend)	is a form of dependence of a state by transferring foreign relations to another state.
Shintoism	is a religion of the Japanese.
Sabre regime	is the harsh police regime of Japanese rule in Korea (1910–1919).

3. The Korean independence movement

How did the Korean independence movement emerge and what role did it play in its history?

INTRODUCTION

The ideological pressure and assimilationist policies of Japan provoked resistance in Korea in the Korean intellectual community too. A striking example of this was the emergence and spread of **Korean ethnic nationalism (2.1)**.

So far as the Korean independence movement was persecuted under colonial rule, its centres moved abroad. Taking advantage of the international Paris Peace Conference, a representative of the movement appealed to its participants through US President Woodrow Wilson with an appeal to recognise Korea's independence.

On 1 March 1919, during the funeral of a suddenly deceased King Gojong, a crowded anti-Japanese demonstration took place, at which the "Declaration of Independence" was promulgated. The demonstration grew into large-scale anti-Japanese actions, launched the **March 1st movement (2.2)**, and activated Korean patriots abroad. They began to create provisional government bodies and proclaimed the provisional Constitution of Korea.

The harsh suppression of popular protests by the Japanese colonial authorities led to a change in the **tactics of the struggle for independence (2.3)**, on the one hand, to the organisation of individual terrorist acts and the growth of the popularity of communists, on the other hand, to the movement's focus on preserving and spreading national culture. It was at that time that the poets who awakened national consciousness began to work

.

3.1. Korean ethnic nationalism

What is Korean ethnic nationalism and what role did it play in the Korean independence movement?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 46

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 59** and **60** and answer the questions. What caused the emergence of Korean nationalism?
- Why was it ethnic in nature?
- Why were the ideas of nationalism based on the evidence of historical science?
- Why did Korean nationalists use the techniques of Japanese nationalists?
- Are there any similarities between Shin Chae-ho's approaches to covering history and those of Ukrainian historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

The historian and publicist Shin Chae-ho (1880–1936) is considered to be one of the founders of Korean ethnic nationalism. Before the colonisation of Korea by Japan, he worked for a nationalist newspaper, later emigrated, and was a member of the Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai. In 1928, he was arrested by the Japanese police in Taiwan and died in prison. He is the author of *A New Reading of History* (1908), *The Early History of Joseon* (1931), and the *Declaration of Korean Revolution*.

Source 59

From Shin Chae-Ho's book *A New Reading of History* (1908)

"The history of a state is an accurate record of the rise and/or fall, prosperity and/or decline of that 'minjok' [ethnic nation — comment]. Without the minjok there is no history; without the history, the minjok does not have a clear idea of the state, and thus, a historian has a great responsibility (...).

A state is an organic entity formed from the national spirit. That is, even in a state that was formed by different tribal groups, not to mention a state formed by one tribe with one bloodline, there is always a special tribal group that takes the lead (...).

Studying history textbooks that are used in various schools, I found almost nothing of value. In the first chapter, the Koreans (Minjok) are described as part of the Chinese people; (...) reading the whole book, the Koreans variously appear as part of the Mongols, part of the Zhurchens or part of the Japanese. If this were true, then our land, which covers several tens of thousands of li, would be in a pandemic with barbarians from the north and south roaming around, and [our] achievements over four thousand years would be credited to Liang [tribal name — comment] in the morning and to Chu [tribal name — comment] in the evening (...).

No matter how incomplete our ancient history may be, if we study it carefully, we can clearly see the true similarities between those who make up the original ethnic composition of our country — the descendants of Tangun. If this is the case, what is the reason for the disagreement about who our ancestors were? As we try to dispel the ignorance of all citizens through nationalism and teach our youth about statehood so that they can hold the last pulse of our country, history is an indispensable tool. But bad history is worse than no history."

- Em Henry. Nationalism, Post Nationalism, and Sin Ch'ae ho. 1999, *Korea Journal 39*, vol. 2. P. 294–295.

Source 60

From Steven D. Capener's article *The Cultural Anatomy of Korean Nationalism From imperative to anachronism* (2021)

"What is interesting and perhaps unique about the genesis and development of Korean nationalism is that it was simultaneously formed in opposition to Japanese imperial encroachment and enabled by the modernizing effects of Japanese colonial policy. This complicated situation gave birth to two somewhat different types of nationalism in the 1910s and 20s. One was that of Shin Chae-ho whose assertions about a unified Korean identity were based solely on blood and shared territory without any real consideration of culture.

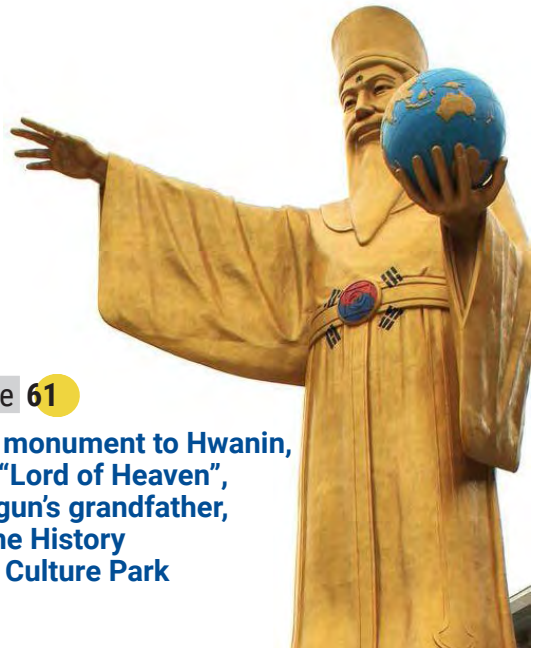
In his essay on ancient Korean history Shin argues that Korean history began with Dangun, the mythical progenitor of the Buyeo tribe some four thousand plus years ago. Interestingly, Shin frequently uses the third person pronoun "our" in discussing Dangun and the Buyeo tribe thereby strengthening the sense of identification between the reader and the notion of a common ethnic heritage. Shin makes very little mention of shared culture or language as the basis of common identity; the link is found almost entirely in shared lineage and territory. It is not clear whether Shin was aware of the debt he owed to Japanese nationalists who had already performed a similar TASKS AND QUESTIONS in Japan by centering Japanese collective identity in an equally mist-shrouded "pure" ethnic line. What is more, he made liberal use of the term "minjok" (ethnic nation) which had been given its meaning largely through its prior use by the architects of Japanese Meiji nationalism.

Also, in denouncing colonial racism and the assimilation policy, Korean nationalists employed the logic and language that Japanese colonialists used. Robinson points out, "The search for and documentation of the unique and immutable core-the racial origins-of the Korean people appears similar to the Japanese obsession with the nation essence (kokutai) in the 1930s."

- Capener Steven D. The Cultural Anatomy of Korean Nationalism. From imperative to anachronism N Context 1:1 (2021). Pp. 128–129. https://doi.org/10.54754/incontext.v1i1.6

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 47

- During the Korean Empire, the myth of Tangun became extremely popular. In 1909, the Heavenly Day, or Open Heaven Day, was officially celebrated when the Lord of Heaven, Hwanin, Tangun's grandfather, descended to earth. It is this day that the Koreans consider to be the day when the Korean nation was founded in 2457 BC. What do you think was the reason for this? Take a good look at **source 61** and try to explain the overall idea and symbolism of the individual elements of the monument.



Source 61

The monument to Hwanin, the "Lord of Heaven", Tangun's grandfather, in the History and Culture Park

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 48

- Take a good look at **sources 62** and **63**. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the image of a tiger began to increasingly appear in Korean magazines. In 1908, Choe Nam-seon put a peculiar image of a tiger on the cover of a magazine. In 1914, the cover of the magazine already featured a young man holding a flower in his hand and stroking a tiger's head. The readers of the magazine even gave the young man a name — Tehan.
- Try to explain the symbolism of these images.
- What idea did the author put into them? What reaction did he expect the audience to have?
- Make a generalisation. What was the essence of the Korean ethnic nationalism? What place did the idea of Korean independence play in it.

Source 62

An image from the cover of the *Youth* magazine (1908)

Source 63

An image from the cover of the *Youth* magazine

3.2. The "March 1st Movement 1919"

How did the *March 1st Movement 1919* emerge and what way did it make?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 49

- Recollect how World War I ended. How did it affect the fate of empires and peoples that were under their rule? Why did national ideas become popular at this time?
- On the basis of **sources 64–66** explain: How do the authors of the appeal motivate the need to recognise the independence of Korea? Why did they address W. Wilson, and not G. Clemenceau or D. Lloyd George?
- It is interesting that Woodrow Wilson is one of the few political leaders of the world in the first half of the twentieth century whose portrait is presented in Korean school history textbooks. Why do you think this is?

The impact of World War I on Korea

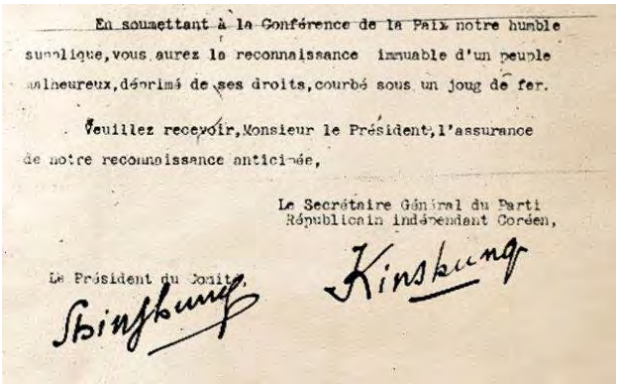
Source 64

An article in the *New York Times* newspaper of 26 January 1919

"Korea Appeals to Wilson for Freedom; "Hermit Kingdom," Now Under Japanese Control, Looks to the Versailles, Peace Conference for Aid — How Koreans See Their Country's Situation."

Source 65

From the appeal of the Korean independence committee to the US President Woodrow Wilson (Beijing, 29 February 1919)



En soumettant à la Conférence de la Paix notre humble supplique, vous aurez la reconnaissance immuable d'un peuple malheureux, déprimé de ses droits, courbé sous un joug de fer.

Veuillez recevoir, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de notre reconnaissance anticipée,

Le Secrétaire Général du Parti Républicain indépendant Coréen,

Kinshung

Le Président du Comité,

Shingkung

"Your Excellency:

We Koreans who are exiles in China respectfully, with tears of blood, present our case to the American Minister in China and ask his aid in our behalf.

Following the violent seizure of Korea by Japan the Korean people were nearly exterminated.

Now by the grace of God, the European war has been ended, and the powerful monster has been destroyed. the great President of your country, upholding human rights, has declared that people have the might of self determination.

From the depths of their bitterness, the Korean people look up to him with sincere gratitude and beg Your Excellency to convey to your government our prayer that the Peace Conference take up the problem of bettering the condition of our voiceless nation which contains twenty million oppressed people.

1. For four thousand years following its foundation Korea was an independent nation. This statement is borne out by history.

2. The Kingdom of Korea, during the last few hundred years of its existence, paid tribute in native produce to China but China did not interfere in the internal administration of the country, which had its own administration and was entirely independent.

3. On the pretext of the independence of Korea Japan went to war with China in 1894 and 1895. The treaty of Shimonoseki admitted the independence of Korea which was also recognised by the various foreign powers. Japan's assistance to Korea was only a pretext for the purpose of robbing Korea

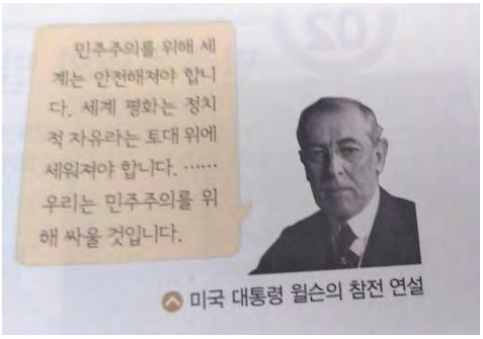
4. Again in 1904 when Japan want to war with Russia she declared that the war was being fought to maintain the independence of Korea.

5. Japan suddenly annexed Korea in 1910, abandoning all national honor and in violation of treaty obligations. The act was a total defiance of all moral principles. That was in the age when might made right and no nation offered any objection extended any pity to Korea."

- https://exhibitions.library.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/kio/outbreak_part2/page_a2

Source 66

An illustration from a Korean school history textbook



"Declaration of Independence"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 50

- Based on **source 67**, determine how the authors of the document motivated the Korean right to independence. What was the significance of this declaration? Under what conditions could it be implemented?

Source 67

From the *Declaration of Independence of 1 March 1919*

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(This document was read in all the leading cities of Korea on the First of March, when the Koreans declared their Independence from Japan.)

"We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right.

"We hereby proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We announce this to the nations of the world in order to manifest the principle of the equality of man, and we pass it onto our posterity in order to preserve forever our people's just rights to self-preservation. ... For the first time in the history of several thousands of years, our people for the past ten years have suffered, under alien domination, tyranny and oppression, which are the legacies of antiquity. How much of our right to life has been plundered? How much of our spiritual progress has been barred? How much of our honor and dignity have been violated? And how much of our opportunity to contribute to the cultural progress of the world without new visions and creativity has been lost? If we are to make known to the world our past grievances, to deliver ourselves from our past sufferings, to remove future threats, and advance our national dignity and nobility, to cultivate the character of individual citizens, to prevent our children from an inheritance of shame, to assure a full and happy life for our posterity, our first urgent TASKS AND QUESTIONS is to secure the independence of the people..."

- Greg Sill. Japanese occupation in Korea 1910–1945. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/Lessonby Time/4_Modern/Japanese_Occupation_in_Korea.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 51

- Take a good look at **source 68** and try to explain the composition of the painting, its calm tone, the stateliness of the characters, and their appearance.

Source 68

Painting *Signing of the Declaration of Independence of Korea*

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 52

- Based on **source 69**, determine the driving forces of the struggle for Korean independence. What methods of struggle were preferred by the participants of the movement "March 1st Movement 1919"?
- Why was the idea of "non-violence" popular among the independence fighters, which was in line with the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi in India?
- A few months after the events in Korea, the May 4th movement broke out in China. Do you think there is any connection between these events?
- What were the consequences of the mass protests in Korea in March 1919.

Source 69

From Nishi Masayuki's article *1 March and 4 May 1919 in Korea, China and Japan: Towards an International History of Independence Movements in East Asia* (2007)

"The 3.1 movement originated at Seoul's Tapgol Park, formerly called Pagoda Park and now regarded as an oasis for senior citizens. Just beyond the gate, a huge stone monument engraved with the Proclamation of Korean Independence stands to the right. At the end of the proclamation appear the names of 33 people with the title "representatives of the people." In reality, however, it was a student who actually read the proclamation before citizens who gathered at the park.

A total of 1,542 demonstrations were held across Korea over a three-month period. An estimated 2 million people, or about 10 percent of the entire population at the time, are said to have taken part. Back then, Koreans had no freedom of assembly or association. Nor were there media to convey the will of the people.

How did the independence movement spread throughout the country when the "representatives of the people" were in police custody? Shin Yong Ha, a distinguished professor at Ewha Womans University, said religious organizations and schools took the lead because they were the only entities that were allowed to hold rallies without notifying the authorities in advance. According to Shin, copies of the proclamation and Korea's Taegukgi flags had been distributed across the in magazi country beforehand by school teachers as well as followers of Chondoism, an ethnic religion in Korea, Christianity and Buddhism. All of the "representatives of the people" whose names appear on the proclamation were also religious leaders."

- Nishi Masayuki. March 1 and May 4, 1919 in Korea, China & Japan: Toward an International History of East Asian Independence Movements. *The Asia-Pacific Journal. Japan Focus Volume 5.* Issue 10. Article ID 2560. Oct 01, 2007. https://apjjf.org/-Nishi-Masayuki/2560/article.pdf

The "March 1st Movement 1919"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 53

- Take a good look at **source 70**. Notice the nature of this people's action. What does it show? Who prevails among the demonstrators? Why? What place was chosen for the demonstration? Why?
- Why the demonstrators do not have banners? What does this testify to?

Source 70

Mass demonstration against Japanese colonial policy in the centre of Seoul in 1919

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 54

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 71–74** and answer the questions: Why is Yu Gwan-sun considered a symbol of the March 1 movement? Yu Gwan-sun is often called the Korean Joan of Arc. Why do you think this is?
- Why was Seodaemun Prison not destroyed like the Bastille in Paris but turned into a museum? Are there any similar monuments in Ukraine? What do they symbolise?
- How do you feel about Japanese leaders visiting places associated with the Japanese occupation?

Source 71

Yu Gwan-sun

"Yu Gwan-sun was a girl from a Korean Christian Protestant family, a student at a women's high school, and an active participant in the March 1 demonstration. On 1 April 1919, she organised a demonstration at the market in her hometown. The Japanese military suppressed the demonstration with weapons. Nineteen people were killed, including Yu's parents. The girl was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in Seodaemun Prison, which became a symbol of terror.

In 1920, after being brutally tortured, Yu Gwan-sun died, leaving a suicide note: "Japan will fall. ...physical pain cannot compare to the pain of losing my nation. [...] My only regret is that I could not do more than dedicate my life to my country [...]."

In 2015, Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama visited the prison, which is now a museum, and apologised to the Koreans: "With the hope that a similar mistake will not be made in the future, I consider these irrefutable facts of history with a spirit of humility and once again express here my feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology."

Yu Gwan-sun

- http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0814/c90000–8935737.htm

Source 72

Former Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama visited the Seodemun Prison History Museum and sincerely apologised for torture and other cruel acts committed against independence fighters during the Japanese colonial period (2015)

Source 73

Seodaemun Prison History Museum

Establishment of provisional authorities

In early April 1919, activists of the March 1 Movement in Shanghai, Seoul, and Vladyvostok began to establish the provisional authorities of independent Korea: a parliament, the Korean National Council, and the provisional government headed by Rhee Syngman. The Provisional Constitution was adopted, according to which Korea was proclaimed a democratic republic with the official name of the Great Han.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 55

- Based on **source 74**, determine why the authors of the statement extensively used the terms "civilisation" and "nation." What methods did they use to achieve real independence?

Source 74

From the statement of the Korean National Council, 22 April 1919

"We, the people of Korea,...we have organized the Korean National Council and hereby proclaim it to the world. We, the people of Korea, have a history of over forty-two centuries as a self-governing and separate state, and of special creative civilization and are a peace-loving race...

The world knows that Japan has violated the sworn treaties of the past and is robbing us of the right of existence... This council demands with all earnestness that the government of Japan abandon as early as possible the inhuman policy of aggression and firmly safeguard the tripodic relationship of the Far East and further duly warn the people of Japan.

Can it be that the conscience of mankind will calmly witness the cruel atrocities visited upon us by the barbarous military power of Japan for our actions in behalf of the rights of life founded upon civilization?... If Japan does not repent and mend her ways for herself our race will be obliged to take the final action, to the limit of the last man and the last minute which will secure the complete independence of Korea...With our utmost devotion and best labor we demand before the world our national independence and racial autonomy."

- Greg Sill. Japanese occupation in Korea 1910–1945. https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/Lessonby Time/4_Modern/Japanese_Occupation_in_Korea.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 56

- Using **sources 75** and **76**, explain the significance of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Korea.

Source 75

The Provisional Government of Korea

Source 76

Establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea

"The Provisional Government in Shanghai is of historical significance as the first republican government in Korean history to be formed against the backdrop of the wishes of the entire nation immediately after the March 1 movement. At the time of the collapse of the state, Korea was called the Great Han Empire (Taekhan cheguk), and there were many supporters of the restoration of the monarchy, but the adoption by the Provisional Government of the name of the state "The Republic of Korea" (Great Han Republic, Daehan minguk) meant that in the process of the national movement, the consciousness of all compatriots and diasporas developed. The Provisional Government is also important as an allied organisation of right and left forces, in which Yi Dong-hwi and other early socialists took an active part."

- Новий погляд на історію Кореї: підручник. За ред. Хо Сун Чьол; переклад з корейської Ю. А. Ковальчук. Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго, 2010. С. 295.

3.3. Tactics of the struggle for the independence of Korea

What changes took place in the Korean independence movement in the 1920s and 30s and how did this affect the Korean mindset?

Active resistance to Japanese colonisation

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 57

- Take a good look at **source 77**. In front of the entrance to the pavilion are statues of Kim Kyusik, leader of the independence movement in Chongqing (China), Ahn Jung-geun, an organiser of the assassination of Japanese official Hirobumi, and Yun Bong-gil, an organiser of a terrorist attack on Japanese officers in Shanghai.
- Why do you think these figures were immortalised in the sculpture?

Source 77

Independence Memorial in Cheonan

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 58

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 78** and **79** and determine which personal qualities and actions of the independence fighters are particularly revered by the Koreans. What is the reason for the popularity of fighters for independence today?
- How do you feel about the use of these images in popular culture and fashion design in particular? Are there any similar trends in Ukraine? Give examples.

Source 78

From the article *Who Are the Korean Freedom Fighters* (2021)

Ahn Jung-geun

"Ahn Jung-geun (1879–1910) was an activist who assassinated Itō Hirobumi, the Japanese official who had been appointed as Japan's first Resident-General of Korea in 1905 — when the country was held under Japanese jurisdiction but not formally annexed. Before doing so, he cut off his ring finger alongside eleven other activists, signifying a pledge to assassinate someone. With his own blood, he wrote "대한독립", which means "Korean independence." Ahn was later arrested for his actions, held in Japanese prison, and executed the following year. Though his act of shooting Ito Hirobumi did not immediately impact Japan's upcoming annexation of Korea, Ahn's act of patriotism served as a source of inspiration to the loyalists and independence fighters throughout the Japanese occupation.

Yun Bong-gil (1908–1932) was a Korean independence activist who began fostering hope for independence in his hometown by educating people from rural communities about the issues they faced. He is most well-known for setting off a bomb that killed several Japanese dignitaries in Shanghai's Hongkew Park in 1932. In a letter he left behind in Korea before this

Yun Bong-gil

Ahn Chang-ho

incident, he stated to the Korean Patriotic Corps that his motivations were to "redeem the independence and freedom of our country."

Ahn Chang-ho (1878–1938) was a Korean independence activist and one of the early leaders of the Korean-American immigrant community in the United States. Ahn Chang-ho is widely considered to be one of the key moral and philosophical leaders of Korea during this time. Before and during the Japanese occupation of Korea, Ahn called for the moral and spiritual renewal of the Korean people; and highlighted education as one of the important components in their struggle for independence.

Below is a photo of Ahn Chang-ho taken in prison in 1937. He was later released to Seoul National Hospital in December due to failing health; as authorities feared that if Ahn died in prison, it would inspire further patriotic acts of rebellion.

Kim Gu (1876–1949) was a Korean statesman, politician, and a prominent leader, who dedicated his life to lifting up and freeing his home country. Kim's activist work spanned from before Korea had been formally annexed by Japan to after the country had secured its independence; culminating in his becoming the sixth, ninth, and last President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. To this day, Kim's desire for a beautiful and independent Korea is remembered thanks to the famous ending passage in his biography, "If God asked me what my wish was, I would reply unhesitatingly, 'Korean independence…' My fellow brethren. This is my only wish. I have lived seventy years of my life for this wish, am living my life for this wish, and will live my life only to fulfill this wish."

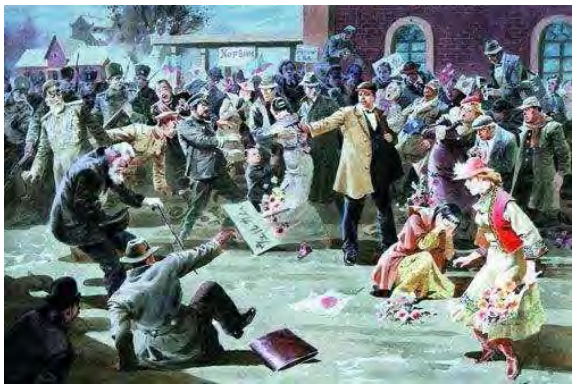
- https://korelimited.com/blogs/korelimited/who-are-korea-s-freedom-fighters

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 59

- Based on **sources 80** and **81**, explain why independence activists used terrorist methods in their struggle.
- How can you explain the fact that fighters for independence of the country in remote regions of the world resorted to such radical methods of struggle as individual terror?
- How do you feel about such methods of struggle?

Source 80

Painting *Ahn Jung-geun kills Japanese official Ito Hirobumi*



Source 81

From M. Mudryi's textbook *History: Ukraine and the World* (2018)

"The main goal of the OUN was to create an independent Ukrainian state on the entire Ukrainian ethnic territory. One of the OUN's lines of activity was the organisation of assassination attempts on officials: Seim deputy Tadeusz Holówko was killed in 1931, an official of the Russian consulate in Lviv, Oleksiy Mailov, was killed in 1933 (in revenge for the Holodomor), Ivan Babii, the director of the Ukrainian Academic Classical School in Lviv, was killed in 1934 (for collaborating with the Poles), and Bronisław Pieracki, the Minister of the Interior, was killed in 1934 (for being responsible for "pacification"). After the attack on the post office in Horodok (1932), which killed several people, OUN members Vasyl Bilas and Dmytro Danylyshyn were sentenced to death. After the murder of Pieracki by the OUN members, the Polish authorities created the Bereza Kartuska concentration camp in Bereza region. In 1938, in Rotterdam, E. Konovalets was killed by a Soviet agent."

- Мудрий М. М. Історія: Україна і світ: (інтегр. курс, рівень стандарту): підруч. для 10-го кл. закл. заг. серед. освіти. Київ: Генеза, 2018. С.165.

Source 79

The use of images of Korean independence fighters in patriotic clothing design

The spread of communist ideas

Researchers associate the beginning of the spread of communist ideas in Korea with the name of Oleksandra Kim who was sent by V. Lenin to Siberia in 1917 to mobilise the Koreans to fight the counter-revolution. On her initiative, the Korean People's Socialist Party was founded in 1918. Attempts to create a communist party resulted in its formation in 1925. However, it was dissolved due to internal contradictions. Some of its supporters continued to operate at the local level, while others moved to China, where they joined the guerrilla struggle against the Japanese colonialists.

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism_in_Korea

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 60

- Take a good look at **sources 82** and **83** and think about why Russian communists spared no effort or expense to spread communist ideas outside the Soviet Union.
- What was the reason for their interest in East Asia?

Source **82**

S. Karpov's Soviet poster (1930)

"The October Revolution, having broken the old chains and brought to the stage a number of forgotten nationalities, gave them new life and new development" (J. Stalin).

Source **83**

A. Apsit's Soviet poster *1 May* (1919)

"The workers have nothing to lose but their own chains, and they have a world to win" (K. Marx, and F. Engels).

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 61

- Based on **source 84**, determine what was the goal of the Korean Communists.
- What methods did they use to achieve it?
- What was their attitude to other currents of the national liberation movement?
- What internal and external forces did they rely on?

Source **84**

From the *Manifesto of the Korean Communist Party in Shanghai* (1921)

"The fact that the Japanese annexation of Korea is unnatural and unreasonable is very clear. Since the annexation, Japan has deprived us of all freedom of assembly and speech. Japanese interference reached an extreme when they intervened in our industrial enterprises and by irrational laws prevented the growth of these industrial enterprises. The social progress of the Korean people and the cultural development of the masses have been virtually halted by these inhuman acts, which have brought hunger to the material life and impoverishment to the spirit of the masses. We are striving to overthrow the Japanese yoke for the prosperity of our people We have fought a hard fight during the past three years, since the declaration of war against Japan. Though our efforts have been weak, our sincerity and zeal have more than supplemented what we have lacked in our forces and we believe that ultimate victory will be ours.

Our national emancipation movement is merely a step toward the ultimate purpose of social revolution. We are striving for the complete elimination of all the classes of our present society. This is our belief and, at the same time, the common objective of all the toiling masses of the world. Thus, our enemy is all the exploiting classes of the world as well as the Japanese militarists and financiers. All the masses who share the common fate under the oppression of the ruling class must unite their efforts. Thus, our efforts may be meager, but we express heartfelt congratulations to the Russian working masses and await with great expectation their success. We also expect the success of the activities of the Chinese mass revolutionary organizations and trust in the success of the birth of the recent Japanese socialist organization and Japanese Communist Party. Thus, we shall together destroy and drove out the roots of all the crimes of the exploiting classes in East Asia, nay, in the entire world."

- http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/korea/korean_communist_party.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 62

- Using information from **source 85**, explain why communist ideas found sympathisers on the Korean peninsula.
- Recall why some people in Ukraine sympathised with communist ideas for a time.
- What aspects of this ideology appealed to people?
- Was it perceived equally by the Koreans and Ukrainians?

Source 85

Leading researcher of Korean communism Suh Dae-sook on the spread of communist ideas in Korea

"...leftists and communists... succeeded in wresting control of the Korean revolution from the Nationalists; they planted a deep core of Communist influence among the Korean people, particularly the students, youth groups, laborers and peasants. Their fortitude and, at times, obstinate determination to succeed had a profound influence on Korean intellectuals and writers. To the older Koreans, who had groveled so long before seemingly endless foreign suppression, communism seemed a new hope and a magic touch.... For Koreans in general, the sacrifices of the Communists, if not the idea of communism, made strong appeal, far stronger than any occasional bomb-throwing exercise of the Nationalists. The haggard appearance of the Communists suffering from torture, their stern and disciplined attitude toward the common enemy of all Koreans, had a far-reaching effect on people."

Bruce Cumings. Korea, A Unique Colony: Last to be Colonized and First to Revolt. *The Asia-Pacific Journal. Japan Focus.* Volume 19. Issue 21. Number 2. Article ID 5646. Nov 01, 2021. P. 4.

Movement for the preservation and promotion of Korean culture

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 62

- Based on **sources 86–88**, explain why the Korean liberation movement shifted towards preserving national culture.
- Was preservation of the national culture really important for gaining independence?
- Is it possible to use M. Hroch's scheme to explain the Korean national liberation movement as a stateless nation?
- What does the Korean movement for the preservation of national culture have in common with the Ukrainian national movement of the nineteenth century?
- Based on the historical background, try to explain some of the actions of the Japanese authorities towards the Korean language and culture in the 1920s and early 1930s.
- The new Japanese cultural policy in Korea coincides with the Bolshevik policy of "Ukrainisation" in Ukraine. Compare the reasons, methods and consequences of the government's actions in Korea and Ukraine.

Source 86

Resident Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church Herbert Welch on changes in the liberation movement (1920)

"...while many Koreans still demand immediate independence, "some of the most intelligent and far-seeing" Koreans ...are persuaded that there is no hope of speedy independence, and that they must settle down for a long period to build up the Korean people, in physical conditions, in knowledge, in morality, and in the bility to handle government concerns..."

Bruce Cumings. Korea, A Unique Colony: Last to be Colonized and First to Revolt. *The Asia-Pacific Journal. Japan Focus.*Volume 19. Issue 21. Number 2. Article ID 5646. Nov 01, 2021. P. 3.

Source 87

Painting *Lecturing to students on the playground of the Osan School*

Source 88

From O. Reient and O. Malii's textbook *History of Ukraine for the 9th-grade students* (2017)

"Professor Miroslav Hroch of the University of Prague, who studied the comparative history of popular movements in Europe, identified three periods: academic, cultural and political. According to his theory, at the first stage of revival, a national group becomes a subject of researchers' attention who study the folklore heritage, beliefs, customs, and historical past of the people. All this is done in the language of other people. The second stage of national and cultural revival is marked by the fact that the language that was the subject of study at the first stage becomes the language of literature, used in science, public life, and politics. And at the third stage, the nation, united by the language, makes demands for political self-government, autonomy, and independence."

- Реєнт О. П. Історія України: підруч., для 9-го кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закл. / О. П. Реент, О. В. Малій. Київ: Генеза, 2017. С. 8–9.

"Korean Language Society — It was organized on December 3, 1921 for the purpose of studying Korean language and writing. Later, the name changed to 'Hangul (Korean Language) Society'. The organization announced the excellence of Korean language through presentations of Korean studies and lectures. In February 1927, it also published "Hangul."

1938. Japanese Government-General of Korea enforced the prohibition of education of Hangul (Korean Language) and imposed policies to annihilate the Korean people."

- https://www.sutori.com/en/story/copy-of-copy-of-history-of-korea-under-japanese-rule-japanese-colonial-era--38EKV1MZDPMC2ivRMrRgUxsd

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 63

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 89** and **90** and express your own opinion: Do you agree with the authors of the article about the role of Ukraine and Korea as donors of culture to Moscoviia and Japan, about the similarity of language situation in Korea and Ukraine, and the influence of cultural pressure on the process of cultural revival?

Source 89

From the former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to *Ukraine Ho Sun Cheol's memoirs Ukraine Is My Love* (2009)

"Professor Omeljan Pritsak, who taught Ukrainian history at Harvard University, believes that Ukraine can be compared to a bridge-building cultural envoy. Thus, just as Korea first imported Buddhism from China, assimilated it, and then passed it on to Japan, Ukraine adopted the religion from Byzantium and spread it across the Slavic lands. However, an intermediary geographical location and border culture do not necessarily have a negative impact on the development of a state. The progressive culture of the neighbouring countries can be borrowed and used for development, and a new culture can emerge as a result of the interaction of the neighbouring cultures.

The question is that the country's fate depends on how well the country is able to cope with this, how carefully and strategically its relations with neighbouring countries are developed, and how well the dynamics of international relations are monitored. In this respect, the Ukrainian situation is also similar to ours.

In his book *The Grand Chessboard* (1997), Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote that Ukraine, like South Korea, belongs to geopolitically significant regions. According to the book, "in most cases, the importance of a country in the zone of intersection of geopolitical interests stems not from its own strength and actions, but from its vulnerable geographical location and sensitivity to the strategic games of the surrounding states. To put it simply, being in the area where the interests of powerful states intersect, Ukraine is at risk."

- Хо Сун Чьол. Україна — моя любов (мемуари Посла Республіки Корея в Україні). Київ: Видавничий Дім Дмитра Бураго, 2009. С. 181–182.

Source 90

From I. Bondarenko, O. Kobelianska and S. Semenko's article *The Process of Formation of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language in the Context of the Historical Experience of Korea and Japan* (2019)

"Many Koreans when the time came (the third — fourth centuries) moved to Japan, bringing with them metal manufacturing technology, irrigated rice farming, crafts, Buddhism, Chinese hieroglyphic writing, music, literature, etc. In turn, all of this was borrowed by the Koreans from their great western neighbour. This

historical mediation mission of Korea was in many ways reminiscent of the historical mission of Ukraine (Kyivan Rus), which, in due course, also borrowed religion, culture, and writing from Byzantium and later generously passed it on to its northern neighbour, Moscovia. At the same time, both mediators — Ukraine (Kyivan Rus) and Korea — later paid bitterly for their mediation mission, including the loss of statehood, the decline of their own national culture, language, etc.

The Korean language went through very difficult times during the period of colonisation. At least, the entire education system in the Japanese-occupied country was completely Japanized. In order to obtain higher education, it was necessary to be fluent in Japanese, which the Koreans were forced to learn from primary school. By the way, the language situation in Korea at that time was very similar to the situation in Ukraine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the Ukrainian language was banned, as well as in Japan itself in the seventh and ninth centuries when diglossia prevailed there: the Chinese language was used mainly in the field of science, culture and education, and Japanese served only the domestic sphere. Thus, a thousand years later, the Japanese were actually trying to recreate in Korea the linguistic situation that they themselves had once persistently sought to get rid of. As world history shows, any oppression of national culture always provokes active resistance among the best representatives of a particular ethnic group, gives impetus to the revival and development of national identity, and promotes the emergence of new bright names in the national literatures of enslaved peoples. In this respect, the history of Ukrainian and Korean literature also has much in common. The prohibition of the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the dismissive attitude towards Ukrainian culture and the history of the Ukrainian people, gave rise to the genius of I. Kotliarevskyi, Taras Shevchenko, L. Ukrainka, Ivan Franko...

The situation was similar in Japanese colonised Korea. It was in the first half of the twentieth century that Korean literature was enriched by the names of such prominent poets as Yŏm Sangsŏp, Hyŏn Chingŏn, Kim Sowŏl, Han Yongun, Yun Dong-ju..."

- Бондаренко І. П.; Кобелянська О. І., Семенко С. М. Процес становлення української мови як державної в контексті історичного досвіду Кореї та Японії. Записки з українського мовознавства: Вип. 26. Т. 2: Зб. наук. праць — Opera in lingvistica ukrainiana: Fascicullum Vol. 2 / Одеса: "ПолиПринт", 2019. С. 97–107.

Yun Dong-ju is the poet who awakened the national consciousness of the Koreans

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 64

- Read **sources 91** and **92** and reflect on why Yun Dong-ju is considered to be the poet who awakened the national consciousness of the Koreans.
- What feelings does Yun Dong-ju's poetry evoke?
- Why is he considered a symbol of resistance?
- How have his poems influenced and are still influencing the national consciousness of the Koreans?

Source 91

Yun Dong-ju is a poet who awakened the national consciousness of the Koreans

Yun Dong-ju was a prominent Korean poet who became a symbol of resistance during the Japanese occupation of Korea. His poetry is imbued with deep feelings of freedom, justice and dignity. He was born in 1917 in Geoje, South Korea. In 1938, after graduating from high school, he entered Inhu High School in Seoul and later — Tokyo University, where he studied English literature and tried his hand at poetry. While studying, Yun Dong-ju was actively involved in the literary life of Seoul: he published his poems in literary magazines and participated in poetry clubs. In 1943, the poet was arrested by the Japanese occupation authorities on suspicion of a crime against the colonial authorities and sentenced to 2 years in prison. In prison, he continued to write poems filled with feelings and memories of his native land. The poet died in prison on 16 February 1945 at the age of 27, failing to live just a few months to see the liberation of Korea. Today, Yun Dong-ju's oeuvre remains an important monument of Korean literature and a symbol of resistance, the struggle for freedom and dignity.

Yun Dong-ju

Source 92

Yun Dong-ju. Poems

"In the prison, the evening hours are coming,
I look up at the blue sky.
Behind the iron bars I see
I see the light on the eastern horizon.
I dream of my distant native land,
The beauty of my mountains, rivers and villages.
My heart is full of regret,
Tomorrow I will give my life for Korea."

* * *

"In the gentle morning sun,
On Myeong-dong Street,
Through the cold winter,
I walk alone
Everything here is still asleep,
Only the winds whistle.
In this quiet valley
I write my poems.
The sounds of the flute carry into the night,
Beautiful songs are heard,
And my words resonate
In the souls of the people who hear them.
Those were the times
Before the Japanese captivity,
But we will keep our dignity,
For we are a free and strong people."

- http://www.poetryclub.com.ua/getpoem.php?id=984629

Yun Dong-ju hill

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 65

- Acquaint yourself with **source 93** and express your opinion on the appropriateness of comparing the figures of Taras Shevchenko and Yun Dong-ju. Do you agree with the opinion of Kim Suk-won?
- If you are interested in the figure of Yun Dong-ju, learn more about his life and work.

Source 93

From Kim Suk Won and Yu. Kovalchuk's article *Shevchenko Studies in the Republic of Korea* (2014)

"Kim Suk Won has made an undoubtedly interesting attempt to find a common denominator in the activities of two prominent artists in words –Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861) and Yun Dong-ju (1917–1945). Typological analogies can be traced in the works of Taras Shevchenko and Yun Dong-Ju. The Korean researcher found that the common topic of these poets is romanticism and patriotic motifs in their works. Yun Dong-ju opposed Japanese colonisation, just as Taras Shevchenko once opposed the rule of Tsarist Russia. Taras Shevchenko survived ten hard years of exile, and Yun Dong-ju died in a Japanese prison. During their lives, these two poets had nothing in common, but their fates are very similar. Taras Shevchenko's oeuvre had a strong influence on Ukrainian literature. During the era of Japanese colonialism (1910–1945), most Korean writers and poets wrote in Japanese and served Japan, but Yun Dong-ju was one of those who wrote only in Korean, so he was like a ray of light in that dark time. Similarly, it is difficult to exaggerate the value of Taras Shevchenko's literary heritage for the preservation of the Ukrainian language and national spirit during the times of oppression by Russian tsarism.

Taras Shevchenko and Yun Dong-ju — poets who are considered the symbols of the national liberation movement — are separated by epochs and forms of artistic expression. However, similar socio-political, psychological and spiritual reasons give grounds to put them on the same level, if not in terms of creativity, then at least in the commonality of the motives that guided them in writing their works. The comparison of Taras Shevchenko's and Yun Dong-ju's works allowed Kim Suk Won to identify the commonality of their romantic worldview, historical views, rebellion, Christian utopian vision of the future and ideals of humanity and mercy. The poets are united by a passionate desire for freedom and personal liberation, national and patriotic orientation of their oeuvre, ideological assessments of the historical past and present, dreams of an ideal person and an ideal society from the point of view of Christian religion and morality.

Kim Suk-Won's works, using the examples of Taras Shevchenko and Yun Dong-ju, show the importance of poetry in human life and the role of a poet in society. A true poet in any country will be an eternal memory for people. That is why Taras Shevchenko in Ukraine and Yun Dong-ju in Korea will never be forgotten."

- Кім Сук Вон, Ю. Ковальчук. Шевченкознавство в Республіці Корея, *Шевченкознавчі студії. Збірник наукових праць*. Випуск 17. Київ: КНУ ім. Т. Шевченка, 2014. С. 313–314.

Glossary

Anachronism	is something that is outdated and does not keep up with the times.
Meiji era	is the period of modernisation and westernisation of Japan (1868–1912).
Gandhism (from the name of M. Gandhi)	is the achievement of independence by peaceful actions of the people and parliamentary means.
Identity	is awareness of belonging to a particular nation, social group, etc.
Imperative	is an obligation to do something.
Class	is a relatively stable large group of society whose members have approximately the same interests, behaviour and values.
Left forces	are political forces that offer ideals of social equality and care for the oppressed.
Minjok	is a Korean name for an ethnic nation that is a community of people united by ethnic and cultural background.
Nationalism	is an ideology based on the recognition of the nation as the highest form of social unity and primacy in the creation of a state.
National spirit	is ideas and values that unite representatives of a particular nation.
Paris Peace Conference	is the conference of the victorious powers in World War I to develop and sign terms for the defeated states (January 1919 — January 1920).
Poet who awakes people	is an activist of national, cultural and linguistic revival who called on his fellow tribesmen to wake up from many years of sleep and remember their ancient past.
Buyeo	is an ancient proto-state in the east of the Korean Peninsula, whose language, like Goguryeo, Baekje and Japanese, was part of the same language family.
“March 1st movement” (movement 3.1)	is a mass movement of the Korean people against Japanese rule in March — April 1919.
Treaty of Shimonoseki	is the treaty of 1895, which summed up the results of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 — 1895 and secured China's recognition of Korea's independence.
Social progress	is the process of improving society.
Terrorism	is violent actions carried out by certain political, social or ethnic groups against a government or by a government against certain groups.
Utopian vision	is an unattainable ideal image of something.
Civilization	is a society based on the principles of reason and justice (by O. Mirabeau).

4. The Koreans and Ukrainians in the Far East

How did the Koreans find themselves in the Far East?
How did they preserve their national identity?
Why did the Koreans become victims of Stalin's repressions?

Korean settlers in the Far East (1905)

INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the nineteenth century, population growth led to the dispossession of peasants of land and encouraged representatives of different nations to search for free lands. One such region was Prymoria, which was annexed by the Russian Empire in the 1860s. **The Koreans and Ukrainians were among the first to settle there (4.1).**

Russian imperial authorities had different attitudes to the **mass resettlement of the Koreans and Ukrainians (4.2).** With the unfolding of revolutionary events in Russia and Korea, the Ukrainian and Korean immigrants became actively involved in the **national liberation movement (4.3).**

After the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East, the Bolsheviks formed their own view of the Koreans as a people suffering from colonial oppression. However, in the second half of the 1930s, attitudes towards the Koreans changed, and in 1937 they were **deported to Kazakhstan and Central Asia (4.4)** to be assimilated according to the Soviet model.

Children of the Korean settlement in Vladyvostok (early 20th century)

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1863–1884	the first wave of resettlement of the Koreans to the Far East.
1884–1905	the second wave of resettlement of the Koreans to the Far East.
1905–1917	the third wave of resettlement of the Koreans to the Far East.
1919–1920	formation of Korean guerrilla units and the guerrilla war in Manchuria.
1923–1932	the Bolsheviks introduced the policy of "indigenisation."
1937	deportation of the Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia.
1938	reorganisation of national schools, introduction of compulsory study of the Russian language.

4.1. Far Eastern settlements of the Koreans and Ukrainians

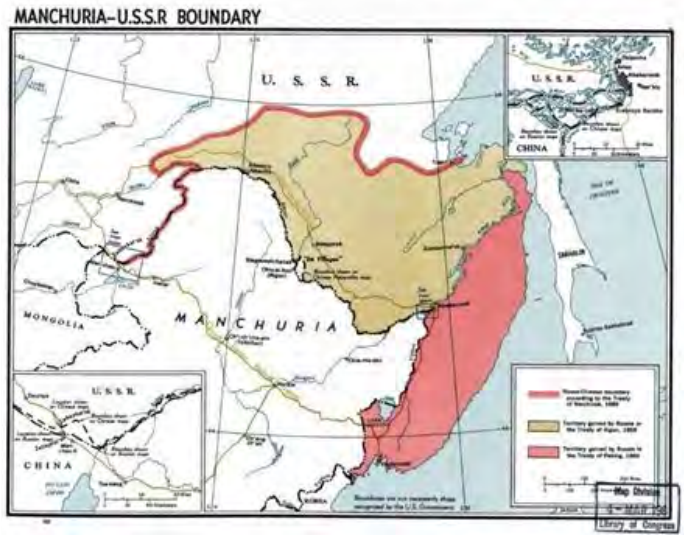
Korean settlements in Prymoria

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 66

- Acquaint yourself with **source 94**. This is a map of the East of the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. It shows the territories ceded to the Russian Empire by the Treaty of Aigun in 1858 (olive colour) and the Treaty of Peking in 1860 (pink colour).
- Do you think these territories were uninhabited? If not, who lived there?
- These territories needed to be settled. Who do you think could have inhabited them?

Source **94**

The Map of the Russian Empire's Far East



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 67

- Researchers of the problem of Korean migration distinguish a number of stages of resettlement of the Koreans to Prymoria: 1) 1863 — 1884, 2) 1884 — 1905, 3) 1905 — 1917 and 4) 1917 — 1937. In 1917, there were 81,000 Koreans in Prymoria, which was almost a third of the region's population.
- Based on **sources 95** and **96**, try to explain the reasons for the selection of these very stages. What events and processes in Korea are they associated with?

Source **95**

From V. Vlasov's textbook *History of Ukraine (for the 9th-grade students*, 2017)

What do we know about the resettlement of the Ukrainians to the Far East?

"The situation was complicated by the rapid growth of the rural population, which almost doubled in the 50 post-reform years. The industry could not absorb the excess labour force, as there were far fewer new jobs.

Therefore, from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, there was a massive labour migration of peasants from sub-Russian Ukraine to Central Asia, Siberia, and the Far East. At the beginning of the 20th century, the intensity of the resettlement movement increased. The flow of migrants from Ukraine increased especially after the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

The total number of immigrants from Ukrainian lands in the late 19th and early 20th centuries reached several million people. They settled compactly in southwestern Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan (in Siryi Klyn) and in the Far East, in particular on the Amur River and the Pacific coast (in Zelenyi Klyn)."

Власов В. С. Історія України: підручник для 9 класу загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів / В. С. Власов. Київ: Літера ЛТД, 2017. С. 209–210.

Source **96**

From Woosung Lee's dissertation *Koreans' Migration to the Russian Far East and Their Deportation to Central Asia: From the 1860s to 1937* (2012)

"From the early 1860s Koreans appeared in the Russian Far East. Beginning in 1864, Koreans who received approval of the Russian authorities had begun to establish Korean villages in this region. During the 1860s and 1870s, the Russian government favored the Koreans' immigration into this area in order to develop the inhospitable lands in the Far East. After the 1880s, Russia's contradictory tendencies of accepting the Korean immigrants or prohibiting them coexisted. Nonetheless, Korean immigration continuously increased until the mid 1920s. The number of Korean immigrants reached approximately 200,000 in 1937. During September and November of 1937 all Koreans

living in the Far East were deported to Central Asia because of the potential suspicion that they would serve as spies for Japan."

- Kim G.N. The history of Korean Immigration. Volume one. Second half of 19th c.– 1945. Almaty. 1999. P. 146, 163.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 68

- Based on **sources 97** and **98**, make a generalisation about the nature of the economic management and the way of life of the Koreans in the Far East.

Source 97

From Mykola Novytskyi's book *Zelenyi Klyn (Prymoria region)* (1928)

"The first agricultural colonisers of the country were the Koreans who moved here from their homeland, the neighbouring country of Korea, fleeing poverty and oppression. The Koreans are a peaceful people of an old, three-thousand-year-old agricultural culture. They still live in Prymoria region numbering more than 100,000, most densely in the Posietskyi district bordering Korea, and play a significant role in the region's economy and construction."

- Новицький Микола. Зелений Клин (Приморщина). Харків: Державне видавництво України. 1928. С. 17, 44.

Source 98

From Staff Captain Helmersen's report on the inspection of a Korean settlement

"When I saw Tizinhae in May 1864, all the immigrants were already in houses, which were hastily built, though, low and cramped, but in which the Koreans could spend the winter well, according to their habit of living in cold mud huts; a great deal of land was ploughed with the means at hand, and these means were very limited because many of them did not even have cattle, and their farming implements were of the most primitive form and so inconvenient that, for example, the plough had to be shaken every step of the way to throw off the layer from it. Despite this, a lot had already been done and the settlement presented a very lively appearance, and in spite of all the poverty of the new inhabitants, they did not show the usual companions of poverty — dirt and laziness."

- Новіков Кирило. Від ейфорії з приводу починань до глибокої недовіри й ворожості. *Закон і бізнес. Історія*, B–36 (816) 08.09–14.09.2007. https://zib.com.ua/ua/2833.html

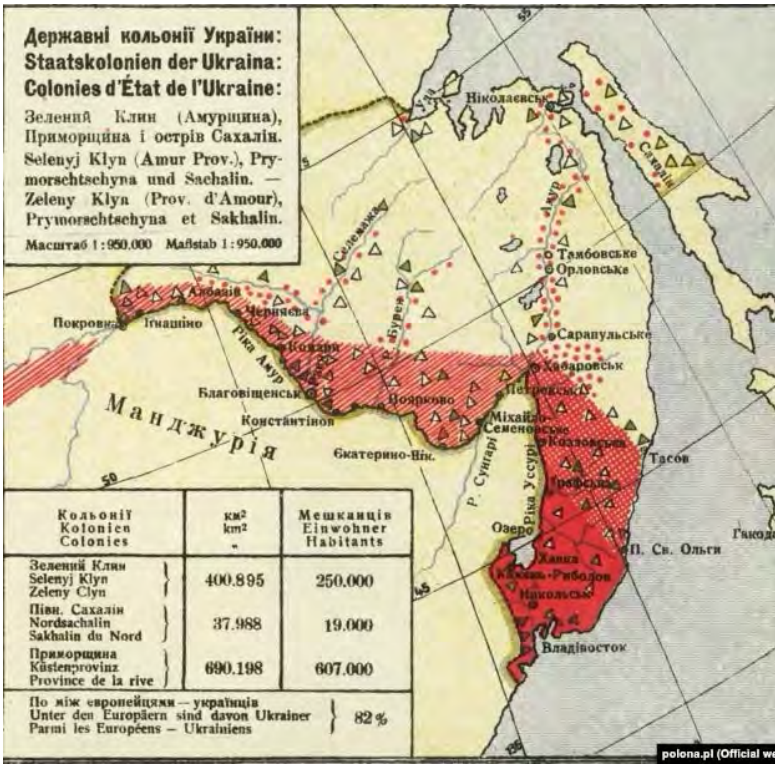
Ukrainian settlements in Zelenyi Klyn

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 69

- Take a good look at **source 99** and try to explain what caused the intensity and density of the territory population.
- Why was the southeastern part of the sea coast most densely populated?
- This area was called "Zelenyi Klyn (Green Wedge)." Green — because of the forested area, and wedge — either because of the geographical outline on the map or because of the wedge as a land allotment. Which of the following is more likely to be the origin of the name?

Source 99

A fragment of J. Hasenko's *The World Map of Settlement of the Ukrainians in the World* (Vienna, 1920)



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 70

- Using **source 100**, explain how this fact demonstrates the contribution of the Ukrainians to the development of the Far East.

Source 100

A monument to Yakiv Diachenko, the founder of the city of Khabarovsk, a native of Poltava region

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 71

- Based on **sources 101–106**, determine what the similarities and differences in the economy and everyday life of Korean and Ukrainian immigrants to the Far East were.
- How did the Koreans and Ukrainians try to preserve their national identity?
- Take a good look at **source 102** and explain how this photograph describes the Ukrainian community in Khabarovsk. How can you explain the fact that the Ukrainians dressed in national costumes on the international holiday of 1 May?
- The Ukrainian writer Ivan Bahrianyi, who lived in Zelenyi Klyn for some time, recalled that during the Ukrainisation of the Far East, "I met a Korean, an artist for a Ukrainian newspaper, and this Korean, Kim Gi-Sung, already spoke Ukrainian." How does this fact characterise the Koreans?

The resettlement of the Ukrainians to the Far East also took place in several stages: 1) 1861–1883 — resettlement of Poltava region residents by strings of carts through Siberia, 2) 1883–1917 — mass resettlement by steamers, 3) since 1917 — the beginning of the decline in the number of the Ukrainians in the Far East. By 1917, 421 thousand Ukrainians lived in the Far East, including 270 thousand in Prymoria, which accounted for 48.2 per cent of the region's population.

Source 101

From the encyclopaedic reference book *Zelenyi Klyn* (2011)

"Preservation of cultural identity of the Ukrainian immigrants in the Far East was also facilitated by the fact that, representing predominantly the rural population, they were the most conservative element in ethnic terms. The Ukrainians, who settled mainly in rural areas, due to the biggest conservatism of peasant life, were the most favourable for preserving traditional culture. Thus, the compactness of their settlements, especially in rural areas, objectively contributed to the preservation of Ukrainian traditional culture in Zelenyi Klyn.

The traditionalism of the Ukrainians and their attempts to preserve ethnic traditions can be explained, among other things, by the regularities of the process of migrants' adaptation to the new environment. Each culture that finds itself in a new environment initially tries to recreate the environment that corresponds to its traditional ethnic stereotype. This fully applies to the Ukrainians who moved to Zelenyi Klyn at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries. First of all, this was manifested in their choice of settlement sites that most closely resembled the natural and geographical conditions of the regions of their traditional residence.

In the material culture, Ukrainian features were most clearly manifested in the peculiarities of the dwelling of the Ukrainian immigrants. Even though Zelenyi Klyn was rich in wood, Ukrainians initially mostly built jerry buildings made of clay with an earthen floor and a straw roof, or huts made of thin wood, traditional for the steppe and forest steppe regions. However, over time, under the influence of the local climatic conditions and economic requirements, some features of traditional life gradually began to change, adapting to new conditions. As early as in the late nineteenth century, Fedir Busse noted that over time, Ukrainian steppe dwellers began to build wooden houses made of good wood instead of jerry buildings, but, according to the Ukrainian tradition, the outside was covered with clay and whitewashed with chalk, which was most justified in the local climatic conditions (this tradition was continued until the 1970s of the twentieth century).

...the Ukrainian language in Zelenyi Klyn has traditionally remained the language of family communication and internal peasant life and everyday life, which was primarily caused by the Russification policy pursued by the authorities, including the lack of schools with Ukrainian language of instruction. Accordingly, the language of market, official relations, earnings and various contacts with the outside world was Russian."

Зелений Клин. Енциклопедичний довідник / укл. В. А. Чорномаз. Владивосток: Вид-во Далекосх. федерал. ун-ту, 2011. С. 11–14.

Source 102

The Ukrainians at a demonstration dedicated to the International Workers' Day on 1 May, Khabarovsk, 1917

Source 103

From Ivan Bahrianyi's article *Ukraine near the Pacific Ocean* (1944)

"Why the Ukrainians?

Few Russians were willing to go to cultivate those unknown and difficult lands. In general, it must be said that Russian material here, as in other cases, was not suitable for this. A warrior and ploughman of great endurance, tried and tested could be satisfactory. What was needed was someone who loves to own land (as land), who knows how to take care of it and hold onto it, laying down his head for it.

This is the main reason why the tsarist regime used Ukraine and the Ukrainian peasant element, in every possible way to persuade the Ukrainian peasantry to expand to Siberia up to the "Land of the Rising Sun."

The second motive was undoubtedly the national policy of the tsarist regime, which was to place and disperse the Ukrainians among other tribes of the empire for the purpose of assimilation and in order to create a single 'Russian' people."

"Reasons for Ukrainian emigration.

As for the reasons that pushed the Ukrainian people to this land emancipation, it was the small size of Ukraine's land, along with the internal "kurkul" [a rich peasant owner — comment] competition to seize and develop the land. And so Ukrainians travelled around the globe by sea and land, to the world's end.

The bulk of the indigenous Ukrainian population in the Far East is farmers. Once they were also Ussuriisk and Amur region Cossacks; later they became just grain growers. Beekeeping, cattle breeding, gardening and vegetable growing have played and continue to play a significant role in their economy.

"The Ukrainians used to have a high standard of living. That was before the Soviets. From the point of view of the people of Dnieper Ukraine, peasant farms were very powerful. I once talked to my grandfather, a dispossessed rich peasant (a resident of Lubny until 1877, and only then — Zelenyi Klyn), and he told me what kind of farm he had. He had so many horses that he did not know their names. He never ploughed land in one place for two years in a row because he had enough of it. In the winter, he would put out 30 — 35 carts, earning money by transporting goods, grain, and materials to gold mines, China, etc.

Wealth was not considered an isolated phenomenon here; it was typical for the Ukrainians. They kept a lot of cattle because it was easy to feed them with the so rich pastures and hayfields that this region has."

"Thus, the material level of the Ukrainian population has become quite low in recent decades. This is because of collectivisation. They go to all sorts of trade. Generally, many people from villages are fleeing to gold and iron mines and various enterprises. The villages are scattering. They even had to tie them down by the law prohibiting them from leaving collective farms.

This collectivisation frightened villages and forced many to leave for Manchuria, not to mention those who were driven to the other side of the world and into camps and endless poverty. But despite all this, the Ukrainian village is struggling and living, only, unfortunately, its national characteristics are being erased; or rather, the Far Eastern Ukrainians are increasingly losing their national identity, turning into a 'single Soviet people'."

"However, some of the cases we have noticed confirm the idea that the Ukrainian people are absolutely resistant to assimilation with peoples of non-Slavic origin. For example, with the Tungus, Chinese, etc. In six years, I have not seen or heard of a single case of a Tungus or a Nanai, or even a Korean marrying a female Ukrainian, or a male Ukrainian marrying a woman of these nationalities."

● "Краківські вісті." Ч. 40/43 (25–29 лютого), 47 (4 березня), 49 (7 березня). https://osvita.ua/school/literature/b/66781/list-4.html

Source 104

From M. Nasekyn's article *The Koreans of the Amur Region* (1904)

"The nature of Korean agriculture does not differ from the agriculture of the Cossacks or Russian peasants but has a basis that is deeply rooted in the character of the Koreans and adds a peculiar flavour to the whole way of life. While all the features of the Cossacks' economy and everyday life are characterised by a desire for breadth and space, a total disregard for all the small things, and a desire for expansiveness in general, then

we see a completely different tendency in the Koreans, namely a desire for intensity, a love of hard work, order and accuracy. These tendencies are inherent in their nature and their spirit, and determine all their actions and the nature of their activities. Because of these tendencies, a Korean does not care about the constant expansion of his crops but tries to cultivate his small plots as best he can, which rewards his labour. Both in the arrangement of his dwelling and his everyday life, the same traits of his meticulous, painstaking nature leave their mark everywhere in the form of a certain kind of improvement, order, tidiness and well-known comfort. Everything shows the cultural habits developed over the centuries and organically fused with his nature."

- Насекін Н.А. Корейці Приамурського краю. *Журнал міністерства народної освіти. Сьоме десятиліття.* Частина CCCLII. 1904, березень. С-Пб. 1904. С. 54–55.

Sources 105–106

The Korean farmers in the Amur Valley

4.2. The attitude of Russian imperial authorities to the Koreans

How did Russian imperial authorities treat the Koreans and Ukrainians? How did this affect the national consciousness of the Koreans and Ukrainians?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 72

- Based on **sources 107** and **108**, explain how the spread of the idea of "Russia for the Russians" affected the attitudes of the authorities and the ordinary Russians towards the Koreans and Ukrainians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- Is this idea still influencing the worldview of modern Russians? In what ways does it manifest itself?

Source 107

Based on the materials of the British Wikipedia

"Originated in the Russian Empire in the latter half of the 19th century, the slogan has become increasingly popular in modern Russia.

V. Gringmut [ideologist of the Black Hundreds] authored one of the first publications to use the slogan. He proclaimed "Russia for Russian" as a slogan of the Russian Monarchist Party, which, he wrote, "clearly sees that if Russia is left to the people of alien stock and religion, and to foreigners, — not only will not be the Autocracy, but Russia herself."

Another version attributes the notion to Alexander III, who declared that "Russia should belong to Russians, and all others dwelling on this land must respect and appreciate this people." According to General A. Kuropatkin, Alexander chose "Russia for Russians" as his watchword. General Skobelev is also reported to have said that "I want to inscribe on my banner: 'Russia for Russians and in a Russian way, and raise this flag as high as possible!

In the last decades of the 19th century, some Russian political movements proposed reclassifying "Russia" as an ethnic or even as a racial category. They advocated "Russia for Russia" and believed that Russians deserved more rights than other nationalities in their "own empire" as they had established and maintained the state in the first place."

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia_for_Russians

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 73

- Take a good look at **source 108** and try to explain its symbolism: an eagle with a crown, a flag, three women, a woman in white with a cross and a sword, and the rising sun.
- Why do you think the poster depicts women?
- Why are there no images of other peoples of Russia?

Source 108

D. Sharapov's allegory of the triune Russia (Great, Little and White), 1905

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 74

- Acquaint yourself with **source 109** and answer the questions below:
- How would you characterise the attitude of the Russian imperial authorities towards the Koreans?
- How can you explain its deterioration, up to the perception of the Koreans as a "yellow threat"?
- Compare the attitudes of the Russian authorities towards the Koreans and Ukrainians. How can you explain the significant differences?

Source 109

From Park Hye-Ok's book *Arirang People: A Study of Koreans in Transnational Diasporas of the Russian Far East and Manchuria, 1895–1920* (2019)

"Koreans in the first category were immediately "eligible for land grants of 15 desiatinas as Russian subjects"—albeit only fifteen percent of the 100 desiatinas granted to the Cossacks. 211. Those in the second and third categories were treated as "guest workers without the right to citizenship" until the 1890s. 212. The second category applied to Koreans who entered Russia after 1884 and were given five years' temporary residency as guest workers (serfs). They were also required to pay five rubles for annual processing of temporary work visas. The lands they had acquired during their stay were forfeited by the government when their visas expired. If they stayed on beyond their two-year period of allowance, they were responsible for land-use tax but exempt from military service. The third category applied to the wage-earning Korean workers who entered Russia after 1884 and were assigned to use the land as tenants with taxation duties."

- Park, Hye Ok. (2019). Arirang People: A Study of Koreans in Transnational Diasporas of the Russian Far East and Manchuria, 1895–1920. CGU Theses & Dissertations, P. 74. https://scholarship.claremont.edu/ cgu_etd/369.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 75

- Take a good look at **source 110** and reflect on what the Russian Orthodox clergy's visits to Korean schools indicate.
- What other methods did the Russian government use to educate the Koreans to be obedient subjects of the empire?

Source 110

A Russian Orthodox bishop visits a Korean school in Vladyvostok (early twentieth century)

Korean children (early twentieth century). Photograph by Robert Neff

4.3. The Ukrainians and Koreans in the Far East in the struggle for independence

How did the rise of the struggle for independence among peoples around the world after World War I affect the Koreans and Ukrainians in the Far East?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 76

- Read **sources 111** and **112** and reflect on what the differences between the national liberation movements of the Ukrainians and Koreans are.
- How can you explain these fundamental differences?

After the overthrow of the tsarist regime in Russia, the Ukrainians in Zelenyi Klyn became active in public life: they created cultural, educational, professional and social organisations, and held mass events. Ukrainian District Councils were elected in the regions and Ukrainian Far Eastern Congresses were convened. The Ukrainians in the Far East strongly supported the proclamation of the UPR and promoted the idea of recognising Zelenyi Klyn as a colony of Ukraine, condemning the Bolshevik policy in Ukraine and German occupation. A bright page in the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in the Far East was the adoption of the Constitution of National and Cultural Autonomy by the 4th Ukrainian Far Eastern Congress.

Source 111

On the national and cultural autonomy (self-government) of the Ukrainians in the Far East (30 May 1919)

According to the Constitution, the national and cultural autonomy of the Ukrainians in the Far East provided for: a) creation of a full cycle of educational institutions with Ukrainian as the language of instruction at the expense of the state and regional budgets; b) the right of the Ukrainians to serve in the Ukrainian military units only; c) recognition of the Ukrainian language as the regional language, which meant that it was used in all official institutions, with local elective district councils in those districts where the Ukrainians constituted the majority of the population having to use the Ukrainian language both in internal records management and in the public domain, d) the right of the organised Ukrainians, represented by territorial and district councils, to send their representatives to the territorial authorities and their oblast bodies "for communication and protection of the national and cultural interests of the Ukrainian population", e) the right to free self-organisation of the Ukrainian population of the Far East in their internal life at the local, district and all-Far Eastern levels.

● Зелений Клин. Енциклопедичний довідник; укл. В. А. Чорномаз. Владивосток: Вид-во Далекосх. федерал. ун-ту, 2011. С. 21.

Source 112

From K. Novikov's article *From Euphoria over the Undertakings to Deep Distrust and Hostility* (2007)

"The 1917 revolution shook the entire population of the empire, and the Koreans did not stand aside. Unlike many other peoples, they did not seek to create their own autonomy. However, many of them dreamed of Korean independence from the hated Japanese. Therefore, when the Koreans came out to protest, they demanded not "land and freedom" but the expulsion of the Japanese occupiers.

In March 1919, an uprising against the Japanese began in Seoul, which was suppressed with the typical Japanese brutality. For example, those carrying Korean national flags had their hands chopped off. All this made a strong impression on the Russian Koreans, and soon they began to form Korean units in Trans-Amur region to fight the Japanese."

● Новиков Кирило. Від ейфорії з приводу починань до глибокої недовіри й ворожості. *Закон і бізнес. Історія*, В–36 (816) 08.09–14.09.2007. https://zib.com.ua/ua/2833.html

Cover of a calendar printed in Khabarovsk (1921)

4.4. The Soviet view of Korea and Koreans

How did the Soviet authorities treat the Koreans and why did this attitude change?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 77

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 113–116** and answer the following questions: How did the situation of the Koreans in the Far East change during the Soviet era?
- Why was the Soviet experiment of the 1920s to provide the Koreans with land unsuccessful?
- What problems did the Koreans face in Soviet times?
- Did the Soviet press cover life in Japanese-occupied Korea? In what way?
- What was the purpose of the authors of the publications in presenting information from this perspective?

Source 113

From Jon K. Chang's article *Burnt by the Sun: The Koreans of the Russian Far East* (2016)

The author cites S. Anosov's article The Necessity of Resolving the Korean Question in the Chervonyi Prapor newspaper (February 1927).

"The old ways will not soon be eliminated. Many people still now view the Koreans [as an object for exploitation; as a workforce to advantageously exploit. ... The future economic development of the region would be unthinkable without the active participation of the Koreans. We cannot continue the Russification policies of tsarism as if [they were] natural. But we can and should Sovietize the Koreans, creating for them the necessary conditions [of Soviet life].... In the faraway places of the region, where the Russian settlers are absolutely helpless, where the economy cannot depend on renting out land and only the techniques of harvesting crops and rice [are suitable], there the Koreans are irreplaceable."

Chang, Jon K. Burnt by the Sun: The Koreans of the Russian Far East. University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. P. 67.

Source 114

From V. Tykhonov's article *Korea in the Russian and Soviet Imagination, 1850–1945: Between Orientalism and Revolutionary Solidarity* (2016)

"Still, until the mid–1930s, the main thrust of the Soviet discourse on Korea was empathy with the Korean colonial plight and solidarity with Koreans' own anticolonial efforts rather than simple continuation—in different terms—of the Tsarist narrative of the benevolent Great Russian "parents" and their Korean "children." Some of the Soviet writers who left descriptions of colonial Korea were themselves members of the Jewish minority, long persecuted under Tsarism and naturally sensitive to any traces of Russian chauvinism. A popular Jewish Russian writer, Max Polyanovsky (1901–77), who visited Pusan on board of a Soviet ship in 1934–35, contrasted the plight of colonial Korea, where destitute and hungry peasants had to sell their daughters into Japanese-run brothels and could not even have their children taught Korean in school, with the Korean villages in the Soviet Maritime Province, with their relatively well-to-do mechanized Korean collective farms, Korean national districts, and schools with Korean as the language of instruction.115 Koreans, once given a chance to conduct a Soviet revolution themselves, could, in Polyanovsky's view, easily solve their own problems."

Vladimir Tikhonov. Korea in the Russian and Soviet Imagination, 1850s to 1945: Between Orientalism and Revolutionary Solidarity. *The Journal of Korean Studies*. Volume 21, no. 2 (Fall 2016). P. 114–115.

Source 115

From M. Novytskyi's article *Zelenyi Klyn (Prymoria Region)*, 1928

"In this area, Soviet construction has before it the consequences of the tsarist policy, which was based on the decomposition of the working population; in this policy, the role of the instrument of oppression was played by immigrants, and the role of the suffering was played by the working Koreans.

The Korean peasantry had almost no land and was condemned to the role of lifelong labourers and tenants — half-owners in the rich peasantry and Cossacks. Most of them had been considered "foreigners" for decades even though they lived and worked within Russia. The Koreans had no schools at all. Therefore, in relation to the Koreans, the issues of Soviet national and cultural development were closely linked to a number of pressing economic, legal and cultural issues: there was the question of admitting to the citizenship those Koreans who were actually our citizens, of land allocation, of land use norms, considering that Korean field culture was superior and more profitable than Russian-Ukrainian culture, of education, schools, domestic and religious habits

and superstitions, of the position of Korean women, in which Korean folk customs were at odds with Soviet legislation, and many other issues of urgent nature. These issues, on the other hand, are connected with the interests of the rich, the "hundred percenters", who think that with the granting of land to the Korean poor, they are deprived of masses of hungry and cheap hired workers and half-owner tenants."

● Новицький Микола. Зелений Клин (Приморщина). Харків: Державне видавництво України. 1928. С. 17, 44.

Source 116

From K. Novikov's article *From Euphoria over the Undertakings to Deep Distrust and Hostility* (2007)

"In the 1920s, the situation of the Koreans in Russia changed little compared to the pre-revolutionary period. The majority, as before, rented land from Russian peasants, while others suffered from landlessness. The new government tried to resolve the issue in a revolutionary way, i.e. by taking land from those who had it and giving it to those who did not. In 1923, the authorities decided to give the Koreans the plots they had leased from the Russian peasants. The peasantry responded by driving the Koreans off the land and pogroms. Many Koreans, who were afraid of not living to see the land allocation, fled to China. In addition, the Russians, fearing alienation, stopped leasing land to the Koreans, and as a result, many of the immigrants were threatened with starvation. However, the Bolsheviks, who were better than anyone else at carrying through the expropriation, took the land and distributed it to the Koreans, which did not add to the popularity of either side.

● Новіков Кирило. Від ейфорії з приводу починань до глибокої недовіри й ворожості. *Закон і бізнес. Історія*, В–36 (816) 08.09–14.09.2007. https://zib.com.ua/ua/2833.html.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 78

- Take a good look at **source 117** and determine what kind of standard of living for the Koreans in Soviet Russia in the early 1920s is shown in this photograph.
- Compare the images in **sources 118** and **117**. These photographs were taken at the same time and in the same place, but their content is in stark contrast. Why do you think this is?
- Look at **source 119**, a photograph of a pioneer unit in a Korean school in the mid–1930s. What changes in the lives of the Korean children does it show?
- How were these changes consistent with the Korean national character?

Source 117

A Korean village near Vladyvostok. (early 1920s)

Source 118

Ethnic Koreans in Khabarovsk

Source 119

A pioneer unit in a Korean school (1930s)

4.5. Victims of Soviet deportation

Why did the Koreans become victims of Soviet deportation and how did it affect the fate of the Soviet Koreans?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 79

- Acquaint yourself with **source 120** and explain what the deportation of the Koreans was like and what the scale of the deportation was.

Source 120

Deportation of the Koreans in the Soviet Union

"The deportation of Koreans in the Soviet Union was the forced relocation of nearly 172,000 Soviet Koreans (Korio Salam) from the Russian Far East to the opaque regions of Kazakhstan. The Uzbek Soviet Union was established by the NKVD in 1937 by order of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and Chairman of the Soviet People's Commissars Council Vyacheslav Molotov, 6,400 km (4,000 miles) to Central Asia. 124 trains were used to resettle them, because at that time the Koreans were subjects of the Soviet rival, the Empire of Japan, and thus were called "Japanese espionage into the Far East." However, some historians see this as part of Stalin's policy of "cleansing the frontier", with demographic estimates putting between 16,500 and 50,000 deported people. Koreans died from hunger, exposure, and difficulty adjusting to their new environment in exile. After Nikita Khrushchev became the new Soviet Chancellor in 1953 and embarked on the process of de-Stalinization, he condemned Stalin's deportation, but did not mention Soviet Koreans among the exiled peoples."

- https://academic-accelerator.com/encyclopedia/deportation-of-koreans-in-the-soviet-union

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 80

- Based on **source 121**, determine what the purpose of such publications was.
- What image of a Korean did they create in the minds of ordinary citizens? Is there any hate speech in the text?
- Can you think of examples of similar propaganda techniques in the 1930s in other countries and in contemporary Russian media?

Source 121

From K. Novikov's article *From Euphoria about the Undertakings to Deep Distrust and Hostility* (2007)

The author quotes an article in the newspaper Pravda (March 1937).

"A Korean spy. He has been 'working' for his masters, the Japanese, for years. He has been entrusted with the most despicable and bloody cases... Recently, a Japanese gendarme officer instructed him to find out whether the Soviet system was strong in the Far East. The spy imagined himself new thousands of yen. He agreed to go across the border. Late at night, the spy set off. But as soon as he stepped onto the Soviet soil, he was detained by a Korean collective farmer. The provocateur's tried-and-tested weapon, national kinship, fell flat this time. The spy miscalculated. The Koreans, Soviet citizens, had learnt to recognise the enemy. The Soviet Korean patriot delivered the enemy of his people to the right place. The humanoid predator was neutralised."

- Новіков Кирило. Від ейфорії з приводу починань до глибокої недовіри й ворожості. *Закон і бізнес. Історія*, B–36 (816) 08.09–14.09.2007. https://zib.com.ua/ua/2833.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 81

- Based on **source 122**, explain how the Soviet authorities justified the need to deport the Koreans. What were its real goals?
- What do the deportations of the Koreans, Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians have in common?
- Comment on the photo (**source 123**).

Source 122

Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) *On the Expulsion of the Korean Population from the Border Areas of the Far Eastern Territory*, 21 August 1937

"The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) resolve: To take the following measures in order to stop the penetration of Japanese espionage into the Far Eastern Territory:

1. To propose to the Far Eastern Regional Committee of the CPSU (b), the regional executive committee and the Far Eastern Territorial Police to evict the entire Korean population of the border areas of the Far Eastern Territory...

2. The eviction must be started immediately and completed by 1 January 1938.

3. The Koreans to be resettled should be allowed to take their property, household equipment, and livestock with them during the resettlement.

4. To compensate the internally displaced people for the value of their abandoned movable and immovable property and crops.

5. Do not impede the resettled Koreans' ability to travel abroad if they wish, allowing for a simplified border crossing procedure.

6. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR to take measures against possible excesses and riots on the part of the Koreans in connection with the eviction.

7. To oblige the Councils of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR and the Uzbek SSR to immediately identify areas and points of resettlement and to outline measures to ensure the economic adaptation of the IDPs in their new places, providing them with the necessary assistance.

11. To increase the number of border troops by 3,000 to strengthen border protection in the areas from which the Koreans are resettled.

12. To allow ... border guards to be stationed on the premises of the Koreans that are being released.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR V. Molotov.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU J. Stalin."

● Із історії депортацій. Казахстан. 1935–1939 рр. Збірник документів. Т. 2. Алмати: LEM, 2014. С. 158.

Source 123

The Soviet Koreans during the deportation from the Far East to Central Asia

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 82

- Using **source 123**, trace the route of deportation of the Koreans.
- Why do you think these regions were chosen by the Soviet authorities for the resettlement of the Koreans?

Source 124

The map of the deportation of the Koreans in the USSR in 1937

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 83

- Analyse **sources 125** and **126** according to the following scheme:
- 1. Describe what you see in the photograph (take the time to describe it — the smallest detail you noticed may be important).
- 2. What objects and things are depicted in the photo? Which ones do you think the author wanted to show most clearly? Why?
- 3. What do the people in the photo do and what are they doing?
- 4. Pay special attention to whether the people posed for the photo on purpose. Why was the person with the camera there at that moment and place?
- 5. Is there any textual information in the photo (posters, advertisements, captions)? How does it relate to the rest of the images?
- 6. If you do not know the date of the photo, try to determine it as accurately as possible using all possible signs.
- 7. Always consider how the information in the photograph relates to information from other **sources** (text, statistics, cartoons, etc.) and try to create a coherent picture.
- 8. If **sources** contradict each other, try to find out why. What new information does the juxtaposition of different **sources** provide? Which one is more credible to you and why?
- 9. Thus, what is the maximum information we can get from looking at the photo? What questions cannot be answered by the photo document? What information is missing?

● Історія епохи очима людини. Україна та Європа у 1900–1939 роках: навч.посібн. для 10 кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закл. / Ю. Комаров, В. Мисан, А. Осмоловський та ін. Київ: Генеза, 2004. С. 8.

Source 125

Korean children at the monument to Lenin (Uzbekistan, late 1930s)

Source 126

The Uzbek Koreans, 1940s

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 84

- Based on **source 127**, characterise the conditions in which the deported Koreans found themselves.
- How does this report describe the Soviet government and its social policy?

Source 127

Memorandum from the Deputy People's Commissar of Health of the Kazakh SSR N. Kuvarzin to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR U. Isaiev on the difficult living conditions and diseases of the Korean IDPs in South Kazakhstan oblast, 24 December 1937

"The conditions of those accommodated in the former prison and warehouses are difficult. The floors are everywhere stone or earthen, there are no permanent stoves (and in some rooms even temporary ones), the windows are broken, and the temperature in these buildings is slightly higher than the street temperature, and night frosts in Kazalynsk are already reaching 12 — 18°, the doors are large, they are not sealed, there are no vestibules, and the light coefficient is extremely low. To this, we must add that the living space, if we can call it that, even here ranges from 0.5 to 1½ sq m. The temperature of living quarters, even in flats in normal buildings, does not exceed 6 — 8 degrees anywhere.

There is a lack of electricity, very little kerosene is available for sale, and there are no lamps.

The situation with warm clothes is bad, most of the IDPs have only the underwear they are wearing. There is absolutely no bedding, except for thin mats. The vast majority sleep on the floor.

The sanitary condition of the housing and the territory is extremely poor. There are no toilets and no cesspits. In this regard, the territories of the housing are extremely polluted.

The food brought with them is coming to an end, and some people have already run out of it. The food handed over at the former place of residence has not yet been returned either in cash or in kind, but only records are kept of what and by whom was handed over."

● Із історії депортацій. Казахстан. 1935–1939 рр. Збірник документів. Т. 2. Алмати: LEM, 2014. С. 241.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 85

- Work through **sources 128** and **129** to think about which of the Koreans were repressed and killed by the Soviet authorities in the first place. Why?
- Compare Stalin's repressive policies towards the Koreans and Ukrainians.

Source 128

From V. Lee's memoirs We *Put Down Our Roots Here*

"In the Far East, we had a solid 5–6-bedroom log house with, of course, a heat-insulated floor. The family was large: my grandmother, father, mother and 6 children. We kept animals: chickens and pigs. In the garden, we grew potatoes, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, beetroot and radishes. Here we saw the endless steppe and reeds. We were allocated a former stable and given straw to live in. ...

On 17–18 February, at night, there was a knock at the door and my father's name was called. He was arrested, taken away, and we never saw him again. It was in 1938. We learnt from archival materials that he was convicted and shot as an "enemy of the people" and a "Japanese spy." Later he was rehabilitated, but it did not make it any easier for us.

Gradually, we could not afford to pay the rent for the house, and our life in sheds and dugouts began.

At first, my mother worked as a cleaner in schools, and the older children helped. We lived in poverty, especially in winter and spring. Moreover, we were also suffering from a terrible cold."

- Із історії депортацій. Казахстан. 1935–1939 рр. Збірник документів. Т. 2. Алмати: LEM, 2014. С. 665.

Source 129

From Hak-cho'l Ho's biography (1997)

"After all of the Korean intellectuals were wiped out and their mother tongue was taken away, no one could oppose the order to educate people only in Russian. We just obeyed and worked to obtain food and save our children… During the first years of forced migration, many children and the elderly died. In particular, many people died from the spring to summer of 1938."

- https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2021/01/forced-migration-biographies-of-the-soviet-koreans-who-helped-to-establish-the-north-korean-state/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 86

- Based on **source 130**, characterise the Soviet policy of national schools, which applied equally to the Koreans and Ukrainians.
- What were the Bolsheviks' goals in implementing this policy? What were its consequences?

Source 130

Resolution of the Organisational Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) *On the Reorganisation of National Schools* (1938)

"The inspection carried out by the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) established that hostile elements operating in the People's Commissariats of the Union Republics were establishing special national schools (German, Finnish, Polish, Latvian, English, Greek, Estonian, Izhorian, Vepsian, Chinese, etc.), turning them into the centres of bourgeois, nationalist and anti-Soviet influence on children.

The practice of establishing special national schools caused enormous damage to the cause of proper education and fostering, fenced children off from Soviet life, deprived them of the opportunity to join Soviet culture and science, and prevented them from further education in technical schools and higher educational institutions.

In view of this, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) considers the continued existence of special national schools and special departments at ordinary Soviet schools as harmful."

- Із історії депортацій. Казахстан. 1935–1939 рр. Збірник документів. Т. 2. Алмати: LEM, 2014. С. 536.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 87

- Acquaint yourself with **source 132** and try to explain the paradox of the Soviet policy: almost simultaneous calls for friendship with the people of Korea and deportation of the Koreans in the USSR.

Source 131

Soviet poster *Long live the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, Korea and China* (1945)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 88

- Process **source 131** and answer the following questions: What was the goal of the Soviet government in implementing these decrees?
- Is there anything in common between the educational and cultural policy of the Soviet government with the policy of the Russian and Japanese imperial authorities?
- In the USSR, the Koreans were encouraged to change their Korean names to Slavic ones but were allowed to keep their surnames. In the occupied Korea, they were required to change their names to Japanese. How do you think this similarity can be explained.

Source 132

Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) *On the compulsory study of the Russian language in schools of national republics and regions* (1938)

"The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) ascertain that the teaching of the Russian language in schools of national republics and oblasts is unsatisfactory. One of the main reasons for this situation regarding the teaching of the Russian language was the subversive work of counter-revolutionary bourgeois and nationalist elements that had infiltrated certain parts of the Soviet party apparatus and public education bodies, aimed at disrupting the implementation of Leninist and Stalinist national policy and undermining the fraternal unity of the peoples of the USSR with the Russian people.

The need to teach Russian as an academic subject in the schools of the national republics and oblasts is dictated by three main motives:

Firstly, under the conditions of a multinational state, such as the USSR, the knowledge of the Russian language must become a powerful means of connection and communication among the peoples of the USSR, which would contribute to their further economic and cultural development.

Secondly, the acquisition of the Russian language would contribute to the further development of national personnel in the field of scientific and technical knowledge.

Thirdly, knowledge of the Russian language will provide the necessary conditions for successful military service in the ranks of the Workers and Peasants' Red Army and Navy by all citizens of the USSR."

- Із історії депортацій. Казахстан. 1935–1939 рр. Збірник документів. Т. 2. Алмати: LEM, 2014. С. 557–558.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 89

- Based on **source 133**, try to explain why the Koreans who survived the repressions did not associate them with Stalin's name.

Source 133

From the memoirs of Ma Gen-Tha

"...we did not blame Stalin, despite the repressions that followed, the humiliating displacement and equally humiliating restrictions after the displacement. We blamed his henchmen and blamed the local authorities. So to speak, they had brought false information about the Koreans to the leader."

- Кім Б.І. Вітри наших доль: радянські корейці: історія та сучасність. Ташкент: Узбекистан, 1991. С. 22.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 90

- Take a good look at **source 134**. What do you think the event in the photograph might mean?

Source 134

Tashkent Mayor R. Usmanov and Seoul Mayor Park Won Soon shake hands at the unveiling of a monument to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the deportation of the ethnic Koreans to Uzbekistan, at Seoul Park in Tashkent (2017)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 91

- Take a good look at **source 135**. The Uzbek artist of Korean descent Mykola Shin (1928–2006) explained that in his panel "Requiem" (1982) (3 m high and 44 m wide) he reflected the feeling of enslavement and namelessness that the Koreans felt as a result of the deportation. Try to determine the means by which the artist conveys these feelings.
- What is the evidence that this is a depiction of the deportation of the Koreans?

Source 135

A fragment of M. Shin's panel *Requiem* (1982)

Glossary

Arirang	is a Korean folk song, the words and melody of which express one of the Korean national traits "han" — a feeling of sadness and pain for injustice and a desire to eliminate this injustice.
Bourgeois nationalism	is a Soviet political cliché, accusing and dividing the working class on the basis of nationality and weakening it in favour of the bourgeoisie.
"Enemy of the people"	is a Soviet political cliché to denote all those who disagree with Bolshevik policy.
Deportation	is forced relocation from a permanent place of residence.
Zelenyi Klyn	is the territory of the Amur region, which was actively settled by the Ukrainians.
Indigenisation	is the Soviet policy (1923–1932) of involving representatives of the indigenous population in local government and granting their language official status.
National and cultural autonomy	is the self-organisation of certain peoples to preserve and develop their own culture and ensure corresponding rights.
Half-owner tenants	are peasants who paid half of their harvest for the right to use their land.
Sovietisation	is the forced imposition of the norms of economic, socio-political and cultural life of the totalitarian Soviet Union.
Siryi Klyn	is the territory of Northern Kazakhstan, which was actively settled by the Ukrainians.

5. The "Korean Question" in World War II. Declaration of Korea's independence

Why did Korea not become a single state on the Korean Peninsula after gaining independence

INTRODUCTION

After the turning point in World War II, there arose the question of the fate of the countries occupied by the Axis Powers. Thus, the "Korean question" (5.1) appeared on the agenda of world politics, the solution to which was seen in the creation of an independent democratic state. However, during the military operation to liberate Korea, Soviet troops occupied the northern part of the country. In order to prevent the Soviet occupation of the entire peninsula, the US command defined the demarcation line along the 38th parallel.

With the capitulation of Japan in World War II, **Korea gained independence (5.2)**, but its territory was divided into occupation zones — **American and Soviet ones (5.3)**. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was immediately proclaimed in the northern part of Korea with the support of the Soviet military administration, but in early 1946, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, headed by Kim Il Sung, seized power.

A flag with the signatures of participants in the Korean Liberation Army (1945)

Raising the flag on Mount Namsan (1945)

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1943	adoption of the Korean Declaration of Independence
17.07.–02.08.1945	Potsdam Conference — confirmation of the Korean Declaration of Independence
15.08.1945	declaration of Korean Independence, the establishment of the Soviet and American occupation zones in Korea. Formation of the DPRK

5.1. The "Korean Question" in world politics

What was the essence of the "Korean question" during World War II?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 92

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 136** and **137**. Think about why the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition began to raise the question of the fate of Korea. Why only in 1943?
- What kind of future did they plan for Korea?

Source **136**

From historian Kan Den Sik's article *The Problem of Korean Separation in Historical Retrospection* (2008)

"For the first time, the issue of custody of Korea was raised in the White House at an informal meeting between the US President F.D. Roosevelt and British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. Later, at an official level, this issue was raised at the Cairo Conference of the Allied Powers in 1943, which was attended by the United States, Great Britain and Kuomintang China. The adopted declaration stated that "the three aforementioned great powers, taking into account the slavish situation of the Korean people, are determined to grant Korea freedom and independence in due course" [...]. After the declaration was reaffirmed in June 1945 at the Potsdam meeting of the Allied Powers, the Soviet Union also joined the Cairo Declaration.

Thus, without the consent of the Korean people, the great powers decided that it was necessary to prepare the Korean people for self-government, and therefore it was desirable to organise for Korea "a kind of international administration or trusteeship that would operate until the Koreans themselves were able to govern their own state."

Even during the preparation of the Yalta Conference, US President F. Roosevelt, although not officially, but unequivocally spoke in favour of establishing a trusteeship over Korea, referring to the experience of the Philippines, where the United States determined a 50-year period for the Filipino people to prepare for self-government. Then F. Roosevelt added that, in his opinion, "a transition period of 20 — 30 years could be established for Korea" [...]. J. Stalin agreed to the establishment of trusteeship over Korea, although he suggested a "shorter period."

- Кан Ден Сік. Проблема роз'єднання Кореї в історичній ретроспективі. *Політичний менеджмент*. 2008. №5. С.176.

Source **137**

Chiang Kai-shek, F.D. Roosevelt, W. Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek's wife (Soong Mei-ling) in Cairo, Egypt (1943)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 93

- Analyse **source 138** and answer the following questions: What differences of opinion about the future of Korea are discussed in the letter?
- Whom does F. B. Harris hold responsible for the violation of the agreements? What goals were pursued?

Source **138**

From F. B. Harris's letter to the US President H. Truman (5 May 1945)

"It seemed to be a great day for Korea and the culmination of all that we had dreamed and hoped when, at the Cairo Conference, the definite announcement was made to the world that in the peace Korea would be free. Lately, disturbing reports have been circulated as to Russia's ultimate designs on Korea. For Russia to rob Korea of her real independence by the setting up of any sort of & puppet government would be a callous betrayal of the holy cause for which our boys are dying-for which my own son-in-law gave up his life last October in Holland."

- https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/research-files/correspondence-between-frederick-brown-harris-and-harry-s-truman?documentid=NA&pagenumber=2

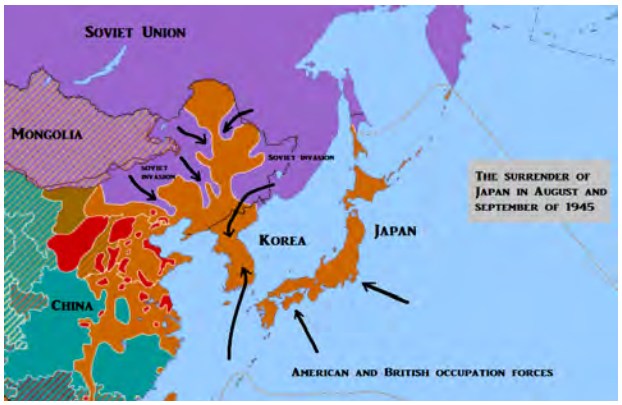
TASKS AND QUESTIONS 94

- In his memoirs, the US President H. Truman wrote that the 38th parallel had never been the subject of international debate.

- Analyse **sources 139** and **140** and make an assumption about the origin of the idea of division along this geographical landmark.
- Why do you think the directions of the Soviet and American offensive are marked in the same colour.

Source 139

The map of military operations of World War II in August — September 1945



Source 140

The Map of Korea with the distribution of occupation zones as of 12 August 1945

5.2. Gaining independence by Korea

What was the significance of gaining independence by Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 95

- Acquaint yourself with **source 141**. Explain why the Koreans initially reacted calmly to Emperor Hirohito's speech on Korean independence and only later began to rejoice.
- What was the reason for the Japanese government's appeal to the leaders of the national liberation movement?

Source 141

From Deokhyo Choi's dissertation *Crucible of the Post-Empire: Decolonization, Race, and Cold War Politics in U.S.-Japan-Korea Relations, 1945–1952* (2013)

The first day of independence.

"The capital of colonial Korea that afternoon was "completely quiet," in the words of Russian diplomatic official F.I. Shabshina who witnessed the epoch-making moment in colonial Korea. She wrote:

Seoul was completely quiet. Of course, people were aware of Japan's surrender. But, many did not believe it. They just waited with their cautious joy and hope. On the following day, everything changed — the enormous tide of unbridled jubilation literally swept through the city and across the whole country

While the large majority of Koreans was perhaps still in disbelief over Japan's surrender during that day, the Emperor's radio broadcast spurred Korean independence fighters into swift action for what they believed was forthcoming decolonization. In the early morning of August 15, hours before the Emperor's speech was broadcasted, Vice Governor-General Endō Ryūsaku had an urgent meeting with Yŏ Unyŏng, a long-time Korean independence fighter and leftist leader, and asked him for "cooperation" in preventing possible colonial mass retaliation in the wake of Japan's surrender — the nightmare that the colonizers had feared the most. Yŏ told Endō that he would accept if the colonial authorities agreed to carry out his five demands: "to release all political and economic prisoners in Korea immediately," "to guarantee food provisions in Seoul for the next three months," "to make no interference in [Korean] activities

for preserving and building law and order," "to make no interference in the training of students and organizing of the youth in Korea," and "to let workers all over Korea cooperate with our building efforts."

- Crucible of the post-empire: decolonization, race, and cold war politics in u.s.-japan-korea relations, 1945–1952. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Deokhyo Choi. August 2013.P.36. https://ecommons.cornell.edu/bitstream/handle/1813/34223/dc353.pdf;jsessionid=61E2A67BFAD73185DB26A1932C605F39?sequence=1

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 96

- Analyse **sources 142** and **144** according to the scheme presented in task and questions 83 of theme 2.

Source 142

The Korean people are celebrating their liberation in 1945

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 97

- Read **source 143** and answer the following questions:
- What goal did the US President H. Truman set for the Korean people?
- What does he mean by emphasising joint efforts?
- One of the theses of the address was negatively perceived by the Koreans, and the Americans will soon abandon this idea. Which one do you think?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 98

- Based on **source 145**, determine why the Allies chose to establish a Joint Commission rather than to directly transfer power to the Provisional Government of Korea. What does this suggest?

Source 143

Statement by the US President Harry S. Truman on the Liberation of Korea (18 September 1945)

"THE SURRENDER of the Japanese forces in Seoul, ancient Korean capital, heralds the liberation of a freedom-loving and heroic people. Despite their long and cruel subjection under the warlords of Japan, the Koreans have kept alive their devotion to national liberty and to their proud cultural heritage. This subjection has now ended. The Japanese warlords are being removed. Such Japanese as may be temporarily retained are being utilized as servants of the Korean people and of our occupying forces only because they are deemed essential by reason of their technical qualifications.

In this moment of liberation we are mindful of the difficult TASKS AND QUESTIONSs which lie ahead. The building of a great nation has now begun with the assistance of the United States, China, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, who are agreed that Korea shall become free and independent.

The assumption by the Koreans themselves of the responsibilities and functions of a free and independent nation and the elimination of all vestiges of Japanese control over Korean economic and political life will of necessity require time and patience. The goal is in view but its speedy attainment will require the joint efforts of the Korean people and of the allies.

The American people rejoice in the liberation of Korea as the Taegook-kee, the ancient flag of Korea, waves again in the Land of the Morning Calm."

- https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-president-the-liberation-korea.

Source 144

People, who left Korea, are disembarking in Busan on their way home from Japan in October 1945

Source 145

From the *Report of the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom* (27 December 1945)

"IIII. KOREA

1. With a view to the re-establishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

2. In order to assist the formation of a provisional Korean government and with a view- to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a Joint Commission consisting of representatives of the United States command in southern Korea and the Soviet command in northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two Governments represented on the Joint Commission

3. It shall be the TASKS AND QUESTIONS of the Joint Commission, with the participation of the provisional Korean democratic government and of the Korean democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic selfgovernment and the establishment- of the national independence of Korea."

- https://web.archive.org/web/20061230174610/http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/decade/decade19.htm.

外相會議 論議
朝鮮獨立問題
蘇聯 信託統治主張
米國 即時獨立主張
朝鮮 分占 不當

The article from *Dong A-Ilbo* on the Moscow Conference of 1945

- https://www.mediatoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=206223

5.3. The American and Soviet occupation zones of Korea

How did the two zones of occupation arise? What policies were implemented by the military administrations of these zones?

The American zone of occupation

What was the purpose and methods of the military administration in the American zone of occupation of Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 99

- Acquaint yourself with **source 146** and think: How can you characterise the actions of the Americans in the zone of occupation of Korea?
- What was their attitude to the proclaimed Democratic People's Republic of Korea?
- Why did the US administration favour Rhee Syngman among all the leaders of the national liberation movement?
- The author of the article, Mark Scher, calls the period of American occupation of Korea a "neocolonial model", and Cornelius Chang calls it "independence without liberation." Why do you think this is? Do you agree with the characterisation of this period?

Source 146

From M. Scher's article *US Policy in Korea, 1945–1948: A Neo-colonial Model Takes Shape* (1973)

"The American Forces in Korea (USAFIK) were under the over-all command of General MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) in Tokyo. As commander-in-chief of Allied Forces in the Pacific MacArthur had issued Proclamation No. 2 to the People of Korea, which threatened a penalty

of death to Koreans who violated USAFIK directions. Other directives from MacArthur's headquarters followed: No. 55 (February 23, 1946) required three or more persons who might associate for political purposes, including public discussion, to register with the Military Government. No. 19 required all newspapers and other publications to be licensed and copies sent to the Military Government. Ordinance No. 72 gave blanket authority to the Military Government for the arrest of anyone who "publishes, imports, circulates printed, typed, or written material which is detrimental or disrespectful to the occupying forces" or for "attendance at any public gathering, parade, or demonstration for which no permit has been granted."

The American Military Government also attempted to atomize the political united front which was the essence of the widespread support for the People's Committees.

As Robinson has perceptively pointed out, the American action rivaled the much-hated "thought control" laws of the Japanese, although the Military Government asserted it "merely wanted the information to better understand Korean politics."

With the support of the US command, a "Provisional Government" with a cabinet of ministers was proclaimed. Its headquarters was located in Deoksu Palace under the armed Korean guards.

To discredit the leftist Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the military government banned the use of the word "republic", proclaiming the military government the sole authority.

Of all the political exiles, the most famous was Rhee Syngman who later became president for a decade. On 16 October 1945, he arrived in Seoul on General MacArthur's private plane."

- Mark J. Scher U.S. policy in Korea 1945–1948: A Neo-colonial model takes shape. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 1973. 5:4, P. 19.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 100

- Analyse **sources 147** and **148** according to the scheme presented in **TASKS AND QUESTIONS 83** of theme 2.

Source 147

The ceremony of lowering the Japanese flag and raising the US flag. 1945

Source 148

Welcoming ceremony of Syngman Rhee (1945)

Soviet occupation zone of Korea

What were the goals and methods of the military administration in the Soviet zone of occupation of Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 101

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 149–151** and determine how the governance of the Soviet-controlled territory of Korea was carried out.
- Characterise the policy of the Soviet military administration in North Korea? How did it differ significantly from the American one?
- Why did the leaders of North Korea choose to copy the Soviet model of social organisation?

Source 149

From an entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

The Northern Zone

"Unlike the U.S. forces in the south, the Soviet army marched into the north in 1945 accompanied by a band of expatriate Korean communists. By placing the latter in key positions of power, the Soviet Union easily set up a communist-controlled government in the north. On August 25 the People's Executive Committee of South Hamgyŏng province was created by the South Hamgyŏng province Communist Council and other nationalists. The Soviet authorities recognized the

committee's administrative power in the province, thus setting a precedent for the committee's role throughout the provinces of the northern zone. In this way the Soviet Union placed the north under its control without actually establishing a military government. In October Korean leaders in the north organized the Bureau of Five Provinces Administration, a central governing body, and this was replaced in February 1946 by the Provisional People's Committee for North Korea. This new agency, a de facto central government, adopted the political structure of the Soviet Union."

The People's Party of Korea (1945–1947)

- https://www.britannica.com/place/Korea/Division-of-Korea

Source 150

From V. Lebedev's article *War and peace in liberated North Korea: Soviet military administration and the creation of the North Korean police force in 1945* (2022)

"Komendaturas did not intend to replace local police or paramilitary organisations that briefly took the role of a peacekeeping force but rather attempted to put them under control through a network of confidantes which they called aktiv (activists). These activists were chosen from the locals who could help with conducting explanatory work, weeding out elements hostile to the Red Army, organising works to restore the local economy, etc. They were also to become the Korean faces and voices of the Soviet military government at the local level and as such were to be chosen carefully. Special preference was also given to former guerrilla fighters who provided active assistance to the Red Army during the war."

- Vasilii Lebedev. War and peace in liberated North Korea: Soviet military administration and the creation of North Korean police force in 1945 *International Journal of Asian Studies* 2022. P. 123 https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/B26380E11146A0FDF8766960B2947ED3/S1479591421000127a.pdf/war-and-peace-in-liberated-north-korea-soviet-military-administration-and-the-creation-of-north-korean-police-force-in–1945.pdf

Source 151

From F. Tertitskiy's article *A Study of Soviet Influence on the Formation of the North Korean Army* (2017)

"Moreover, some limited autonomy was granted to the North Koreans from the very beginning. In the case of the army, for example, both ranks and political officers' hierarchy were, although very similar, not identical to the Soviet original. All this was in full accordance with the Soviet authorities' strategy. As expressed in Colonel General Shtykov's speech to his subordinates: "Enforce the Soviet social system, with respect to the local peculiarities." And they did just that.

One should not, however, assume that the creation of the army in the image of the Soviet Union was the opposite of what the DPRK's Korean elite wanted. First, in the 1940s, the USSR was usually perceived by Asian Communists as the ideal state and for them imitating its ways would be similar to striving for perfection.48 Second, the very decision of who would constitute such an elite was made by the Soviets, who, of course, strived to appoint only loyal Koreans to positions of power."

- Fyodor Tertitskiy. A study of soviet influence on the formation of the North Korean army. *Acta Koreana.* Vol. 20, No. 1, 2017. P. 214. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/756480/pdf

Kim Il-Sung

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 102

- Acquaint yourself with the information in **sources 152–154**. Based on the facts of Kim Il-Sung's biography, determine what personal qualities and political circumstances helped him become the leader of North Korea.
- What means were used by the Soviet secret services to bring to power the head of state who was under their control?
- Compare these means with those used by the Soviet government in Ukraine and by the current Russian government in its domestic and foreign policy.

Source 152

From the reference book *North Korea*. Kim Il-Sung (1912–1998)

"Known as "the Sun of Korea," Kim Il-Sung (1912–1994) was born Kim Sung-Ju in Mangyongdae village near Pyongyang to a Christian mother (Kang Ban Sok) and father (Kim Hyong Jik) who taught in a Western missionary school and was a practitioner of Koryo (traditional) medicine. To avoid the Japanese occupation, the family moved to Manchuria where Kim Sung-Ju attended school to 8th grade. He became active in vagabond anti-Japanese bands and joined the Chinese Communist Party. In 1930 his guerilla comrades (according to him) gave him the name "Il Sung," the sun. He eventually became leader of a division in the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army. Contrary to accepted legend, his guerrilla

efforts against the Japanese were of marginal impact but Kim Il-Sung was regarded as a good organizer. Under intense Japanese pressure in China, the Korean partisans fled to the Soviet Union in 1941 where Kim Il-Sung became commander of a battalion of Korean and other partisans in the 88th Special Independent Brigade near Khabarovsk. It was here he married fellow patriot Kim Jong Suk (who was later given the title "Mother of Korea") and had a son on Feb. 16, 1941, Kim Jong-Il. After the Soviets defeated Japan in Korea in 1945 [the 88th battalion was not permitted to participate], Kim Il-Sung and other partisans were returned by ship unceremoniously to North Korea, where Kim Il-Sung set about maneuvering into power with Soviet help, and creating the legend of his victory over Japan."

- North Korea: Introductory Sources: The Kims: Leaders' Biographies. https://guides.library.cornell.edu/c.php?g=225914&p=1497380.

Source 153

Kim Il-Sung at a rally in Pyongyang, 14 October 1945

Source 154

From the article *Kim Il-Sung* in the British Wikipedia

"The Soviet Union declared war on Japan on 8 August 1945, and the Red Army entered Pyongyang on 24 August 1945. Stalin instructed Lavrentiy Beria to recommend a communist leader for the occupied Soviet territories and Beria met Kim several times before recommending him to Stalin.

Kim arrived at the Korean port of Wonsan on 19 September 1945 after 26 years in exile. According to Leonid Vassin, an officer with the Soviet MVD, Kim was essentially "created from zero." For one, his Korean was marginal at best; he had only eight years of formal education, all of it in Chinese. He needed coaching to read a speech (which the MVD prepared for him) at a Communist Party congress three days after he arrived.

In December 1945, the Soviets installed Kim as first secretary of the North Korean Branch Bureau of the Communist Party of Korea. Originally, the Soviets preferred Cho Man-sik to lead a popular front government, but Cho refused to support a UN-backed trusteeship and clashed with Kim. General Terentii Shtykov, who led the Soviet occupation of northern Korea, supported Kim over Pak Hon-yong to lead the Provisional People's Committee for North Korea on 8 February 1946. As chairman of the committee, Kim was "the top Korean administrative leader in the North," though he was still de facto subordinate to General Shtykov until the Chinese intervention in the Korean War.

On 1 March 1946, while giving a speech to commemorate an anniversary of the March 1st Movement, a member of the anti-communist terrorist group the White Shirts Society attempted to assassinate Kim by lobbing a grenade at his podium. However, Soviet military officer Yakov Novichenko grabbed the grenade and absorbed the blast with his body, leaving Kim and other bystanders unharmed.

To solidify his control, Kim established the Korean People's Army (KPA), aligned with the Communist Party, and he recruited a cadre of guerrillas and former soldiers who had gained combat experience in battles against the Japanese and later against Nationalist Chinese troops. Using Soviet advisers and equipment, Kim constructed a large army skilled in infiltration tactics and guerrilla warfare."

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kim_Il_Sung

WE INVITE YOU TO DISCUSS

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 103

- Acquaint yourself with **source 156**. Express and justify your position: do you agree with the main points of the article? What are they?
- This article was written in 2017, before the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russian troops. In your opinion, do the events of the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022–2024 confirm or refute the author's arguments?

Source 155

From Kh. Dobrovolska's article *Hybrid Peace: Korea and Ukraine. Common features of Moscow's aggression and lessons for humanity* (2017)

"Ukraine, 2014

April 12, 2014. Eastern Ukraine. Unidentified armed men in balaclavas and military uniforms seize government buildings in Sloviansk, Kramatorsk and Druzhkivka. During the week, similar events are taking place in Horlivka, Yenakiieve, Makiivka, Mariupol, Novoazovsk and many other cities of the Ukrainian Donbas. Slogans are heard in the central squares: "For the Donetsk/Lugansk Republic! Instead of mayors and officials,

cities are being run by new people — field commanders. Well-armed and organized detachments enter into an armed confrontation with the Ukrainian military, who arrive in the region to resolve the situation. The militants call themselves "rebels", conduct extensive agitation calling for separation from Ukraine and declare what is happening a civil war. By a strange coincidence, most of the field commanders of the "people's militia" will later turn out to be citizens and residents of Russia: Igor Girkin (call sign Strelkov), Igor Bezler (call sign Bes), Arseny Pavlov (call sign Motorola), Alexander Mozhaev (call sign Babai). The masked aliens have an accent and throw words unknown to the locals, such as the mysterious "porebrik." Despite this, the fake self-identification of "rebels" has long been entrenched in Russian militants in foreign media.

Korea, 1945

October 14, 1945. Pyongyang. Exactly two months passed after Japan's acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, according to which it renounced Korea, which, in turn, was decided to be temporarily divided along the 38th parallel into Soviet and American zones for a period of 5 years. At the Pyongyang stadium, a rally of thousands in honor of the Soviet Army is taking place. The commander of the 25th Army, Colonel-General Chistyakov, introduces a 33-year-old captain of the Soviet Army with the Order of the Red Banner on his chest. Chistyakov calls this man a "national hero" of Korea and a "famous guerrilla leader." A young captain gives a speech in honor of the Soviet Army. Both the man himself and the text of the speech leave an ambiguous impression on the audience: few people have heard of this "national hero", who, moreover, used some strange words and terms in his speech. The secret of this eccentric text was simple — in fact, it was written in the political department of the 25th Army of the USSR in Russian, and it was translated into Korean by one of the Soviet officers of Korean origin. The crowd at the stadium does not yet know that the young order-bearer with the working nickname Kim Il Sung (translated as "rising sun") will very soon turn into the legendary leader of North Korea.

Common features of hybrid aggression against Ukraine and Korea

At first glance, there is little in common between these two stories. They are separated not only by an interval of 69 years and a distance of 6600 km, but also by the historical background that contributed to the creation of these isolated zones. However, it is in the history of North Korea that we can find answers to important questions of today:

1) Who and how governs the Donbas that is not controlled by Ukraine?

2) What will happen to these territories in the future if the conflict is frozen and everything is left as it is?

It is no coincidence that Kim Il Sung got to the stadium in Pyongyang. It is worth noting that Kim, although Korean by origin, lived in China from the age of 8, partisan against the Japanese on the side of the Chinese mainly on Chinese territory, that is, he had a distant relationship with Korea. From November 1940 to September 1945, Kim Sung-ju (real name Kim Il Sung) was in the Soviet Union, where he moved with an almost defeated detachment of anti-Japanese communist guerrillas from Manchuria. After a short stay in the filtration camp of the USSR and the establishment of his identity, Kim Sung-ju undergoes a training course at the Khabarovsk Infantry School. In 1942, Kim, already with the rank of captain, was sent to the newly created 88th Separate Rifle Brigade (from 1000 to 1700 people), in which mainly Chinese served. However, Captain Kim was assigned to command the Korean battalion of the brigade. Thus, as part of this 88th Brigade, Kim stayed in the USSR until September 1945: it did not take part in the battles for Manchuria and Korea. Over the years, Kim Il Sung managed to have two sons, and both received Russian names — Yura (the future Kim Jong-il) and Shura (who would die as a child).

After the surrender of Japan in World War II, the northern part of Korea is actually ruled not by representatives of Korea, but by Soviet generals: Chistyakov, Lebedev, Romanenko and Shtykov (especially the latter). The leading role in the formation of local party cells is played by employees of Soviet intelligence and the army political directorate.

Pseudo-elections and pseudo-referendums

It should be noted that the Communist Party was not popular in North Korea — on the contrary, the nationalist movement was strongly represented here. However, this did not prevent the Soviet authorities from finding a way to put the Communists in power. Due to various manipulations, the United Democratic National Front was first created, uniting all parties, and at the end of 1946, after a secret meeting between Kim Il Sung and Stalin, fake elections were held in the best Soviet traditions. Their fakeness was that only one candidate was nominated in each constituency — from the United Democratic National Front. It was possible to vote either for him or against him, without any alternative candidates, while voters had to put votes "for" into the white ballot box, and "against" votes into the black ballot box. The turnout was also from the realm of fantasy — 99.6% of voters took part in the voting and 97% voted for the proposed candidates. This is how the first People's Committee of North Korea was formed.

These fake elections in North Korea are ridiculously reminiscent not only of elections in the Soviet Union itself and the countries that fell under its occupation in the last century, but also of the most recent referendum in 2014 in Russian-occupied Crimea. Essentially the same approaches were applied there: restriction of citizens' choice, gross violations during the voting, and results with all signs of fictitiousness. The Russian Federation reported an excessively high turnout of 83.1% and a completely unrealistic result of the expression of will — 96.77% voted for the "reunification" of Crimea with Russia. Moreover, according to independent estimates, the real turnout was only 32.4%.

Obedient puppets of Moscow

But let's get back to North Korea and Soviet puppet Kim Il Sung. At the beginning of 1946, Kim Il Sung, on the instructions of the Russian generals, headed the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, which acted as a government. From that moment on, Kim became the de facto sole head of North Korea. However, one-man standing did not mean independence — Kim carried out all the orders that he received from the army command and from Moscow.

In 1947, it was decided that the fate of Korea would be taken care of by the United Nations. Despite the fact that North and South Korea were planned to be united under a single government, in fact, North Korea developed its own Constitution, which was supposed to become the basic law for both parts of Korea, and under the guise of creating police patrols led by Koreans who came from the Soviet Union, its own army and even navy were formed. In 1948, as expected, not finding support from Seoul for the idea of reunification of Korea on the terms dictated by the Soviet Union, North Korea proclaimed the creation of the DPRK.

The puppet Kim becomes the head of the Cabinet of Ministers of the newly created republic and, together with representatives of the South Korean pro-communist underground, actively pushes the plan of military seizure of the south. In 1950, after lengthy negotiations between Kim and the Soviet leadership, including Stalin personally, the military operation against

Seoul received the green light. The Kremlin believed that it would be a short and victorious war — Moscow was counting on the fact that support among the population of South Korea would be high, and the Americans would not intervene in the conflict.

On June 25, 1950, the 135,000-strong Korean People's Army, along with 150 Soviet T–34 tanks, entered South Korea. Moreover, the DPRK brazenly stated that it was the head of South Korea, Syngman Rhee, who was the first to attack North Korea. North Korea quickly captured Seoul, but the UN promptly sent a peacekeeping contingent to the war zone, consisting mainly of the US military. There is no point in recounting the entire course of the war, but in October it became clear that UN troops would crush Kim Il Sung, surrender was only a matter of time. However, in collusion with the Kremlin, Communist China came into play, deploying numerous ground forces. The USSR provided air support. The armies on both sides have suffered heavy losses, and the war is reaching a stalemate.

In 1953, after Stalin's death, the parties signed a ceasefire agreement and created a demilitarized zone in the area of the 38th parallel. The conflict freezes, and the world forgets about the DPRK, and it quickly turns into a monstrous paramilitary concentration camp supported by the USSR and China. Only in 1991, when the USSR ceased to exist, the two Koreas signed the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, Cooperation and Exchanges. However, in 2013, the DPRK will annul all non-aggression agreements, including the agreements reached back in 1953. The international community stubbornly continues to pretend that the problem of the DPRK does not exist, and only in 2016 — after new tests of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles — the world wakes up and finally realizes how the long story of hybrid peace in Korea can end.

You may say: what does the war in Ukraine have to do with it? Those who have carefully studied the armed conflict in the Donbas and the seizure of Crimea will find many similarities with the events in North Korea in the middle of the last century.

Ukrainian analogy

In 2014, Moscow also sent to Ukraine military regulars and mercenaries not only from among the Russians, but also from local residents, who underwent training courses in special military camps under the supervision of professional instructors on the territory of the Russian Federation. Similarly, the Kremlin prepared candidates in advance from among local residents who were to take up certain positions immediately after the seizure of government offices. These local collaborators were in constant contact with their Russian handlers and repeatedly traveled to Moscow to negotiate and receive instructions, just like Kim Il Sung and other Korean creatures of the Kremlin, all of whose stories simply would not fit into the format of one article. As in North Korea, it was Moscow that decided to declare "independent republics" — the "Donetsk People's Republic" and the "Luhansk People's Republic." Similarly, the leaders of both "republics" were and are puppets of the Kremlin.

Even Moscow's mistakes are strikingly similar. The modern Kremlin, just like in Korea, counted on the fact that its orchestrated "uprisings" would eventually find support among Ukrainians, and Russia would easily gain full control over all of Ukraine. When at the end of spring 2014 it became clear that the majority of Ukrainians did not even think of supporting the Kremlin's plans, and the artificially formed republics in the summer of 2014 began to retreat rapidly and lose their positions, Moscow, similar to the events of the 1950s, decided to intervene openly: the Russian army carried out massive shelling of the territory of Ukraine from the territory of Russia and threw not only armored vehicles into the Donbas, but also but also air defense systems, one of which was the downing of flight MH17.

Weapons, troops, money — all this has been pouring and is pouring like a full-flowing river from Moscow to the DPRK, and to other puppet republics — the Transnistrian Republic, the DPR, the LPR, as well as to the occupied Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Crimea and other regions. However, if we assess objectively, the number of weapons that Russia has thrown into the occupied east of Ukraine is unprecedented: 600 tanks, 1257 armored personnel carriers, 295 MLRS, 479 air defense systems, 368 anti-tank weapons, as well as small arms, mines and ammunition that simply cannot be counted. And this is without taking into account the weapons that were brought to Crimea after its occupation in 2014. An army of about 40,000 soldiers has been formed in the occupied territories of Donbas. both servicemen of the armed forces of the Russian Federation and motley mercenaries. And this army continues to kill people every day. Will it limit itself to the territory it has captured? Who knows, but unlikely.

Tragic consequences

Unfortunately, the tragic similarities between North Korea and Donbas do not end there. Because the most serious consequence of Russia's creation of an authoritarian state isolated from the whole world on the Korean Peninsula was an unprecedented violation of human rights and freedoms in the DPRK. Repression, torture, executions, cruel punishments for the slightest fault, correctional camps and almost complete isolation from the world — all this has become the hallmark of North Korea. And it was the Soviet Union that became the creator of this perverse system. Now the situation is repeating itself. Lawlessness and lawlessness are raging in the occupied territories of Donbas. People are grabbed right on the street or at home and taken away in an unknown direction. In the basements of both Ministries for State Security of the self-proclaimed republics tortures of unprecedented cruelty take place. People are executed and simply killed without trial or investigation in order to appropriate their property. The cities are actually ruled by military commandants and leaders of armed detachments who do whatever they want. Rape and brutal beatings became commonplace.

What can this lead to in the future?

To the same thing that happened in North Korea. Isolated and tortured by constant propaganda, people who grow up in an atmosphere of extreme cruelty, where life has no value, see the world differently. Their consciousness is deformed, and the whole world becomes a sworn enemy. They are capable of killing and easily committing any crime for the sake of the slightest manifestation of approval from a semi-divine dictator. It costs nothing for the children of blind chieftainship to use biological, chemical, nuclear, or any other weapon of mass destruction. I feel infinitely sorry for them, these mutilated people who have been crippled by cruelty and propaganda, but they are also capable of destroying the whole world when given the chance.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, history rarely teaches us anything. We repeat the same mistakes over and over again. However, sometimes life circumstances push us to evolve and make us wiser. The world is once again on the brink of a major war. And now is the time to face the truth and admit to yourself: if problems are not solved in a timely and local manner, they turn into global ones. And as North Korea's example shows, peace is not always a blessing, at least not with everyone or under any circumstances. A hybrid peace with despotic dictatorial regimes sooner or later turns into a hot war. So hot that it can turn into thermonuclear at any time."

- https://informnapalm.org/ua/gibrydnyj-myr-koreya-i-ukrayina/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 104

- Based on **source 156**, characterise the position of the DPRK on the territories of Ukraine occupied by Russia.
- How does the recognition of the independence of the so-called "DPR" and "LPR" by the DPRK, following Russia and Syria, characterise its leadership?
- Is there a connection between the events of the late 1940s in Korea and the current policy of the DPRK?

Source 156

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the severance of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (13 July 2022)

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine strongly condemns the decision of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to recognize the so-called "independence" of the territories temporarily occupied by the Russian Federation in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine.

We consider this decision as an attempt by Pyongyang to undermine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, a gross violation of the Constitution of Ukraine, the UN Charter and the fundamental norms and principles of the international law. The North Korean regime's recognition of the "subjectivity" of the Russian occupational regimes in Donetsk and Luhansk regions is null and void, will have no legal consequences and will not change the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine.

In response to such an unfriendly act, Ukraine announces the severance of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Political and economic contacts with the DPRK had been suspended due to the international sanctions imposed on this country.

"Russia's appeal to the DPRK for support in legitimizing the forceful seizure of a part of the Ukrainian territory speaks more about Moscow's toxicity than Pyongyang's. Russia has no more allies in the world, except for countries that depend on it financially and politically, and the level of isolation of the Russian Federation will soon reach the level of isolation of the DPRK. Ukraine will continue to respond swiftly and resolutely to any encroachment on its sovereignty and territorial integrity," — emphasized Dmytro Kuleba, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine."

https://mfa.gov.ua/news/zayava-mzs-ukrayini-shchodo-rozrivu-diplomatichnih-vidnosin-iz-korejskoyu-narodnoyu-demokratichnoyu-respublikoyu

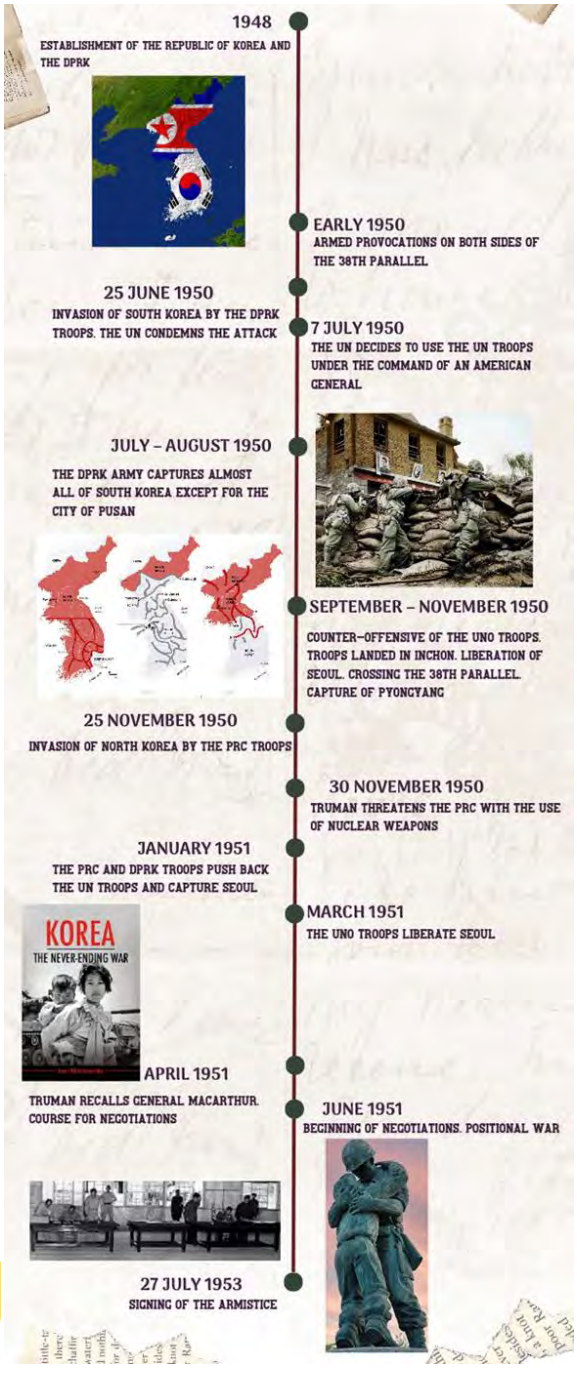
Glossary

American zone of occupation in Korea	is the territory of the Korean Peninsula south of the 38th parallel, which was under the authority of the American military government of Korea.
American Military Government of Korea	is the official governing body in the south of the Korean Peninsula from 8 September 1945 to 15 August 1948, under the leadership of General J. Hodge.
Axis Powers	is Germany, Italy, Japan (Berlin–Rome–Tokyo).
Cairo Declaration	is the decision of the Cairo Conference of 1943 on the recognition of Korea's independence.
Capitulation	is recognition of defeat in the war, laying down of arms.
Korean People's Republic	is a temporary government on the Korean peninsula from September 1945 to 1946, whose bodies were absorbed by the new structures in the North and dissolved by the American administration in the South.
Puppet government	is a government controlled from the outside.

THEME 3
THE KOREAN WAR
1950–1953

What circumstances caused the Korean War of 1950–1953?
What did it mean for Korea and the world?
What were its consequences?
What are the lessons of the Korean War that should be taken into account today?

1. Establishment of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK. On the other side of the 38th parallel.
   - 1.1. On different sides of the 38th parallel.
   - 1.2. The foundations of the future conflict.
2. The origins and course of the war. A human and the war
   - 2.1. In the anticipation of a war.
   - 2.2. 25 June 1950 is the beginning of the Korean War.
   - 2.3. The course of the hostilities.
   - 2.4. Defending the homeland.
   - 2.5. The tragedy and trauma of the people.
   - 2.6. The Korean War: the ambiguity of interpretations.
3. The Ukrainians in the Korean War.
   - 3.1. The Ukrainians in the UN Armed Forces.
   - 3.2. Hidden participants in the Korean War.
4. The impact of the war on Korea, the Koreans and the world.
   - 4.1. The consequences of the war and memory of it.
   - 4.2. The Korean War and the Ukrainian national liberation movement.
   - 4.3. The theme of the Korean War in Soviet propaganda in the Ukrainian SSR.
5. The Korean War and the Russia-Ukraine War.



1. Establishment of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK. On the other side of the 38th parallel

1.1. On different sides of the 38th parallel

Recall the results of World War II for Korea.

What role did the USA and the USSR play in the liberation of Korea?

Why did two states with different ideologies emerge on the Korean Peninsula?

INTRODUCTION

The American and Soviet occupation administrations, while publicly supporting the idea of establishing a pan-Korean government and preparing for elections to it, did everything to strengthen the position of political leaders loyal to them. In the south of Korea, the Americans relied on the former head of the Provisional Government in exile, **Syngman Rhee**. In the north, **Kim Il-Sung** gradually seized power.

The United Nations pursued a consistent policy of holding general elections in Korea under its supervision but was forced to succumb to Soviet pressure and allow separate elections in the north and south. As a result, the **Republic of Korea** was proclaimed on 15 August 1948, and on 9 September — the **Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (1.1)**. The creation of the two Korean states that did not recognise each other and considered themselves potential initiators of future unification laid the **foundations for the future conflict (1.2).**

Syngman Rhee's official portrait[1]

Syngman Rhee's regime

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 1

- Acquaint yourself with the historical summary of information. Based on the facts of the biography of Syngman Rhee, try to characterise him as a political figure.
- Why did the Americans support Syngman Rhee among all the leaders of the Korean national liberation movement? Why did he become the first president of the Republic of Korea in 1948?

Source 1

Syngman Rhee (1875–1965)[2]

Born in Hwanghae Province, Joseon, Rhee attended an American Methodist school, where he converted to Christianity. He became a Korean independence activist and was imprisoned for his activities in 1899. After his release in 1904, he moved to the United States, where he obtained degrees from American universities and met President Theodore Roosevelt. After a brief 1910–12 return to Korea, he moved to Hawaii in 1913. In 1919, following the Japanese suppression of the March 1st Movement, Rhee joined the right-leaning Korean Provisional Government in exile in Shanghai. From 1918 to 1924, he served as the first President of the Korean Provisional Government until he was impeached in 1925. He then returned to the United States, where he advocated and fundraised for Korean independence. In 1939, he moved to Washington, DC. In 1945, he was returned to US-controlled Korea by the US military, and on 20 July 1948 he was elected the first president of the Republic of Korea by the National Assembly, ushering in the First Republic of Korea.

As president, Rhee continued his hardline anti-communist and pro-American views that characterized much of his earlier political career. Early on in his presidency, his government put down a communist uprising on Jeju Island, and the Mungyeong and Bodo

League massacres were committed against suspected communist sympathisers, leaving at least 100,000 people dead.

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syngman_Rhee

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 2

- Based on **source 2**, use 3–4 nouns to characterise Syngman Rhee's standpoints.
- What ideology do Syngman Rhee's standpoints tend to?
- How can you explain the fact that, as a strong anti-Communist, Syngman Rhee calls for equality and the elimination of class divisions?
- Do you think a person with such views can find common ground with the communist Kim Il-Sung?

Source 2

From Lee Sang-hoon's article *Syngman Rhee's Vision and Reality: The Establishment of the Nation and Thereafter* (2011)

"To Syngman Rhee, the 'revolutionary will' to protect oneself and one's country from foreign invasion represented the essence of independence. The United States, which had achieved its independence from Great Britain at great cost, proved to be a good source of inspiration. However, the American War of Independence and the 'precious freedom obtained as a result of the outcome of the revolutionary war' were not the property of the United States because of any racial superiority. Here, Rhee maintained that the United States' achievement of independence was made possible by the fact that it possessed the mindset, desire for independence, and most of all 'religion,' needed to bring this about.

"It is a religion which emanates from the thoughts of men and which plays a decisive role in forming their mindset. The religion of Anglo-Saxons, Christianity, boasts a teaching system that places great value on the struggle for freedom. Unlike the traditional religions of Joseon, and in particular Confucianism, Christianity is rooted in the principle that all men are equal under God, and reveals how men can become truly free by doing away with evil customs, foolish habits, and sin. The Confucian teaching system is based on the belief that a king should rule the state in a virtuous manner. Meanwhile, the people have no choice but to wait for providence in cases where the ruler rules in a manner that is devoid of virtue" (Rhee).

"I am a firm believer in the one nation ideology. The national policy of this newborn country should be based on the one nation ideology." (Rhee)

The four principles of the one nation ideology consisted of:

"1. Overthrow lineages and pedigrees and promote equal rights, "unite as one nation under the one law of one state" 2. Reap the benefits of the market based on joint cooperation between land holders, capital and labor 3. Establishment of equality between the sexes and national unity 4. Elimination of class divisions and regionalism (factionalism) (Rhee 194)."

- Lee Sang-Hoon. Syngman Rhee's Vision and Reality: The Establishment of the Nation and Thereafter *The Review of Korean Studies*. Volume 14 Number 3 (September 2011). P. 44, 47.
- https://accesson.kr/rks/assets/pdf/7727/journal-14-3-33.pdf.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 3

- Analyse the photograph below. Pay attention to the central figure in the picture (facial expression, pose, clothing, etc.), those in the middle ground and the background, the location of the event and its scenery.
- How important is the event depicted in the photograph? What does it say about it?
- How does this photograph characterise the circumstances in which Korea was in 1945? What is your impression of Syngman Rhee?

Source 3

Syngman Rhee is speaks to the public after his return to Korea (1945)[2]

Kim Il-Sung's regime

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 4

- Analyse **source 4** and determine what Kim Il-Sung believes is a true democracy. What economic transformations are its foundation?
- Whose experience in the economic and social spheres do Korean communists copy? Can this experience lead to the prosperity of the people?
- What did Kim Il-Sung see as the main threat to the people of North Korea? What did he not like about the situation in South Korea?
- Would it be possible to create a Government of National Unity in such circumstances?

Source 4

From Kim Il-Sung's report to the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea *For the Establishment of a United Party of the Working Masses* (1946)

"North Korea's democratic reforms are a heartening example to the peoples of many Eastern countries who aspire towards freedom and democracy.

The agrarian reform put an end to the feudal relations in landownership and laid the basis for the democratic development of Korea. In North Korea the tillers have become the owners of land, and landlords and the tenant system have disappeared once and for all.

In North Korea the peasants have come to work their own land, and dispose of their crops for the improvement of their own life and expansion of production after delivering 25 per cent of harvests as agricultural tax in kind to the state. The agricultural tax in kind paid to the state is used not for the enjoyment and enrichment of the exploiters as in the past, but for the development of the national economy as a whole.

The enforcement of the democratic Labour Law has freed factory and office workers from the heavy, forced, colonial-type labour and has ensured them fundamental rights in their labour and life.

The nationalization of industries has turned the industrial establishments, the mainstays of Korea's economy, which were owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation, into the property of the people, the1reby destroying the basis of imperialist exploitation and laying the economic foundation for the building of an independent, sovereign state.

In addition, the Law on Equality of the Sexes emancipated the women in north Korea from thousands of years of humiliation and ill-treatment, and a twofold and threefold oppression."

"However, many difficulties lie on the road of the democratic construction of the country, and our struggle is very arduous and complex. This is because the aggressive army of U.S. imperialism is stationed in south Korea, seeking to turn our country into a colony once again, and because a gang of quislings are running wild, who have become its lackeys and are trying to sell out Korea to imperialism as a colony again."

"The most important task facing the Korean people today is to overcome at an early date the anti-popular and reactionary line pursued in south Korea, to carry out thoroughgoing democratic reforms in south Korea, as was done in north Korea, and thereby build a new, unified, independent and democratic Korea."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/kim-il-sung-establishment-united-party-working-masses-report-inaugural-congress-workers

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 5

- Take a good look at the photograph (**source 5**). How would you describe the speaker at the podium and the event he is speaking at? Why do you think Kim Il-Sung, who usually wears a paramilitary uniform, wore civilian European clothes to address the party congress?
- Compare the speakers shown in pictures 3 and 5. What impressions do they give you?

Source 5

Kim Il-Sung is delivers a speech at the inaugural congress of the North Korean Workers' Party (August 1946)[3]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 6

- Take a good look at **source 7**. Determine what ideas the author presents in the propaganda poster. To what extent are these ideas consistent with the theses of Kim Il-Sung's speech?
- What role do legendary characters and symbols play in the image?
- What is meant by "our system", which is mentioned in the title of the poster? What characteristics are conveyed in the poster? With what means?

Source 6

Poster *Long live our system*[4]

Source 7

From the book *A History of Korea* (2019)

"On November 14, the UN passed a plan to establish a Korean government through a general election to be held in the North and South under its own supervision. However, the Soviets opposed this plan, stating that it was unfair to the North because the population of the South was much larger. In March 1948, the UN resolved in committee to hold elections only in the South. In the end, a general election was held in South Korea on May 10, 1948, to establish a Constitutional Assembly. This first assembly named the country the Republic of Korea and created a constitution. The establishment of the government was declared on August 15, 1948, with Syngman Rhee as president and Yi Siyeong as vice president.

North Korea criticized the UN resolution to hold a general election solely in the South and insisted on establishing a unified government. However, the North was also making efforts internally for the establishment of an independent country, establishing the Korean People's Army in February 1948 and the Supreme People's Assembly by general election in September 1948. The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was announced to the world on September 9, 1948, with Kim Il-sung as its first elected prime minister. All of this rendered the movement to create a unified country impossible, and separate governments were established in the North and South that were mutually hostile and politically antithetical."

A History of Korea: The Understanding Korea Series No. 10. Published by The Academy. 2019. P. 250–252.

Establishment of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 7

- Think about why the Korean people failed to create a unified Korean state in 1948.
- Why did the UN not insist on implementing its previous resolutions?
- Explain why the formation of the two independent states on the Korean Peninsula did not meet the expectations of the Koreans.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 8

- Acquaint yourself with **source 8**. Think about the following questions: What was the reason for Kim Il-Sung's appeal to the leadership of the Soviet Union?
- Why did Kim Il-Sung emphasise the development of heavy industry and transport rather than light industry and agriculture in his conversation with J. Stalin?
- Why did Kim Il-Sung consider assistance in the field of culture, especially education, to be no less important than in industry?

- What was J. Stalin's interest in helping North Korea? Could the DPRK have survived without the help of the USSR?

Source 8

From the Notes of the Conversation between Comrade I.V. Stalin and a Governmental Delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by Kim Il-Sung (1949)

"Kim Il-Sung says that the Korean government understands that without further economic and cultural aid from the Soviet Union it will be difficult for the DPRK to restore and develop its national economy and culture. The assistance of the Soviet Union is required for the further development of the Korean economy and culture.

Cde. Stalin asks what kind of aid.

Kim Il-Sung answers--economic and cultural.

Cde. Stalin what precisely is needed.

Kim Il-Sung says that they have confirmed a two year plan for the restoration and development of the national economy. They need economic assistance to fulfill this plan and to strengthen the foundation of the economy. They need machines, equipment and spare parts for industry, communications, transport and also for other branches of the national economy. They also need technical assistance: sending Soviet specialists to Korea, drafting plans for the construction of new objects (factories and plants), conducting geological exploratory work.

Cde. Stalin says "Fine" and asks in what amount they need credit.

Kim answers from 40 to 50 million American dollars.

Cde. Stalin--fine, what else?

Kim Il-Sung ...cultural ties with the USSR. It is hoped, for example, that Soviet teachers could be sent to Korea for work in Korean institutions of higher education, that Korean students could be sent to the Soviet Union for study... that teaching programs and literature for institutions of higher education and technical schools could be sent to Korea and that there be exchanges of cultural and artistic figures.

Cde. Stalin indicates that it is possible to do this."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/notes-conversation-between-comrade-iv-stalin-and-governmental-delegation-democratic

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 9

- Take a good look at the photograph. How would you describe the relationship between Kim Il-Sung and J. Stalin? What was the reason for this?

Source 9

Kim Il-Sung and J. Stalin (the late 1940s)[5]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 10

- Based on the content of the propaganda booklet, explain why, when celebrating the 110th anniversary of Kim Il-Sung's birth, the portrait of Stalin is in the first place.
- What is the reason for the respectful attitude to the personality of the Kremlin dictator in modern North Korea?

Source 10

A propaganda booklet published by the North Korean Foreign Language Publishing House on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Kim Il-Sung's birth in 2022[6]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 11

- Based on **source 11**, explain why Koreans' joyful perception of the country's independence changed to a more reserved one in 1945–1948.

Source 11

From Kyung Moon Hwang's book *A History of Korea. An Episodic Narrative* (2017)

"On May 10, 1948, people formed long lines to do something they had previously only heard about: choosing government officials in a national election. These voters were electing legislators for the National Assembly, which would be charged with devising a constitution and a new government for southern Korea. That this new state would materialize three years after the end of Japanese colonial rule, and that its jurisdiction would cover only one half of the peninsula, encapsulated the uneasy circumstances leading to this momentous event. The jubilation that had greeted liberation in the summer of 1945 had quickly faded into a somber realization that freedom from Japan did not mean freedom from foreign rule. Indeed the division of the peninsula into separate northern and southern occupation zones headed by the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively, turned the peninsula into the opening Asian theater of the emerging rivalry between these World War II allies: the Cold War.

For Koreans in the southern zone, the American occupation would bring forth greater political and economic freedoms compared to the Japanese colonial period, but an almost equal stifling of their aspirations for national autonomy."

- Kyung Moon Hwang. A History of Korea. An Episjdic Narrative. 2nd edition. London. PALGRAVE, 2017. P. 167.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 12

- Take a good look at the photographs (**sources 12** and **13**). How can you explain the extraordinary solemnity and widespread publicity of the swearing-in of the government of the Republic of Korea in 1948?

Source 12

Proclamation of the Government of the Republic of Korea (1948)[7]

Source 13

People are gathering in Seoul to celebrate the establishment of the Korean government on 15 August 1948[8]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 13

- Based on the photographs (**source 14**), what conclusions can you draw about the nature of the 1948 Korean elections? Do you think this photograph was staged? Why?
- How can you explain the extraordinary activity of the Koreans during the election?

Source 14

A female citizen is voting in the first election in modern Korea on 10 May 1948[9]

1.2. The foundations of the future conflict

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 14

- Based on **source 15**, describe the attitude of the DPRK leadership to the Republic of Korea.
- Why did the Korean communists insist on the existence of only one Korean state, although after 1945 two Korean states were de facto created — the DPRK and the Republic of Korea?

Source 15

From the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea *The Development of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's Reunification Policy, Berlin*, 2 May 1963

"Concerning their policy on South Korea and reunification, the Korean comrades argue the DPRK comprises of all of Korea, and the DPRK government represents the entire Korean people. They base this argument on the all-Korean elections of August 1948. They resulted in an all-Korean Supreme People's Assembly, which adopted the DPRK constitution and formed an all-Korean government. In contrast, elections in South Korea and the foundation of the Republic of Korea were illegal and did not conform to the will of the Korean people.

The DPRK constitution rests on the position that there exists only one state in Korea, namely the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. A part of it is temporarily and illegally occupied by the United States and ruled by a reactionary regime. Since the constitution does not have a preamble, this position is reflected in some concrete provisions. Article 103 says: "The capital of the DPRK is Seoul." Article 7 states: "In places in Korea's interior, where land reform is not yet implemented, the latter will be conducted at a time to be determined by the Supreme People's Assembly." Though after 1945 two Korean states were de facto established, the DPRK and the Republic of Korea, the Korean comrades insist on the thesis of an existence of one Korean state only."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/development-democratic-peoples-republic-koreas-reunification-policy

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 15

- The photograph (**source 16**) shows the events surrounding the proclamation of the DPRK. In the centre is the flag of South Korea and the slogan "Long live the USSR" in Korean and Russian. How can this paradox be explained?

Source 16

Photo *Pyongyang residents are await the arrival of Soviet troops* (1945)[10]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 16

- Based on **source 17**, explain what events of 1948–1949 indicated the approach of a large-scale conflict. Why did they not lead to a major war during this period?
- Who do you think is responsible for the growing confrontation between the two Korean states?
- Compare the situation on the eve of the Korean War with the situation on the eve of Russia's large-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

Source 17

From Gregg Brazinsky's essay *The Korean War*

The two new Korean states were hostile toward each other from the time that they were created. The political leaders of the two new states viewed each other as illegitimate and representative of ideas that they had struggled to oppose since the Japanese colonial period. Although a full-scale war did not break out on the Korean peninsula until June 25, 1950, the two states swiftly began taking some of the steps that would lead to it. Armies had begun to develop on both sides of the thirty-eighth parallel even before separate states were established. The United States had helped to create a "constabulary" in the south in December, 1945. After 1948 this constabulary became the basis of the ROK Army. Once the Republic of Korea was inaugurated the Army rapidly enlisted thousands of new recruits so that

it had nearly 100,000 men by the time the war broke out. The United States continued to play a powerful role in training and equipping this new army. It not only sent material support but also deployed military advisors who helped to train the army.

Kim Il-Sung had begun creating his own military in 1946. He appointed his close political allies to the highest ranking military posts. Much as the United States supplied equipment and advice to the ROK military, the Soviet Union supplied weapons and guidance to the military in North Korea. Soviet military advisors remained on the Korean peninsula after the DPRK was formally inaugurated in 1948, while some of the DPRK's military leaders traveled to the Soviet Union for training. Within months both Koreas had significant armies and conflict between the two was starting to appear more and more likely.

A number of small-scale armed conflicts erupted during the spring of 1949. Particularly fierce battles occurred in May 1949 near at the border city of Kaesŏng and in August 1949, when DPRK forces attacked ROK Army units occupying a small mountain north of the thirty-eight parallel. During the first conflict at Kaesŏng, 400 North Korean and 22 South Korean soldiers were killed. The second conflict in August dragged on for months and southern forces were completely routed. Two ROK divisions were annihilated and hundreds of South Korean soldiers died in battle. Ultimately, DPRK forces regained complete control of the mountain. Despite the tensions that prevailed on the Korean peninsula and the fierce nature of these battles, however, they did not immediately produce the all out conflict that would begin just months later. The key reason was that while Korean leaders on both sides agitated for war, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wanted such a conflict to break out. The United States demanded that its Korean client state show restraint or risk losing the military and economic assistance that it was receiving, and the Soviet Union refused to grant permission for a full-scale attack, without which the DPRK could not proceed.

Soviet policy changed in January 1950, when Stalin reversed his earlier position on a North Korean invasion of the South and gave Kim Il-Sung permission to reunify the peninsula by force. Stalin believed that changing international now made it possible for such an invasion to succeed. Chinese communists were no longer fighting their civil war and could therefore send troops to Korea, if necessary. Most importantly, information from the United States indicated that the US would not intervene."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/essays/korean-wa

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 17

- The photograph (**source 18**) creates a double impression. On the one hand, it shows calmness, and on the other hand, — inner tension. Why do you think this is?

Source 18

South Korean army officers are observe the territory of North Korea [11]

Glossary

The War for the Independence of the USA	is a confrontation between Great Britain and the representatives of 13 North American colonies that declared independence (1775–1783).
Loan	is funds and valuables provided to the borrower for a specified period of time at interest.
The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea	is the only unicameral legislative body of the Republic of Korea, consisting of 300 deputies. It has existed since 1948.
The First Republic of Korea	was a democratic in its nature republic in Korea in 1948–1960.
The United Nations Organisation	is a global international organisation founded in 1945 to maintain and strengthen peace and international security and develop cooperation.
Regionalism	is a desire to secure the interests of a region, sometimes at the expense of national interests.
Factionalism	is a desire to secure the interests of a certain group of people at the expense of national interests.

2. The origins and course of the war. A human and the war

How did the global military conflict on the Korean Peninsula begin, unfold and end?

Recall what were the roots of the military conflict and think about whether it could have been localised?

I Thank you and remember
poster (2020)

https://m.betanews.net/article/1189088

INTRODUCTION

After the proclamation of the Republic of Korea and the DPRK, the Soviet Union and the United States of America withdrew their troops from their territories, leaving behind a large part of their weapons. The authorities of both North and South Korea did not abandon the idea of uniting the country by military means and tried to enlist the support of the great powers in **anticipation of a war (2.1)**.

On **25 June 1950 (2.2)**, the DPRK troops crossed the 38th parallel and launched a large-scale offensive deep into South Korean territory. The UN immediately condemned the DPRK's invasion of the ROK and subsequently authorised the use of the UN troops. This decision was made possible because the Soviet Union boycotted meetings of the UN Security Council.

The war began to **gain momentum (2.3)**. The North Korean troops launched an offensive and pinned down South Korean troops in the area of Pusan. With the deployment of the UN troops to Korea, the situation changed: a counter-offensive was launched in the Busan area and a landing was made in the Incheon area, which made it possible to liberate Seoul and continue military operations in the DPRK territory. In order to prevent the defeat of Kim Il-Sung's army, China sent its troops into South Korea. The number of military forces involved in the conflict has reached enormous proportions. The South Koreans bravely defended their **homeland (2.4)**.

In response, US President H. Truman began to talk about the possibility of using nuclear weapons. The armies of the PRC and DPRK pushed the UN troops out of North Korea and occupied Seoul. A few months later, the UN troops liberated Seoul again. A stalemate began to develop at the front. The US President H. Truman decided to abandon deepening of the conflict and to use nuclear weapons, and after that negotiations started. The war became positional in nature and later ended with the signing of an armistice on 27 July 1953.

The 1950–1953 war became a tragedy and trauma for **Korean people (2.5).**

Despite the fact that more than 70 years have passed since its end, part of the history of the war is hidden. It is interpreted **ambiguously (2.6)** by both scholars and school textbook authors.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Early 1950 — armed provocations on both sides of the 38th parallel.

25 June 1950 — the DPRK troops invade South Korea, and the UN condemns the attack.

7 July 1950 — the UN decides to use UN troops under the command of an American general.

July — August 1950 — the DPRK troops capture almost all of South Korea, except for the city of Busan.

September — November 1950 — counter-offensive of the UN troops; troops landing in Inchon, liberation of Seoul, crossing the 38th parallel, capture of Pyongyang.

25 November 1950 — the PRC troops invade North Korea.

30 November 1950 — Truman threatens the PRC with the use of nuclear weapons.

January 1951 — the Chinese and DPRK troops push back UN troops and capture Seoul.

March 1951 — the UN troops liberate Seoul.

April 1951 — Truman recalls General MacArthur; the course for negotiations.

June 1951 — beginning of negotiations, positional warfare.

27 July 1953 — signing of the armistice.

2.1. In anticipation of a war

What was the attitude of the leaders of the USSR, China, DPRK, the USA and the Republic of Korea to the military unification of Korea?

Why did the military conflict on the Korean Peninsula in 1950 become inevitable&

J. Stalin's position

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 18

- Acquaint yourself with **source 19** and determine:
- What did J. Stalin mean by the words "start the unification"?
- What was his goal in supporting the Korean unification in this way?
- Can we say that the situation in Korea was a pretext for the creation of an anti-American alliance?
- How was J. Stalin's position on Korea related to the Truman Doctrine?

Source 19

From O. Hohun's article *The Doomsday Alliance. How the USSR and China Planned to Capture the Planet* (2023)

"In the spring of 1949, the leader sent a telegram to Ivan Kovalov, the head of Soviet military experts in China, to be passed on to the Chinese side: "The war is not beneficial to the imperialists. They are in a crisis; they are not ready to fight. They scare us with an atomic bomb, but we are not afraid of it. There are no material conditions for an attack and for starting a war."

"Five days before the signing of the Vyshinsky — Zhou Enlai agreement, the Moscow despot sent a telegram to the Ambassador to the DPRK Terentii Shtykov: "Visit Kim Il-Sung and tell him orally that... they can start forming three additional divisions. He can request the use of the loan in 1950, which was allocated for 1951."

"The agreement came into force two months later, on 11 April, and a month later Stalin sent a telegram to the Soviet ambassador in Beijing for Mao: "In a conversation with the Korean comrades, Filippov (one of Dzhugashvili's pseudonyms — O. H.) and his friends expressed the opinion that, due to the changed international situation, they agreed with the proposal of the Koreans to proceed with unification."

"...At the end of August 1950, Stalin was pleased to report... to Clement Gottwald and even initiated the Czechoslovak dictator into his immediate plans in the Pacific region: "...America has become involved in military intervention in Korea and is now wasting its military prestige and its moral authority... In addition, it is clear that the United States has now turned away from Europe to the Far East... Suppose that the American government continues to bog down in the Far East and draws China into the struggle... America... must exert itself to the utmost in this struggle... America's struggle with China must revolutionise all of East Asia. Does all this give us a plus in terms of world powers? Of course, it does."

● Гогун Олександр. Союз кінця світу. Як СССР і КНР замишляли захоплення планети. 23.08.2023. https://www.dsnews.ua/ukr/istoricheskiy-front/soyuz-kincya-svitu-yak-srsr-i-knr-zamishlyali-zahoplennya-planeti-23082023-485517

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 19

- Analyse the cartoons (**source 20**). Explain their titles.
- Which country's view do they reflect? In what ways is it expressed?
- How does the cartoon show the origins of the Korean War? What role does Stalin and red propaganda play in this?

Source 20

The cartoons *Easter Egg Coloring* and *Who's next to be freed from freedom, comrade?*[12]

EASTER EGG COLORING.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 20

- What role did the Soviet Union and its representatives in the DPRK play in resolving the conflict?
- What arguments did the Soviet advisor in the DPRK use to push North Korea to war?

Source 21

From the speech of the Soviet Union's Ambassador to North Korea T. Shtykov, at a Luncheon at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of North Korea (1950)

"The people of the southern portion of Korea trust me and rely on our armed might. Partisans will not decide the question. The people of the south know that we have a good army. Lately, I do not sleep at night, thinking about how to resolve the question of the unification of the whole country. If the matter of the liberation of the people of the southern portion of Korea and the unification of the country is drawn out, then I can lose the trust of the people of Korea."

- https://www.worldhistoryde.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Day-02-Korean-War.docx

Mao Zedong's position on a possible war in Korea

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 21

- Analyse **source 22** and determine:
- How knowledgeable was Mao Zedong about the Korean affairs?
- Was he opposed or in favour of a war in Korea?
- Was he prepared to provide assistance to the DPRK and what kind of assistance?
- What was the Chinese leader's expectation of the war?
- Comment on this December 1952 cartoon (**source 16**). In your opinion, does it accurately reflect the aspirations of Stalin, Mao Zedong and Kim Il-Sung?

Source 22

From the telegram of the USSR Ambassador to the DPRK T. Shtykov to the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Vyshynskyi (15 May 1949)

"In Beijing Kim Il had four meetings with Zhu De and Zhou Enlai and one meeting with Mao Zedong. Kim Il passed on to Mao Zedong a letter from the CC of the Korean Workers' Party with the request, in case it becomes necessary, to transfer Korean divisions that a part of the PLA to the Korean government.

Mao Zedong stated that they are prepared at any time to transfer two divisions, located in Manchuria, to the Korean government, completely armed. The third division can be returned from the South only after the end of the fighting but no earlier than in a month's time.

Mao Zedong and Zhu De asked in detail about the situation in Korea. Mao Zedong said that Korea could see military action at any moment; Kim Il-Sung must take this into account and thoroughly prepare.

In Korea, the war can be of the lightning or the protracted type. A protracted war, Mao Zedong said, it not in your interest, because in this case the Japanese may get involved and provide aid to the South Korean "government." You don't need to worry: next to you are the Soviet Union and we in Manchuria."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/telegram-shtykov-vyshinsky-1

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 22

- The photograph (**source 23**) shows the friendly relationship between Kim Il-Sung and Mao Zedong. Mao himself described North Korea-China relations as close as "lips and teeth." What was the reason for such close relations between the DPRK and China in the late 1940s and 50s?

Source 23

Kim Il-Sung and Mao Zedong[13]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 23

- Characterize Mao Zedong's tactics to unify Korea. How was it affected by the elections in South Korea?
- Why did the Chinese leader not support the military invasion of South Korea in the autumn of 1949?

Source 24

From Mao Zedong's telegram to J. Stalin (21 October 1949)

"On 25 June the Fatherland Front of KOREA made a decision about holding general elections in the country on 20 October.

These events raised the mood and morale of the population of South Korea.

At the same time the democratic leaders of North and South KOREA thought that this political offensive is a precondition of a military offensive which should be conducted in October. Their leadership also thought this was its strategic goal and therefore planned their work in this direction and sent large groups of cadre to South KOREA to perform underground work in order to prepare an action [vystuplenie] in October....

A fourth session of the supreme council of the popular assembly was convened in North KOREA in October at which a fundamental amendment to the previously planned line was introduced.

Explanations were made about this among senior officials that the goal of the political offensive had already been achieved, and inasmuch as South Korea is not acting, therefore it is also not right for North Korea to make the first shot.

This spring I gave advice to a representative of North Korea then visiting us that at the present time they ought to take a defensive position and that they ought not wage an offensive for the time being. Evidently they were hasty and did not think over how to follow my advice."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/cable-telegram-no-59363-kovalev-stalin-containing-message-mao-zedong

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 24

- What role did J. Stalin assign to China in the process of Korean unification? Why? Did J. Stalin's intentions coincide with Mao Zedong's plans?

Source 25

A ciphered telegram from Soviet leader Joseph Stalin to Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong, 14 May 1950

"Cde. Mao Zedong!

In a conversation with the Korean comrades Filippov [Stalin] and his friends expressed the opinion, that, in light of the changed international situation, they agree with the proposal of the Koreans to move toward reunification. In this regard a qualification was made, that the question should be decided finally by the Chinese and Korean comrades together, and in case of disagreement by the Chinese comrades the decision on the question should be postponed until a new discussion.

Filippov [Stalin]."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/ciphered-telegram-no-8600-vyshinsky-mao-zedong

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 25

- Comment on this December 1952 cartoon (**source 26**).
- Explain the title of the cartoon and its symbolism. In your opinion, how accurately does it reflect the aspirations of Stalin, Mao Zedong and Kim Il-Sung?

Source 26

A leaflet from the UN forces during the Korean War[13]

Inscription on the side:
Korean bull, Chinese servant, Russian overseer

Kim Il-Sung's position on a possible war in Korea

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 26

- Characterize the essence of Kim Il-Sung's position on the Korean unification: what was his interest? Why did Stalin and Mao Zedong support him?
- Do the interests of Kim Il-Sung, Stalin and Mao Zedong have anything in common with Putin's plans before a large-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022?

Source 27

From the memoirs of M. Khrushchov

"About the time I was transferred from the Ukraine to Moscow at the end of 1949, Kim Il-sung arrived with his delegation to hold consultations with Stalin. The North Koreans wanted to prod South Korea with the point of a bayonet. Kim Il-sung said that the first thrust would touch off an internal explosion in South Korea and that the power of the people would prevail —that is the power ruled in North Korea. Naturally Stalin didn't object to the idea. It suited his convictions as a Communist all the more so because the struggle would be an internal matter that the Koreans would be settling among themselves. Stalin persuaded Kim Il-sung to think it over again, make some calculations and then come back with a concrete plan. Kim went home and then returned to Moscow when he had worked everything out. He told Stalin he was absolutely certain of success. I remember Stalin had his doubts. He feared the Americans would jump in, but we were inclined to think that if the war were fought swiftly and Kim Il-sung was sure it could be won swiftly, then intervention by the USA could be avoided. Nevertheless Stalin decided to seek Mao Zedong's opinion. Mao also answered affirmatively and put forward the opinion that the USA would not interfere. I remember a high-spirited dinner at Stalin's dacha (villa). We wished every success to Kim Il-sung and toasted the whole North Korean leadership."

- Микита Хрущов. "Правда про Корейську війну", в Кім Чуллбаум (редактор). *Правда про Корейську війну.* Сеул: Eulyoo, 1991: 61. https://studylib.net/doc/6683000/korean-war-documents-source-1-textbook-source-written-in-...

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 27

- Based on **source 28**, explain the role of the USSR in Kim Il-Sung's plans to unify Korea by military means.

Source 28

From the telegram of the USSR Ambassador to the DPRK T. Shtykov to the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Vyshynskyi (30 May 1950)

"I met with Kim Il-Sung, at his request, on 29 May. At the beginning of the conversation, Kim Il-Sung reported that the weapons and ammunition, which he had requested during [his] stay in Moscow, had mainly already arrived. The weapons had been transported to the newly formed divisions, and the delivery of weapons to the soldiers would be completed by 1 June. He then reported that he had gone to the new divisions and familiarized himself with the progress of military training and thinks that the divisions will be combat-ready by the end of June.

Kim Il-Sung reported that, at his order, the chief of the general staff had finished the drafting of a decision in principle for an attack [nastuplenie]. The chief of the general staff reported the plan to him together with Soviet General Vasil'yev. He approved the decision, which had been made and the choice of the main blow during the attack."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/cable-nos-408-410-shtykov-vyshinsky-politburo

Syngman Rhee's position on a possible war in Korea

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 28

- Based on **source 29**, characterize Syngman Rhee's position on Korean unification by force.
- What were the South Korean leader's expectations for the successful implementation of his plan?
- What was the difference between the interests of Syngman Rhee and Kim Il-Sung?

US position on a possible war in Korea

Source 29

From the letter from Syngman Rhee's letter to dr. R. Oliver advisor to the Korean government (30 September 1949)

Letter Syngman Rhee dr. R. Oliver

"I am firmly convinced that right now is the psychologically most suitable moment to take aggressive steps and unite with our loyal Communist army [SIC] in the North in order to eliminate the remaining part of it. We will drive away part of the people of KIM IL-SUNG into a mountainous region and exhaust them there with hunger; then our line of defense should be created along the Tumen and Yalu Rivers.

The value of our situation will be 100 per cent better.

The natural line of defense along the river and the Paektu mountains might be made almost impregnable, having a sufficient number of aircraft, two or three high-speed naval craft, and also combat aircraft defending the entire coastline, including the island of [Jeju]. What the Koreans constantly did for 2,000 years, defending their nation from the great invasions...

I think that we are ready to repeat the successful defense of our nation against foreign invaders.

All the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Communist armies in Manchuria and in Siberia can do everything that comes into their heads, but we will be in a condition to beat back their attacks.

We want to act regardless of what foreign countries might launch against us.

I think that the Soviet Union will not be so stupid as to begin an invasion at the present time.

Our people are demanding this.

Our people in the North want us to permit them to act now, but we are taking every step to calm them down, and this is a quite difficult task....

Convince the American government leaders and public opinion to be silent, and agree that we will begin to act and implement our program, and also for us to be given all the necessary material support. The longer we wait, the harder it will be to do this.

The Soviets are winning a victory in their Cold War. First of all they give Communist agitators money, weapons, and propaganda literature in order to incite discord among the people. Then they organize Communist supporters into bands of terrorists, murderers, and thieves, commit murders, burn, and turn all human society into a hell."

- https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/letter-syngman-rhee-dr-robert-t-oliver-soviet-translation)

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 29

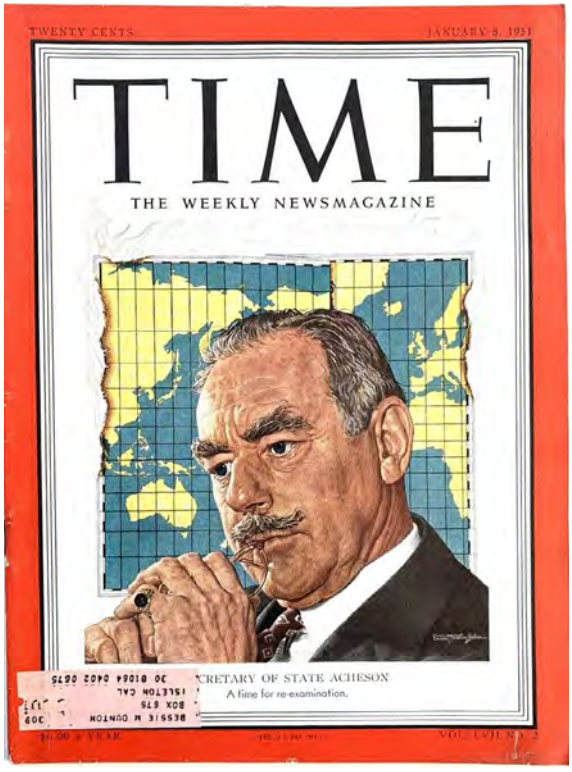
- Acquaint yourself with **sources 30** and **31** and try to characterise the US position on a possible war in Korea. What were the reasons for it?
- What did the United States hope to achieve in order to maintain peace in the region?

Source 30

Excerpts from secretary of state Acheson's speech to the National Press Club (12 January 1950)

"So far as the military security of other areas in the Pacific is concerned, it must be clear that no person can guarantee these areas against military attack. But it must also be clear that such a guarantee is hardly sensible or necessary within the realm of practical relationship.

Should such an attack occur, one hesitates to say where such an armed attack could come from, the initial reliance must be on the people attacked to resist it and then upon the commitments of the entire civilized world under the Charter of the United Nations, which so far has not proved a weak reed to lean on by any people who are determined to protect



On the cover is Dean Gooderham Acheson, an American politician, who served US Secretary of State in the Truman administration

their independence against outside aggression. But it is a mistake, I think, in considering Pacific and Far Eastern problems to become obsessed with military considerations. Important as they are, there are other problem that press, and these other problems are not capable of solution through military means. These other problems arise out of the susceptibility of many areas, and many countries in the Pacific area, to subversion and penetration. That cannot be stopped by military means..."

- https://web.viu.ca/davies/H102/Acheson.speech1950.htm

Source 31

From a secret memo to President H. Truman from the intelligence services. The Situation in Korea (13 January 1950)

"The continuing southward movement of the expanding Korean People's Army toward the thirty-eighth parallel probably constitutes a defensive measure to offset the growing strength of the offensively minded South Korean Army. The influx of Chinese Communist-trained troops from Manchuria, however, will partially solve North Korea's manpower shortage and will add materially to the combat potential of the North Korean Army. North Korean military strength has been further bolstered by the assignment of tanks and heavy; field guns to units in the thirty-eighth parallel zone and by the development of North Korean air capabilities. Despite this increase in North Korean military strength, the possibility of an invasion of South Korea is unlikely unless North Korean forces can develop a clear-cut superiority over the increasingly efficient South Korean Army."

- https://web.archive.org/web/20101105013215/http://www.foia.cia.gov/KoreanWar/DailyReports/1950/1950-01-13.pdf

US air base in Okinawa

- https://www.smithsonianmag.com/air-space-magazine/how-korean-war-almost-went-nuclear-180955324/

2.2. 25 June 1950 is the beginning of the Korean War

Who started the Korean War and how?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 30

- Acquaint yourself with **source 32** and answer the questions below:
- Who does Kim Il-Sung hold responsible for starting the war? Why?
- Why does Kim Il-Sung call Syngman Rhee a "puppet" and a "traitor"?
- What feelings does the DPRK leader try to evoke in his compatriots in his radio address?

Source 32

From Kim Il-Sung's radio address to the Korean people (26 June 1950)

"On June 25, the army of the puppet government of the traitor Syngman Rhee launched an all-out offensive along the 38th Parallel against the northern half of Korea. The valiant Security Forces of the Republic, fighting fierce battles to counter the enemy's invasion, have frustrated the advance of the Syngman Rhee army.

The Government of the DPRK, having discussed the situation, ordered our People's Army to start decisive counteroffensive action and wipe out the enemy's armed forces. On the orders of the Government of the Republic, the People's Army drove the enemy back from areas north of the 38th Parallel and has advanced 10 to 15 kilometres to the south. It has liberated a number of towns including Ongjin, Yonan, Kaesong and Paechon, and many villages.

The traitorous Syngman Rhee clique has launched a fratricidal war although all the patriotic people of our country have made every effort to reunify the country by peaceful means."

- Kim Il Sung. Works 6. June 1950-december 1951.Foreign languages publishing house pyongyang, Korea. 1981. P. 8.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 31

- Analyse the North Korean propaganda poster and explain it:
- What is the message of the poster? To what extent is it consistent with statements made by the country's leadership?

- Who is the enemy depicted on the poster? What is the fate of the enemy?
- What is meant by the concept of "final victory"?
- What is the way to achieve the goal proclaimed?

Source 33

A North Korean propaganda poster *Let's move like lightning to final victory*[15]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 32

- How does the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs interpret an outbreak of the war? Why does the USSR's position coincide with that of the DPRK?
- Who was responsible for the outbreak and further development of the hostilities?

Source 34

A statement by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR A. Gromyko (4 July 1950)

"The events now taking place in Korea broke out on June 25 as the result of a provocative attack by the troops of the South Korean authorities on the frontier areas of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. This attack was the outcome of a premeditated plan.

When it became clear that the terrorist regime of the Syngman Rhee clique, which had never enjoyed the support of the Korean people, was collapsing, the United States Government resorted to open intervention in Korea, ordering its air, naval and subsequently its ground forces to side with the South Korean authorities against the Korean people. Thereby the United States Government went over from a policy of preparing aggression to outright acts of aggression and embarked on a course of open intervention in Korea's domestic affairs, on a course of armed intervention in Korea."

- https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/5/22/3e0c341f-ad8d-4981-969f-1be30d707934/publishable_en.pdf

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 33

- Analyse Illingworth's cartoon (**source 35**), paying attention to the image on the wall, the text on the blackboard, and the teacher's figure (clothing, facial expression, auxiliary means of influence, students sitting at their desks).
- What is the main idea of the cartoon? Which of the warring parties does it reflect? What title would you give this cartoon?

Source 35

Illingworth's cartoon in *Punch* magazine[16]

The caption on the board reads: "The warmonger Truman has launched a brutal and unprovoked attack upon the defenceless people of North Korea." On the students' clothes are inscriptions "Poland", "East Germany", "Czechoslovakia" and "Bulgaria"

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 34

- How does the US president interpret the outbreak of the war?
- Why did the United States decide to help the Republic of Korea and how did it explain this to the world community?

Source 36

A statement by US President Harry S. Truman (27 June 1950)

"In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security.

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latest aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law."

- https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v07/d119

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 35

- How did Syngman Rhee explain the outbreak of the war?
- How did the ordinary South Koreans perceive the outbreak of the war?

Source 37

From John K. C. Oh's memoirs of the first day of the war in Seoul

"The war came suddenly. It was a sunny Sunday morning on 25 June 1950, when the peace was shattered by an agitated radio announcer screaming that there was an all-out attack by the North Korean army all along the 38th parallel. Within two days, the distant rumbles of cannons could be heard from our house in Seoul, and on the third day North Korean tanks and soldiers appeared on our streets. It was incredible. The radio had been repeating President Syngman Rhee's message that brave South Korean army soldiers were repulsing the communist army and that the capital city never would be abandoned to the invaders."

- John K. C. Oh. My Korean War. *Naval History Magazine*. Volume 14. Number 3. June 2000. https://www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2000/june/my-korean-war

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 36

- "Based on the analysis of **sources 32–37**, make a generalisation:
- Was the outbreak of the hostilities a surprise to the leaders of the states?
- Why did the ROK, DPRK, USSR, and the USA cover the outbreak of the military conflict differently? What was the significance of this for the citizens of the warring countries and the world?
- Try to compare the interpretation of the beginning of the Korean War by the DPRK and the USSR with the explanation of the Russian leadership of the reasons for the invasion of Ukraine in 2022.
- Think about why the United States provided military cover to South Korea and did not do so in the event of Russia's aggression against Ukraine."

2.3. The course of the hostilities

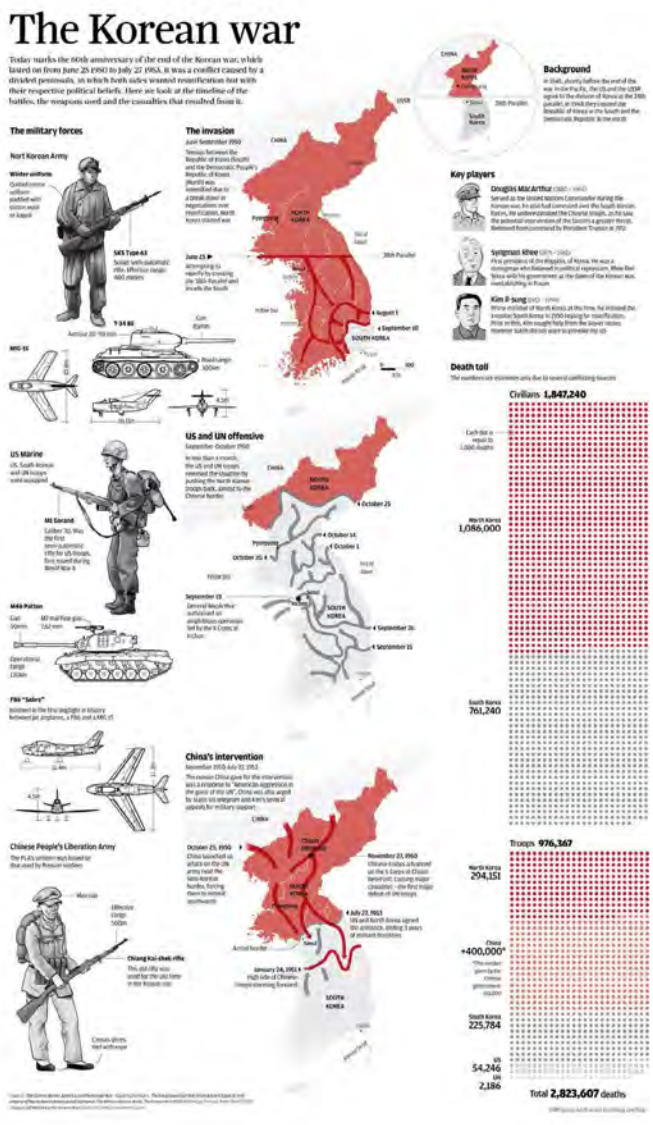
How did the military conflict on the Korean Peninsula develop and how did it end?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 37

- Analyse the proposed infographic "The Korean War" (**source 38**) and write a short report on the course of the war. If you find it difficult, refer to the textbook (**source 39**).

Source 38

Infographics *The Korean War*[17]



Source 39

From the textbook *World History* (2019)

"THE KOREAN WAR (1950–1953). In 1945, Korea was temporarily divided along the 38th parallel, as it was supposed to be at the time. The northern areas were occupied by Soviet troops and the southern ones by American troops. In June 1950, North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea. Well-trained and armed by the Soviet Union, the North Korean army controlled 90 per cent of the country's southern territory within weeks of the start of the hostilities.

However, in July 1950, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the aggression of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and agreed to the deployment of UN the troops to repel it.

In July 1950, General D. MacArthur was appointed commander of the UN troops, the main force of which was the US Armed Forces. On 15 September 1950, the UN troops made a large-scale landing in the south of the Korean Peninsula and immediately began to force out the DPRK troops.

In October 1950, MacArthur's troops occupied Pyongyang and reached the Chinese border. At that time, the so-called Chinese "volunteers" came to the aid of the North Koreans — regular units of the Chinese armed forces, as well as Soviet military specialists.

In November 1950, President Truman announced that the United States was ready to use nuclear weapons in Korea. For the first time, there was a threat of a local conflict escalating into a global nuclear war. US NATO allies opposed the use of nuclear weapons. President Truman backed down.

In 1950, the front stabilised. In the summer of 1951, negotiations began, culminating in the signing of an armistice in 1953. This document fixed the division of Korea and the existence of the two states on the Korean Peninsula — the Republic of Korea in the south and the DPRK in the north."

- Щупак І. Я. Всесвітня історія (рівень стандарту): підручник для 11 класу закладів загальної середньої освіти. Київ: УОВЦ "Оріон", 2019. С. 199–200.

The UN position on the war in Korea

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 38

- Acquaint yourself with the UN resolution on the situation in Korea (**sources 40–43**) and answer the questions below:
- Why do you think the UN Security Council recognised North Korea as the aggressor and not South Korea, as the USSR believed?

- Why did the UN call for military intervention in the conflict on the third day of the war?
- Why was this resolution on the conflict on the Korean Peninsula almost the only one that the international community fully implemented and intervened in the conflict?
- Why did the UN not adopt similar resolutions on Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022?

Source 40

The UN Resolution of 25 June 1950

"The Security Council, recalling the conclusion of the General Assembly in its resolution 293 (IV) 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; 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 l2 December 1948 and of 21 October 1949 about 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 deep concern the fact of the armed attack by North Korean troops on the Republic of Korea,

Determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace; and

Calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities;

Calls upon the authorities in North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel."

Source 41

The UN Resolution of 27 June 1950

"The Security Council,

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities,

Having called upon the authorities in North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel,

Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel, and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security..."

Source 42

The UN Resolution of 7 July 1950

"The Security Council,

Having determined that the armed attack by troops from North Korea on the Republic of Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having recommended that Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area,...

3. Recommends that all Members providing military forces or other assistance pursuant to the aforesaid Security Council resolutions make such forces and other assistance available to a unified command under the United States;

4. Requests the United States to designate the commander of such forces"

- https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/065/17/PDF/NR006517.pdf?OpenElement

Source 43

The UN Security Council votes in favour of UNSC Resolution 84, which called for the establishment of a unified command to restore peace on the Korean peninsula[18]

Military forces involved in the conflict

Source 44

The UN and Republic of Korea forces

Category	Land forces	Navy	Air Force	Total
Republic of Korea				1 000 000
The USA				1 789 000
Great Britain	Two infantry brigades	4		60 000
Canada	One infantry brigade	9	A transport squadron	27 000
Australia	Two infantry battalions		A fighter squadron, a transport squadron	17 164
Turkey	Brigade group			15 000
Philippines	One infantry battalion			7 420
Thailand	One infantry battalion	4	A transport aircraft	6 500
Colombia	One infantry battalion	6		6 200
Netherlands	One infantry battalion	6		5 300
Greece	One infantry battalion		A transport aircraft	5 000
New Zealand	One artillery regiment	4		4 500
France	One infantry battalion	1		4 000
Ethiopia	One infantry battalion			3 518
Belgium	One infantry battalion			3 498
Republic of South Africa			A fighter squadron	811
Luxemburg	One rifle company			89
Total UN forces (excluding ROK and USA)	4 brigades, 10 battalions, 1 company, 1 artillery regiment	54	2 fighter squadrons, 2 transport squadrons, 2 transport aircraft	1 955 000 (without RC)

Source 45

Forces of the DPRK and its allies

China	1 350 000
DPRK	266 000
USSR	26000
Total	1636000

Grant Reg G. The Korean War. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Inc., 2012.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 39

- Analyse the statistical data (**sources 44** and **45**) and determine whether this conflict can be considered local, given the forces and means of the parties involved. Justify your opinion.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 40

- Based on **source 46**, explain the public and hidden purpose of China's invasion of Korea.
- How does the Chinese leader explain the need for Chinese troops to invade Korea?
- How does he position himself and on whose behalf does he speak?
- Why does Mao Zedong refer to the Chinese military as volunteers? Why does he emphasise his attitude towards the Korean leader?

Source 46

Mao Zedong's *Order to the Chinese People's Volunteers*, 8 October 1950

"To leading comrades of the Chinese People's Volunteers at all levels:

1. In order to support the Korean people's war of liberation and to resist the attacks of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, thereby safeguarding the interests of the people of Korea, China and all the other countries in the East, I herewith order the Chinese People's Volunteers to march speedily to Korea and join the Korean comrades in fighting the aggressors and winning a glorious victory.

2. While in Korea, the Chinese People's Volunteers must show fraternal feelings and respect for the people, the People's Army, the Democratic Government, the Workers' Party and the other democratic parties of Korea as well as for Comrade Kim Il-Sung, the leader of the Korean people, and strictly observe military and political discipline."

- https://china.usc.edu/mao-zedongs-order-chinese-peoples-volunteers-1950

Armistice of 27 July 1953

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 41

- Analyse **source 47** and determine why, despite the long history of the armistice, no peace agreement has been signed to date to finalise the results of the 27 July 1953 agreement.
- The Korean War resulted in the fixation of the actual border between the parties on the 38th parallel. What conclusions can be drawn from this conflict?
- Why do you think neither side has been able to revise the results of the war?

Source 47

Agreement between the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the other hand, concerning the military armistice in Korea (27 July 1953)

"Preamble.

… in the interest of stopping the Korean conflict, with its great toil of suffering and bloodshed on both sides, and with the objective of establishing an armistice which will insure a complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement is achieved, do individually, collectively, and mutually agree to accept and to be bound and governed by the conditions and terms of armistice set forth in the following articles and paragraphs, which said conditions and terms are intended to be purely military in character and to pertain solely to the belligerents in Korea:

1. A military demarcation line shall be fixed and both sides shall withdraw two (2) kilometers from this line so as to establish a demilitarized zone between the opposing forces. A demilitarized zone shall be established as a buffer zone to prevent the occurrence of incidents which might lead to a resumption of hostilities.

12. The Commanders of the opposing sides shall order and provide for the complete cessation of all hostilities in Korea by all armed forces under their control, including all units and personnel of the land, naval and air forces, effective twelve (12) hours after the signing of this armistice agreement.

51. (a) Within sixty (60) days after this agreement becomes effective each side shall, without offering any hindrance, directly repatriate and hand over in groups all those prisoners of war in its custody who insist on repatriation to the side to which they belonged at the time of capture."

- https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Korean_Armistice_Agreement

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 42

- The photograph shows the signing of an armistice agreement between the parties to the Korean War, but the delegation of the Republic of Korea is not present. Why do you think that is, and what consequences could this have had (**source 48**)?

Source 48

General W. Harrison (left) and General Nam Il (right) sign the agreement on the cessation of hostilities on 27 July 1953[19]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 43

- Since 1953, the demilitarized zone has become a symbol for the Koreans. Of what, in your opinion?
- Can the demilitarized zone be called a state border (**sources 49** and **50**)?

Sources **49** – **50**

Demilitarised zone: layout and sign[20]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 44

- How do you understand the words from the poem by the contemporary Korean poet Mun Jeonghui?
- To what extent do these poetic lines resonate with the thoughts of contemporary Ukrainians (**source 51**)?

Source **51**

From Mun Jeonghui's poem *Soldier's Song* (translated by D. Lazutkin)

"Every young man
Has travelled to the contact line at least once,
And despite the fear and risk,
He learnt the science of sorrow,
When he looked through the sight at the enemy,
Whom we still call brothers."

- https://litcentr.in.ua/load/300-1-0-3063

2.4. Defending the homeland

Can the Korean War be called a "war without heroes"?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 45

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 52** and **54** and determine how these examples describe the South Koreans in the Korean War.
- The Korean War is sometimes called a war without heroes. Do you agree with this view?
- Can you compare the selfless struggle of South Korean soldiers with the heroism of the Ukrainian Armed Forces in the Russia-Ukraine war?

Source **52**

From R. Pennington's article *Four Heroes of the Korean War* (2020)

"Paek Sun-Yup was born in 1920 above the 38th parallel. He had fought with the Japanese Imperial Army in Manchuria toward the end of World War II. Threatened by communists in Pyongyang, he fled south. Paek helped defend the Busan Perimeter and then was involved in pushing the DPRK army back over the border and up near the Yalu River. He also hunted and eliminated guerrillas in the Jirisan area. After the battle line was largely fixed in the summer of 1951, he devoted himself to turning the ROK army into a more intensively trained and organized group. Paek, South Korea's first four-star general, later served as ambassador to Taiwan, France and Canada."

- Four heroes of the Korean War. https://richardpennington.com/2012/09/four-heroes-of-the-korean-war/

Corps commander Paek Sun-Yup (1952)

General of the Army of the Republic of Korea Paek Sun-Yup was promoted to the rank of honorary commander (2013)

Opening of the Hall of Heroes in honour of the six South Korean soldiers who distinguished themselves during the 1950–1953 war. A brother looks at a portrait of his younger brother, First Lieutenant Shim Il

Source 53

From Jiyul Kim and S. M. Jager's article *The Battle of Ch'unch'on* (2020)

"The Battle of Ch'unch'on"

"Major Shim Il, then a 2nd Lieutenant, was an antitank platoon leader in the antitank company of 6th Division's 7th Regiment that defended Ch'unch'ŏn city. Lieutenant Shim's destruction of a half dozen North Korean self-propelled guns (mistaking them for tanks) at two key moments in the battle had decisive impact on the flow of the battle by stopping the North Korean forces and raising the sagging morale of his comrades with his success. What grabbed the public's imagination and made him iconic was his decision to act as a "human bullet" when his antitank guns proved ineffective against the vehicle's armor. He led a small group of volunteer "human bullets" to climb the vehicles and destroy them with grenades and Molotov cocktails."

- Jiyul Kim. Sheila Miyoshi Jager.The Battle of Ch'unch'on. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/battle-chunchon

Source 54

From V. Rubel's article *South Korean Heroes of the Korean War 1950–1953* (2009)

"No later than on 25 June 1950, Kim Il-Sung's tanks reinforced by infantry passed through the forward military dispositions of the Seventh Division of the Republic of Korea. A separate artillery battalion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Kim Pung-ik and an artillery battery of the defeated Seventh Division, commanded by Jang Se-bun, stood in the way of the armoured columns near the town of Uijeongbu.

The South Korean army's weapons against the T–34 tanks proved ineffective... And then the artillerymen of Kim Pung-ik and Jang Se-bun rolled out their last trump card — 105 mm howitzers — for direct pointing...

For this sacrificial feat, both commanders of the heroic artillerymen, Lieutenant Colonels Chan Sebun (16 October 1922 — 26 June 1950) and Kim Pung-ik (6 August 1921 — 26 June 1950) were posthumously awarded the Ulchi Order "for bravery and heroism." As for the Seventh Division itself, thanks to the self-sacrifice of the artillerymen, its fragments under the command of Colonel Kim Yong-bae managed to break away from the tank offensive in the open field of the Seoul Plain in a sudden manoeuvre to the east and, together with the units of the neighbouring Sixth Infantry Division of the Republic of Korea, create a stable defence from the surviving units in the area of the cities of Chungjong and Imson. It was here that the South Korean soldiers were able to dig in and finally thwart the dreams of the communist generals about the lightning-fast defeat of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea. For his skilful command and "personal heroism", Kim Yong-bae (17 April 1921 — 2 July 1951) was promoted to the rank of brigadier general."

In order to inspire his subordinates to fight, General Lee Kin-sook took the helm himself and personally flew several dozen combat missions during the first decade of battles, pouring machine-gun lead on columns of North Korean soldiers, but, of course, he could not shoot down a single tank from the air, which caused his deep despair. The general experienced the loss of the capital Seoul especially painfully on 4 July 1950, when, during a regular combat mission, Lee Kin-sook fired at an enemy tank column near the city of Anyang without any significant results, and his plane was shot down. He drove his flaming combat vehicle into the middle of the enemy tank column, destroying the first and last enemy tank in his life with a suicide ram."

- Рубель В.А. Південнокорейські герої Корейської війни 1950–1953 рр. *Східний світ*. №°3. 2009. С. 77–80.

2.5. The tragedy and trauma of the people

Why was the Korean War a tragedy and a deep trauma for the Korean people?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 46

- This painting is Picasso's reaction to the massacre of civilians by the US and South Korean military in October — December 1950.
- In this painting, the author focuses the viewer's attention on several points: all those being executed are women and children; the soldiers are not holding rifles, but something abstract, which means aggression in general; one executioner is holding a sword, which symbolises the historicity of the war; the faces of the soldiers are simplified to the state of masks, and the faces of those preparing to die are turned towards the viewer.
- What do you think the author of this painting wanted to show? What is the message?

Source 55

Picasso's painting *Massacre in Korea* (1951)[21]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 47

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 56** and **57** and determine what the facts show. Do you think they were isolated incidents? How can you explain this?

Source 56

From Transcribed Excerpts from Korean War Atrocities Report by U.S. Senate, January 1954

"C) TAEJON MASSACRE

On September 27, 1950, approximately 60 American prisoners who had been confined in Taejon prison were taken into the prison yard in groups of 14, with their hands wired together, by North Korean troops at point blank range. Of the 2 seriously wounded survivors, only 1 bed to recount the gruesome details. Unnumbered civilians estimated at between 5,000 and 7,000, as well as soldiers of the Republic of Korea, were also slaughtered at Taejon between September 23 and September 27, 1950."

- https://history.iowa.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-korea-atrocities-transcription-excerpts.pdf

Source 57

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Korea)

"The Ulsan massacre was committed by the South Korean police against suspicious left-leaning civilians, most of them illiterate and uneducated peasants, who were misinformed… In July and August 1950 alone, 407 civilians were summarily executed without trials."

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Truth_and_Reconciliation_Commission_(South_Korea

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 48

- Comment on the opinion of the historian Kim Dong-choon **(source 58)**.
- Do you agree with his conclusions? Justify your opinion.

Source 58

From the report by the South Korean historian Kim Dong-choon

"The mass violence during the Korean War was caused by a number of factors: the aftermath of the post-colonial civil war, a social conflict between tenants and farmers, the outbreak of nationalism and the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment, ideological extremism

and anti-communism, racism on the part of the US command and military, and the geopolitical importance of the region."

- Кім Дон-Чун. Уроки Корейської війни. Освітня програма з корейської культури для українських фахівців з підготовки підручників. Центральний інститут кореєзнавства, 2022. С. 165.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 49

- Based on the **sources 59**, try to explain why the Korean War is perceived as a tragedy and trauma by a large part of American society.

Source 59

P. Robeson, an American jazz singer, about the Korean War

"A hundred thousand Americans dead, wounded and missing have been listed in this war... and more than that we have killed, maimed and rendered homeless a million Koreans, all in the name of preserving Western civilisation."

- http://peacehistory-usfp.org/korean-war/

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 50

- Why, despite the tragedy of those events, does Ban Ki-moon consider the end of the war a victory?
- How did Korean children perceive the war?
- Can we talk about a deep psychological trauma? (**sources 60** and **61**)

Source 60

From the speech of the UN Secretary-General (2006–2017) Ban Ki-moon at the event on the occasion of the anniversary of the Korean War (25 June 2010)

"Today, I see the world through the eyes of a six-year old. I was six years old in 1950 when the Korean War broke out.

I was like every other six-year old child — full of hope...full of wonder...full of possibility. And then...the war broke out...suddenly, abruptly, a hell on earth.

Ban Ki Moon, "Remarks at Korean War Anniversary Event," 25 June 2010

My family and I fled our home. We hid on a mountainside with my grandparents. From there, I saw the bombs hit my village. From there, I saw my world go up in smoke.

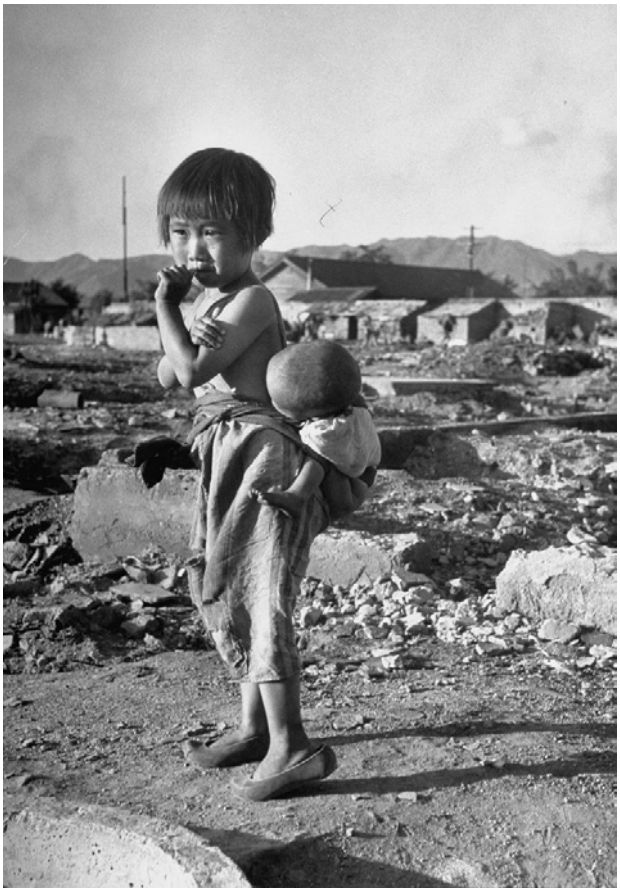
Why...I could not understand. I could only feel pain...right to the bone. We wandered through mud and mountains. And I remember repeating a rhyme to myself, over and over: "Will I ever go back to my home — once I get through this muddy dirt road..."

Some may call the Korean conflict the "forgotten war." For me, it is the "unforgettable victory."

- Ban Ki Moon, Remarks at Korean War Anniversary Event, 25 June 2010.

Source 61

Photo *Korean children and the war*[22]



2.6. The Korean War: the ambiguity of interpretations

Why is the Korean War subject to ambiguous interpretations?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 51

- The South Korean historian Kim Dong-choon notes that from the very beginning of the war, it was called in different ways: "Anti-Communist Crusade" (Syngman Rhee), "6.25" (the official and public name of the war in South Korea), "National Liberation War" (North Korea), "Assistance to North Korea in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle" (China), "Forgotten War" and "Unknown War" (the United States).
- What do you think are the reasons for these differences in interpretation of the war?
- Take a good look at the poster and try to explain its symbolism. To whom is this message addressed?

Source 62

The propaganda poster *Let us not forget the bloodied 6.25*[23]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 52

- Why is the Korean War called "forgotten" or "unknown" in the United States? (**source 63**).
- Why is there no single view of this war in any country, even in the United States?

Source 63

From Paul M. Edwards' book *The Mistaken History of the Korean War* (2018)

"For me," wrote James Healey on the USS Irwin, "the Korean War happened: it was there; I went and I came back. I do feel some modest pride that I was a part of an episode that made the history books. If most Americans don't know or don't care, that's o.k. and to be expected. The Korean War is a part of the distant past." The primary field commander during the war, Matthew Ridgway, who is often credited with the term "forgotten war," simply asked, "What the hell are we doing in this god-forsaken place?" Rod Serling, in his play, has one of his characters say, "At best Korea seemed to be a inconclusive muddled and bloody affair that we were unable to win and could not afford to lose." For the South Korean veteran who came to live in America, the answer carried with it a sense of guilt. "No," he said, "it was not worth it. But we weren't to blame, were we?" Veteran Lieutenant Gale Bunch spoke for a good many when he said, "Never have American men fought in such a useless war." Military apologist S.L.A. Marshall, a well-known historian at the time, took the middle ground, and claimed it was "right for the wrong reasons." Melinda Pash consolidates her remarks by quoting a veteran who said, "People were calling me a hero and I really wanted to become one, but I was not."

Another factor in evaluating a war is not only identifying what we were seeking, but perhaps equally important, what it cost us. This we truly have not done. Statistics tell us the facts, but they do not tell us the story. If you want to evaluate the costs, it is necessary to visit the wards of the local VA hospital, or look at the checkered lives of husbandless wives and fatherless children…"

Edwards, Paul M. The mistaken history of the Korean War: what we got wrong then and now. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2018. P. 163.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 53

- Acquaint yourself with excerpts from school history textbooks from different countries that describe the early stages of the Korean War (**sources 64–70**).

- Compare them, taking into account the selection of facts, their interpretation and the specifics of the vocabulary.
- Try to explain the specifics of the coverage of this topic in textbooks from different countries.
- Why do you think school history textbooks in different countries do not take a neutral stance in presenting the material?
- What task does the state assign to school history textbooks?

Source 64

An excerpt from the History textbook (DPRK, 2005)

"Since 1947, the American imperialists have continuously staged many military invasions and they did the attacks 1,863 times in 1949 alone. The American imperialists have already planned to invade North Korea in 1949. However, when the enemies have been defeated by North Korean forces, they have to change their "plan of conquering the north" radically.

On January, 1950, the Secretary of the U.S. Army Kenneth C. Royal, the bastard, sneaked into South Korea and directed their "plan of conquering the north." On February, Douglas MacArthur, the bastard, asked Lee, Sung Man, the insurgent, and the puppet Chief of Staff, the bastard, of South Korea to come to the United States' Far East Command (FECOM) and commanded them to attack North Korea specifically.

On June 9, 11, and 13, the American imperialists created an awe-inspiring war atmosphere all over the south and along the 38th Parallel by proclaiming a Special Inspection Guard Decree, a National Emergency Decree, and a Semi-National Emergency Decree respectively. Crept into South Korea on June 18, a special envoy John Foster Dulles, with the U.S military advisors and high-ranking military officers of South Korea, inspected along the 38th Parallel and allowed to execute the "plan of conquering the north" in a foxhole near the foxhole near the line. He ordered Lee, Sung Man, the thief, to attack the north on June 25, 1950"

- The American and Japanese Imperialists' Evildoing of Korean Invasion. Education Books, 2005.

Source 65

An excerpt from the History textbook (Republic of South Korea)

"When the overthrow of the South Korean government through social confusion became too difficult, the North Korean communists switched to a stick-and-carrot strategy: seeming to offer peaceful negotiations, they were instead analyzing the right moments of attack and preparing themselves for it.

The North insisted on political negotiations between the leaders of the South and the North aiming toward a constitution of a unified government, and openly publicized their policy. By that time the American forces stationed in the South withdrew and announced that the peninsular would be excluded in America's first line of defense in the Far East. Taking advantage of this situation, the North Korean communists prepared themselves for war. Kim Il-sung secretly visited the Soviet Union and was promised the alliance of the Soviets and China in case of war.

Finally, at dawn on June 25th, 1950 the North began their southward aggression along the 38th parallel. Taken by surprise by these unexpected attacks, the army of the Republic of Korea (South Korean) fought courageously to defend the liberty of the country. But with the lack of soldiers and equipment, Seoul had to surrender and the South Korean forces were forced to retreat to a battle line south of the Nak-dong river."

- Kim, Doojin's Korean History: Senior High. Seoul: Dae Han Textbook Col, 2001. P. 199.

Source 66

An excerpt from the History textbook (the United States, 2002)

"At the end of World War II, the Korean Peninsula was occupied by both American and Soviet troops. Unable to agree on what kind of government the Korean people should have, the superpowers divided the country. The Soviets installed a communist government in North Korea, while in South Korea the Americans encouraged a government that favored capitalism.

In 1950, North Korean troops armed with Soviet tanks and weapons overran most of the South Korea. Their goal was to unite the country under a communist government. President Truman ordered the U.S. military to support South Korea. The United Nations also took action by calling on member nations to assist South Korea. In all, 15 nations sent more than half a million troops to Korea. More than 90 percent of the UN forces were American.

The UN forces pushed the communist invaders back into North Korea almost as far as its border with China. At that point, 300, 000 Chinese soldiers poured into North Korea and drove the UN troops back to South Korea. Fearing that the struggle in Korea could widen into a world war, Truman pushed for a peace settlement."

- United States. (2002). Teachers Curriculum Institute. P. 442.

Source 67

An excerpt from the History textbook (Japan)

"While the Cold War was worsening, war finally broke out in 1950 between the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the Korean War). As the North Korean army advanced southward rapidly, the U.N. Security Council, with the Soviet Union delegate absent, decided to give military support to South Korea. The United Nations forces, consisting mainly of United States troops, advanced northward to near the Chinese-Korean border. China sent a powerful volunteer army to North Korea."

- Japan in Modern History. Tokyo: International Society for Educational Information, 1994. P. 183, 185.

Source 68

An excerpt from the History textbook (Russian Federation)

"Stalin sided on North Korean leader Kim, Il Sung, who tried to control the whole Peninsula. The Korean War was the first military confrontation. While the Soviet Union supported the north, the U.S. the south. The war broke out during summer in 1950 when the North Korean troops, armed with Soviet Union-made weapons, invaded the South Korean territory and they drove the enemies down to the far south of the Peninsular.

Under the banner of the U.N., the U.S., prepared for military operations, hurried to support the south. On the fall of 1950, the U.S. troops attempted the large-scale landing operation in Incheon. The North Korean troops were in a position of defense by the U.S. troops. They were forced to retreat to the 38th Parallel and the Peninsula was divided into North and South Korea along the 38th Parallel. The U.S. and South Korean forces pushed the Communist troops up to the Chinese border. The U.S. military airplanes flew over the Chinese and Soviet Union's border areas. At Kim, Il Sung's request, the Soviet Union's military airplanes came to control the air from November in 1950.

China involved in the war on November in 1950. About one million Chinese army, officially known as the Chinese People's Volunteer Troops, pushed down to the 38th Parallel. The front was in a stalemate there."

- Yali Zhao. Lin Lin. Teaching the Korean War from Multiple Perspectives. Pp. 10–15.

Source 69

On the coverage of the Korean War in a single textbook (Russian Federation, 2023)

"In the Stalinist paradigm, modern children will be told about the Korean War in particular. They say that the conflict was provoked by the aggressive actions of the United States and its puppets from South Korea. And although, let us quote the textbook: "under these circumstances, the North Koreans launched the offensive first," children should have no doubt who is really to blame for the war.

The students are offered to have a look at a propaganda poster from the Korean War. Below is a commentary: "Officers and sergeants of the South Korean army walked among the rows of captives, beat them relentlessly and executed some of them."

The single textbook offers children a glimpse of the Korean War through the eyes of Stalin himself: "America cannot defeat little Korea. We need firmness in our relations with the Americans. The Americans are merchants. Every American soldier is a profiteer, engaged in buying and selling. The main weapon of the Americans is stockings, cigarettes and other goods for sale. They want to conquer the whole world, but they cannot cope with small Korea. No, Americans do not know how to fight…"

- Самигін Д. Культ Сталіна. Якими будуть нові підручники з історії у росії та на тимчасово окупованих територіях. https://www.pravda.com.ua/columns/2023/09/1/7418051/

Source 70

From the History textbook (Ukraine, 2019)

"In 1948, states were proclaimed in both zones of occupation: the Republic of Korea in the American zone and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the Soviet zone.

In the summer of 1950, the North Koreans, armed and equipped by the Soviet Union, unexpectedly attacked South Korea. The United States decided to help South Korea resist communism. South Korea asked the United Nations to intervene as well. When the UN Security Council voted on the resolution on Korea, the delegations of the USSR and its allies from the socialist camp were absent."

- Полянський П. Всесвітня історія (рівень стандарту): підруч. для 11 кл. закл. загальн. середн. освіти. Київ: Грамота, 2019. С. 178.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 54

- Take a good look at the posters (**sources 71–75**) and answer the questions:
- In which country was the poster created?
- What is the main idea behind it?
- What means are used to convey this idea?
- To whom is this poster addressed?
- What feelings should it evoke in the viewer?
- What effect do the author and the poster's customers expect this poster to have?

Source **71 – 75**

Propaganda posters from the Korean War[24]

Preparation of leaflets by the 1st US Broadcasting Group for distribution. 1952.

- https://www.psywarrior.com/KoreanWarPsyopCampaigns.html

Source 76 – 77

American propaganda posters from the Korean War[25]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 55

- Take a good look at the posters (**sources 76** and **77**). They were created by the same designer and have similar storylines, but different recipients.
- Try to name the characters in each poster and identify to whom they are addressed.
- What effect did the designer of the posters hope to have?

Glossary

Battalion	is a military unit (400 to 800 people) consisting of several companies and platoons.
Brigade	is a military formation of 3 to 6 battalions and support units.
Korean Patriotic Front	is an association of political parties in the DPRK, created on the initiative of the Soviet command in 1946, which opposed the "aggression of foreign states" during the war.
Navy	is military forces that fight at sea.
Air Force	is military forces that fight in the air.
UN General Assembly	is the main advisory and decision-making body of the UN, consisting of representatives of all UN member states.
Denuclearisation	is the reduction or elimination of nuclear weapons.
Division	is a basic tactical military unit of 6,000 to 25,000 soldiers, consisting of several regiments or brigades.
UN Commission	is a group of UN representatives created to monitor the implementation of a task.
KNLA	is the Korean National Liberation Army (DPRK).
Regiment	is a tactical military formation of 3 to 5 battalions.
UN Security Council	is a permanent UN body of 15 representatives (5 permanent and 10 elected).
Company	is a tactical military unit of several platoons, numbering about 100 people.
Workers' Party of Korea	is the ruling communist party of the DPRK, established in 1945 and headed by Kim Il-Sung.
Nuclear weapon	is a weapon of mass destruction of great power, which operates on the basis of a nuclear reaction.

3. The Ukrainians in the Korean War

3.1. The Ukrainians in the UN armed forces

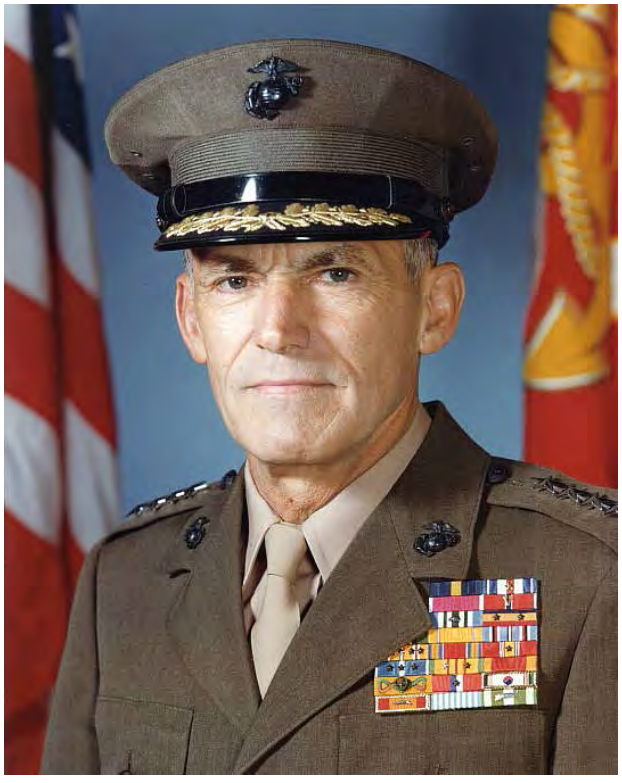
How did the Ukrainians become participants in the war on the Korean Peninsula?

INTRODUCTION

In the Korean War, the Ukrainians fought on both sides of the conflict.

Those Ukrainians who had emigrated to Europe, the United States, Canada, and other countries during World War II and the children of emigrants from previous waves fought **in the UN armed forces (3.1)**. Among them were professional soldiers, such as Samuel Jaskilka, and ordinary mobilised citizens.

The **Soviet military**, **whose presence in Korea was carefully concealed**, fought on the side of the DPRK and PRC armies **(3.2).**



General Samuel Jaskilka (1919–2012)

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 56

- Based on **sources 78** and **79**, explain the following statement posted on the website of the Azov Regiment: "Everyone knows about the heroic deeds and honour that the US Marine Corps has done in the countless wars and battles the US Government has sent them to. But few people know that one of the most iconic figures for the Marines is a Ukrainian by birth, General Samuel (Semen) Yaskilka." Why is Samuel Jaskilka considered an iconic figure for Marines?

Source **78**

From the biography of Samuel Yaskilka

"Samuel Jaskilka was born on December 15, 1919, in Ansonia, Connecticut, in a family of Ukrainian-Americans. ...

During World War II, Jaskilka served aboard the USS Princeton.

In September 1949, Jaskilka joined the 1st Marine Division and later embarked with the division for Korea serving successively as battalion executive officer and commanding officer of Company E, 2nd Battalion, 5th Marines. He led the first wave of Marines onto Red Beach on September 15, 1950, in the Invasion of Inchon, Pusan Perimeter as CO of Company E of the 2/5. For heroism in combat in Korea, he received two awards of the Silver Star and a Bronze Star with Combat "V." He was promoted to major in January 1951.

General Jaskilka retired in 1978. He died in 2012. He was buried at Arlington National Cemetery."

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Jaskilka

Source **79**

Order of the decoration of S. Yaskilka

"Jaskilka, CAPT Samuel (USMC)
Headquarters, U.S. Army Korea
General Orders No. 423 — June 11, 1951.

The President of the United States of America takes pleasure in presenting the Bronze Star Medal with Combat "V" (Army Award) to Captain Samuel Jaskilka (MCSN: 0–13973), United States Marine Corps, for heroism while serving as a member of the 5th Marines, 1st Provisional Marine Brigade, in action against the enemy during the period 17 August to 6 September 1950. Captain Jaskilka, while serving as Company

Commander of Company D during the 1st and 2d battles of the Naktong River, demonstrated outstanding qualities of leadership, sound professional ability and tenacity of purpose. He courageously led his company in the assault on enemy held position and through his inspirational leadership, his company was able to decisively defeat the enemy on both occasions. His heroic actions and steadfast devotion to duty constantly inspired his company to greater efforts and contributed materially to the success achieved by his battalion. The personal bravery and aggressive leadership of Captain Jaskilka reflect great credit on himself and the United States Naval Service."

- http://www.koreanwar-educator.org/topics/bronze_star/p_bronze_star_citations_j.htm

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 57

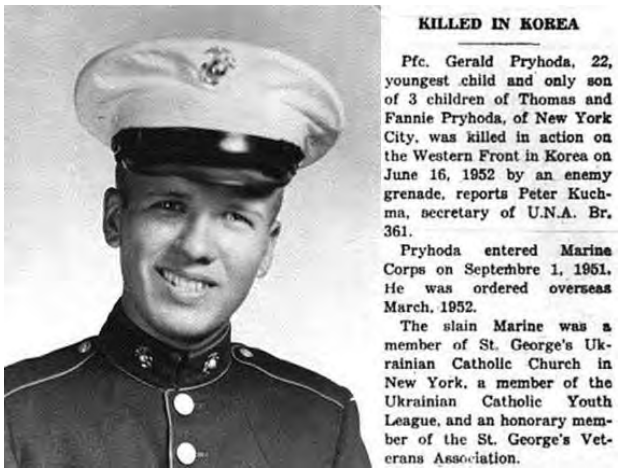
- Based on **sources 80–82**, identify the heroism of American and Canadian soldiers of Ukrainian descent in the Korean War.
- What motivated them in this war? To what extent were they aware of the events?

Source **80**

From Ye. Ponamarchuk's article *The Ukrainians under the UN Flag in the Korean War* (2023)

"We send greetings to "Freedom" from faraway Korea!

We in Korea, loyal sons of the Ukrainian people and members of the American military, are fighting for the truth and the will of all the enslaved peoples of the world, and the words of truth that we read and retell to others from the Svoboda newspaper help us in this and strengthen our faith in victory! Korea, October 24, 1952. For everyone: Ostap Strametskyi.



KILLED IN KOREA

Pfc. Gerald Pryhoda, 22, youngest child and only son of 3 children of Thomas and Fannie Pryhoda, of New York City, was killed in action on the Western Front in Korea on June 16, 1952 by an enemy grenade, reports Peter Kuchma, secretary of U.N.A. Br. 361.

Pryhoda entered Marine Corps on September 1, 1951. He was ordered overseas March, 1952.

The slain Marine was a member of St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church in New York, a member of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League, and an honorary member of the St. George's Veterans Association.

The letter is accompanied by a photograph of four soldiers with the caption: "Ukrainians in Korea. — A unit of Ukrainians, members of the Reckon reconnaissance hundred. From right to left: Vasyl Birngard, Ivan Bura, Vasyl Futala and O. Strametskyi."

"On July 19, private 1st class Mike Dutchak died in the battle for the city of Taejeon; On July 27, during the defeat of the 3rd Battalion of the 29th Infantry Regiment in an ambush near Hadon, a member of the UNS Private Paul Shaffron (Shavron?) went missing — as it later became known, he was captured and killed in the fall; On August 12, private 1st class Ivan Tokarchuk died in the battles on the Pusan perimeter near Taegu, and private Bohdan Yurkiv went missing in the same area on August 16."

"In the fall of 1950, Corporal Grab served in the Item Company of the 3rd Battalion of the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Group. He wrote to his cousin that it didn't matter to him which communists to fight — Russian or Korean, as long as they were communists. On October 20, Graba's battalion took part in an airborne landing of 113 transport planes north of Pyongyang, which had already been approached by UN troops. The purpose of the operation was to cut off the retreat of communist troops from the capital, as well as to rescue prisoners of war who were evacuated by rail.

Corporal Grab was killed while covering his comrades with fire. Buried at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Cemetery in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania."

"John and Steven Logoida were in the Air Force during the Korean War. The 16th Squadron of the 51st Fighter-Interceptor Group was based in Suwon, South Korea, and 1st Lt. John Logoida flew out on combat missions from there. His life was cut short by an aviation accident on the first day of 1952.

When he was returning from a long patrol over North Korea on the remaining fuel, his F–86 Saber fighter jet partially lost its landing gear during landing. He went on a second lap, and that's when the plane's engine stopped. Logoida did not have time to eject or did it unsuccessfully."

"Gerald "Jerry" Pryhoda, who died from a grenade explosion during a skirmish with the enemy on an ordinary day on June 16, 1952, when "the Korean front is unchanged." This is a rare and obvious case: the parents come from the Ukrainian lands of Austria-Hungary, members of the UNS (the son did not have time to join), a short obituary in "Svoboda."

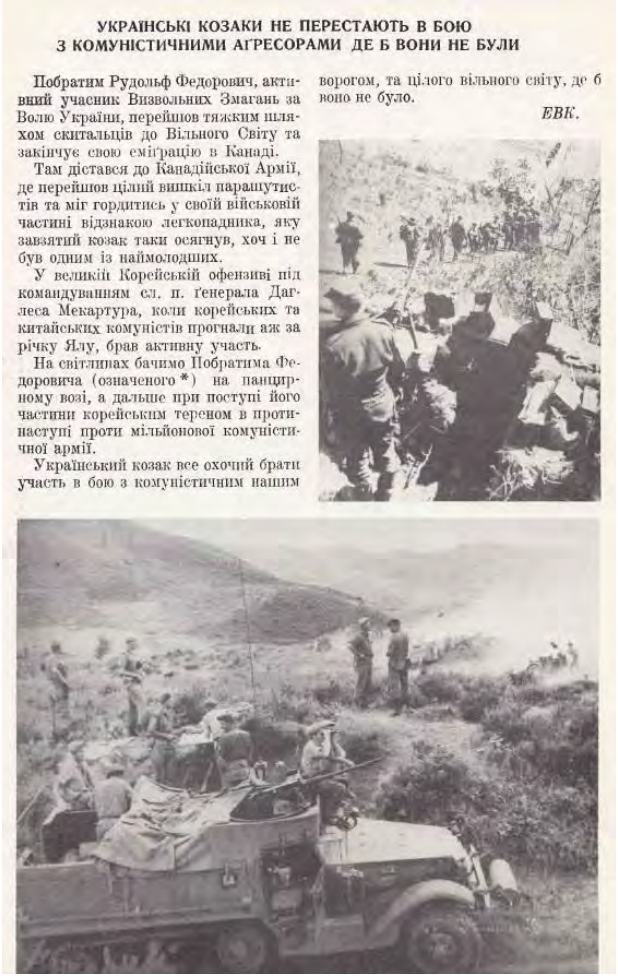
"On the night of February 1, 1953, one and a half hundred Chinese tried to capture the "Gedi" outpost. The Marines managed to repel both attacks. The enemy's losses were estimated at 80 soldiers killed and wounded, our own — six killed and about thirty wounded. Private 1st class Petro Biletsky was among the casualties."

"During Operation Ripper (the UN offensive on Seoul in March 1951), the Canadians, supported by American aircraft and New Zealand artillery, captured Height 532 as a result of a heavy assault. Lapka was killed on March 8 at the end of the assault or immediately after it. His friend Ronald Burgon recalled how he stopped the bleeding from his jugular vein, which was severed during the shelling, for half an hour while Lapka was being carried to the medical center, but in the end he died during the evacuation to the hospital."

- Понамарчук Є. Українці під прапором ООН у Корейській війні. *Історична правда.* 2023.13.06, https://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2023/06/13/162771/

Source 81

From the newspaper of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada Ukrainian Cossacks



УКРАЇНСЬКІ КОЗАКИ НЕ ПЕРЕСТАЮТЬ В БОЮ
З КОМУНІСТИЧНИМИ АГРЕСОРАМИ ДЕ Б ВОНИ НЕ БУЛИ

Побратим Рудольф Федорович, активний учасник Визвольних Змагань за Волю України, перейшов тяжким шляхом скитальців до Вільного Світу та закінчує свою еміграцію в Канаді.

Там дістався до Канадійської Армії, де перейшов цілий вишкіл парашутистів та міг гордитись у своїй військовій частині відзнакою легкопадника, яку завзятий козак таки осягнув, хоч і не був одним із наймолодших.

У великій Корейській офензиві під командуванням сл. п. ґенерала Даглеса Мекартура, коли корейських та китайських комуністів прогнали аж за річку Ялу, брав активну участь.

На світлинах бачимо Побратима Федоровича (означеного *) на панцирному возі, а дальше при поступі його частини корейським тереном в протинаступі проти мільйонової комуністичної армії.

Український козак все охочий брати участь в бою з комуністичним нашим ворогом, та цілого вільного світу, де б воно не було.

ЕВК.

Source 82

From Yuriy Kolomyiets' biography

"Yuriy Kolomyiets — Ukrainian poet, one of the well-known members of the New York Group. Member of the National Union of Writers of Ukraine. Deputy Head of the OUP "Slovo" (since 1990).

In 1943 he emigrated. After the Second World War, he was first in West Germany, and from 1947 he lived in Belgium, in the city of Liège. in 1952 and settled in Chicago. He moved to the United States in 1952 and settled in Chicago. After moving to the United States, he completed his technical education in Chicago, where he worked as an engineer. From 1952 to 1955, he was in Korea in the ranks of the American army. In the sixties, he made his debut on the pages of "New Poems." In 1984 he was awarded the Antonovych Prize for his second collection "White Themes."

- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Юрій_Коломиєць

3.2. Hidden participants in the Korean War

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 58

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 83–87** and explain:
- What were the reasons for the Soviet military's participation in the Korean War?
- How consciously did they participate in it? What motivated them in this war?
- How could they explain this (hidden) participation of the Soviet military in the war?
- Why did the participants in the Korean War in the USSR not receive military benefits from the state for a long time?
- What was the difference between the attitudes of the Soviet Ukrainians and the Ukrainians in the UN forces to their own participation in the war?

Source 83

From O. Lysenko and O. Fil's article *Ivan Kozhedub is the most effective fighter pilot of the anti-Hitler coalition (on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth* (2020)

"And then there was a war in Korea. Colonel Kozhedub's 324th Division as part of the 64th Fighter Air Corps took part in the hostilities. From March 1951 to February 1952, the unit under the command of "Krylov" (it is this nickname that Kozhedub received during his secondment to North Korea), according to official data, won 215 air victories. Among the enemy aircraft shot down by its pilots were 12 B-29 long-range heavy bombers ("Superfortress"). The data on the losses of the 324th Air Force division vary. Different figures are mentioned — from 27 to 52 aircraft, as well as up to 10 pilots who did not return from combat missions."

● Лисенко О., Филь О. Іван Кожедуб — найрезультативніший льотчик-винищувач антигітлерівської коаліції (до 100-річчя з дня народження). *Український історичний журнал.* 2020. № 3. С. 194.

Source 84

From Yu. Sandul and V. Mishkovskyi's article *Kozhedub and Pokryshkin, Bulganin the puppet and the 'effective manager' Peter the Great* (2015)

"Unfortunately, Ivan Nikitich put all his extraordinary, truly exceptional, talent as a pilot in the service of the Soviet regime, and was faithful to it until the last days of his life. He showed this talent not only in the war against German Nazism, but also in the Korean War of 1950–1953."

● Сандул Ю., Мішковський В. Кожедуб і Покришкін, маріонетка Булганін і "ефективний менеджер" Петро І. *Укрінформ.* 2015. 08.06 https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-other_news/1852387-kogedub_i_pokrishkin_marionetka_bulganin_i_efektivniy_menedger_petro_i_2061205.htm HYPERLINK https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-other_news/1852387-kogedub_i_pokrishkin_marionetka_bulganin_i_efektivniy_menedger_petro_i_2061205.html

Source 85

From the memoirs of a former pilot from Kyiv, Lieutenant Colonel M. Shelamonov (2000)

"Our participation in hostilities was carefully concealed. It was officially believed that only Korean and Chinese pilots fought on Soviet aircraft. Appropriate identification marks were applied to the planes. Moreover, at first they even started teaching us Korean. Everyone had a tablet with a recording of the main commands in Korean. While on the ground, everything seems to be normal, but during the battle it is no longer up to the tablet: you issue in Russian. At first they were scolded for it, even punished, but then they see: many misunderstandings arise, people die senselessly — they allowed it to be broadcast in Russian. Our commanding officer — the legendary three-time Hero of the Soviet Union General Ivan Mykytovych Kozhedub — used to see us off on a flight, shouting into the microphone of the radio station: "Fight, guys, imperialists!"

● Бабаков С. Наказ був такий: "Бої вести тільки над Північною Кореєю!" *Дзеркало тижня.* 2000. 30 червня https://zn.ua/ukr/SOCIUM/nakaz_buv_takiy_boyi_vesti_tilki_nad_pivnichnoyu_koreeyu.html

Source 86

From the memoirs of a former air defence sergeant from Kyiv, A. Haiev (2000)

"The spring of 1951.

And so one night the regiment was raised by an alarm and brought to the railway station. An echelon was already waiting for us there. Just settled in the wagons — immediately on the road. Equipment, weapons, property — all this remained at the training ground. Where and why we are going — the commanders were silent. The same night they arrived at the border

with China. In a small station building, they handed in their military cards (I had no personal documents for the next two years) and received a Chinese military uniform without epaulettes and insignia."...

"We were taken by ferry to the territory of North Korea and immediately scattered on the anti-aircraft artillery positions located on the slopes of the hills.

Our regiment was given the task of protecting the power station and the airfield from raids by American planes. During the battle, we interacted with Chinese and North Korean anti-aircraft guns — they were stationed on nearby hills."

"But, surprisingly, there was no political training. Why we intervened in that war, no one particularly explained to us, and we did not ask."

"When our regiment suffered the first losses, I thought: "What if something happens to me too? None of mine will know where I laid my head." Although he was afraid of the consequences, he began to put one letter from the name of the country in the margins of each letter: K-O-R-E-Y. Mine immediately guessed what it was for, and later already knew where my service was held... Even before the start of hostilities, we were read an order on criminal liability for disclosing a military secret. I signed for him and later never mentioned my service in the DPRK."

- Бабаков С. Наказ був такий: "Бої вести тільки над Північною Кореєю!." *Дзеркало тижня*. 2000. 30 червня https://zn.ua/ukr/SOCIUM/nakaz_buv_takiy_boyi_vesti_tilki_nad_pivnichnoyu_koreeyu.html

Source 87

From the memoirs of a fighter pilot from Poltava, O. Vasko (2020)

"They tried not to "advertise" us a lot, — Oleksandr Fedorovych recalled those times. — In the time free from flights, we went exclusively in civilian clothes, we especially laughed at the hats, which had to be worn appropriately, in the Korean manner. And the pilots themselves, it seemed, were selected in a special way — short in stature, so as not to stand out among the Koreans. Only that they were not forced to squint! Of course, all this was typical nonsense, since the Americans knew perfectly well who they were fighting in the Korean skies."

- Скобельський В. Дві війни Олександра Васька. *Полтавський вісник*. 2020. 29.06 https://www.visnyk.poltava.ua/news/dvi-vijny-oleksandra-vaska/)

4. The impact of the war on Korea, Koreans and the world

What is the memory of the Korean War and how did it affect the world?

INTRODUCTION

The Korean War was one of the **bloodiest armed conflicts (4.1)** after World War II. It affected many aspects of the life of the Koreans and had great international significance.

The Korean War **prompted the leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement to adjust their activity.**

In the Ukrainian SSR, the topic of the Korean War was **actively used by Soviet propagandists**.

4.1. The consequences of the war and the memory of it

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 59

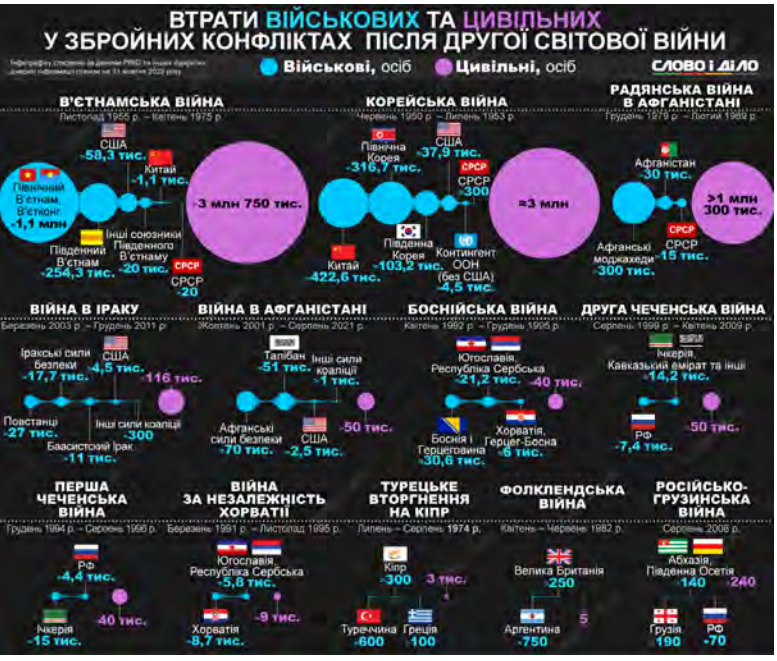
- Acquaint yourself with the infographic "Military and civilian casualties in armed conflicts after World War II" (**source 88**) and characterise the consequences of the Korean War for all participants in the conflict.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 60

- In honour of the heroism and sacrifice of the soldiers during the Korean War, the capitals of the countries that took part in the war try to preserve the memory of the war through memorials and monuments. The photographs (**sources 89–92**) show the monuments from the Korean War memorials in Seoul, Pyongyang, London and Washington. Look at the photographs. Try to explain the symbolism of the monuments and identify which of the capitals they are located in.

Source 88

Military and civilian casualties in armed conflicts after World War II[26]



Source 89–92

Memorials to the Korean War[27]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 61

- The South Korean historian Kim Dong-choon believes that the main consequence of the Korean War was the consolidation of the division of Korea. The war reinforced the differences between its parts and led to the spread of hyper pro-Americanism and anti-communism, a tendency towards military dictatorship, a focus on a rapid capitalist development economy and a sense of trauma in South Korea and the rooting of hyper anti-Americanism, nationalism and communism, the cult of personality, the spread of Juche ideology and systemic self-isolation in North Korea.
- Based on **source 93**, explain how the Korean War affected the post-war life of the country and its citizens. Show your opinion in the form of a diagram.

Source 93

From Han Kyung-Koo's article *Legacies Of War: The Korean War 60 On* (2010)

"Practically the entire Korean Peninsula experienced the ravages of war. With the front line being continuously pushed back and forth, tremendous toll in human life and widespread physical destruction left Korean society in serious turmoil. This resulted in large-scale movements across social and class lines, and the development of new social and physical infrastructure as the divided peninsula struggled to recover from the war. Following a virtual collapse of longstanding personal relationships and value systems, a process of modernization gained momentum and new value systems emerged."

"It has been estimated that some 1.5 million people fled southward during the eight-year period from 1945 (when Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule) to 1953, which marked the end of the Korean War. Moreover, the relocatees are said to have left behind some 4.5 to 6 million family members, equal to a 15–20 percent share of the 1950 population."

"For many in South Korea, the war led to their first real encounter of life outside their local community, whether through their military service or as refugees, who struggled for survival with complete strangers from across the country. Amidst this crisis situation and desperate struggle for survival, those who practiced forthrightness were thought to be ineffectual, while a notion took root that anyone who "followed the rules" would not survive. Under these circumstances, people came to believe that competing fairly and clinging to traditional values would only lead to failure."

"Prior to the Korean War, the Ministry of Education had required all students to memorize a credo known as "our oath," which included the following pledges. First, "We are sons and daughters of the Republic of Korea, and we will defend our nation to the death." Second, "Let us defeat the Communist aggressors, for we are bound together like steel." Third, "Let us wave the Korean flag on the summit of Mt. Baekdusan and achieve the unification of South and North." This oath was printed in all books, not only textbooks. When the war broke out, the participation and sacrifice of student soldiers were glorified, while Student National Defense Corps were formed on school campuses, and students participated in military training."

"The Korean War brought about dramatic change to the dietary practices of South Koreans. Food items such as coffee, gum, chocolate, candy, biscuits, and powdered milk were introduced to the general public by the U.S. military. Under a U.S. agricultural program, an abundance of surplus wheat flour was supplied to Korea, which led to the development of flour-based foods, including the Korean-style dish of noodles with black bean sauce.

In addition, North Korean dishes, such as cold noodles, gained a foothold in the South."

"Belief in Christianity spread widely during the war through missionary outreach efforts among the military personnel and POW detainees as well. It has been noted that the Christian leaning administration of President Syngman Rhee's also served to promote its acceptance among the general populace. Christianity was seen as a means to obtain relief supplies, as well as a pathway to the United States and a way to taste a piece of the American lifestyle in Korea. With so many Koreans relying on the church for food aid, the United States came to be stamped indelibly into the minds of Koreans as a "land of grace."

"For its security, South Korea was forced to maintain a 600,000-member military, a massive commitment when compared to the nation's population, and as a result, all Korean men were required to serve in the military. Due to the war, the ongoing confrontation between South and North, and U.S. military aid, military service provided valuable opportunities for education and training, while the government's generous support of the military enabled it to secure advanced know-how and organization practices. Although anticommunist ideology played a notable role, this military-centered environment set the stage for Korea's military coup d'etat and authoritarian regimes.

For Korean men, military service provided an entrance into society, as the lessons learned about the military's teamwork, cooperation and organizational principles proved to be of significant value in the civilian sector as well"

- Han Kyung-Koo. Legacies of War: The Korean War – 60 Years On. *The Asia-Pacific Journal. Japan Focus. Analysis of the forces shaping the Asia-Pacific and the world*. September 20, 2010. Volume 8 | Issue 38 | Number 3. https://apjjf.org/-Han-Kyung-Koo/3414/article.html

Clock Tower of Peace in Seoul

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 62

- Take a good look at the painting 'The 38th Parallel' by the South Korean artist Kim Won, who lived in North Korea and moved to South Korea right before the war (**source 94**), and try to explain the main idea and symbolism of the painting.

Source 94

The 38th Parallel by Kim Won (1953)[28]

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 63

- From the list of events (**source 95**), emphasize those that you think were influenced by the Korean War. Try to explain how. Use the Internet to find out more about the events. Determine how the Korean War affected South Korea, the United States, China, the USSR, Japan, and countries in Europe and Asia.

Source 95

Chronology of the main events of world history (1950–1957)

1950, September — adoption of the Internal Security Act in the United States. McCarthyism.

1950, December — establishment of the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency.

1951, April — establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community.

1951, May — Tibet becomes part of the People's Republic of China.

1951, 8 September — a peace treaty with Japan is signed at a conference in San Francisco.

1951, September — the Pacific Security Treaty (ANZUS) is signed, uniting the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

1951, October — the USSR tests an atomic bomb.

1952, February — Greece and Turkey join NATO.

1952, November — a thermonuclear weapons test in the United States.

1953, March — the death of Stalin.

1953, June — uprising in the GDR.

1954, March — signing of the military assistance agreement between the United States and Japan.

1954, 20 July — agreements are signed in Geneva between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), on the one hand, and South Vietnam and France, on the other.

1954, August — the Japanese Self-Defence Forces are established.

1954, September — the Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) is established.

1954 — aggravation of relations between PRC and Taiwan.

1955, April — a conference of former colonial peoples was held in Bandung, Indonesia. The conference was initiated by India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia.

1955, May — FRG joins NATO.

1955, 14 May — signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, GDR, and Bulgaria in Warsaw (formation of the Warsaw Pact).

1956, February — condemnation of the cult of Stalin's personality in the USSR.

1956, 22 October — 4 November — attempted anti-totalitarian revolution in Hungary.

1957, February — the campaign of glasnost and criticism in China.

1957, 25 March — The Treaty of Rome establishes the European Economic Community.

1957, June — an attempt to overthrow M. Khrushchov in the USSR.

1957, October — a test of an intercontinental ballistic missile in the USSR.

1957, November — deterioration of relations between PRC and the USSR.

4.2. The Korean War and the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement

How did the Korean War affect the Ukrainian national liberation movement?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 64

- Analyse **sources 96** and **97** and explain how the Korean War influenced (adjusted) the plans of the OUN.

Source 96

From S. Bandera's article *The War in Korea and the National Liberation Path* (1950)

"The current war in Korea is only one of the incidents that arose as a result of the rivalry between world powers to consolidate the positions gained in the aftermath of World War II. The false, unprincipled and fundamentally imperialist policy of the majority of Western powers against the Asian peoples objectively paves the way for the Russian imperialist offensive through its deceptive external support for the national struggles of these peoples, while simultaneously penetrating communism and the Communist Party internally, which, in fact, destroy the national content of these peoples' struggles from within.

We deeply sympathise with the tragedy of the Korean people, who have become an object of an inspired, organised, externally fuelled internal civil war in which brothers kill brothers. The blame for this lies with Russian imperialism, which is the first and actual cause of the war raging against the Korean people. However, those states that, after the end of World War II, divided the land and people of Korea (which was neither the cause nor a participant in that war, but an enslaved nation) into two parts, northern and southern ones, and thus laid the foundations for the war against the Korean people, actually indulged the plans of Russian imperialism against Korea.

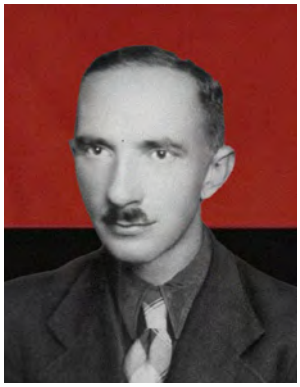
The Korean War, as one of the current relevant links in the single chain of the all-encompassing offensive of Russian imperialism, is an opportunity to once again check, clarify and refine, on the basis of the experience of recent years, the foundations of Ukrainian national liberation policy, its strategies and tactics of struggle, to make it an effective tool for our constant progress and to keep it from going astray, and thus to eliminate the danger of Ukrainian politics being drawn into a satellite role under foreign politicians, and the nation's revolutionary struggle for its state turning into manure for someone else's field."

- Бандера С. Війна в Кореї і національно-визвольний шлях. *Сурма*. Мюнхен. Ч. 21. Липень 1950 nashformat.ua/library/perspektyvy-ukraynskoi-revolyutsii-709410/periodyka#media-18.

Source 97

From O. Sych's article *Military Policy of the OUN Foreign Units in the Context of the Cold War (1945–1950s)*

From S. Lenkavsky's report at the Third Conference of Foreign Units of the OUN (14–17 April 1951)



"On the plan of preparation for World War III.

The basis for its concretisation should be two unchanging elements: 1) a European bridgehead as the main base for pre-war preparations for military operations; 2) reliance on our own personnel, their selection and preparation for various tasks and preparation of ways to transfer them to Ukraine by our own forces."

"For the third time in our half-century, the fate of the Ukrainian state will be decided in World War III. It is possible that this is the last opportunity for Ukraine to gain its freedom in the twentieth century. The task of the nationalists at this crucial time is to be at the forefront, united by one idea, of a new partisan front and to bring all the Ukrainians under the banners of the Ukrainian Liberation Revolution."

- Сич О. Військова політика закордонних частин ОУН в умовах розгортання холодної війни (1945–1950-ті рр.). *Український визвольний рух*. 2007. С. 92 http://dspace.nbuv.gov.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/64669/05-Sych.pdf?sequence=1

4.3. The theme of the Korean War in Soviet propaganda in the Ukrainian SSR

How and for what purpose did Soviet propaganda use the theme of the Korean War?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 65

- For three years, the topic of the Korean War had not disappeared from the pages of Soviet newspapers and has been actively exploited in Ukrainian Soviet literature. Vivid examples of this are Yu. Yanovskyi's play "Paradise Camp", V. Sosiura's poem "Korea is Fighting", and A. Malyshko's work "Korean Poem." Acquaint yourself with **source 98** and, based on the plot of the poem, identify the main idea of the work.
- What was the purpose of popularising such works?
- What does the poem's plot have in common with the way the Russia-Ukraine war is covered by the contemporary Russian media?
- Analyse **sources 99** and **100**, and explain how Soviet propaganda tried to impose a view of the Korean issue on ordinary citizens.
- How can you explain the popularity of this topic? What is the ideological content of these publications? What is their purpose?

Source 98

From D. Plisetskyi's article *The Place of A. Malyshko's "Korean Poem" in the Political and Cultural Life of Soviet Ukraine in the 1950s* (2023)

"This lyrical work can be divided into four parts: 1) about the intervention of American forces in Korea and the regime of Syngman Rhee; 2) about partisans and their struggle against the UN troops (the image of an eighteen-year-old partisan girl who is being shot); 3) about the boy who told General D. MacArthur about the wonderful transformations in North Korea, and the consequence is that the Americans hanged this Korean child; 4) about the journey of the Korean mother, who lost her son, to the Soviet Union where she witnessed the reconstruction of Ukraine after World War II. The style of the poem resembles the general trends in North Korean literature."

● Плісецький Д. Місце "Корейської поеми" А. Малишка в політичному та культурному житті Радянської України 50-х рр. XX ст. *Proceedings of the 6th International Scientific and Practical Conference "Scientific Community: Interdisciplinary Research"* (July 6–8, 2023). Hamburg, Germany This work is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

Source 99

A Soviet cartoon from the 1950s[29]

Source 100

***Perets* magazine, 1951, No. 1**[30]

Мал. А. АРУТЮНЯНЦА

— Пане генерале! Дозвольте звернутися до пана полковника!

— Звертайся, якщо доженеш!

НОВІ НАРОДНІ ПРИСЛІВ'Я ПРО АМЕРИКАНСЬКИХ АГРЕСОРІВ

В Білім домі, в Америці, від Кореї в істериці.

На Корею боссами, а з Кореї босими.

На Корею з громом, а з Кореї з гробом.

Трумен і Еттлі — кандидати в петлі.

Записав на Сумщині Іван РЯБЕНКО.

5. The Korean War and the Russia-Ukraine War

How does the Russia-Ukraine War resemble the Korean War (1950–1953)?

How can this be explained?

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 66

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 101–103**.
- Do you share the opinion of the President of the Republic of Korea, Yoon Suk Yeol, that the situation in Korea in the early 1950s is similar to the current situation in Ukraine?
- Try to prove your conclusion based on the modern periodisation of the Korean and Russia-Ukraine wars.
- Sometimes in historical publications, especially those of North Korea, the beginning of the Korean War is counted from 1948 or even from 1945. Why do you think so?
- What do the actions of the USSR in the Korean War and Russia in the Russia-Ukraine War have in common?
- Based on **sources 101–103**, explain what conclusions the Russia-Ukraine War prompts the Republic of Korea to draw.

Source 101

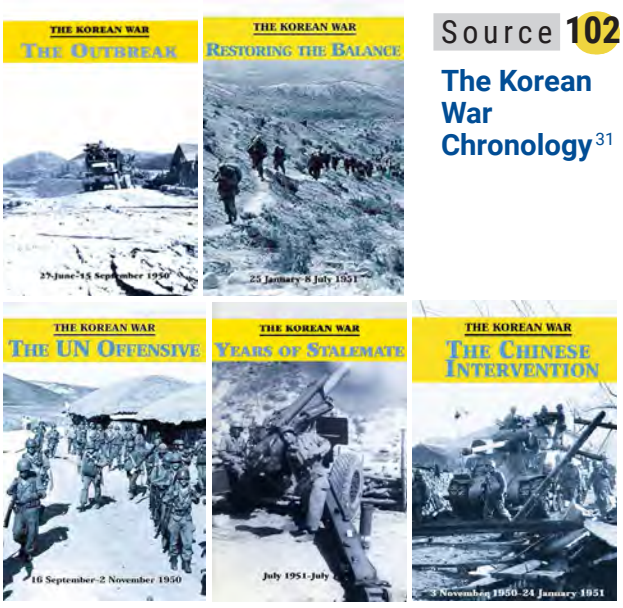
From the speech of the President of the Republic of Korea, Yoon Suk Yeol, at a press conference in Kyiv (15 July 2023)

"About 70 years ago, the Republic of Korea was also illegally invaded by North Korea. About 90 per cent of South Korea's territory was occupied. And we faced the threat of extinction as a state. However, thanks to our military and civilians who helped them as much as possible, we were able to stop the invaders and expel them from our land. After the war, the Republic of Korea, which suffered greatly, was able to become one of the countries that can be called an example of freedom, peace and prosperity. Now the situation in Ukraine is similar to the situation in Korea 70 years ago."

- https://www.president.gov.ua/news/spivpracya-ukrayini-ta-respubliki-koreya-dast-bilshe-sili-na-84349

Source 102

The Korean War Chronology[31]



Phase 1: North Korean Attack & UN Intervention (6/50–9/50) ...

Phase 2: Escalation & Counterattack (9/50–10/50) ...

Phase 3: Chinese Intervention (10/50–12/50) ...

Phase 4: Fighting Around the 38th Parallel (1/51–5/51) ...

Phase 5: Stalemate (6/51–7/53) ...

- Michael Barnes. An Overview of the Korean War. https://history.army.mil/reference/Korea/kw-chrono.htm

Source 103

Periodisation of the Russia-Ukraine war

"I (20 February — April 2014) — occupation of Crimea;

II (14 April 2014 — 23 February 2022) — carrying out Anti-Terrorist Operation/Joint Forces Operation;

III (24 February 2022 — to date) — Russia's full-scale armed aggression against Ukraine:

- phase 1 (24 February — 17 April 2022) — the battle of Kyiv played a strategic role in it, which broke all the occupier's plans — complete capture of Ukraine. The successful defence of Sumy, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv also played an important role in this phase;

- phase 2 (18 April — 28 August 2022) — concentration of the enemy's main efforts in eastern Ukraine, the second strategic defence operation, which created the conditions for the Armed Forces of Ukraine to launch offensive operations;

- phase 3 (29 August — end of December 2022) — a strategic offensive operation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which made it possible to liberate Kharkiv oblast and the right bank of Kherson oblast;

- phase 4 (October of 2022 — March of 2023) — deterrence of the Russian offensive in eastern Ukraine, a strategic operation of the Russians to destroy the energy system of Ukraine."

● Ільницький, В., Куцька, О. Періодизація російсько-української війни (2014–2022) в українському науковому дискурсі. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія,* 13/55, 2023 С. 171. doi: https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.13/55.283087)

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 67

▶ Acquaint yourself with **source 104**. In your opinion, is J. Feffer's argument correct?

Source 104

From J. Feffer's article *Korean Armistice, Ukrainian Armistice* (2023)

"The war in Ukraine resembles the Korean War in many respects. There was an initial invasion that stopped short of occupying the entire country. Ukraine, like South Korea, fought back with the assistance of powerful allies (though without the addition of allied boots on the ground). After a year of back and forth, the two sides have battled to a near standstill."

● John Feffer. Korean armistice, Ukrainian ceasefire. Pity the country that has no armistice, but pity the country that needs an armistice (Summer 2023) https://www.koreanquarterly.org/politics/korean-armistice-ukrainian-ceasefire/

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 68

▶ Take a good look at the American propaganda leaflet of 1953 (**source 105**) and identify the role of ideology in this war. Compare the role of ideology in the Korean War and the current Russia-Ukraine War.

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 69

▶ The Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Hrytsak refers to the current Russia-Ukraine War as a civilisational war, the one in which the warring parties have a completely different worldview. Therefore, he compares this war to the Greco-Persian War of the fifth century BC. Based on **source 106**, determine whether the Korean War can be classified as a civilisational war and compare it to the Russia-Ukraine War.

Source 105

American propaganda leaflet (1953)[32]

Note that the American leaflet "STOP! CRIMINAL!" clearly outlines the circle of countries, which are called upon to do this and names the victim — the Republic of Korea. The image of the aggressor is not associated with a specific country but is labelled as an ideology.

Source 106

From Ya. Hrytsak's article *The Fate of the World Depends on Such Wars* (2022)

"At that time, a small tribe of Greeks defeated a Persian army that was several times their size and, as it seemed, powerful.

The Greeks won because they were free citizens — the Persians lost because they were royal subjects. Since then, we have a rule: free and conscious people fight better than slaves and barbarians."

● Грицак Ярослав. Від таких воєн залежить доля світу. *НВ*, 2022, 18.03 https://nv.ua/ukr/opinion/rosiya-ukrajina-chomu-ukrajinci-voyuyut-krashche-za-rosiyan-viyna-gricak-novini-ukrajini-50222111.html

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 70

▶ Acquaint yourself with the researcher's opinion (**source 107**). Do you agree with I. Bekkevold's opinion that these wars are regional wars with global consequences? What global implications are we talking about?

▶ I. Bekkevold notes that the Korean and Russia-Ukraine wars differ in origin and scale. How does this manifest itself?

Source 107

From Jo Inge Bekkevold's article *Ukraine is the Korean War Redux* (2022)

"Which conflict in history offers the greatest parallels to Russia's war in Ukraine? The answer is undoubtedly the Korean War. Although different in origin and scale, both conflicts are regional wars with worldwide implications—heralding, accelerating, and solidifying the transition to a new bipolar global order. These parallels, and a few key differences, offer important lessons for the future."

- Inge Bekkevold. Ukraine Is the Korean War Redux https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/28/ukraine-russia-china-nato-korean-war-cold-bipolar-geopolitics-strategy

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 71

- Based on **source 108**, characterise the strategy of each of the opposing sides in the Korean War and the Russia-Ukraine War.

Source 108

From Choong Koo Lee's article *Looking at the Ukraine War Through the Lens of the Korean War* (2022)

"Looking through the historical lens of the Korean War (1950–1953), you can figure out the present and future of the current Ukraine War more quickly. For example, during the Korean War, Stalin had tried to divert the military forces and resources of the United States by extending the period of the War with its assistance to North Korea and China. Similarly, the United States and the western countries have had the opportunity to degrade the Russian army during the Ukraine War. In some sense, their military assistance to the Ukraine government accords to the strategic interest of the United States with the prolonged battle in Ukraine.

The Ukraine War is comparable to the Korean War since it is also an asymmetric proxy war. Even though there are a few differences, such as the role of the partners of the involved great powers, both the Korean War and the Ukraine war are structurally similar. The two wars commonly consisted of a directly involved great power (the U.S. in the Korean War, Russia in the Ukraine War), an indirectly involved great power (USSR in the Korean War, the U.S. in the Ukraine War), and a proxy state (North Korea in the Korean War, Ukraine in the Ukraine War). In this vein, the behaviors of the U.S., USSR, and North Korea in the Korean War could be precedents of that of Russia, the U.S., and Ukraine in the current Ukraine War."

- Choong Koo Lee. Looking at the Ukraine War Through the Lens of the Korean War. *Real Clear Defense* 2022.18.06. https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2022/06/18/looking_at_the_ukraine_war_through_the_lens_of_the_korean_war_838069.html

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 72

- Acquaint yourself with a fragment of the poem by the contemporary Ukrainian poet S. Makarevska, which imaginatively presents the role of the USSR (Russia) in military conflicts (**source 109**).

Source 109

From S. Makarevska's poem *My father did not die in the war...*

"After that war, there were others around:
in Korea, in Vietnam and in Angola
foreign ones, not ours... But everywhere there were
Soviet "liberators from captivity."

- https://dity.in.ua/statti/virshi-i-kazki-dlya-ditey/virshi-pro-mir-bez-viyni

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 73

- Take a good look at the picture of 1953 (**source 110**). Think about how the theme of the leaflet is relevant in the context of the Russia-Ukraine War.

Source 110

An American leaflet (1953)[33]

The caption on the leaflet: "Your children are being taken away to Soviet Russia, Red China and many other foreign lands. Korean families are being broken up and Korean culture is being destroyed"

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 74

- Analyse the photo (**source 111**), which shows a "parade" of American prisoners of war in Pyongyang in 1950. A similar humiliation of captured Ukrainian defence servicemen was organised in occupied

Donetsk in 2014. What do you think was the purpose of the organisers of these 'parades'? What do they have in common? How do they characterise their organisers? What does the symbols attached to the clothes of American soldiers mean?

Source 111

Humiliation of American prisoners in Pyongyang (1950) [34]

Source 112

From the speech of the former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, James Stavridis (2022)

"Ukrainians are resisting very strongly. Putin's military plans have not been very effective. He has gained little territory compared to where the conflict started.

I see this leading to an end like the Korean War, i.e. an armistice, a militarized zone between the two sides, continued hostilities, a kind of frozen conflict."

- https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2022/07/18/7358738/

Source 113

From an interview with the President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyy (2023)

"I believe that if we have a scenario similar to the examples you mentioned (Finnish and Korean ones — Ed.), with modern Russia, with its efforts, with its ambitions, then the next country will be after us. I believe that Russia should not be given such a chance."

- https://www.obozrevatel.com/ukr/politics-news/takij-shans-rosii-davati-ne-mozhna-zelenskij-poyasniv-chomu-finskij-i-korejskij-stsenarii-zavershennya-vijni-neprijnyatni-dlya-ukraini.htm

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 75

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 112–115** and determine what is the essence of the "Korean scenario" for Ukraine. Why is it categorically rejected in Ukraine?

Source 114

From an interview with O. Danilov, the Secretary of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine (2023)

"Ukraine is not Korea. There will be no 38th and other parallels, no other stories and no scenarios imposed from the outside. The coordinates of movement of the "Russian warship" are set, no changes are foreseen, the Ukrainian Defence Forces are working."

- https://suspilne.media/378032-danilov-vidpoviv-medvedevu-sodo-podilu-ukraini-za-korejskim-scenariem/

Source 115

From a Twitter post by M. Podoliak, an advisor to the Office of the President of Ukraine (2022)

"Different context, different scale. Any "frozen conflict" will mean the return of the war in a few years — more prepared and bloody. The only way to put an end to the war and restore security in Europe is to liberate Ukrainian territories and defeat Russia."

- У Зеленського розповіли, як уникнути сценарію "Корейської війни" в Україні https://www.rbc.ua/ukr/news/zelenskogo-rasskazali-izbezhat-stsenariya-1658135721.html)

QUESTIONS AND TASKS 76

- Based on **sources 116–118**, explain what the Russia-Ukraine War prompts the Republic of Korea to draw.

Source 116

From V. Solovian's article *"Korean Scenario" for Ukraine: Unveiling Implications* (2023)

"Let us now define the primary "ingredients" of the "Korean model" of regulating the war:

- A large-scale destructive war that is in the process of depleting the warring parties' resource bases and is distinguished by a stable front configuration. An armistice agreement is the result of a decision by great powers to end a conflict in which victory for one side was impossible.
- The operation of a demilitarized zone several kilometers deep ensures the armistice. For decades, the direct participants in the war have been at odds, creating a de facto frozen conflict.
- In the medium term (the first 10–20 years), the parties see the post-war situation as temporary, preparing for vengeance, militarizing the economy, and instilling fear in the public consciousness. It is possible to resume dialogue over time, but only within a certain range. The issue of reintegration is not being addressed.

These parameters generate erroneous historical parallels. Ukraine's occupied territories are viewed as a kind of "analogue of the DPRK"—a burden that Kyiv must shed for the sake of peace and various political and economic benefits from the West. However, even a cursory glance reveals that comparisons between Ukraine and the post-war ROK are invalid in the current context.

Unlike in the Korean War, there are no third-party troops on the Russian-Ukrainian battlefield, and it is unlikely that they will ever appear — the global players are the US and China. As a result, they lack a war "switch" that can be activated at any time, disregarding the position of "junior partners."

The establishment of a demilitarized zone in the near future is an extremely unlikely scenario for a ceasefire. For starters, no international organization can provide a large enough peacekeeping mission to establish effective control over hundreds of kilometers of the demarcation line, as well as Ukraine's border with the aggressor country and its ally, Belarus. One must note that Russia has blocked every attempt to deploy a peacekeeping contingent in Donbas since 2014, and it will undoubtedly do so again.

The primary distinction between the Russian-Ukrainian context and the "Korean scenario" is the absence of Kremlin plans to establish new pseudo-Ukrainian state entities. Russia is annexing the seized lands in an attempt to erase Ukrainian identity. Putin's goal is to demolish the Ukrainian state, not to create an alternative, pro-Russian Ukraine-Malorussia."

- Солов'ян В. "Корейський сценарій" для України: розкриття наслідків. https://www.newgeopolitics.org/2023/08/28/korean-scenario-for-ukraine-unveiling-the-implications/)

Source 117

From M. Engman's article *The War in Ukraine: Drawing Lessons for the Korean Peninsula* (2022)

"As argued by Lt. Gen (retd) Chun In Bum in a recent article in 38 North, the importance of the United Nations Command in South Korea is not properly appreciated. Indeed, he asserts that "the war in Ukraine has demonstrated how difficult, if not impossible, it is to create an international military effort that is supported by the United Nations (UN)." One could add that the same argument holds true for the importance of preserving the entirety of the Armistice Agreement and any "End of War declaration" need to reflect this reality.

Though it is yet too early to predict the full extent of consequences of the Ukraine war, some implications for Korean security can be identified. First, following the Russian provocative statements of the possible use of nuclear weapons, achieving de-nuclearization on the Korean Peninsula will likely be even more challenging. Second, the value of a diversified and multinational network of partners and allies has been clearly on display during the war and South Korea would benefit from developing a similar network. Third, the information war in Ukraine has taken on new dimensions and nations need to develop policies centered on societal resilience, through trust and diversity, rather than trying to control through restrictions and regulations. Education can play an important part in such policies.

Lastly, with a more unstable, complex and competitive security environment including continued arms build-up, risks and incidents will occur. A balanced approached on improving deterrence, continued efforts to engage in dialogue and develop and maintain risk-management processes should be a priority."

- Mats Engman. The War in Ukraine: Drawing Lessons for the Korean Peninsula. 2022.16.06. https://isdp.eu/the-war-in-ukraine-drawing-lessons-for-the-korean-peninsula/

Source 118

From In-bum Chun's article *South Koreans Could Learn A Lot From the War in Ukraine* (2022)

"Two takeaways for South Korea to consider in the midst of all of this should be what it needs to do to truly strengthen the US-ROK alliance and what its military modernization priorities should be.

However, the biggest lesson for South Korea right now is: if you want peace, you need to prepare for war."

- In-Bum Chun. South Koreans Could Learn A Lot From the War in Ukraine. 2022.31.03. https://www.38north.org/2022/03/south-koreans-could-learn-a-lot-from-the-war-in-ukraine/

THEME 4

THE “ECONOMIC MIRACLE” IN ONE GENERATION

How did the Republic of Korea manage to achieve rapid economic growth in a short period of time?

1. The post-war reconstruction.

- 1.1. Syngman Rhee: the post-war policy.
- 1.2. The April 1960 revolution in South Korea.
- 1.3. The post-war conditions in South Korea and Ukraine.

2. The strategies of economic growth.

- 2.1. The Korean "economic miracle" – the "Miracle on the Han River."
- 2.2. Park Chung-hee: the "developmental dictatorship."
- 2.3. Planning the economy.
- 2.4. Reliance on chaebol.
- 2.5. Financial support.

3. The role of education in the economic development of the country.

- 3.1. Reforming the education system.
- 3.2. The human factor of the "economic miracle."

4. The "Korean economic miracle" and the tasks for Ukraine.

1. The post-war reconstruction

What methods did Syngman Rhee use to overcome the consequences of the war? Why did they lead to the fall of his regime?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- Recall what the consequences of the 1950–1953 war were for the Republic of Korea.
- Describe the priorities that the government of Syngman Rhee had to address.

INTRODUCTION

After the end of the Korean War, the government of Syngman Rhee, with strong financial and military support from the United States, began to take measures to restore the country's **economy (1.1)**, which were accompanied by the strengthening of his regime. Syngman Rhee's policy aroused massive resistance among the Koreans, which grew into the **April 1960 Revolution (1.2)**.

The activity of Syngman Rhee is still ambiguously perceived in the Republic of Korea today. This period went down in history as the First Republic, which was replaced by the Second Republic.

South Korea's post-war conditions (1.3) posed a serious challenge to the country's economy, prompting the government to reform it.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

- Analyse the proposed photographs (**sources 1–3**) and make a generalisation about the level of development of the Republic of Korea in the second half of the 1950s.

Source **1-3**

Korea in the second half of the 1950s[1]

Kim Yong-hwan's cartoon *The World after the 50s* (1955)
'There is no war and all weapons are in the museum'

1. https://www.teamblind.com/kr/post/1955년에-상상한-50년-후의-세계-jpg-140JmvL6

1.1. Syngman Rhee: the post-war policy

Which Syngman Rhee's measures contributed to and which hindered the development of the economy of the Republic of Korea?

What was the basis of his activity?

Syngman Rhee's government

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Acquaint yourself with the proposed materials (**sources 4–8**) and summarise the information in the table below "Economic policy of Syngman Rhee's government." Find out what priorities he set in his work. Who did he rely on?

Source 4

From the article *Park Chung-hee. Korea. An economic miracle* (2021)

Syngman Rhee was primarily concerned with maintaining power and acted against various political rivals. To do this, he appointed high-ranking officials based on loyalty rather than competence and pitted competing factions and organisations against each other.

To strengthen his position, according to World Bank experts, Syngman Rhee gave away Japanese property, namely land, industry, etc., at non-market prices (something similar happened in Ukraine in the 1990s). In this way, an elite controlled and accountable to him was built. In addition, the oligarchy created by Syngman Rhee received many preferences, such as state contracts or loans.

Areas of economic activity	Measures that had a positive impact on the economy	Measures that had a negative impact on the economy

The consequences of the oligarchic system were economic stagnation and complete dependence on the United States, which only increased the population's discontent. As a result, the dictator increasingly found himself in a precarious position, trying to keep the oligarchy in place with money, the US — with allied relations, and the people — with banal populism. Thus, Syngman Rhee did not carry out reforms and relied entirely on American aid.

In particular, from 1954 to 1960, 70 per cent of imports were financed by foreign — American — aid. Special agencies for reconstruction and aid to Korea were also set up. However, Syngman Rhee's bureaucracy often redistributed this aid in the interests of a limited number of people…"

- https://konkretyka.net/economical-miracle-ukr/pak-chon-hi-koreya-ekonomichne-dyvo.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 4

- Think about the significance of the creation of the UN Agency for the economy of the Republic of Korea (**source 5**). What goals did the United States set when creating the Agency: real help, establishing dependence, or control over the use of funds?

Source 5

Signing of the agreement on the establishment of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (1953)[2]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 5

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 6–7**. How would you characterise the economic relations between the government of Syngman Rhee and the United States? Why did the United States provide assistance to South Korea in various areas? For a long time, the United States supplied wheat flour to the Republic of Korea (a country that periodically suffered from famine) free of charge and launched a powerful campaign to promote the benefits of its use. How do you think this fact could have affected the country's economic development?
- What can you say about the South Korean leader's policy towards Japan?
- The author of the article "Park Chung-hee. Korea. An Economic Miracle" states that "Syngman Rhee did not carry out reforms and relied entirely on American aid" (**source 4**), and Il SaKong and Youngsun Koh note that "the first president of the young republic tried to rebuild the economy through a series of reconstruction plans" (**source 6**). What do you think about this?
- In your opinion, did South Korea's post-war economic development experience phenomena similar to those that Ukraine experienced in the 1990s during the transformation of its economy?

Source 6

From Il SaKong and Youngsun Koh's article *The Korean Economy Six Decades of Growth and Development* (2010)

"Rhee Syngman, the first president of the young republic, strived to rebuild the economy with a series of reconstruction plans. These plans aimed to expand the economic infrastructure, build key industries (cement, steel, etc.) and increase the productive capacity of manufacturing.

Rhee's desire to construct a self–sufficient Korean economy with these plans was in direct conflict with the American government's intention to rebuild an East Asian economic block with an industrialized Japan at its center."

Sa Kong, Il and Koh, Young Sun, The Korean Economy Six Decades of Growth and Development. Seoul: Korea Development Institute, 2010 https://www.kdevelopedia.org/Development-Overview/all/post-war-policies-foreign-aid-economic-reconstruction--103.do

Source 7

From Michael J. Seth's article *An Unpromising Recovery: South Korea's Post-Korean War Economic Development: 1953–1961* (2013)

"The economic policies pursued by the Rhee regime were not conducive to rapid development. Rhee's government followed an import substitution industrialization policy in which imports were blocked in order to protect and encourage the development of domestic industries. While import substitution policies were pursued by many postcolonial states after World War II, this was not a practical policy for South Korea because it lacked natural resources and a large internal market. As a result, there was little industrial development. The economy instead relied on imported goods purchased with US aid funds, money spent by American soldiers in the country, and a flourishing black market in goods intended for the US forces stationed in the country. The United States encouraged Seoul to establish trade relations with Tokyo through rice and seaweed exports and attempted to interest the Japanese in investing in the country. But Rhee would not sign a peace treaty or establish diplomatic relations with his country's former enemy.

"Unseen Foundations for 1960s Economic Development

Yet while it was not obvious to many observers at the time, underneath this very unpromising start were some developments that were laying the foundation for the "South Korean Miracle." As riddled with self-serving, corrupt officials as it was, the state had many able and talented people in the areas of economics, education, and finance. This was partly the result of US assistance, which provided thousands of Koreans with technical training. This ranged from a program to train statisticians to the many economists and engineers that received a US education. While this was only a small proportion of the aid funding, it resulted in a large core of well-educated and trained bureaucrats; educators; and other skilled professional people. To these were added a steady stream of South Koreans who were using their own means of travel to study science, engineering, economics, education, and a variety of other fields in the United States. They were often employed as young technocrats by the government. In 1958, the Rhee administration, drawing from this growing body of technocrats, created an Economic Development Council, which began to make plans for long–term economic development. Although the Rhee administration collapsed in 1960 before plans could be implemented, they formed a basis for those of the Park Chung-hee regime after 1961.

This period also saw the emergence of entrepreneurs who would provide a pool of talent from which the later Park regime could draw. South Korea's economy after 1961 became dominated by huge business conglomerates called chaebŏl. Nearly half of the fifty largest of these chaebŏl got their start during the 1950s."

- Michael J. Seth. An Unpromising Recovery: South Korea's Post-Korean War Economic Development: 1953–1961. Volume 18:3 (Winter 2013): Central Asia. https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/an-unpromising-recovery-south-koreas-post-korean-war-economic-development-1953–1961/.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

- Acquaint yourself with **source 8**. It gives a very positive assessment of Syngman Rhee's policy of supporting import-substituting industries. In your opinion, can the development of the import-substituting industries be considered a universal means of economic growth?

Source 8

From the materials of the Roundtable *Ukrainian-Korean Cooperation in Textbook Publishing* 주우크라이나대한민국대사관 (2022)

"At the beginning of its economic development, Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, and the minimum of businesses and infrastructure it had was almost completely destroyed as a result of the war. The Koreans were forced to rely on aid from the United States and the United Nations.

Syngman Rhee's government, with the help of international partners, implemented a strategy of import-substitution industrialisation to help the domestic economy recover faster. Import-substitution industrialisation involves replacing imported goods with domestically produced products to develop industry and reduce foreign exchange outflows. In the 1950s, this policy led to the development of the milling and sugar refining industries, as well as the production of cloth from cotton supplied by the United States in the form of material aid. Such policies are often used in underdeveloped countries. The Syngman Rhee's government was also interested in the promoting export of manufactured goods abroad to overcome the budget deficit, although this problem was never resolved in the end."

- Круглий стіл "Українсько-корейська співпраця у сфері видання підручників." Київ, 2022.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- Based on **source 9**, try to characterise the political activity of Syngman Rhee and determine the attitude of the ordinary Koreans to it. Can you give examples of similar actions by the authorities in Ukraine and the post-Soviet countries? What reaction did such actions cause among ordinary citizens?

Source 9

From M. Peterson's book *A brief history of Korea* (2009)

In 1951 Rhee established the Liberal Party, which Carter J. Eckert describes as "a motley assortment of opportunists held together by a desire for power and loyalty to Rhee" that had at its core Koreans who had served in the colonial bureaucracy during the Japanese period. Liberal Party victories at the polls were assured by a combination of electoral fraud, police surveillance, strong-arm tactics by paramilitary groups, and the NSL. In 1952, during the Korean War, when it appeared that he would lose the election in the National Assembly, which under the Korean constitution elected the president, he changed the constitution, to provide for direct election by the populace. In 1953 he instituted a midnight to 6:00 A.M. curfew in the cities. In 1956 he changed the constitution again, this time removing the provision limiting him to two terms, and ran for a third term as president. Though the 1956 balloting saw numerous charges of election fraud and ballot stuffing, Rhee still won his third term. The Rhee administration unraveled as a result of the 1960 elections, however. Oddly, the election for president was not the issue; the vice–presidential ballots were the center of the controversy.

- Peterson, Mark. A brief history of Korea. New York. Facts On File. An imprint of Infobase Publishing. 2009. P. 211.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 8

- Acquaint yourself with **source 10**. Do you agree with the demand not to honour the memory of Syngman Rhee and the arguments of the authors of the petition? Read **source 11**. What do you think of the proposal to create a memorial in honour of the first president of the Republic of Korea? Is Sohn Byung-doo right to propose this?
- Whose position — that of the authors of the letter (**source 10**) or that of Sohn Byung-doo (**source 11**) — seems more convincing to you? Why?
- Express your own attitude to the political figure of Syngman Rhee.

Source 10

From *The Address of the Association for Bereaved Families To Honolulu City Council Members* (2010)

"The Association for Bereaved Families of the Jeju 4.3 Victims, Bereaved Family Association of Korean War and 251 South Korean NGOs deeply deplore the Resolution "Proclaiming February 3, 2020, as President Syngman Rhee Day for the City and County of Honolulu" (No. 20–7) which was introduced on January 14, 2020. We are deeply concerned about this resolution for three main reasons. Firstly, Syngman Rhee who was the first president of the Republic of Korea, is responsible for the killing of 30,000 Jeju islanders between 1947 and 1954(during the Jeju April 3rd Massacre). Secondly, he is responsible for the massacres of one million civilians during the Korean War (1950~1953), and finally, he illegally amended the Constitution in 1954, aiming for long–term seizure of power and initiated fraudulent election in 1960. As a result of his actions, series of national protests were held around April 19, 1960, calling for Mr. Rhee's resignation and therefore, Syngman Rhee was forced to resign on April 26, 1960. Hence, proclaiming a day to remember Syngman Rhee by the Honolulu City Council is a denial of the history of the Korean people's resistance for democracy and freedom and an insult to victims and the bereaved families of the massacres."

- https://www.jejudarktours.org/en/news/letter-251-south-korean-ngos-against-syngman-rhee-day/

Source 11

From Chang Se-jeong's article *A long overdue memorial for the giant* (2023)

Sohn Byung-doo, 82, an advisor to the Korea History and Future Foundation and former president of Sogang University, welcomed the memorial project. He once participated in the protest against Rhee when he was a freshman of Seoul National University in 1960. During the April 19, 1960 Revolution, Sohn and other students marched to the Blue House calling for Rhee's resignation, condemning a rigged election.

Sohn believed Rhee was a dictator, but his opinion changed in 2010. The change took place after he Acquaint yourself with the book, The Spirit of Independence, that Rhee had written while serving a life sentence as a young independence fighter in his 20s. Rhee was sent to prison after he gained the ire of Emperor Gojong. After reading the book, Sohn redefined Rhee as a great leader who made today's Korea.

Sohn said Rhee's accomplishments include his dedication to the independence movement against Japan and founding of the first free democratic republic on the Korean Peninsula. Rhee's diplomatic ability that led to the UN's recognition of the government and the introduction of compulsory education system in Korea also were named as Rhee's accomplishments. Equal voting rights for men and women, land reform, signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the U.S. to establish an alliance, and the introduction of a market economy were also listed as Rhee's accomplishments.

It is embarrassing that there is no memorial hall for the former president who had left so many achievements. A proper memorial hall for Rhee must be built in a project led by the government and contributed to by voluntary donations."

- https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2023/04/24/opinion/columns/Syngman-Rhee-memorial-hall/20230424202612938.html

Syngman Rhee's grave at the National Cemetery in Seoul

1.2. The April 1960 Revolution in South Korea

What caused the April 1960 Revolution in Korea?

What were its consequences for the further development of the country?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- Was the falsification of the 1960 elections the cause or the pretext for the people's protests in April 1960? What role did the subjective factor — the personality of Syngman Rhee — play in this?
- Young people became the driving force behind the protests against the regime (**sources 12–13**). Why do you think this is so? In Ukraine, during the 1990 Granite Revolution, the 2004 Orange Revolution and the 2014 Revolution of Dignity, it was young people who played a huge role. Do you think this is due to the specifics of the countries or is it a general trend?
- Why did the United States, which had long supported Syngman Rhee, refuse to do so in April 1960?
- Why were the events of April 1960 in South Korea called a revolution?
- At first glance, the April Revolution in Korea resembles the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine. In what ways do you think they are similar? (**sources 12–15**).

Source 12

From E. D. Jackson's article *6–4.19 The April Revolution* (2019)

Rhee was fiercely independent, bad-tempered, and exceptiodnally difficult to deal with. The US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called him a "master of evasion," President Dwight D. Eisenhower said he was a "blackmailer," John Muccio, the US Ambassador to a post-Korean War South Korea wrote of the difficulty of dealing with Rhee when he was having one of his "frothing fits" of rage. As President of a newly created, pro-American state in the South, Rhee's rule was characterized by painfully slow economic growth, rampant financial corruption, and political nepotism. Political opposition was ruthlessly suppressed. And as the Podo League Massacres demonstrate, Rhee's violence against opponents — both real and imagined — was often arbitrary.

Rumours of massively rigged elections sparked anti–government demonstrations but the crucial spark that transformed urban unrest into revolution came in a small port city in the southern part of the peninsula.

So it proved in 1960. Demonstrations in Masan led by middle and high school students led to violent confrontations with police and right-wing thugs hired by the Rhee regime to break strikes and crush protests. The discovery in Masan Harbour of the corpse of high school student Kim Chu–yŏl with a tear gas canister embedded in his eye socket resulted in a wave of public revulsion. Overnight the size of demonstrations doubled. During one protest on April 19, over 100,000 university and high school students clashed with police who shot live rounds killing over 100 dead in the street. Faced with such brutality, day by day the size of the demonstrations increased, the disorder worsened, and with the police and Rhee's thugs unable to keep order, the President called in the army to crush dissent. As the Bolshevik Trotsky once argued: the fate of every revolution depends not upon the level of revolutionary ferment but upon the loyalty of the state's armed forces. In this case, the Republic of Korean armed forces sided with the youth and refused to intervene. There was another crucial intervention that determined the outcome of the revolution. The US Ambassador Muccio urged Rhee to call it a day and give in to the will of the people. Without the support of either the army or the regime's main international backers the USA, Rhee fled into exile in Hawaii with his Austrian wife Francesca. He died there five years later.

- https://www.monash.edu/arts/languages-literatures-cultures-linguistics/korean-studies-research-hub/research/on-this-day-in-korean-history/6-4.19-the-the-april-revolution

Source 13

Young protesters[3]

Source 14

Police beat demonstrators[4]

Source 15

Security forces take the side of the people[5]

Source 16

Toppling of the Syngman Rhee's statue

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 10

- Popular protests are often accompanied by the destruction of monuments (**source 16**). Why do you think this is? Is Ukraine an exception to this? What is your attitude to monument destruction?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 11

- Acquaint yourself with the constitutional history of the Republic of Korea (**sources 17–18**) and characterise the second republic in South Korea.
- How can you explain these frequent changes in the country's constitution? Why did authoritarianism in South Korea in 1950–60 prevail over parliamentarism?

Source 17

From the article *Constitutional History of the Republic of Korea* (2018)

"The 1948 constitution established a system where the president was elected by the national assembly. The first amendment in 1952 was enacted during Rhee Syngman and introduced a directly elected president and a bicameral parliament, despite initial proposals to establish a parliamentary system. Rhee Syngman was reelected the following year. Syngman subsequently amended the constitution in November 1954 to remove term limits to allow him to run again, following mathematical maneuvers where the 2/3 majority required was approximated to the integer closest to the exact figure. In exact figures, a 2/3 majority meant support from 135.33 members of parliament out of the total 203 members. The amendment only received 135 votes. ... The unlimited term for the presidency in this controversial amendment was to apply only to the first president of the Republic.

Following the popular protests and student revolution in response to rigged elections in 1960, which eventually led to the resignation of Syngman, the constitution was amended in June 1960 to introduce a parliamentary system of government, constituting the Second Korean Republic. This was followed by another amendment in November 1960 which, in response to popular demands for punitive measures, allowed the retroactive punishment of those guilty of election irregularities, corruption and appropriation of public property–under the inclusive

The fifth amendment to the constitution in December 1962 gave birth to the Third Republic. The then newly installed government proved incapable of asserting its authority following the departure of strong man Syngman. This precipitated a military coup in December 1962, led by Park Chung-Lee. The military junta dissolved parliament. While the constitution theoretically continued in force, the emergency law had precedence. The ruling junta established a committee to draft a new constitution. Public hearings and panel discussions were held on a nationwide basis and findings were referred to the Supreme Military Council for final review before the draft Constitution was put to a referendum. The presidential system was retained in the new Constitution. The token public engagement in the drafting process was aimed at countering the prevailing complaint that the regime was dictatorial and enjoyed little popular support."

- https://constitutionnet.org/country/republic-korea

Source 18

Proclamation of the Second Republic of Korea[6]

1.3. The post-war conditions in South Korea and Ukraine

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 12

- Take a good look at **source 19**, recall what consequences the Korean War had for the economy of the Republic of Korea, and think about what similar problems of post-war reconstruction Ukraine will face after the end of the war.

Source 19

Women and children search for wooden debris in central Seoul, 1950[7]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 13

- Acquaint yourself with the scholar's opinion on the significant differences in the post-war conditions in Ukraine (**source 20**). Do you agree with the author's arguments? Justify your position.
- Try to assess the capabilities of Ukraine in comparison with South Korea in the 1950s

Source 20

From V. Novikov's article *Postwar Economic Policy of South Korea as a Model for Ukraine* (2023)

"Now about some significant differences:

Security. South Korea's security was guaranteed by the presence of the US Army. Ukraine cannot count on the direct involvement of the US Army. This means spending money on its own armed forces, which will be able to deter Russia from another attack on Ukraine (for example, the possibility of a massive missile strike on Russian territory or a similar retaliatory action).

Demographics. The demographic situation is the opposite. Korea had a young population and a high birth rate. Ukraine has a high proportion of pensioners in the population, a birth rate below the level of population replacement, and a steady depopulation. More than 7 million Ukrainians have fled the country because of the war, and it is not known how many will return.

Ethnic and cultural differences. While South Korea is a monoethnic country with a Confucian culture, Ukraine is multiethnic, with a large share of Russian ethnos and Russified Ukrainian population. Orthodox culture, although collectivist, like Confucianism, has different values (it should be noted that cross-cultural research by the World Value Survey project shows that the value system of these cultures is much less different than it is commonly believed).

Statehood. Korea has had its own state for many centuries, with the Korean kingdom of Joseon existing for more than 500 years before Japanese colonisation in 1910. The Ukrainian people did not have their own state for a long time, remaining for centuries an ethnic minority in Poland, Austria, Russia and other countries.

Natural conditions. In South Korea, three quarters of its territory is not suitable for agriculture, while Ukraine, on the contrary, has one of the highest levels of agricultural land use in the world. This creates natural conditions for a large volume of agricultural exports from Ukraine.

Social expenditures. The Ukrainian state spends more than 10% of its GDP on the maintenance of the disabled population. In the 1960s, Korea did not have a state pension system, and social expenditures amounted to less than 1% of GDP. This significantly reduces Ukraine's ability to save and invest.

Industrialisation. South Korea has never been an industrialised country and started from scratch. In Ukraine, deindustrialisation has taken place, the share of industry in GDP has fallen threefold in 30 years, and the war is deepening deindustrialisation. However, industrialisation from scratch is more difficult than recovery from deindustrialisation.

Exports. South Korea had practically no exports (in 1960, it accounted for three per cent of GDP), American aid was spent to pay for imports that were six times higher than exports, and import quotas were the main source of corrupt enrichment. In Ukraine, exports accounted for about 40% of GDP by 2022. We do not have a problem of stimulating exports, we have a problem of moving from exporting raw materials to exporting value-added products.

Capital outflow. Ukraine has a major problem with illegal capital outflows abroad, which South Korea did not have. Annual losses of investment resources due to illegal capital outflows are measured in billions of dollars.

Labour outflow. South Korea was in hostile or tense relations with all its neighbours — North Korea, China and Japan — and free movement of people to the neighbouring countries was impossible, with excess labour remaining in the country, which prevented wages from rising. Ukraine has open borders with the neighbouring European countries and millions of people move freely across the border, although they do not formally have the right to work, but millions of Ukrainians work abroad, which creates a labour shortage and pushes up wages."

- https://biz.censor.net/m3407377

2. Strategies for economic growth

- **What was the basis of Park Chung-hee's "developmental dictatorship"?**
- **Why did it lead to rapid economic growth?**
- **How can the experience of the Republic of Korea be useful for modern Ukraine?**

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 14

- Recall what economic and political measures of Syngman Rhee laid the foundations for further reform of the economy of the Republic of Korea. What problems were not solved and why?

INTRODUCTION

The period of 1960–80s in the history of Korea is called the "Korean Economic Miracle" or the **"Miracle on the Han River" (2.1)**, which is associated with the name of the third President of the Republic of Korea, Park Chung-hee. He adopted the political course of **"developmental dictatorship" (2.2)**, which included strict regulation of the economy through **five-year planning (2.3)**, promotion of family conglomerates — **chaebols (2.4)**, rational use of **financial support (2.5)**, development of the education system and reliance on the peculiarities of the Korean national character.

Seoul in 1953 and 2020

- https://susa.or.kr/en/content/seouls-journey?ckattempt=1

2.1. The Korean "economic miracle" — the "Miracle on the Han River"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 15

- Analyse the proposed **sources 21–25**.
- Explain the origin of the name "Miracle on the Han River." Why do you think the leaders of the Republic of Korea began to call for a "miracle on the Han River" (**source 21**)? Can these slogans be seen as a national idea?

Source 21

The Miracle on the Khan River

The Miracle on the Han River refers to the period of rapid economic growth in South Korea, following the Korean War (1950–1953), during which South Korea transformed from a least developed country to a developed country.

In the early 1960s, South Korean politicians admired what they called the "Miracle on the Rhein": the surprising postwar economic growth of Germany, which is often called the Wirtschaftswunder ("economic miracle")

In his 1961 New Year's address, Chang Myon, prime minister of the Second Republic of South Korea, used the phrase to encourage South Koreans in achieving a similar economic upturn. He said:

In order to achieve a so-called "Miracle of the Banks of the Han" comparable to Germany's, we should have austerity and diligence comparable to that of the Germans.

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miracle_on_the_Han_River

Source 22

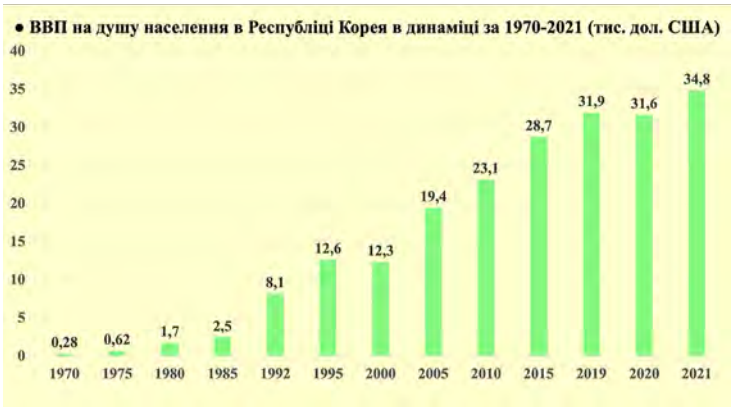
Photo *Buildings in the 1970s and modern times* [8]

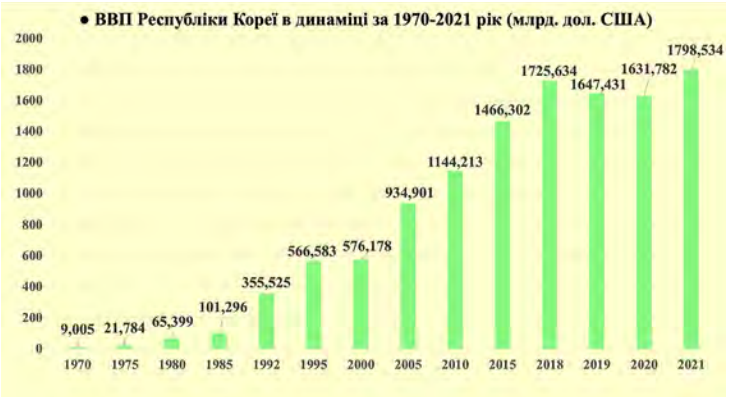
TASKS AND QUESTIONS 16

- Based on the GDP growth rate of the Republic of Korea (**sources 23** and **24**), can we say that the South Koreans have created an "economic miracle"? Why do you think they succeeded in it?

Source 23

Statistical data on the GDP dynamics in the Republic of Korea [9]





Source 24

Financial indicators and population of the world's largest economies[10]

Financial indicators and population of the world's largest economies				
No.	Country	Country's GDP per capita in 2021 (trillion USD)	GDP per capita in 2021 (thousand USD)	Population (million people)
1	USA	22.99	69,2	320.1
2	China	17.73	12,6	1 371
3	Japan	4.94	39,3	127
4	Germany	4.22	51,2	81.7
5	United Kingdom	3.19	47,3	65
6	India	3.17	2,3	1 310
7	France	2.94	45,2	66.5
8	Italy	2.09	35,5	60.7
9	Canada	1.99	52,0	35.7
10	Republic of Korea	1.79	34,8	51
11	russian federation	1.78	12,2	144
12	Brazil	1.61	7,6	204.5
13	Australia	1.54	63,5	23.8
14	Spain	1.42	30,1	46.4
15	Mexico	1.29	10,0	121.9
54	Ukraine	0.2	4,8	42.5

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 17

- The results of the Korean "economic miracle" are often illustrated by the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World Cup. How do you think these competitions are related to the miracle of the Han River? How can you explain the choice of such symbols for the world competitions held in the Republic of Korea (**source 25**)?

Source 25

Symbols of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and the 2002 FIFA World Cup[11]

2.2. Park Chung-hee: the "developmental dictatorship"

What is the role of a political leader in the development and implementation of an economic growth strategy?

Why it was Park Chung-hee who became the creator of the "miracle on the Han River"?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 18

- Acquaint yourself with the views of researchers on the figure of Park Chung-hee (**sources 26–28**) and explain why the military initiated the coup. Why did the United States, which had once supported Syngman Rhee, not prevent the coup? Why did Park Chung-hee agree to hold elections after the establishment of a military dictatorship? Why did he manage to win them?
- Researchers point out that Park Chung-hee was heavily influenced by Japan. What was this influence?
- How would you characterise the methods of restoring order in the state apparatus? How do you feel about them? Can these methods be adopted by Ukraine?

Park Chung-hee

Source 26

From V. Novikov's article *Creators of the Economic Miracle. Park Chung-hee* (2017)

"Park Chung-hee: personality and environment.

When Korea was a Japanese colony, Park Chung-hee graduated from the Japanese military academy. The cadets there were brought up in the spirit of Bushido, the code of ethics of the samurai. Everyone knows the principles of bushido, such as loyalty to the lord, courage and readiness to die. However, these principles also include contempt for wealth, self-interest, and money in general...

Those officers who managed to receive a Japanese military education in the late 1950s and early 1960s held the ranks of lieutenant colonels and colonels and were distinguished by their strict morality. It was they who became the main backbone of the 1961 coup. They considered the army to be a superclass and non-party force capable of radically changing the state of affairs in the country, and the officer ethic, shaped by Bushido, to be the set of moral principles that would lead the country to prosperity. Park Chung-hee belonged to that type of people, but he already had the rank of a general, which he received during the Korean War (he commanded a division), and at the time of the 1961 coup, he was already deputy army commander. Invited to join the circle of organisers of the coup (which included almost 250 officers), he, as a person more senior in rank and already a very respected one, became one of the leaders of the coup....

It is said that the Americans were aware of the uprising, but did nothing to save the legitimate government. The Military Revolutionary Committee came to power, with Park Chung-hee as deputy chairman. In July 1961, he became the head of the committee.

However, even after becoming a dictator and a couple of years later the legally elected president of the country, Park Chung-hee remained a strictly ascetic person. His parents were peasants, they stayed in the village, and General Park himself, as president, visited them and cultivated his piece of land. His asceticism in food went so far as to eat not just rice but to mix it with millet. He was a completely uncharismatic person, difficult to communicate with and unsociable. ...

The Military Committee's style of governance was military-like with lightning speed, and the order was restored in a matter of weeks and months. The leaders of organised crime were arrested and pointedly paraded through the streets of Seoul. The organisers of the fraudulent 1960 elections were sentenced to death. The illegally acquired property of politicians and officials was immediately confiscated in its entirety. Three dozen top officials were put on trial for illicit enrichment. Over the course of three months, 17,000 civilian officials and 2,000 military officers were arrested, dismissed or forced into retirement. It should be mentioned that despite all these harsh methods, corruption persisted until the end of Park Chung-hee's rule and was a constant source of criticism from the opposition.

In 1963, under internal and external pressure, Park agreed to hold presidential elections, which were held fairly and which he won by a margin of only 1.5%. On the eve of the election, he resigned from the army, so he ran as a civilian. But in the next election in 1967, Park Chung-hee won by more than 10%, as economic growth was already evident to everyone, and Park's personal modesty and honesty were widely recognised.

In 1963, South Korea's GDP grew by 9%. This average level of growth was maintained throughout the years of Park Chung-hee's tenure, with fluctuations ranging from 6% to 14% per annum. The GDP tripled in 10 years. While in 1961, American aid accounted for

50% of the state budget, then in 1971 it stopped altogether. At the time Park came to power, almost half of South Korea's population lived below the poverty line, and in 1980, no more than 10% of them did."

- https://petrimazepa.com/miraclecreatorpakchonhi.html

Source 27

Park Chung-hee with other coup participants (1961)[12]

Source 28

The official portrait of Park Chung-hee[13]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 19

- Based on **source 29**, how would you characterise Park Chung-hee's political views? Can he be called a dictator? What was his understanding of democracy? What did he mean by the concept of 'Koreanization of democracy'?
- How do Park Chung-hee's views differ from those of Syngman Rhee?
- What is the specificity of Park Chung-hee's relations with the United States and how can this be explained?
- V. Prytula, based on the works of L. Santos and Hyunchun Kim, believes that when developing a plan for reforming the Korean economy, Park Chung-hee relied on the ideas of manjok, Silhak, bushido and Christianity. Recall their essence and try to explain how they can be related to the Korean "economic miracle."

Source 29

From Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel's book *The Park Chung-hee Era. The Transformation of South Korea* (2011)

Yi Tong-wôn, who served Park as chief of staff (1962–1964) and foreign minister (1964–1966), reports in his memoir of Park's appreciation of the Japanese model:

Yi: Your Excellency, please don't worry! There will be a way out of this. Look at Great Britain! Like us, its geographic size is small, and its resource endowment is poor. Yet they conquered the world. Park: Why should we learn from a far away country like Great Britain? We have lots to learn from Japan, which is near to us.

Sociologist Ko Yông-bok writes:

Was [Park] a nationalist? The fact that he was a son of a poor farmer and that he experienced national discrimination under Japanese colonialism may well suffice to have made him a nationalist. Ill-treatment of Park by the American military authorities during his military career and the American government's overt pressures during the military coup could have bred nationalist sentiments in him. In light of all this, it seems quite natural for him to adopt nationalist democracy as his revolutionary ideology. But having realized the formidable barriers to the nationalist path to industrialization, his nationalism receded, and he eventually pursued a dependent capitalist path to industrialization.

…The vision of corporatist governance became one of the major themes in Park's speeches and writings in the late 1970s: "We are different from the West that pits the individual against the state. For us, the individual and the country [as a whole] are integral parts of a harmonious order... Our history is littered with good examples of national heroes who sacrificed personal interests for national interests... This is the potential power of our nation that has led our history."

Park also identified the goal of modernization as "the reconstruction of sound democracy." By this, he meant building a system of political rule that fit in with South Korea's historical conditions:

The history of the importation of [Western] democracy has been a failure. The failure was an unavoidable result of the 'direct import' of exogenous democracy without filtering [it] through reflections on our history and the context of our life. The 'closed morality' of the kinship-based family community has bred political factionalism centered on local, familial, and religious ties, leading to the failure of democratic politics. We can import a form of democracy, but not its contents... [It] is fortunate that we have come to realize the relevance of the 'Koreanization' of democracy. Democracy is predicated not on irresponsible liberty, but on self-regulating and disciplined liberty, and, therefore, it is necessary to include leadership and guidance in our concept of democracy.

His complex image of the United States is summarized in The State, the Revolution, and I:

First, the United States should realize that Western-style democracy is not fit for the [South] Korean reality … Expecting [South] Korea to develop Western-style democracy is like a foolish father who expects his children to grow up as adults overnight. Second, I admire America's democratic ideals and ambition and appreciate its economic aid very highly. But it should not expect an Americanization of [South] Korean society through the leverage of economic aid... Third, U.S. military and economic assistance should be tailored to our needs. We trust American policy advice, but U.S. assistance should be used for rebuilding our economy, not for consumption. The United States should not only increase its aid, but also change its aid policy drastically.

The alleged illegitimacy problem haunted Park before 1963 and after 1972, but it was in the period between these two years that he made his most risky political choices: normalization of diplomatic relations with Japan, military intervention in Vietnam, the constitutional amendment for a third presidential term, the Emergency Decree on Economic Stability and Growth, and heavy and chemical industrialization. His decisions were hardly those of a weak and illegitimate leader. His risk taking bordered on recklessness, but he believed he could control situations. The problem with Park was overconfidence in his ability, not lack of confidence.

South Korea was no longer the socially demobilized and politically passive traditional rural society it had been eighteen years earlier. There stood a new breed of opposition party leaders personifying the frustrations and hopes of the mass society and rejecting outright any political compromise... South Korea had outgrown Park because he had succeeded brilliantly in modernizing its economy while brutally repressing its political society. The old political strategy of control, depoliticization, and mobilization that worked so well for Park in 1965, 1967, and 1972 did not work in 1979. In fact, it only backfired and hardened his opponents' resolve to bring an end to his yushin regime."

- BYUNG-KOOK KIM, EZRA F. VOGEL.THE PARK CHUNG HEE ERA. The Transformation of South Korea. HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England. 2011. Pp. 120, 122, 125, 129, 133, 142, 167.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 20

- Take a good look at **sources 30 and 31**. What aspects of Park Chung-hee's activity do they highlight? What qualities do they demonstrate?

Source **30**

Take a good look at sources 30 and 31. What aspects of Park Chung-hee's activity do they highlight? What qualities do they demonstrate[14]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 21

- How can you explain the fact that, despite his undemocratic methods of governance, Park Chung-hee remains popular among the South Koreans? (**sources 32** and **33**)

Source 31

At the construction site of the Daeduk Science Complex in in Daejeon the Daejeon area[15]

Source 32

From the article *Park Chung-hee Admired for Making Something Out of Nothing* (2009)

Pollster Yoon Hee-woong of the Korea Society Opinion Institute offered a clue as to why Park is still so popular among Koreans.

"It is as simple as that everybody won as a result of economic growth during the industrialization period. All socio-economic classes experienced their living standards going up. So there was no such thing as a winner-or-loser debate at the time," he said.

Besides the mantra of growth for all, former President Park came to be known as the "The Unforgettable" among Koreans because of his strong managerial skills that enabled people to "make something out of nothing."

"His supporters, as well as those who criticized him, shared the view that the former president helped his people live without worries of the so-called 'barley hump,' which is the yearly period between May and June when people had to suffer for food shortages," said Prof. Hahm Sung-deuk of Korea University in Seoul.

Inder Sud, adjunct professor of Duke University and George Washington University, told The Korea Times that the president was perhaps the leader who deserves the most credit for setting Korea on the path to growth and prosperity.

Sud, a former World Bank director, met President Park twice in the 1970s when he visited Korea for policy consultation meetings with government officials on the building of infrastructure.

"(When visiting Korea), I recall seeing a billboard in the Korean language (near the airport) that was roughly translated to me by my taxi driver as 'export or die.'... President Park drilled the message to the Korean public that export is the future," said Sud.

"I heard from the bureaucrats that the president would never cancel a meeting with the business community to receive a visiting dignitary. He knew early on that Korean success would depend on unleashing the potential of the private sector."

In his book "The Korean Presidents," political scientist Kim Choong-nam observed that the president's personal involvement in the economy partially contributed to the high growth rate during his rule.

"His background as the commanding general of the Logistics Base Command gave him the confidence and organizational abilities needed to manage a small economy like South Korea's," Kim said.

Economist Inder Sud was often asked to explain the secret of Korea achieving its "miracle on the Han River."

"My answer was 'clear vision by a leader.' To this day, I feel that this is the single most important lesson of successful development. And this is the legacy of President Park," he said.

Prof. Hahm of Korea University said the former president has left the legacies of prosperity and dictatorship, and revisiting his accomplishments will require historians to look at both sides for a balanced evaluation.

- Park Chun-hee Admired for Making Something Out of Nothing. http://koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/10/116_54174.html

Source 33

The monument to Park Chung-hee[16]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 22

- Take a good look at the contemporary Korean cartoon (**source 34**). On top, this cartoon depicts the Germans angrily pointing at Hitler who endorsed the construction of the autobahn expressway but was a dictator. On the bottom is former South Korean president Park Chung-hee, who spearheaded the construction of the Gyeongbu Expressway linking Seoul and Busan. The men in the cartoon say that Park may have been a dictator, but is also a hero of South Korea's industrialisation. How can you explain the difference in attitudes towards dictatorships in modern Germany and South Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 23

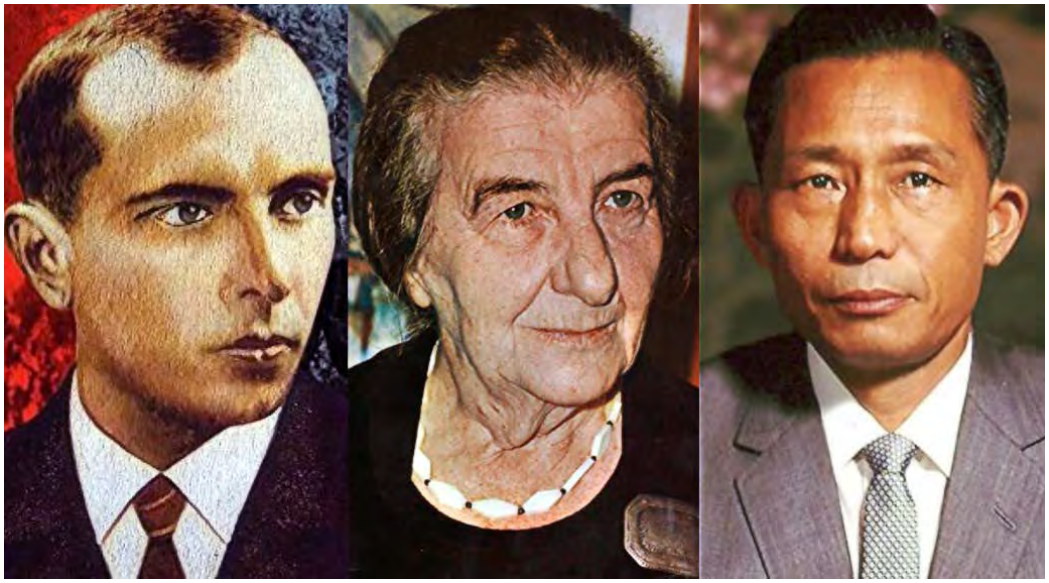
- The figure of Park Chung-hee is often compared to other historical figures, taking into account various aspects of his activities and personal qualities. He has been compared to Deng Xiaoping and Lee Kuan Yew as a reformer, to Stalin as a dictator, and to Napoleon as a "people's emperor." Take a good look at the collage from the newspaper article (**source 35**). Identify which historical figures the authors compare Park Chung-hee to. What is the principle of this comparison?

Source 34

A contemporary Korean cartoon[17]

Source 35

A collage for a newspaper article[18]



2.3. Planning the economy

Why did Park Chung-hee turn to planning methods that were not typical of a market economy to ensure economic growth?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 24

- Recall the material from world history and determine in which countries and why planning and certain means of economic regulation were introduced. What was the reason for this? What effect did it have?
- Think about the following question: planning is not a method of a market economy because it restricts the producers of goods and prevents fair competition. Why did Park Chung-hee use methods other than planning to revive the capitalist economy?
- How did Park Chung-hee's planning differ from planning in the USSR and government regulation of the economy in the United States during the Great Depression? (**source 36**).

Source 36

From the article *Indicative Planning in Korea. Methods of Park Chung-hee* (2021)

"Indicative planning. In fact, it was a tool that accumulated the government's ideas and goals for transforming the Korean economy. To understand how the plan works, let us look at a very simplified description:

1. The superministry (planners) formulates the directions of economic development for 5 years, specifying concrete goals: to build facilities to create a new industry or to stimulate the export of technological goods. It coordinates economic agents (companies).
2. The government informs businesses about the goals and adds to them not only public investments guaranteed to the sectors of the economy (power engineering or infrastructure) but also specific financial incentives if the desired result is achieved. Of course, other government programmes (educational, etc.) can develop in parallel.
3. The government together with business launch the process of economic transformation through their own or joint investment programmes.

https://konkretyka.net/economical-miracle-ukr/indykatyvne-planuvannya-v-koreyi-metody-paka-chon-hi.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 25

- Identify what features of Park Chung-hee's economic policy this photograph testifies to (**source 37**).

Source 37

Park Chung-hee, as a chairman of the National Reconstruction Supreme Council, calls on members of the Korean Entrepreneurs Association to cooperate in implementing the country's five-year economic development plan [19]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 26

- Based on the presentation material (**source 38**), answer the following questions: How do changes in the tax system affect the economy?
- In your opinion, why did the economy of the Republic of Korea lose momentum in the mid-1970s?
- Why did the slogans of building a welfare state appear in the 1980s and not earlier? Can it be argued that the change in the tasks facing the country's economy indicates the end of the Korean "economic miracle"?
- How did changes in the international situation affect the economic development of the Republic of Korea?
- Based on the presentation (**source 38**), identify the main milestones in the development of the South Korean economy and graphically display them in the form of steps or a logical chain, as well as explain the logic of South Korean economic policy, its achievements and shortcomings.

Source 38

From Jeong Min-hyun's report *Stages of the Korean Economy and the Postwar Economic Recovery of Ukraine* (2022)[20]

Professor Jeong Min-hyun

I. Stages of development of the Korean economy

Economic development according to the "Economic Development Plans" (1962~1997):

- Export-led industrialisation strategy, the 1st–7th national plans.
- The economy of the 1960s: industrialisation with a focus on light industry:
- market economy, but with the state intervention in key industries, social and infrastructure projects, and power engineering.
- The 1st Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1962~1966).
- The transition from import-substituting industrialisation to export industrialization.
- Laying the foundation for a self-sufficient economy: import substitution of consumer goods.
- Laying the foundation for industrialisation: intensive investment in social and infrastructure projects.
- State intervention policies: monetary reform (1962), financial support and tax privileges for export industries.
- Results of the 1st Economic Development Plan:
- Average annual growth of 7.8 per cent, exceeding targets.

I. Stages of development of the Korean economy

Economic development according to the "Economic Development Plans" (1962~1997)

- The 2nd Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1967~71):
- Objective: Modernisation of the industrial structure and establishment of an independent economic system.
- Food self-sufficiency, the basis for heavy and chemical industries, improved balance of payments, increased employment, increased technology and productivity.
- Results of the 2nd Economic Development Plan:
- Average annual growth of 9.7 per cent (plan: 7.0 per cent), production-oriented industrial structure, efficient investment and export structure, capital accumulation and building of financial foundation.
- Infrastructure construction: Pohang Iron and Steel Company (1968–73), and Gyeongbu Expressway (1968–70).

I. Stages of development of the Korean economy

Economic development according to the "Economic Development Plans" (1962~1997)

- The 3rd Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1972~1976):
- Objective: increase in exports (continuation of high growth rates), development of heavy and chemical industries (overcoming balance of payments deficit through import substitution of intermediate goods and capital goods) as well as balanced regional development.
- Changes in line with economic growth, strengthening of market economy functions, training technical specialists, financial reform and income redistribution and rural development programme (Semail movement).
- Disadvantages:
- Inflation and increased external debt due to rising commodity prices (the first oil shock) and income inequality (between urban and rural areas, among social classes).

I. Stages of development of the Korean economy

Economic development according to the "Economic Development Plans" (1962~1997)

- The 5th Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1982–1986):
- Objective: solving the challenges of rapid growth and building a public welfare state.
- Creating a basis for stable growth and productivity, strengthening the competitiveness of the export industry, modernising industrial structure (focus on high value-added products), balanced regional development and environmental protection, and improving social welfare (expansion of social infrastructure).
- Results:
- Average annual growth of 7.9 per cent, creation of a basis for price stability, transfer of balance of payments in surplus and increasing agricultural income through public investment.

I. Stages of development of the Korean economy

Economic development under the "Economic Development Plans" (1962~1997)

- The 6th Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1987~1991):

- Objective: to maintain economic growth, to maintain a balance of payments surplus and reduce external debt, to maintain price stability, to improve social equality; balanced development and activation of the regional economy.
- Changes in goals due to changes in the domestic and international situation (the phenomenon of the three recessions (low oil prices, low-interest rates, cheap dollar), democratisation in 1987, the collapse of the socialist economic bloc): liberalisation of the economy, liberalisation of finance, weakening of the concentration of economic power and the emergence of the first trade unions.
- Preparation for opening the domestic market: reduction of tariffs and removal of non-tariff barriers (WTO accession).
- Disadvantages:
- Increased concentration of economic power in the hands of large corporations → worsening corruption and inefficiency.
- Increased income inequality and deepening social conflicts among regions and classes.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 26

- Take a good look at the poster "The 2nd Five-Year Plan" (**source 39**). Pay attention to the grouping of information on the poster: production growth, investment, export policy, government spending, construction, etc. In the centre of the map are the construction sites. Explain what the five-year plan was. How strict was it?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 27

- Based on **source 40**, what is your opinion on whether the sequence of economic reforms in South Korea was justified? Why were they met with a mixed reception by the public? What was the reason for gaining public support?

Source 39

Poster *The 2nd Five-Year Plan*[21]

Source 40

From the lecture by the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine, Mr Kim Hyung Tae, *The Development Experience of the Republic of Korea and its Benefits for Ukraine* (2023)

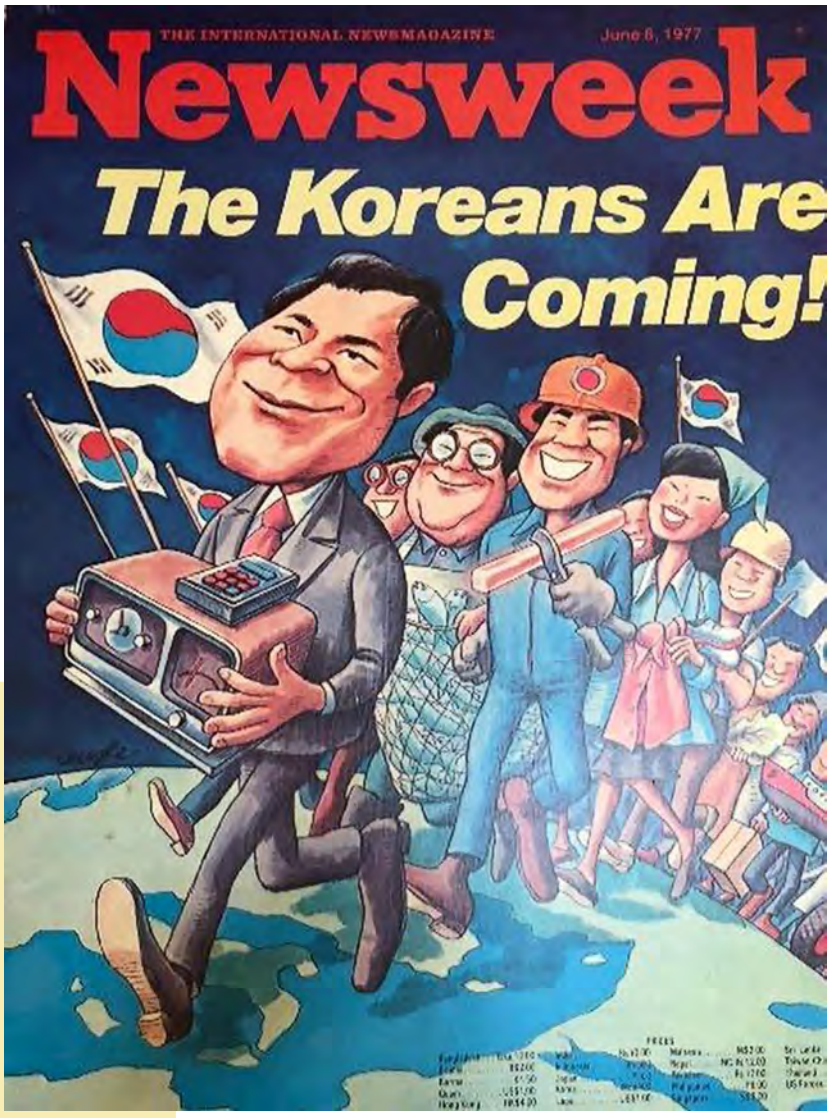
"The foundations of the Korean economy began to be laid in the 1960s. Park Chung-hee's administration, which came to power in the middle of extraordinary political, social and economic turmoil, approved the general strategy that consisted of intensive development of the heavy chemical industry for the sake of export-oriented economic growth. ...

The lion's share of foreign capital (e.g., a German loan secured by the wages of numerous Korean miners and nurses who had left for Germany, and $300 million received from Japan after the signing of the Korea-Japan agreement on the normalisation of diplomatic relations) was largely invested in the construction of a steel plant in Pohang, the Gyeongbu Expressway, and heavy chemical industry complexes.

Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, and the majority of the population was starving, so it would be surprising if everyone was sympathetic and supported the creation of a huge steel company, the construction of a new highway and the development of not just light but heavy chemical industry. But despite opposition, all projects were implemented.

Source 41

"The Koreans are coming". The cover of *Newsweek* magazine (1977)[22]



Together with the export-oriented industrial policy led by the government, the coordinated and persistent work of the bureaucracy, and the expansion of export destinations and volumes by such large companies as Hyundai, Samsung, and LG, the domestic policy of the time, embodied in the New Village Movement, contributed to the general uplift of Korean society, the formation of a spirit of collectivism and hard work, self-confidence and the habit of not relying on others but doing everything possible on one's own. As a result, 20 years later, in the second half of the 1980s, the expression "miracle on the Han River" was coined.

● Досвід розвитку Республіки Корея і його користь для України. Лекція Посла Республіки Корея в Україні пана Кім Хьонг Те в ДУ "Економіка та прогнозування НАН України" 2 березня 2023 р. *Економіка України*. 2023. № 3. С. 93.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 28

- Determine what the image on the cover of Newsweek (**source 41**) has to do with the "Korean economic miracle." What is the significance of this story on the cover of an influential American magazine?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 29

- Acquaint yourself with **source 42** and explain why in the early 1980s the government of the Republic of Korea was forced to change its approach to economic policy and abandon strict regulation of the economy. Did this mean that Park Chung-hee's policy had failed?
- In the USSR, the early 1980s are associated with the culmination of the period of "stagnation", "systemic crisis of the Soviet state", etc. Do you think there is any connection between the situation in South Korea and the Soviet Union?

Source 42

From O. Zholud's article *The Korean Way is Not for Ukraine: Why We Will Not Repeat the Experience of the "Asian Tiger"* (2017)

Chun Doo-hwan

"In 1979, a series of events occurred that triggered a crisis and forced the government to move towards creating more equal conditions — the process that continues to this day.

First, there was the second oil shock that hit the chemical industry, one of the industries with significant state support.

Second, inflation rose to 18.3% in 1979 and 28.7% in 1980 due to large fiscal and foreign trade deficits, and price distortions by government policies led to shortages of many consumer goods.

Third, on 26 October 1979, a successful assassination attempt was made on President Park Chung-hee, the dictator, who almost single-handedly decided on tactical and strategic issues of economic development.

Fourth, due to a drought in 1980, the harvest was very poor, and the GDP fell by 1.7% for the first time since 1953.

Another group of military leaders, led by Chun Doo-hwan, came to power and, fearing a renewed military conflict with North Korea, declared a state of emergency. In response, protests by students and ordinary citizens against the political dictatorship and the dominance of the chaebols became more frequent...

Chun Doo-hwan's advisers explained the futility of continuing the policy of active state intervention in the economy — Korea had moved closer to the technological frontier at that moment, and its economy had become so complicated that it was almost impossible to predict the success of one or another intervention.

Economic liberalisation began, which did not prevent further economic growth — from 1981 to 1997, the average annual GDP grew by 9.1%. Import duties were reduced, no new state projects in the industry were launched, and businesses gained more equal access to credit."

https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2017/04/3/7063975/

Chun Doo-hwan's military coup in December 1979

2.4. Reliance on chaebols

What are chaebols?

Why did they become a pillar of the "dictatorship of development"?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 30

- Identify the chaebols which are mentioned on the poster (**source 43**). What industries are they associated with?

A chaebol is a South Korean form of financial and industrial association of formally independent firms owned by certain families and under a single administrative and financial control. They emerged at the end of the Korean War and today there are about thirty known chaebols, which in 1998 accounted for 46% of all sales in South Korea's industrial sector.

Source **43**

Poster with the names of the most famous chaebols (firms)[23]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 31

- Acquaint yourself with the views of the researchers (**sources 44** and **45**) and determine what role they played in the "economic miracle." What made them successful?
- B. L. Santos believes that Park Chung-hee borrowed bushido, Japanese principles of social relations (see **source 26**) and the Japanese model of family conglomerates, but also asserts that chaebols have national roots that go back to the foundations of Confucianism. How can you resolve this contradiction?
- Why did Park Chung-hee attach great importance to chaebols?
- What is your understanding of the word 'oligarch'? Why are oligarchs a threat to economic development? Can the head of a chaebol be called an oligarch?
- What methods did Park Chung-hee use to fight oligarchs (**source 32**)? Why did the Korean oligarchs accept Park Chung-hee's rules of the game? What were they? Express your attitude to these methods.
- To what extent can this experience be used in modern Ukraine?

Source **44**

From Brandon L. Santos' book *South Korean Nationalism and the Legacy of Park Chung-hee: How Nationalism Shaped Park's Agendas and the Future Korean Sociopolitical Landscape* (2018)

Park's answer to Korea's pathetic state was to install bushidoontoevery aspect of his society. In a blink of an eye, the General masterfully enacted his blueprintfrom the polity all the way to the countryside; this was the "Developmental Dictator" at his finest. The vehicles Park used were Meiji zaibatsu (family-owned conglomerates) economics – disguised and renamed as chaebol-mixed with an intrusive, yet independent, form of Confucianism. This unique neo-Confucian nationalismestablished a rigid hierarchy with Park situated at the highest position; and the polity, consisting

of technocrats, were next in line. Below themwere chaebolinstitutions whodictated the policies of the next in line: thenewly-urbanized population.

- Santos, Brandon L., South Korean Nationalism and the Legacy of Park Chung-hee: How Nationalism Shaped Park's Agendas and theFuture Korean Sociopolitical Landscape" (2018). Chadron State Graduate Theses. 1. P. 247 http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/chadron/1

Source 45

From V. Novikov's article *A Brief History of the Korean Oligarchy. The General and the Cables* (2020)

Lee Byung-chul

"Judging by General Park's actions immediately after seizing power, he considered the Korean oligarchs to be one of the biggest threats to his national development policy. As a man of quick and decisive action, he began the fight against the oligarchs in his first days in power. Already on 28 May, a week after the formation of the new government, he began arresting oligarchs. ...

Let us look at the example of Lee Byung-chul (the owner of Samsung) to see how Park Chung-hee turned oligarchs into big businessmen. ...

Park and Lee reached an agreement that Samsung would be able to stay in business, but that chaebol should be a tool for implementing national development projects that would be introduced by Park.

Lee Byung-chul (1910–1987)

Lee agreed that his business would operate under state control, and he accepted the expropriation of his banking business (at the time, Lee Byung-chul owned the largest banking and insurance business in Korea).

...All of the arrested chaebol owners were released fairly soon, but they all signed a cooperation agreement with the government.

The subsequent fantastic development of Samsung confirmed that Lee Byung-chul's choice was right. In the 1960s, Lee Byung-chul made a strategic decision that was in line with South Korea's development plans for electronics and electrical engineering. Today, it is the largest business segment of the Samsung Group. ...To give you an idea of the current size of chaebol, we can say that the annual turnover of all Samsung companies is now 5 times the size of the state budget of Ukraine."

- https://petrimazepa.com/uk/korotka_istoriya_koreyskoi_oligarkhii_general_ta_kabeli

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 32

- Using the data from **source 46**, identify at least 5 factors of success of the Hyundai chaebol. Rank them in order of importance. Justify your opinion.

Source 46

From the article *Hyundai Motor Company: A detailed history of South Korea's most influential automaker* (2020)

Chung Ju-yung

"Chung Ju-yung was born on 25 November 1915 in the small village of Asan where one of Hyundai's plants is now located. The boy grew up in the family of a poor peasant who raised 6 other children. ...The parents were able to give the child a normal education at that time.

On reaching his majority, Ju-yung decided to earn a small amount of money to start his own business. In an attempt to achieve his goal, the young man did not shy away from any work, ...he managed to work as a courier, loader and labourer. However, the most interesting and promising job for him was that of a car mechanic.

Since 1939, the young man has been repairing various motor vehicles. The business began to flourish, so after 7 years, the micro-business received its unique name — Hyundai. Translated from Korean, it means "Modernity."

During the occupation, Ju-yung sold used car parts to Japanese soldiers, tourists and workers and passed them off as new ones. The businessman never concealed this fact from the public as he considered his trick to be a manifestation of patriotism.

No later than in 1947, Hyundai Civil Industries, a construction firm, was born, which grew into the largest automotive company.

Chung Ju-yung had exorbitant ambitions and aspirations. Despite its loud name, Hyundai Civil Industries was a small team of builders who took on one-off and ongoing projects. ...

During the Korean War (25 June 1950 — 27 July 1953), the construction team received many orders from the US military. ...

On 16 May 1961, a military revolution took place in Korea. Almost immediately after the coup, the country's conditions for business development improved, the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction was reformed and a development plan was created...

In the early 1960s, the government began to actively develop construction projects outside Korea. As Hyundai was the largest Korean construction company at the time, the new president turned his attention to it.

In order to make a name for himself, Ju-yung got entangled in a risky venture of reconstruction of a bridge destroyed during the war... The construction team completed the project ahead of schedule, accomplished tasks without any problems and did not ask for additional funds.

As a result, it was Hyundai that was chosen to export its turnkey services to the neighbouring countries. During the Vietnam War, Hyundai specialists again worked for the US military and built military facilities.

On 29 December 1967, the famous Hyundai Motor Company was born. It took only 6 months to build the plant. Initially, the factory's production capacity was designed to produce 20,000 cars.

In the first stages, Hyundai cooperated with the specialists of the large American concern Ford Motor Company, ... gained enough experience from cooperation with the American brand and began to develop their first 100% own product.

In 1972, the government allowed several Korean factories to produce vehicles, and Hyundai Motor Company became one of them.

Chung Ju-yung contacted George Turnbull, the former CEO of British Leyland, a British car manufacturer.

Immediately upon taking office, George Turnbull recruited talented engineers and designers.

A couple of months after his appointment, he purchased several models of vehicles — coupes and sedans, etc. The team of specialists carefully studied the proposed modes of transport to develop their own car... The result of the work of George Turnbull and his team was the production of the Hyundai Pony. ...Professionals and ordinary motorists alike drew attention to the car's pleasant appearance. An elongated bonnet in combination with a sloping roof and a small trunk gave the Pony a sporty look. ...over 1 million units were sold in 10 years.

In 1983, the Hyundai Stellar model appeared on the domestic Korean market. In 1988, the South Korean automaker decided to cancel the line, providing a more advanced and interesting Hyundai Sonata series.

As far back as in the late 1970s, Hyundai Motor Company became one of the TOP 4 largest Korean companies alongside conglomerates LG, Samsung and Daewoo, which was engaged in manufacturing machinery; shipbuilding; designing and manufacturing locomotives; selling electronics; construction; insurance for individuals and legal entities; creating machine tools; and holding capital in the steel and petrochemical sectors.

In 1991, Hyundai design engineers created the first petrol engine. The development was called Alpha.

Since 1994, another car of the South Korean brand, the Hyundai Accent, has been on sale.

In 1996, the Hyundai Coupe sports model was put into production.

However, this decision could not be called successful.

In 1997, the Asian crisis broke out... Hyundai Motor Company did not go bankrupt, but the construction of an Indian plant and some other strategic steps by Chung Ju-yong (acquisition of a part of Kia shares) brought the brand closer to bankruptcy.

In 2000, due to health reasons, Chung Ju-yung handed over the management of the company to his son, Chung Mong-joon. The new owner invested heavily in improving the quality of workmanship, design and research in the automotive sector.

Unfortunately, the success in the automotive industry was overshadowed by a high-profile scandal involving the head of Hyundai Motor Company. In 2006, Chung Mong-joon was involved in a corruption case.

As of 2019, HMC has increased its revenue to 105.7 trillion won ($95 billion), and its net profit has risen to 3.18 trillion won ($2.86 billion)."

- https://columbauto.com.ua/ua/blog/hyundai-motor-company-podrobnaya-istoriya-samogo-vliyatelnogo-avtokontserna-yuzhnoy-korei/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 33

- Take a good look at the commemorative poster (**source 47**) that shows the people behind the Korean economic miracle. Notice that, apart from the President, there are no portraits of any government officials, but rather a gallery of portraits of other honoured people. What do you think all these people have in common? Why are their names associated with the "miracle on the Han River?

Hyundai Genesis Coupe 2016

Hyundai Elantra 2023

- https://www.kellycar.com/vehicles/2023-hyundai-elantra-sel-h232137-kmhls4ag9pu579319

Source 47

Commemorative poster for the Day of Economic Reconstruction[24]

(On the left) Former President Park Chung-hee, Samsung Chairman Lee Byung-chul, Hyundai Chairman Chung Ju-yung, Steel Chairman Park Tae-jung, Daewoo Chairman Kim Woo-choong, Hanhwa (Pharmon Pharmaceutical Industry) Chairman Kim Chong-hee, SK (Sanforest Greening) Chairman Chey Jong-hyon

2.5. Financial support

What role did US financial assistance play in South Korea's "economic miracle"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 34

- Analyse the data in the table (**source 48**). Determine what role the US financial assistance played in the Korean "economic miracle."
- How can you explain its decline in some years and its almost complete withdrawal since 1972?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 35

- Acquaint yourself with the views of researchers (**sources 49** and **50**) on the development of South Korea-U.S. relations and try to explain the reasons for these fundamental changes.
- What are the changes in the US policy on the Korean Peninsula? What were they caused by?
- How did the changes in the US position on support for the Republic of Korea affect the economic development of the country

Source **48**

The US financial assistance to the Republic of Korea from 1945–1982 (in millions of US dollars)

Foreign Economic Aid Received by Korea, 1945-1982

(*In millions of U.S. dollars)

Year	Total
1945	4.9
1946	49.9
1947	175.4
1948	179.6
1949	116.5
1950	58.7
1951	106.5
1952	161.2
1953	194.2
1954	153.8
1955	236.7
1956	326.7
1957	383.0
1958	321.2
1959	222.2
1960	245.5
1961	199.2
1962	232.2
1963	216.4

Year	Total
1964	149.3
1965	131.4
1966	103.3
1967	97.0
1968	105.9
1969	107.3
1970	82.6
1971	51.2
1972	5.1
1973	2.1
1974	1.0
1975	1.2
1976	1.7
1977	0.9
1978	0.2
1979	0.2
1980	0.4
1981	0.2
1982	0.1

(Source: Korean Overseas Information Service. A Handbook of Korea. Seoul: 1990: 376)

Source 49

From Kan Den Sik's article *The Evolution of USA Policy on Korea* (2020)

"Approaches to the Korean problem in the United States government have changed many times. For example, President Nixon proclaimed the Guam Doctrine, which reduced American military intervention in Asian affairs. The reason for this was the significant economic, military and political losses suffered by the United States in Indochina. However, in the early 1970s, characterised by international détente, the US government was forced to look for other approaches to its policy towards the region. Hoping to give South Korea the time it needed to become economically and militarily superior to North Korea, the United States decided to recognise the creation of both states."

- Кан Ден Сік. Еволюція політики США щодо Кореї. *Вісник ДонНУ імені Василя Стуса*. Сер.: Політичні науки, 2020. С. 41–42.

Source 50

From W. Zenji's study *No More Having Your Cake and Eating It Too: The Nixon Doctrine, South Korea, and the Vietnam War* (2020)

The U.S.-South Korea alliance was profoundly affected by the Vietnam War. From being a client state of the United States, the economic growth and leverage gained by the ROK allowed the country to become a far more independent and strong country. At the same time, misunderstandings and conflicts related to the war, as well as to the Nixon Doctrine, led to great strains between the two countries, leading President Park to largely ignore U.S. advice throughout the 1970s. ...

For the United States, with the benefit of hindsight, it seems that any strategic advantages probably were not worth the costs in inducing the ROK to participate in Vietnam. While there were some military benefits, they likely did not outweigh the large financial cost, taken from taxpayer funds in a secret manner. The question of whether it was worth it for the ROK to participate in the Vietnam War is much more difficult. Korea's economy grew by leaps and bounds in the 1960s and early 1970s and the country would likely not be the twelfth largest economy in the world today if it had not had the influx of funds due to the Vietnam War.

While other factors contributed to Korea's quick economic rise, I argue that without the $1 billion of direct benefits plus the added benefits of new markets and test markets for its industrial products, South Korea would not have reached such a high economic level."

- Zenji, Vanessa. No More Having Your Cake and Eating It Too: The Nixon Doctrine, South Korea, and the Vietnam War." Master's thesis, Chapman University, 2020. P. 78. https://doi.org/10.36837/chapman.000189

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 36

- After the change in the US policy towards the Republic of Korea, Park Chung-hee began to develop plans for nuclear weapons. Why do you think these plans were not implemented? Comment on the newspaper picture from the mid–1960s (**source 51**).

Source 51

A newspaper picture from the mid–1960s.[25]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 37

- Based on **sources 52–54**, identify what other non-traditional **sources** of funding Park Chung-hee used to revive the country's economy.
- Why did the Koreans respond actively to the offer of labour immigration? How did this help the country's economy? How does this characterise Koreans?
- What was the further fate of labour immigrants?

Source 52

From the article *Draft Saving the Country: Korean Miners and Nurses Go to Germany*

With a slim chance of obtaining foreign loan from the U.S. and Japan, Park's administration turned its eyes to West Germany, which was in politically similar

conditions of being a divided country. A Korean delegation for loan negotiation was dispatched to West Germany and reached an agreement on commercial loan worth 150 million Deutchmark. To earn commercial loan from West Germany, however, required guarantee by a bank of a third country. Unfortunately, Korea was incapable of securing bank guarantee from anywhere in the world.

Under these circumstances, West Germany came up with a scheme suggesting if Korea sent 5,000 miners and 2,000 nurses to West Germany, it would lend money on security of their wages for the three-year term of contract.

Against such backdrops, devised was the plan for temporary hiring of Korean miners by West Germany and an agreement was concluded between the two countries in December 1963.

Korean young workers who had difficulty finding jobs rushed to apply for going to West Germany as miners. 8,000 Korean miners stepped on German soil between 1963 and 1977.

They were paid $164 monthly, which was a high salary considering then Korea's wage levels. The Korean miners led frugal lives to send surplus cash to their families at home. Korean workers in West Germany remitted a total of $101.6 million to Korea for the period of about ten years. It was quite a sum given that Korea's total annual export of 1965 was $175 million.

- http://dh.aks.ac.kr/Korea100/wiki/index.php/Draft_Saving_the_Country:_Korean_Miners_and_Nurses_Go_to_Germany

Source 53

Park Chung-hee addresses Korean miners in Germany, in December 1964[26]

Source 54

From the recollections of Kwon Yi-chong, one of some 400 miners present at Park Chung-hee's speech in 1964, later an honorary professor at the Korean National University of Education

"When he approached the podium, I began sobbing as I couldn't control my emotions,"

"President Park and first lady Yuk Young-soo couldn't leave the hall for hours as weeping miners asked them to stay longer."

Hundreds of miners, who were immensely homesick, traveled by bus to meet Park in person.

Park saying: "Looking at your tanned faces, my heart is broken. All of you are risking your lives every day as you go down thousands of meters underground to make ends meet." "What poor people you are! You go through these trying times just because Korea is so impoverished."

"Although we are undergoing this trying time, we are not supposed to pass poverty onto our descendents. We must do our part to end poverty in Korea so that the next generation doesn't experience what we are going through now."

- Кан Хьон Кюн. Коли Пак говорив, всі плакали. 2013 https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www2/common/morelist.asp?categorycode=704&id=hkang

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 38

▶ The photograph (**source 55**) shows the Koreans voluntarily handing over gold jewellery to replenish the country's foreign exchange reserves during the 1997 Asian currency crisis. Professor Kim Kyung-soo pointed out that this was important in terms of consolidation but not the final economic effect. What do you think was the significance of this fact? How does this characterise the Koreans?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 39

- On 22 June 1965, the "Treaty on Basic Relations Between Japan and the Republic of Korea" was signed. Acquaint yourself with **source 56**. What was the essence of this treaty? What prospects did it offer? What impact did it have on the economy?

Source 55

Citizens donate gold during the 1997 currency crisis [27]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 40

- The treaty between Japan and Korea was met with mixed reactions in Korea. Why do you think this is?
- The treaty has been assessed differently around the world. The United States supported the agreement. Why? The USSR and China strongly criticised it.
- Take a good look at **source 57** and try to explain China's hostile attitude to the treaty.

Source 56

From the *Treaty on Basic Relations Between Japan and the Republic of Korea* (22 June 1965)

"Article II. It is confirmed that all treaties or agreements concluded between the Empire of Japan and the Empire of Korea on or before August 22, 1910 are already null and void.

Article III. It is confirmed that the Government of the Republic of Korea is the only lawful Government in Korea as specified in the Resolution 195 (III) of the United Nations General Assembly.

Article IV (a) The High Contracting Parties will be guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in their mutual relations.

(b) The High Contracting Parties will cooperate in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in promoting their mutual welfare and common interests.

Article V. The High Contracting Parties will enter into negotiations at the earliest practicable date for the conclusion of treaties or agreements to place their trading, maritime and other commercial relations on a stable and friendly basis."

- https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20583/volume-583-I-8471-English.pdf

Source 57

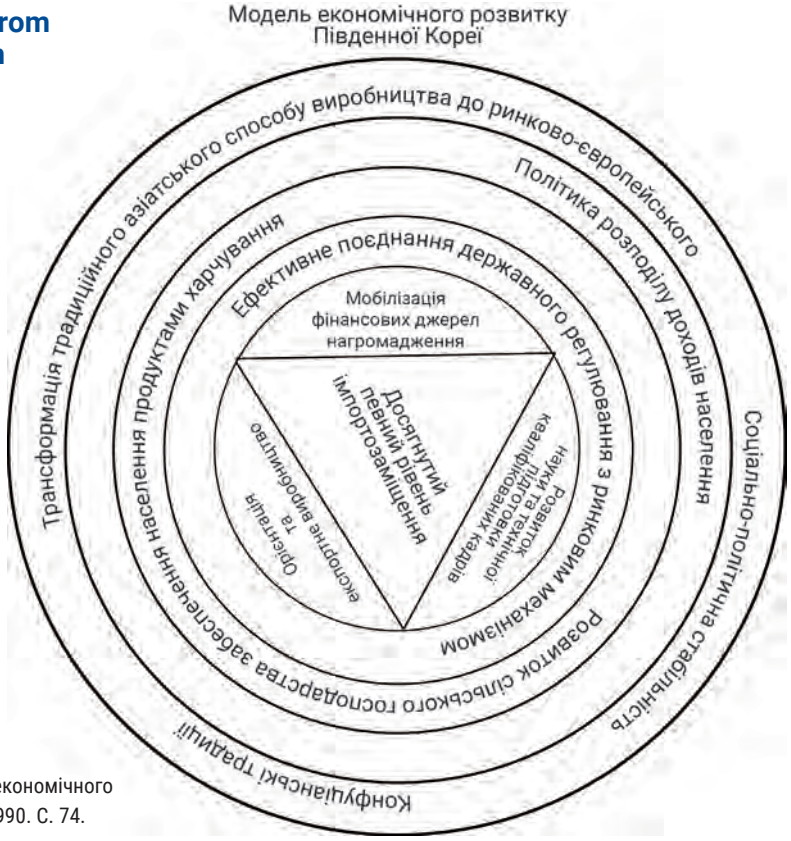
Chinese propaganda poster: *Oppose the American imperialist encroachment, break the Korean-Japanese Basic Treaty* (July 1965)[28]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 41

- The authors of the textbook "Economics of Foreign Countries" depict the Korean model of economic development in the form of concentric circles with a triangle in the centre (**source 58**). The diagram is read from the centre. Try to explain the logic of the economic development of the Republic of Korea in the 60–80s.
- Offer your own version of the schematic representation of the Korean model of economic development.
- Refer to the textbook "Geography: Regions and Countries" for grade 10, the latest popular science publications on the Internet and characterise the development of the Republic of Korea in the 90s of the 20th century — the first quarter of the 21st century.

Source 58

Diagram *Korean Economic Model* from the textbook Economics of Foreign Countries (1998)[29]



Подано за: Округ З. М., Фам За Мінь. Модель економічного розвитку Південної Кореї. Шлях до процвітання. 1990. С. 74.

Glossary

Agency	is an organisation that performs certain functions.
Accumulation	is the collection and continuous growth of something.
Running (for an office)	is the nomination of a candidate for participation in elections.
Bushido	is a code of moral standards of Japanese warriors (samurai) based on common sense.
Bureaucracy	is officials who carry out certain tasks.
GDP (Gross Domestic Product)	is the value of goods and services produced in a country over a certain period (year).
Ballot paper	is an official document certifying the fact of voting.
Capital outflow	is the withdrawal of capital abroad.
Labour outflow	is the movement of the working-age population outside the country.
Deindustrialisation	is a decrease in the role of the manufacturing industry in a country's economy.
Budget deficit	is the excess of expenditures over budget revenues.
Expropriation	is the forced deprivation of property.
Elite	is a group of people who occupy a leading or managerial position.
Employment	is the provision of work.
External debt	is the state's debt for funds borrowed from abroad.
Import	is the importation of goods from abroad.
Import duties	are fees for importing goods into a country.
Import substitution	is the replacement of goods imported from abroad with domestic ones.
Investment	is an investment of capital in an enterprise for profit.
Indicative plan	is the regulation of the economy by means of set goals, priorities, and government funding.
Foreign currency	is banknotes of foreign countries, as well as credit and payment instruments denominated in foreign monetary units and used in international monetary settlements.
Infrastructure	is a set of buildings and service systems necessary for the functioning of a business.
Capitalist economy	is an economy based on private property, personal initiative, efficient use of resources, and focused on maximising profits.
Curfew	is the time set by the government during which citizens must adhere to certain restrictions.
Corporatism	is the ideology of organising society through social groups with certain common interests.
Corruption	is the abuse of power or official position to obtain illegal benefits.
Political nepotism	is the indulgence of friends and relatives in the service of one's government.
Lee Kuan Yew (1923–2015)	is the Prime Minister of Singapore and creator of the Singaporean "economic miracle".
Economic liberalisation	is the relaxation of state regulation of the economy.

Illegitimacy	is noncompliance with the law, unrecognised by society.
Oligarchy	is representatives of big capital who have influence on the government.
Contract	is the fulfilment of a specific order for payment.
Balance of payments	is the ratio of the amount of cash receipts from abroad to the amount of payments abroad.
Taxes	is a mandatory free-of-charge payment to the state.
Politicians	are all those involved in politics.
Populism	is the policy of flirting with the people, using their hopes, dreams, aspirations, etc.
Post-colonial state	is a state that has got rid of colonial dependence.
Right-wing thugs	are supporters of the old order who do not stop at extreme violence.
Surplus	is an excess of income over expenditure.
Reconstruction	is restructuring.
New Village Movement	is a set of reforms (1971) aimed at building roads, electrifying agriculture, providing a central water supply, etc.
Segment	is a part of something.
WTO	is the World Trade Organisation, established in 1995 to develop legal norms for international trade.
Stagnation	slump, depression.
East Asian Economic Bloc	is a Japanese idea of uniting East Asian countries to counter Western influences.
Technocrat	is a person who has in-depth knowledge in a particular scientific or technical field and uses this knowledge to govern or make decisions in society.
Technological product	is a product whose production requires the use of complex technologies.
Transformation	reforms, change.
Urban population	is residents of cities.
Falsification	is deliberate distortion or misinterpretation.
Frontier	is a transitional zone, a territory on the edge.
Junta	is a group of rebels who have illegally seized power and are ruling using dictatorial methods.
Chaebol	is a South Korean association of formally independent firms owned by certain families.
Black market	is a market that is not controlled by the state.
Blackmailer	is a person who intimidates by threatening to kidnap or disclose facts that may embarrass someone.

3. The role of education in the economic development of the country

Why did the economic development strategy of the Republic of Korea give one of the leading places to education?

What role did the human factor play in the "economic miracle?

INTRODUCTION

Researchers believe that one of the most important factors in the Korean "economic miracle" is the **reform of the education system (3.1)**, which began under Syngman Rhee and covered primary school. In the 1960s and 1970s, the system of secondary and higher education underwent changes. However, the success of educational reforms, as well as the entire Korean economic miracle, is associated not only with government activities and financial injections but also with the attitude of the Koreans themselves toward these reforms, with the features of their national character, that is, with what is called the **"human factor" (3.2)**.

An open-air primary school class in Eumseong, north of Seoul

3.1. Reforming the education system

Why and how has the education system in the Republic of Korea changed?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 42

- How can you explain the desire of the Koreans to pursue education even in difficult economic conditions? (**source 59**).

Source **59**

From W. Paik's article *What the U.S. can learn about education during crisis from South Korea's wartime example* (2020)

Minister of Education of the ROK J. Pike

About 40 percent of school buildings in South Korea were destroyed, and schools across the country closed.

During this time of destruction and uncertainty, my grandfather — then South Korea's Minister of Education — ordered the schools to reopen. ...

With so few buildings left standing during the Korean War, exasperated teachers asked my grandfather where they should hold class. He told them to teach outside. "Hold classes on riverbeds, on mountainsides — anywhere," he said. Without books, he instructed teachers to "teach from life." And so they did. Students learned in dried-out streams, and in bombed–out train stations. They learned on hillsides and inside tents. Communities worked together to raise funds and rebuild schools. By the spring of 1951, 60 percent of schools had reopened, and two-thirds of the country's kids were once again in class.

South Korea's commitment to learning did not fade after the war, and its almost myopic, even maniacal, focus on education helped transform the country in a single generation.

George Paik, the audacious Minister of Education who instructed schools to reopen all those years ago, did not create South Korea's commitment to education; he was a reflection of it. ...

My parents told me that "education saved our family, and education saved our country." I grew up hearing about Koreans' reverence for teachers and of an entire nation's unwavering commitment to education, no matter the circumstances. Koreans recognized that teaching children is a shared responsibility, and the war cemented their dedication to this mission. Their stubborn devotion to education lifted a nation.

- https://hechingerreport.org/opinion-what-the-u-s-can-learn-about-education-during-crisis-from-south-koreas-wartime-example/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 43

- Acquaint yourself with **source 60**. In your opinion, how effective is spending on primary education in the face of a catastrophic economic collapse? What does reforming the education system contribute to the country's economic development

Source 60

From M. J. Seth's article *South Korea's Economic Development, 1948–1996* (1996)

More importantly, two fundamental changes took place in South Korean society before 1961 that contributed enormously to the country's economic takeoff. One was the rapid expansion of education. From 1945 to 1960, the enrollment in primary schools increased three times its size, secondary schools more than eight-fold, and higher education ten times. By 1960, 96% of all children of primary school age were attending school. Additionally, state and private groups carried out highly successful adult literacy programs. As a result, South Korea, in 1961, had the best-educated work force of any country with a comparable income level.

- Michael J. Seth. South Korea's Economic Development, 1948–1996. https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-271

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 44

- Analyse the table below (**source 61**) and identify the areas of reform and the nature of changes in the education system of the Republic of Korea in the 1940s–1990s.

Source 61

Development of higher education in the Republic of Korea in the second half of the 20th century

Expansion of High School Education, 1951-1997

Year	1951	1960	1970	1980	1989	1995	1996	1997
Schools	307	640	889	1,353	1,672	1,830	1,856	1,892
Teacher	1,720	9,627	19,854	50,948	87,277	156,342	157,731	158,041
Students	40,271	273,434	590,382	1,696,792	2,326,062	3,727,275	3,683,857	3,556,973

Expansion of Higher Education, 1945-1997

Year	1945	1960	1970	1980	1989	1995	1996	1997
Schools	19	85	168	236	536	747	840	937
Teacher	1,490	3,808	19,854	20,900	39,950	58,177	63,809	69,157
Students	7,819	101,041	590,382	601,994	1,434,259	2,342,786	2,540,209	2,190,734

(Source: Sungho Lee. The Korean Educational System. Seoul: Yonsei University, 1991: 112 and National Statistical Office. Monthly Statistics of Korea. Seoul: 1998. 6)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 45

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 62–64** and characterise the changes in the secondary education system of the Republic of Korea in the 1970s.
- On what basis was secondary education reformed in the Republic of Korea?
- How did its structure and content change? What role was assigned to a teacher?
- What are the similarities and differences between the South Korean and Ukrainian secondary education systems?

Source 62

From A. Miroshnikov's article *The Korean Educational Miracle: How South Korea Staked on Education in the Middle of the War*

"At the second stage, the state made sure that students received secondary education. Education was seen as a way to get skilled workers who would help rebuild the country. The traditional entrance exams to middle and senior state schools were cancelled. Pupils were assigned to schools by a simple draw. To ensure that children's education did not become a financial burden for parents, the state took over the provision of textbooks, uniforms and lunches, and made other attempts to equalise starting opportunities. In addition, the rotation of teachers in school districts began and the provision of financial support to private schools was made. As a result of these reforms, 90 per cent of children continued their education beyond primary school in the 1960s.

In 1963, the Korean government passed the Industrial Education Enhancement Act to emphasise the importance of vocational education. The status of the five-year vocational schools established at that time grew rapidly. ...

In 1971, a law on grants for financing local education was passed, which guaranteed that local authorities would allocate 13% (now 20%) of their tax revenues to education.

The next stage was the development of higher education. While in 1945 there was only one higher education institution in the country — Seoul National University — in the 1980s there were hundreds. In 1984, there were over 200,000 students in the country. In 1980, a law was passed that required the state quota for training specialists to be calculated not at the time of admission, but at the time of graduation. This caused incredible competition and motivated people to study."

- https://osvitoria.media/experience/korejske-osvitnye-dyvo-yak-pivdenna-koreya-zrobyla-stavku-na-osvitu-u-rozpal-vijny/

Source 63

A lesson in a secondary school[30]

Source 64

From the article *South Korean Education Reforms*

The Korean government spends 3.4 percent of GDP on formal schooling; when taking private and informal schooling into account the amount nears 10 percent.

Like other high-performing nations, teaching is a highly competitive occupation. ... Teachers work less than 600 hours per year, however, class size ranges to from 37–50 students. Local teacher's associations exist at the city and province level. ... The position of school principal has been held in high regard until recently when the teacher's unions have begun to call into question the selection process and the verification of candidate's abilities.

The Korean school system is a 6–3–3–4 system; that is, six years of primary school, three years of junior high, three years of senior high school and four years of college. The system contains national, public, and private schools.

The curriculum has undergone major revisions seven times since 1954, to "reflect the newly rising demands for education, emerging needs of a changing society, and new frontiers of academic disciplines." The most recent update, known as the Seventh Curriculum, aims to prepare students for the knowledge-based, globalized 21st century. To that end, it emphasizes individuality, creativity, and knowledge of Korean culture as well as other cultures. Covering grades one through ten, students are allowed to choose their own courses in their final two years of high school.

All students study English beginning in primary school and continue through high school where additional foreign language classes are offered.

- https://asiasociety.org/global-cities-education-network/south-korean-education-reforms

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 46

- Acquaint yourself with **visuals 63, 65** and **66**. What information about the development of secondary education in the Republic of Korea in 1960–70 can you get from them?

Source 65

A mathematics lesson in a school in the mid–1960s[31]

Source 66

A high school class in the early 1970s[32]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 47

- Based on **source 67**, identify what educational ideas were introduced at school. To what extent were they in line with the state policy of economic reconstruction?
- What subjects were taught at school? Why these very subjects?
- How busy were the students during the week?

Source 67

An animated set of an early 1970s school classroom at the Seoul Museum of Education[33]

Student 1 asks: "What is that in the centre of the classroom?" Student 2 says: "Why did you put the lunch box here?" The teacher replies: "It is a stove. It used to be there to keep the classroom warm." Above the blackboard is a framed slogan: "Let's do it if we are together!" Next to the blackboard, a sign reads: "Schedule. February. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday. 1. Korean language. Arithmetic. Music. Korean society. Cooking. 2. Ethics. Korean language. Arithmetic. 3. Society. Korean language (last year). 4. Arithmetic. Music. Korean language."

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 48

- Take a good look at **source 68**. Think about what might explain Park Chung-hee's special attention to the training of academic staff.

Source 68

From Hwy-Chang Moon's article *The Strategy For Korea's Economic Success* (2016)

"1.1 HUMAN RESOURCES

The rapid expansion of education in Korea is exceptional and has played a key role in upgrading the quality of its human resources, which in turn contributed to its economic development. The hype and prioritization of education in Korea (often referred to as "education fever") is widely recognized, and many believe that education has served as the backbone to Korea's success. In particular, scholars from the West have attributed this intriguing achievement in education to strong Confucian values. This argument appears

to be plausible as other East Asian countries (namely the "Four Asian Tigers" and Japan) share the heritage in Confucian values and show similar educational achievements. In a way, Confucianism is related to the dedication and achievements in education. For example, Korean students have continued to achieve the top scores in reading, science, math, and problem solving.

1.1.1 Korean Education in the Developing Stage

Education played a pivotal role in Koreas transtormation by promoting the development of human resources. In 1945, the literacy rate of Korea was a mere 22%, and less than 20% of children attended secondary school. Within a few decades, however, the numbers shifted dramatically; enrollment rates reached 90% for primary school in 1964, and the same occurred for middle and high schools in 1979 and 1993, respectively.

Fortunately, each phase of investment in education fueled Korea's economic growth. For example, the development of primary education following the Korean War supplied workers for the labor-intensive industries of the 1960s. The expansion of secondary education contributed to the development of the capital-intensive industries in the 1970s and 1980s.

In addition to having an impact on output growth, the emphasis on providing universal access to primary and secondary schools promoted social mobility and income equality .. Eventually by the 1990s, the focus shifted to expanding tertiary education, laying the foundation for Koreas success in the intormation technology.

The two well–known characteristics of Korea's education system are lecture-based learning and rote memorization. These attributes from the pre-twentieth-century culture remain unique characteristics of Korea's schooling. This form o teacher–centered schooling strongly emphasizes memorization and choral repetition. ... Furthermore, students, parents, and teachers were more concerned with conforming to the standards of achieving better exam scores.

Among different perspectives on higher education in Korea, the most prominent approach incorporates the Western university system with Confucian values. ...

Korea's modern higher education system became a hybrid of the European model (via the Japanese) and the US model.

With regards to European influence, policymakers considered all universities as equals and the government tried to implement standardized admissions policies to prevent institutional diversity. Korean universities also adopted the American department system, course–based credit hours, and tuition fees."

● Hwy-Chang Moon. THE STRATEGY FOR KOREA'S ECONOMIC SUCCESS. Oxford Universyty Press. 2016. P. 12–15.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 49

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 69** and **70** and find out what a research university is. How does it differ from a regular university? Are there any analogues of research universities in Ukraine?
- Do you agree with the proposals of the author of the article (**source 70**) on reforming higher education in Ukraine? Justify your opinion.

Source 69

President of the Republic of Korea Park Chung-hee at the opening of the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (1971)[34]

Source 70

From V. Novikov's article *Human Capital: the Role of Education in Creating the Korean Economic Miracle* (2023)

"To overcome this backwardness, South Korea and the United States agreed in the 1960s to establish a completely new educational institution, now called the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST).

The university model and curricula for KAIST were prepared by an American team led by Stanford University Vice President Frederick Terman (known as the "father of Silicon Valley" because he founded the high-tech business zone at Stanford University).

The following can be considered KAIST's main achievements:

- training of scientists and engineers of the highest qualification for universities, research institutions and industry; the KAIST trained from a quarter to a third of all masters and doctors in natural and technical sciences in the country;

- creation of a new model of education for Korea — a research university; moreover, the KAIST finally changed the Japanese model of higher education in Korea to the American one;
- a significant contribution to preventing the brain drain from the country, and, moreover, the KAIST encouraged the return of Korean scientists from abroad.

Conclusions for Ukraine

1. Although the Korean education system has some flaws caused by Korean cultural biases, it demonstrates how a nation of illiterate peasants can be transformed into one of the world's industrial leaders in two generations. Ukraine has a much better education system than Korea after the war, so with the right policies, it can provide human capital for the technological development of the economy faster than South Korea.

2. The main peculiarity of the education system in South Korea that fundamentally distinguishes it from the Ukrainian one is its planned development in parallel with the development of the economy, although many measures were taken through trial and error. ....

3. Ukraine cannot start growing like South Korea through labour-intensive industries with simple technologies because of our demographic and geopolitical situation. We need to rely on high-tech industries from the very beginning and train a workforce of this profile. But this requires long-term plans for the country's development...

4. If there are long-term plans for economic and educational development, it will be imperative to receive technical assistance from the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany in reorganising our technical education, following the Korean model ...

5. Special measures are needed to stop the brain drain and bring back highly qualified Ukrainians from abroad and, first of all, to work in universities."

https://biz.censor.net/columns/3414772/lyudskyyi_kapital_rol_osvity_v_stvorenni_koreyiskogo_ekonomichnogo_dyva

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 50

- Take a good look at the photographs of Dolma High School (**sources 71—73**).
- What can you tell from them about modern high school education?
- If you are interested in this school, see it through the eyes of its students by taking a short tour at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=PYiFTxVD5QQ

Source 71

A Japanese language class at Dolma High School (2022)[35]

Source 72

Classes with students with special educational needs in the subject "Professions", topic "Barista." Dolma School (2022)[36]

Source 73

Teachers' room at Dolma School (2022)[37]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 51

- Acquaint yourself with **source 74**. What problems of modern school education in South Korea are reflected in it?
- To what extent are these problems relevant to modern school education in Ukraine? Express your opinion on possible ways to overcome them.

Source 74

A. Rement's cartoon in the *New York Times* (2014)[38]

A cartoon from a Korean educational magazine

- https://koreaexpose.com/an-assault-upon-our-children-south-koreas-education-system-hurts-students/

3.2. The human factor of the "economic miracle"

What is the "human factor"?

How did it influence the economic success of the Republic of Korea

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 52

- Based on the analysis of **sources 75–83**, determine what role the Korean national character played in the Korean "economic miracle"?
- Think about why the author of the article (**source 75**) puts education in the first place among the factors of the economic miracle. How are these three factors interconnected? Are they common to all economies in crisis or are they unique to Korea?

Source 75

From Kan Den Sik's article *The Role of Chaebols in the Development of South Korea's Economy* (2020)

"According to Jasper Kim, a professor at Seoul University, 3 factors contributed to the achievement of such phenomenal economic results with the country's limited natural resources and extremely unfavourable starting conditions:

1) Emphasis on own strength.

The country has relied on people, as its only resource.

All efforts were made to improve the level of education and professional literacy. The country managed to train an army of highly skilled engineers and workers who became the basis for economic growth.

2) The end justifies the means.

The founder of Korean reforms, President Park Chung-hee, came to power in a military coup in 1961. The president used his power to force wealthy Koreans to invest in the country's industry, including shipyards.

3) Business is a family affair.

It is hard to imagine South Korea's economic success without the large conglomerates called Chaebols. This is a group of formally independent and autonomous companies that are actually owned by one and the same family, under a single administrative and financial control. Deeply rooted in the Korean

mentality, the principle of hereditary power provides stability, which many consider an important factor in the Korean miracle."

● Кан Ден Сік. Роль чеболів у розвитку економіки Південної Кореї. *Вісник КНЛУ. Серія Історія, економіка, філософія*. Випуск 25. 2020. С. 31.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 53

- Do you agree with the politician's opinion about the three traits of the Korean mentality? (**source 76**).
- Do you think that the Ukrainians have the traits necessary for the Ukrainian "economic miracle"?

Source 76

From an interview with Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine Park Ro-byug (2018)

"In my opinion, there are three main features of the mentality that made the Korean economic miracle possible. Firstly, it is a sense of solidarity in the face of a challenge. This trait was formed as a result of the difficult history of our nation — the Koreans survived foreign conquest and colonisation. Secondly, it is the collective will to support the legitimate leader, who is the president. If the country has an effective leader, the people will follow him and support his reforms. And thirdly, it is the willingness to work hard, the desire to improve the lives of future generations, and the sacrifice of one's own life for the sake of descendants."

● Азійські тигри. Частина 3: Корейська хунта. https://medium.com/nastupna/tigers-3-korea-1f59766a91ef

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 54

- Take a good look at the photograph (**source 77**). What can you say about the conditions in which Koreans had to work?
- What qualities did people need to show in such conditions?

Source 77

Korean workers in a wig factory (1972)[39]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 55

- Acquaint yourself with the cover and a page of the comic book (**source 78**). The protagonist is Lee Kang-gyu, a former teacher who organises the villagers to solve immediate problems collectively. For example, collecting gravel from the river to build a bridge with the money raised from its sale.
- What idea did the authors of this comic pursue?
- Can they be seen as a means of mobilising the population to fulfil the tasks of developing country?
- How do such stories characterise the Koreans?

Source 78

The comic strip *The Road of Love* (1979)[40]

Source 79

Saemaeul Undok's poster *Excessive spending creates shortages. Frugal life is the life of prosperity. + Hard work, self-help and cooperation*[41]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 56

- Take a good look at **source 79**. What is the symbolic meaning of the people and objects depicted in the poster? What does the poster call on the Koreans to do?
- Do these slogans reflect the national character of the Koreans? What role did such visual propaganda play in society?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 57

- Express your own opinion on the role of Confucian morality in the Korean "economic miracle" (**sources 80–82**). Justify your opinion.
- Do you think Confucianism had a really positive influence on the Koreans?

Source 80

From R. Chiulu's article *Secrets of the South-Korean Economic Miracle* (2010)

"…Last but not least, this final matter is related to two highly important aspects in the socio-economical and political fields. On one hand, the effort required by the development process needs to be beared by employees and, on the other hand, they need to accept it.

For the first aspect, it is obvious that, in a capitalist environment, a poor and undeveloped economy cannot begin the process of improving work productivity by technological intensification of production. It can be achieved through a spectacular increase in the use of human resources, which implies work reorganization based on an increase in work time and/or work intensity, without significant changes in the capital-work ratio. South Korea began this accumulation process since the years 1960. Even though Koreans work long hours (60 hours per week), with a few payed holidays, their confort is still low. We can conclude that the entire accelerated development process relies on the sacrifice of the individual. This was not optional because employees were constrained by an autoritary and repressive regime, especially during military dictatorship.

As for the second aspect, it is highly unlikely for coersive politics to be able to maintain employees in this situation. Moreover, the current democratic regime and its very ambitious projects are largely supported. This explains the mobilization of the people towards reaching economic objectives.

Of course, other factors can justify legitimacy initially given by employees. For example, the Japanese colonisation and the civil war with North Korea created premises of an economic nationalism, encouraged by soldiers. We can add miscontents of the population, caused by immobility, corruption and social injustice characteristic to former regimes.

Ideologically, respect for hierarchy and work are primary values, promoted by confucianism. The Buddhist religion places the educated person first, followed by the farmer or craftsman and, last, by the merchant. Children do not abandon school for any reason. There are no illiterates and half of the young population goes to universities, many abroad.

Based on the Confucian values and led by remarkable planners, South-Koreans managed to competitively harmonize social and organizational innovations in a permanent process which we will call 'crossfertilization'. According to some [8], both the state-sponsored nationalism and the pro-growth Confucian values had been integral to the economic development of South Korea during the height of its industrialization from the early 1960s to the end of the 1970s. These two value systems were effectively used by the state and the industry to develop a work ethic necessary for the industrial transformation."

- Ciulu, Ruxandra (2010). Secrets of the South-Korean Economic Miracle. [S.l.]: SSRN. https://ssrn.com/abstract=1540002 https://www.zbw.eu/econisarchiv/bitstream/11159/77577/1/EBP084458259_0.pdf

Source 81

From an interview with Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine Kwon Ki Chang (2019)

"Many scholars believe that Korean culture and mentality have become the basis of the economic miracle. After all, Confucianism, in particular, teaches people to work hard and devotedly, to obey, and so on. But there are other societies, non-Confucian ones, that also demonstrate economic growth and prosperity. So Confucianism cannot fully explain Korea's development."

- http://www.golos.com.ua/article/323836

Source 82

From Park Sang-chul's article *East Asian Culture and Economic Miracle: The South Korean Experience* (2016)

"In South Korea, most intellectuals have regard Confucianism as having cultural superiority and whereby the leadership has employed the notion of Confucian capitalism for political purposes. Instead of assuming an objective assessment of the interplay between traditional Confucian values and economic performance, they have taken the economic success of East Asian countries as a de facto proof for the superiority of Confucian ideology. As a result, they justify morally objectionable practices such as authoritarianism, corruption and nepotism, and human right violation under the Confucian capitalist system. In fact, traditional Confucianism discouraged people from taking up professions such as business and engineering that play important roles in economic development. Additionally, it also discouraged creativity and entrepreneurship owing to a rigid social hierarchy that prevents certain segments of society…"

- Sang Chul Park. East Asian Culture and Economic Miracle: The South Korean Experience Institutions and Economies. Vol. 8, Issue 1, January 2016. P.16.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 58

- B. Rowan points to discipline as one of the main traits of the Koreans that made the economic transformation possible (**source 83**). In your opinion, what cultural layers are the roots of this trait?
- Is this trait inherent in the Ukrainians? What is needed for its formation?

Source **83**

From B. Rowan's article *Korean miracle is work of its people* (2023)

I have read about the self-sacrifice of people to save for the nation during the era of Park Chung-hee; I've witnessed and Acquaint yourself with many an account of the willingness to work, and the long hours, and the organization of workplaces and institutions through various elaborations of elders and juniors. The spirit of freedom is coined on the habits of work and education in community. If the European-American matrix depended upon a work ethic, Protestant and otherwise, Korea's culture has provided an analogue, one that is less individualistic and heroic in its core motivations. As Michael Breen said: "Education was and remains the gateway to positions that their occupants believe make them better than other people — a key motivator and source of happiness in life then as it is now. In modern Korea, education remains the great leveler: it is the only path to success and, until very recently, didn't cost much."

Breen also notes that Park Chung-hee relied upon discipline styles now associated by many with North Korea more than South, disciplines absorbed in Japanese-style education. Undoubtedly this is true. My good friend and Korean Institute of National Unification scholar Kim Jin-ha has written recently about the discipline of the military barracks of Korean soldiers in the Korean War and how this ethos was translated into civilian institutions of government in the early Korean republic as a key for stateled development. Lee Chang-sup tells us in Rags to Riches that Korean military discipline is at the root of ppali ppali (which as a phenomenon I think also is rendered by the ubiquitous references to the verb babumnida in working with Korean colleagues) and shinbaram as cultural descriptors or values (Lee, 2010).

Korean diligence and the valuation of education may relate to the need to develop and grow, the trajectory of desperation after the War, to residues of Japanese colonialism, or to the predilections of its early ruling elites, but Korean intelligence is at root the distillation of a centuries-old tradition of valuing education, and of placing people with proven abilities in places of power. I marvel at a society where so many professors actually have practical solutions, and they actually get a chance to put them into practice. And I marvel at the masses of citizens in cities and countryside areas who rise and go about the business of their lives each day, working dawn 'til dusk to pay for their children to have ever better education. Dedication to an informed public and the cultivation of intelligence are things to imitate and to adapt elsewhere for the cause of development.

- Bernard Rowan. Korean miracle is work of its people. 2023. https://m.koreatimes.co.kr/pages/article.amp.asp?newsIdx=74978

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 59

- A. Salmon writes about the amazing ability of the Koreans as a nation to consolidate (**source 84**). What did the Koreans unite around during the economic reforms? What did the state do to facilitate this consolidation?
- Is the ability to consolidate in difficult conditions inherent in the modern Ukrainians? How does it manifest itself?
- What must the state do to support the consolidation of society?
- What was the significance of comparing Korea to China and Japan at this time?

Source **84**

From A. Salmon's book *Modern Korea: All That Matters* (2014)

"Koreans have always held a Confucian respect for education: during the war, professors had raised tents behind the front, teaching knowledge-hungry off- duty soldiers. Expanding upon the mass education of the colonial era, Seoul invested heavily (as much as 19 per cent of budget). Universal primary education arrived in the 1960s, secondary education in the 1980s. Conformity, numeracy and literacy (the latter made possible by Korea's phonetic alphabet, hangeul) were emphasized. Discipline, obedience and teamwork were further inculcated during military service.

Via schooling, the military, slogans and mass movements, a 'can do' spirit was instilled. Students, labourers and office workers ('salarymen') started their days performing group 'citizen calisthenics'. Songs with titles like 'Let's Get Rich!' were promoted, posters blared 'Let's live well together!' and morning affirmations such as 'We were born with the mission of modernizing our nation!' were chanted in colleges,

Koreans were harangued to study hard, work hard, live hard. Everything was to be done 'Palli, palli!' ('Quickly, quickly!') — a phrase that became a syndrome. A 'hungry jongshin [feeling]' — a hunger for success — was cultivated.

Companies were managed like regiments. Chairmen's words were law, enabling speedy management; neither shareholders nor unions had a say. New employees underwent boot-camp-style induction programmes to instil drive and loyalty; the media carried photos of determined-looking Korean workers in military-style formations. Leisure was for wimps: Koreans worked six-day weeks with just a week's annual holiday. In their (rare) moments off, they played hard.

With South Korea riddled with factionalism and regionalism, nationalism was promoted as both unifying force and spur against external competition. Government urged the people to overcome the dreaded North Korea and — invoking han — to overtake hated Japan. Suspicion of foreigners was inculcated in schoolchildren, who chanted: 'Don't trust America / Don't be cheated by Russia / Be cautious about China / Or Japan will rise again.' Park was derisive of Korea's underdevelopment and weakness but admired Japan, the first Asian nation to modernize and a benchmark for the branding of native assets. Japan had Kyoto? Very well, Korea had the Silla capital of Gyeongju. Japan had Mount Fuji? Korea had the scenic Mount Seorak. Japan had sumo; Korea had ssireum, a folk wrestling system. Japan had samurai; Korea had the Hwarang, a Silla youth corps And so on. The end result was a prickly, table-thumping national pride. Was the Korean alphabet not the most scientific in existence? Was local cuisine not the healthiest and tastiest? Was the native dog, the Jindo, not the most faithful, bravest hound on earth?"

- Salmon A. Modern Korea. ALL THAT MATTERS. London. 2014. P. 25–27.

Source 85

The cover of *Monocle* magazine (2018)[42]

In the middle on the left is the headline: "FAST-TRACK NATION: Beyond the headlines, South Korea is the new powerhouse for fashion, design and the soft-power bibimbap." Above and below are stories about the best cuisine, brands, design, and surgery. On the right is a Korean man with a flag. His son is next to him. The caption reads: "Listen, son, stop the diplomatic talk! Let's get down to business! LET'S GET TOGETHER. If you take small steps, everything is possible!"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 60

- Acquaint yourself with **source 85**. What idea is the author of the magazine cover trying to express? Can it be called a modern Korean national idea?
- Remember the slogan above the blackboard in a school classroom in the early 1970s (**source 67**). Have the slogans changed since then? Why?
- How can you explain the contradiction: "fast-track nation" and "small steps"?

4. The "Korean economic miracle" and the tasks for Ukraine

What does the Korean experience of rapid economic growth teach and warn Ukraine against?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 61

- Over the last decade, a number of books on economic miracles, including the Korean one, have been translated and published in Ukraine (**source 86**). How can you explain the growing interest in the phenomenon of rapid economic growth in Ukraine?
- Based on the material in subtopic 2, "Economic Development Strategies" and **sources 87—92**, identify the components of the Korean experience of rapid growth. Evaluate the extent, to which this experience can be used in Ukraine: fully (+), under certain conditions (+/-), only some elements (-/+), impossible to use (-) and explain your opinion. What should be done to implement this experience in Ukraine? What obstacles might Ukraine face? For this purpose, fill in the table below: "The experience of the Korean economic miracle and Ukraine."

Experience component	Possibility of application	Challenges for Ukraine	Obstacles

- Based on **sources 87—89**, describe South Korea's attitude to Ukraine's rapid growth and the possibility of using the Korean experience and the economic potential of the Republic of Korea.

Source 86

E. Amsden's book *The Korean Economic Miracle: How South Korea Became a Technological Giant in 30 Years* [43]

Source 87

From the lecture by the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine, Mr Kim Hyung Tae, *The Development Experience of the Republic of Korea and its Benefits for Ukraine* (2023)

"Ukraine's strengths.

...Ukraine's strengths, namely its "historically hardened strong national character" and "war-forged national unity and strength", can really be described in three words — spirit and will.

Speaking of spirit and will, I want to emphasise that the secret of Korea's successful economic and democratic development lies first and foremost in its people. People act in accordance with their spirit and will, just as a nation or a country determines its future according to a single spirit and will.

Ukraine's potential is great. Ukraine possesses all the basic components for creating a powerful state — population, territory and resources. Ukraine is an agrarian country with the world's most fertile black soil, rich natural resources, with the mineral resources accounting for 5% of the world's total, and advanced

industrial technologies being introduced in such leading industries as steelmaking, aircraft and shipbuilding, the sphere of space and nuclear power. The fact that Ukraine was ranked 14th in the US News & World Report's overall power of the state ranking last year gives a clear indication that despite the difficult situation you are currently facing, it will be able to overcome all difficulties and make a leap forward in development.

From the perspective of prospects for Korea, Ukraine is, firstly, an emerging market; secondly, a platform for entering the CIS, Eastern Europe and the EU markets; thirdly, the country that provides advanced fundamental science technologies for the development of future strategic industries; fourth, the partner that accelerates Korea's progress towards becoming an aerospace technology centre; fifth, the influential food supplier that is directly linked to Korea's food security; and sixth, a place of "inflow" of high culture. Thus, Ukraine is an extremely valuable partner in many areas.

The sectors of Ukraine that need reform. I believe that Ukraine, taking into account the experience of Korea, which I have described, should focus on the following four points: 1) forming a broad vision of national development and its sustainable implementation, 2) developing a professional, efficient and creative bureaucracy, 3) creating a favourable environment for business, and 4) training qualified personnel."

● Досвід розвитку Республіки Корея і його користь для України. Лекція Посла Республіки Корея в Україні пана Кім Хьонг Те в ДУ "Економіка та прогнозування НАН України" 2 березня 2023 р. *Економіка України*. 2023. № 3. С. 96–98.

Source 88

From Jeong Min-hyun's report *Stages of the Korean Economy and the Postwar Economic Recovery of Ukraine* (2022)

"The war and the Ukrainian economy: the human capital aspect

The massive destruction of physical and human capital is caused by the war.

- It is likely that the loss of human capital (human casualties and brain drain) will have a greater impact on the structural economic problems (growth problem) of post-war Ukraine than the loss of physical capital as a factor of production.
- Therefore, it is important to improve the educational infrastructure (resource base) and the quality of education (intangible assets), as well as to create incentives for "brain inflow" (institutional improvement) to quickly rebuild human capital.
- (Human resource development and attraction of highly skilled professionals). To ensure a high-level human resource, it is necessary to increase investment in education and technology, and actively support the introduction of new knowledge and technologies.
- Increase in productivity by identifying, nurturing and utilising human capital in Ukraine.
- Active attraction of highly qualified specialists from abroad: the incentive system should be improved.
- Formation of an effective human capital management system.

The war and the Ukrainian economy: trade and financial aspects

It is necessary to develop the financial system and high-value-added industries to minimise the (long-term and short-term) economic isolation caused by the war.

The impact of trade on economic growth:

- Stimulation of private innovation through the promotion of competition.
- Market consolidation (Market expansion) ⇒ Increase in the size of the economy ⇒ Production efficiency (cost reduction).
- facilitation of receipt of a variety of high-quality intermediate goods ⇒ Increased industrial competitiveness.
- The growth effect is most pronounced when trade (imports) with high-income countries, where the manufacturing sector has developed, is expanding (Jeong and Min, 2019).

The impact of the financial sector on economic growth:

- The ease of obtaining loans ⇒ Increased efficiency of resource allocation.
- Effective risk management (hedging) ⇒ Stimulation of private innovation.

Ukraine's economy: what to do after the war

To ensure long-term growth, quality growth through increased productivity is needed.

- Human capital development.
- Improvement of educational infrastructure and quality of education;
- Reorganisation of the incentive system to attract highly skilled foreign specialists.

- Increase in volume of trade, expansion of trade with high-income countries with advanced manufacturing industries ⇒ Promotion of economic growth.

- Improvement of the financial system: Financial sector performance has slowed down since the annexation of Crimea in 2014 ⇒ After the end of the war with Russia, the financial system needs to be improved ⇒ It is important to stimulate productive resource allocation and private innovation ⇒ Targeted growth promotion.

● Чон Мін Хьон. Етапи розвитку корейської економіки і післявоєнне економічне відновлення України. Освітня програма з корейської культури для українських фахівців з підготовки підручників. Центральний інститут кореєзнавства. 2022. С. 201–203.

Source 89

Infographics of the post-war economic reconstruction of the Government of Ukraine in the media of the Republic of Korea (2023)[44]

The total amount is USD 150 billion. 3 stages: 1 — the restoration of water supply, energy and transport links, 2 — humanitarian aid. Housing stock, schools and hospitals, 3 — (2026–2032) — economic recovery, digital government and the EU. Emphasis added: energy, logistics and defence industry.

Source 90

From O. Kushch's interview *Ukraine can and must prosper. South Korea has done it — we can do it too* (2022)

"It is important to say here that we faced de facto the 'Korean scenario' back in 2014 when the so-called 'LPR' and 'DPR' were created. The emergence of these entities is the "Korean scenario", we just did not call it that...

But when I speak of a "European South Korea", I am not referring to this "Korean scenario", but to the model of economic nationalism and the South Korean success story. The political scenario of South Korea is categorically not suitable for us, as our strategy is to restore the territorial integrity of 1991.

Thanks to Park Chung-hee and his idea of economic nationalism, South Korea has become one of the most developed countries in the world and a leader of development in Asia, along with China and Japan.

And if the country was mired in the small-town, peasant ethnonationalism of Syngman Rhee, it would still be making a living from the export of agricultural raw materials, migrant workers and prostitution.

Ukraine is now also at a crossroads: either economic weakening, deindustrialisation, degradation of the education system and infrastructure, or modernisation, economic nationalism and rapid recovery of the remaining industrial, scientific and educational potential. If we do not seize our chance, we will be doomed to tolerate the other "syngman rhees" on our necks, when our future is stolen and our present is devalued under the auspices of fighting the past.

The example of South Korea shows that if the right path of development is chosen, losses are not an obstacle to development.

We should not copy the Korean model, but creatively transform it to suit our conditions and strategy of economic nationalism. And we should start by creating our own think tank — the Ukrainian Centre for Reconstruction and Modernisation of the Country, immediately after the victory.

Ukraine can and must prosper. The Koreans have succeeded — we will definitely succeed.

- https://kp.ua/ua/economics/a646930-ekonomist-oleksij-kushch-ukrajina-mozhe-i-maje-protsvitati-pivdenna-koreja-vijshla-vijde-i-v-nas

Korean poster calling on construction and energy companies to invest in Ukraine's post-war reconstruction project by creating a 'Second Marshall Plan'

- http://www.investchosun.com/m/article.html?contid=2023062280209

Source 91

From S. Savenko's article *Economic Miracle in One Generation: South Korea is an example for Ukraine* (2017)

"The essence of the Korean economic miracle

To create economic conditions under which goods and services of the national producers could seize foreign markets from competitors. The emphasis was placed on large family-type businesses, the growth of employees' qualifications and their labour productivity.

Conclusions for Ukraine

Many of the first (unsuccessful) stages of South Korea's reforms can be also observed in Ukraine. Uncontrolled corruption, lobbying, and unjustified protectionism for "cronies." The government takes more into account the interests of oligarchs and big business, often contrary to the interests of the country. Due to the unfavourable economic and investment climate, $10–15 billion is withdrawn from Ukraine annually. If domestic investors flee the country, how can we expect foreign investment to come in?

The experience of Korean reforms shows that nothing is impossible if you want it to be. Korea started its reforms under conditions that were much more difficult than those that Ukraine is currently facing. However, reforms require political will and the desire to achieve the goal despite the difficulties.

The government of Ukraine should not use the war in the east of the country as an excuse for inaction. Korea is still in the middle of an unfinished war with North Korea. However, this has not prevented the country from implementing effective economic reforms and achieving impressive results in economic growth and improving living standards.

The Korean experience can be well applied to Ukraine. The task of getting Ukraine's economy on a fast and sustainable economic growth path can be solved by:

- Reduction of the level of taxes. The tax rate in Korea has remained at a record low of 10% for many years, which has led to an increase in foreign investment.
- Strict government control over the export of capital from the country. Ukrainian business, with government support, invests in the production of globally competitive goods and services. Turning Ukraine into a production site for the European Union.
- Improvement of the quality of education and professional level of engineers and workers. Money invested in R&D, education and professional development will bring the country far more benefits than trying to revive inefficient and uncompetitive enterprises built in the Soviet era."

- https://news.finance.ua/ua/news/-/400091/ekonomichne-dyvo-za-odne-pokolinnya-pivdenna-koreya-pryklad-dlya-ukrayiny

Source 92

From M. Mudal's article *The Experience of Countries' Recovery: what Ukraine Can Learn* (2013)[45]

Virtually each of the countries studied in the post-war period	
Introduced a new or modernized the education system	Finland, South Korea, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, Poland
Increased investment in science or sought other ways to access technology	Italy, Germany, South Korea, Finland
Introduced or supported research and development of new technologies, creation of technology parks, incubators or science hubs	South Korea, France, Vietnam

USA (Hurricane Katrina)	South Korea (war)	Indonesia (tsunami)	Iraq (war)
Volunteers, supplies and financial assistance from 150 countries of the world	Irrevocable financial assistance from USA (almost 10% of GDP)	Collected $1.2 billion in grant of grant aid, received significant amounts of humanitarian humanitarian aid	Consent to allocation of $33 billion in grant aid aid (part of the money was never received)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 62

- Why do you think these images are most often used to illustrate the success of the "Korean economic miracle"?
- Justify the answer.

Source 93

General view of residential complexes in Seoul

Source 94

Evening Seoul

Source 95

Busan

Source 96

Busan port

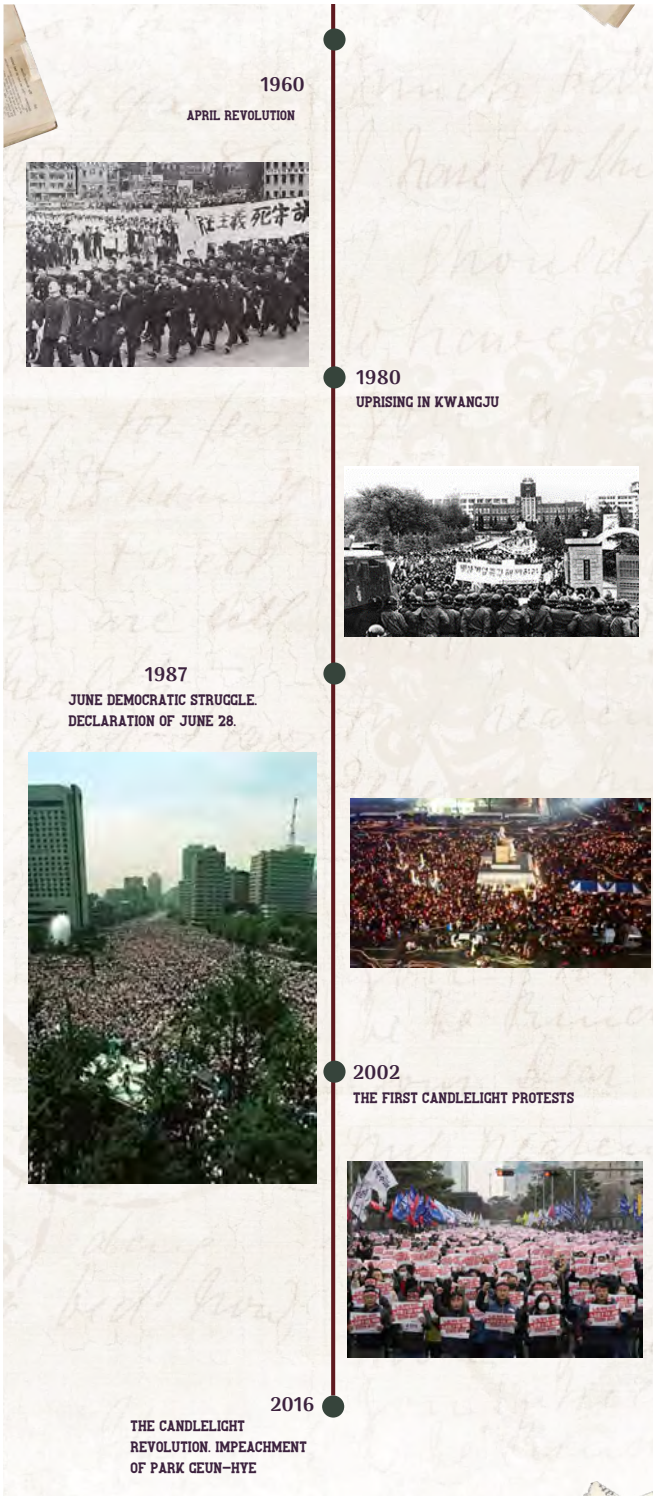
THEME 5

THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

How did the Republic of Korea overcome the path from dictatorship to modern democracy?

ПЛАН

1. The Republic of Korea and the DPRK: alternative models of society organisation.
   - 1.1. The South Korean model of society organisation.
   - 1.2. The North Korean model of society organisation.
2. Democratic transformation of South Korean society.
   - 2.1. Stages of South Korean society's progress towards democracy.
   - 2.2. The 18 May Movement.
   - 2.3. Democratic processes in the Republic of Korea in the late 20th – early 21st centuries.
3. The fight against corruption.
4. The use of modern technologies in the expansion of democracy.
5. The experience of the formation of Korean democracy and Ukraine.



1. The Republic of Korea and the DPRK: the alternative models of society organisation

What are the fundamental differences between the South Korean and North Korean models of society organisation?

INTRODUCTION

Proclaimed on the Korean Peninsula in 1948, the Republic of Korea and the DPRK were under the influence of the states with different models of governance and different ideological foundations. Therefore, these two Korean states represented alternative models of social organisation: those of **South Korean (the ROK) (1.1)** and **North Korean (the DPRK) (1.2).**

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- Acquaint yourself with the information about the two Korean states (**sources 1–5**). Pay attention to what kind of data is being compared. Make a list of differences in the organisation of society and discuss in class how they might affect the quality of life in each country.

Source 1

The language of numbers. Gross national income (GNI) per capita in the Republic of Korea and the DPRK [1]

Source 2

The two Korean states[2]

North Korea	South Korea
The official name of North Korea is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).	The official name of South Korea is the Republic of Korea (ROK).
Coat of arms	Coat of arms
The capital of North Korea is Pyongyang.	The capital of South Korea is Seoul.
North Korea is lead by Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un since 2011 following the death of his father Kim Jong-il.	South Korea is led by President Yoon Suk-yeol. He was elected to office in May 2022.
The population of North Korea as of 2018 is 25,549,604 people.	The population of South Korea as of 2019 is 51,709,098 people.
The DPRK is a single-party dictatorship state. The official state ideology is "*Juche*" or "National Self-Reliance".	The ROK is a presidential republic by the form of government.
The administrative division of North Korea consists of the following: • 9 provinces • 3 cities	The administrative division of South Korea consists of the following: • 9 provinces • 6 cities
The legal system of North Korea is based on the Prussian model with influences from the Japanese legal system and Communist legal theory.	The legal system of South Korea is that of a mixed variety combining European civil law, Anglo-American law, and Chinese classical thought.
Steeped deeply in communism, the economy of North Korea is a centrally planned system where the role of the free market is limited, although increasing. The nominal GDP estimate as of 2018 stands at $32.1 billion.	The economy of South Korea is of a capitalist nature that consists of a highly developed mixed economy dominated by family-owned conglomerates called chaebols. The nominal GDP estimate as of 2020 stands at $1.626 trillion.
North Korean industry consists of the following: • Electronics • Telecommunications • Chemicals • Shipbuilding • Steel	South Korean industry consists of the following: • Military products • Machine building • Electric power • Electronics • Textiles • Tourism • Automobile production
The population of North Korea is ethnically homogeneous in nature.	The population of South Korea is racially homogeneous; there is a small Chinese community and a few ethnic Japanese.

Source 3

Night satellite map of the Korean Peninsula

The darkness over North Korea can indicate both a lack of electricity and urban development. The bright lights in the upper left corner are China, and in the lower right are South Korea

Source 4

The Armed Forces of the DPRK and the Republic of Korea

Military might

Active Personnel	North Korea	South K
Total	1,190,000	630,000
Army	1,020,000	495,000
Navy	60,000	70,000
Air force	110,000	65,000
Paramilitary	189,000	4,500
Reserves	5,700,000	4,500,000
Tanks	3,500	2,434
Aircraft	545	567
Submarines	73	23
Artillery	21,100	11,000

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=IyEFwP_MwWg

Source 5

Dynasty versus democracy. Leaders of the DPRK (three generations of the same family) and elected presidents of the Republic of Korea in 1948–2020

1.1. The South Korean model of society organisation

What is the South Korean model of society organisation?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

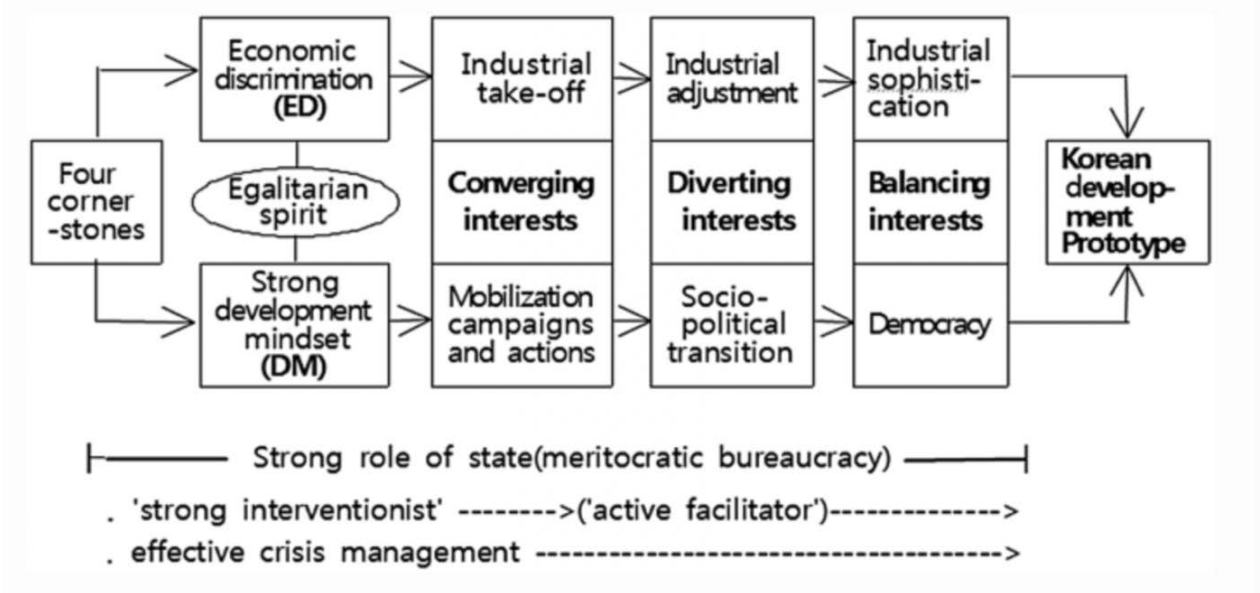
- Recollect the attitudes to democracy of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung-hee. Why was Syngman Rhee called an "illiberal democrat" and Park Chung-hee a "democratic autocrat"?
- Analyse the scheme "The Korean Model of Development" (**source 6**) and identify the four cornerstones of Korean development.
- How are the economic and socio-political components of the model linked?
- What is the place of democracy in this model?
- What can be called the psychological, mental and cultural peculiarities of the South Korean model of development?

The collage showing the balance of power in the recent presidential election in the Republic of Korea

https://m.khan.co.kr/opinion/contribution/article/202303162248005#c2b

Source 6

The Korean Model of Development [3]


Economic discrimination (ED)
Industrial take-off
Industrial adjustment
Industrial sophisti-cation
Four corner -stones
Egalitarian spirit
Converging interests
Diverting interests
Balancing interests
Korean develop-ment Prototype
Strong development mindset (DM)
Mobilization campaigns and actions
Socio-political transition
Democracy
Strong role of state(meritocratic bureaucracy)
. 'strong interventionist' -------->('active facilitator')---------->
. effective crisis management ---------->

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Based on **source 7**, prove that the Constitution of the Republic of Korea is based on democratic principles.

Source 7

From the *Constitution of the Republic of Korea* (1948, as amended in 1987)

"**Article 1**

(1) The Republic of Korea shall be a democratic republic.

(2) The sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people, and all state authority shall emanate from the people.

Article 7

(1) All public officials shall be servants of the entire people and shall be responsible to the people.

(2) The status and political impartiality of public officials shall be guaranteed as prescribed by Act.

Article 8

(1) The establishment of political parties shall be free, and the plural party system shall be guaranteed.

(2) Political parties shall be democratic in their objectives, organization and activities, and shall have the necessary organizational arrangements for the people to participate in the formation of the political will.

Article 10

All citizens shall be assured of human dignity and worth and have the right to pursuit of happiness. It shall be the duty of the State to confirm and guarantee the fundamental and inviolable human rights of individuals.

Article 11

(1) All citizens shall be equal before the law, and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, social or cultural life on account of sex, religion or social status.

(2) No privileged caste shall be recognized or ever established in any form.

Article 12

(1) All citizens shall enjoy personal liberty."

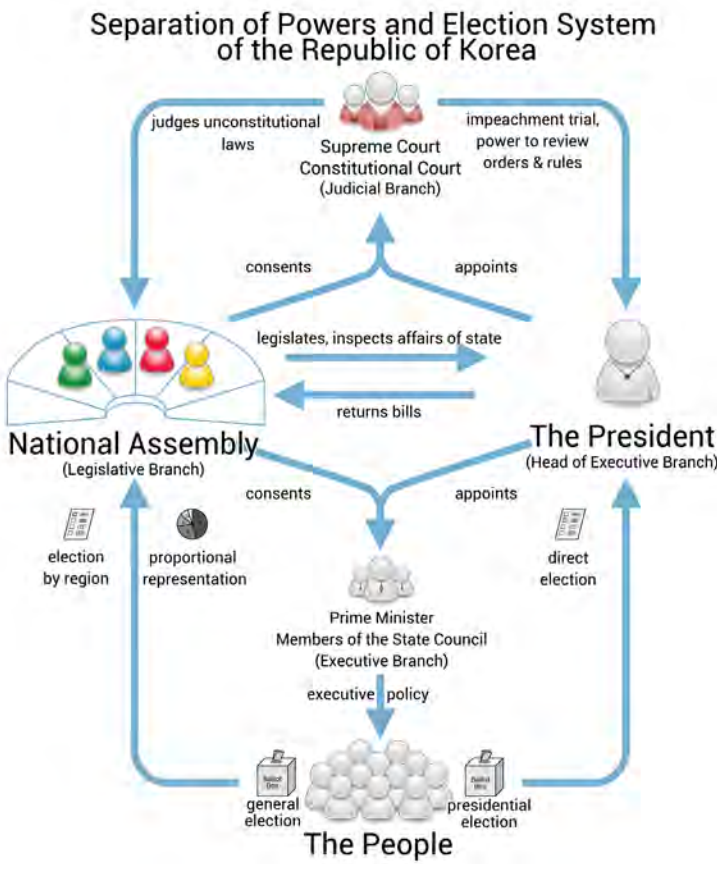
https://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_service/lawView.do?lang=ENG&hseq=1

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 4

- Based on **scheme 8** "Separation of powers and the electoral system of the Republic of Korea", characterise the mechanism of ensuring democratic principles in the country's governance. Why do you think the authors of the scheme placed the judicial power at the top, the legislature — the National Assembly and the executive ones — the President at one level below?

Source 8

Diagram *The Electoral system and separation of powers in the Republic of Korea*



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 5

- Recollect the material from theme 4 and express your thoughts on how South Korea was able to move from the authoritarian rule of Park Chung-hee to a true democracy.
- You will be able to test your assumptions after studying subtopic 2. "Democratic Transformation of the Republic of Korea."
- To what extent were your assumptions about Korea's development confirmed by your answer to question 1?

1.2. The North Korean model of society organisation

What is the essence of the North Korean model and why should it be taken into account when studying the history of the Republic of Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

- Why do you think Kim Il Sung chose to establish a totalitarian regime and introduce a command economy (**source 9**)? What was the reason for the spread of Kim Il Sung's personality cult in the DPRK?
- Why did Kim Il Sung need Juche ideology? What was its basis: the ideas of Marxism-Leninism or Eastern religions and moral norms?
- After Kim Il Sung's death, his body was placed in a mausoleum, just as it was done with the bodies of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union and Mao Zedong in China. How can you explain this practice? How do you feel about this way of honouring the memory of historical figures? Why, in your opinion, has Lenin's body not yet been buried in modern Russia according to the Christian tradition?

Source 9

The standpoint of the American researcher K. Szczepanski *Biography of Kim Il Sung, Founding President of North Korea* (2018)

"Kim Il Sung (April 15, 1912–July 8, 1994) of North Korea established one of the world's most powerful cults of personality. Although succession in communist regimes usually passes between members of the top political echelons, North Korea has become a hereditary dictatorship, with Kim's son and grandson taking power in turn.

Kim Il-Sung's country was devastated by the Korean War. He sought to rebuild its agricultural base by collectivizing all of the farms and to create an industrial base of state-owned factories producing weapons and heavy machinery.

In addition to building a communist command economy, he needed to consolidate his own power. Kim Il-Sung put out propaganda celebrating his (exaggerated) role in fighting the Japanese, spread rumors that the U.N. had deliberately spread disease among North Koreans. Gradually, Kim created a Stalinist country in which all information (and misinformation) came from the state, and citizens dared not display the slightest disloyalty to their leader for fear of vanishing into a prison camp.

Kim also turned away from classical Marxist-Stalinist ideology and began to promote his own idea of Juche or "self-reliance." Juche developed into an almost religious ideal, with Kim in a central position as its creator. According to the principles of Juche, the North Korean people have a duty to be independent of other nations in their political thought, their defense of the country, and in economic terms. This philosophy has greatly complicated international aid efforts during North Korea's frequent famines.

On January 21, 1968, Kim sent a 31-man special forces unit into Seoul to assassinate South Korean President Park Chung-hee. The North Koreans got to within 800 meters of the presidential residence, the Blue House, before they were stopped by South Korean police.

In 1972, Kim Il-Sung proclaimed himself president, and in 1980 he appointed his son Kim Jong-il as his successor. China initiated economic reforms and became more integrated into the world under Deng Xiaoping; this left North Korea increasingly isolated. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Kim and North Korea stood nearly alone.

On July 8, 1994, the 82-year-old president Kim Il-Sung suddenly died of a heart attack. His son Kim Jong-il took power. However, the younger Kim did not formally take the title of "president"—instead, he declared Kim Il-Sung as the "Eternal President" of North Korea. Today, portraits and statues of Kim Il-Sung stand throughout the country, and his embalmed body rests in a glass coffin at the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun in Pyongyang."

https://www.thoughtco.com/kim-il-sung-195634

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- Take a good look at **source 10**. Kim Il Sung, like J. Stalin and Mao Zedong, was usually photographed in a semi-military jacket. Why do you think this is? In this photo, Kim Il Sung is in civilian clothes. Why do you think this is? Can we say that he has changed his image to that of a peacemaker?
- Why do you think authoritarian leaders liked to wear military or paramilitary clothing and be photographed with the military?
- Why is Kim Jong Il dressed less formally than his father Kim Il Sung? Is it a coincidence or a well-orchestrated image?

Source 10

The "Eternal President" of the DPRK Kim Il Sung with his son Kim Jong Il (2009)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 8

- How can you explain the creation of monumental sculptures in honour of the "eternal president" (**source 11**)?
- What is the meaning of the composition of the two sculptures — the father and son?
- How should people feel near such a monument? Why?

Source 11

The Monument to Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il on Mansu Hill

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- What signs of totalitarianism does the Ukrainian human rights activist B. Zakharov (**source 12**) point out when describing some aspects of North Korean socio-political life?
- Why does the author call the norms of the DPRK Constitution declarative?

Source 12

The standpoint of the Ukrainian human rights activist B. Zakharov. *Totalitarianism and Freedom of Expression in North Korea* (2001)

"Totalitarianism is a socio-political, cultural and ideological system that provides for:

Legally enshrined or de facto one-party rule.

Ideology in arms, penetrating all spheres of human and social life.

Ideological processing of the population with the use of all modern mass media, over which the state has established full control.

State monopoly on the professional and economic activity of a person.

The state apparatus of control, supervision and suppression.

Mass state terror as a means of achieving goals.

The North Korean model of a totalitarian regime perfectly fits this definition: the Workers' Party of Korea is the only one in the DPRK; Juche ideology is imposed by all media in the country; administrative and command system of economic management; security forces aimed at fighting both "external" and "internal" enemies; mass terror, etc.

In the DPRK, the legislation is completely declarative. The 1948 Constitution and the new 1972 Constitution contain a number of democratic articles that cannot be implemented under a totalitarian regime.

Buddhism, Christianity and other traditional religious and philosophical teachings in Korea were replaced by the Juche ideological system. It is based on the following principle: "The masses are the driving force of the revolution... but they can act as creators only under the leadership of a great leader..."

The cult of personality of Kim Il Sung and, to a lesser extent, of his son and heir Kim Jong Il is the basis of the ideological processing of the population in North Korea.

Article 53 of the DPRK Constitution of 1972 declares: "Citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, demonstration and association. The State shall guarantee conditions for the free activity of democratic political parties and social organizations." However, the North Korean Political Dictionary states: "Freedom of expression can be broadly guaranteed only under the leadership of the party and the control of the state."

Article 14 of the 1948 Constitution states: "Citizens of the D.P.R.K. have freedom of religious belief and of conducting religious services." The new Constitution adds the phrase: "Citizens have the freedom of anti-religious propaganda."

In the first years of the DPRK's existence, 2000 churches and 400 temples were gradually destroyed, leaving 50,000 Catholics, 300,000 Protestants and millions of Buddhists without places of worship. Now it is claimed that there are 10,000 Buddhists, 15,000 Catholics and 10,000 believers of other Christian churches remained in North Korea.

A condition for the establishment of a totalitarian regime is a closed society, i.e. a society in which relations with the outside world are controlled by the

state, information about the outside world is presented through the prism of state propaganda, and information about the internal situation is concealed and falsified. Thus, under a totalitarian regime, society is isolated in time (falsification of history, interruption of cultural traditions) and in space (information isolation of society from the outside world and the government from citizens).

All publications, articles, and radio programmes in the DPRK are censored from the outset to prevent criticism of the political system or government policies. The media is instructed to act solely as a means of disseminating the policies and instructions of the party and government. In addition, North Korean-made radios receive only state-owned stations and radio programmes. Even foreign-made radios must first be registered with the Security Service, where they are regulated and tuned to only one wave — the North Korean Central Broadcasting Station. The intelligence services check the scales of all radios in the country every three months, and if the seal is broken, the owner is considered to be receiving radio broadcasts from South Korea and other "imperialist" states. Then he can be punished as an "ideological offender." The only exceptions are the radios of diplomats of other countries. At the same time, "jammers" are installed along the state borders of the DPRK.

<...> Even "providing assistance such as a guide or interpreter, offering comfort or other material aid to an enemy or those foreign organisations or individuals opposed to North Korea" is considered treasonous for a DPRK citizen, and is punishable by death."

https://khpg.org/1007461144

Source 13

A military parade in Pyongyang

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 10

- How do you feel about **sources 13, 14 and 15**?
- What feature of the DPRK state do these **sources** illustrate?
- Why is **poster 14** a propaganda poster? What does it call for?
- What brought the men to the rally (**source 15**)? To what extent is their participation voluntary, in your opinion?
- How do **sources 13**, **14** and **15** relate to **photographs 10** and **11** and the statistics from **source 4**?

Source 14

A North Korean propaganda poster

The caption is in Korean: "Juche nuclear state! Let us show the world our self-sufficient dignity and world-class military power"

One of a series of posters commissioned by the DPRK's state news agency in 2017 as a response to the UN Security Council Resolution 2371. This resolution was adopted unanimously in response to two intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) tests by the North Korean leadership.

Source 15

A rally in Pyongyang

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 11

- Who does **cartoon 16** depict?
- What makes it possible to understand this? What artistic means did the artist use?
- What is the main message of this cartoon?
- What aspect of cooperation between Russia, the DPRK and Iran does it refer to?

Source 16

A cartoon by the Canadian artist Graham McKay *There's a new madman*

"Whoa, that's a whole new level of crazy."
"Respect!"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 12

- What does the Ukrainian journalist S. Asieiev (**source 17**) draw attention to in his discussion of the "axis of evil"?
- Which countries formed the basis of this "axis"? What unites them?
- Write down the keywords of this text.
- Why, in your opinion, are the messages of the Canadian artist (**source 16**) and the Ukrainian journalist and writer so similar in content?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 13

- What kind of aid is described in **source 18**? Who provides it and to whom?
- What does the country's need for food aid indicate?
- Why is the DPRK government unable to feed its own population?
- What features of the DPRK's political model may indicate a regularity of hunger among the population?

Source 17

From S. Asieiev's article *Russia, Iran and DPRK. The "Axis of Evil" for which Human Life Means Nothing or the Possible Face of World War III* (2023)

"Russia, Iran and the DPRK are the three countries of our time that clearly, at the level of their leaders' statements, oppose themselves and their spiritual and political system to the collective West, and first of all — the United States. However, let us get back to an ideological component. The Orthodox "Russian world", Islamic fundamentalism and atheistic communism of North Korea — this is how the ideological cocktail, which forms the modern "axis of evil, looks like." Despite this diversity of ideological systems, they are united by one thing: the primacy of Tradition over the life of an individual. For totalitarian Russia and North Korea, a person is just a cog in the state mechanism that has to serve the System and disappear if he or she goes against it. In Iran, the attitude to human beings is roughly the same, but on a different, religious basis.

On the other side of the planet, the DPRK has actively begun supplying weapons to the Russian Federation, expecting in return — according to information from the United States — Russian surface-to-air missiles and military technologies.

One of the most closed countries in the world with a predominantly atheist population and a network of concentration camps, the DPRK is increasingly integrating into Russia's geopolitical agenda of "war with NATO" and the West whose value paradigm is completely alien to both atheistic Korea and fundamentalist Iran.

<...> The "axis of evil" is formed on the principle of dictatorship and tyranny, having completely different ideological bases. That is why in the name of the new alliance the word "evil" is used, which is simple and understandable in almost every language of the world, regardless of the specific meanings already determined by cultural practice."

https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/rosiya-iran-kndr-vis-zla-tretya-svitova/32638987.html

Source 18

Radio *Liberty* report of 23 July 2004

"The US State Department announced the delivery of 50,000 tonnes of food to North Korea.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said that this aid would be provided under the World Food Programme. Its goal is to help North Korea overcome poverty among its people. Washington will help Pyongyang despite its concerns about this government's policies. The United States demands that North Korea stop developing nuclear programmes."

- https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/918078.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 14

- Who are the authors of **sources 19–21**? What do these people have in common and how do they differ?
- What were their reasons for becoming fugitives and seeking refuge? Where did they find refuge?
- What difficulties do fugitives from the DPRK face in the Republic of Korea? Why is South Korea wary of the Koreans from the North?

Source 19

Interview with Kim Kuk-song, a senior DPRK official who has been living in Seoul since 2014 (2019)

"Kim Kuk-song — we will call him like that — fled saving his life in 2014 and has been living in Seoul since then, where he collaborates with South Korean intelligence.

"I was 'redder than the reds'," he says of himself. A loyal servant of the communist government. However, in the DPRK, neither a high position nor unconditional loyalty to the authorities guarantees security.

According to him, the North Korean leadership is in desperate need of money and earns it in all ways — from drug trafficking to selling weapons to the Middle East and Africa.

"Terrorism has been and remains an instrument of politics and protection of the highest dignity of Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Un in North Korea," he says.

On 26 March 2010, the South Korean Navy corvette Cheonan was sunk in the Yellow Sea by a torpedo, killing 46 sailors. Pyongyang said it had nothing to do with it. On 23 November of the same year, several dozen artillery shells fell on the South Korean island of Yeonpyeongdo. Two marines and two civilians were killed, and 16 soldiers and three civilians were wounded.

In North Korea, you cannot even build a road without the personal approval of the Supreme Leader. The sinking of the Cheonan and the shelling of Yeonpyeongdo are definitely not decisions that could have been made by any of his subordinates. Such operations are planned and carried out only by special order of Kim Jong Un and are considered as achievements of the executors."

The DPRK is one of the poorest and most isolated countries in the world, but previous defectors have claimed that Pyongyang spared no expense in creating an army of about 6,000 skilled hackers.

"To make it clear, all the money in North Korea belongs to the Supreme Leader," said the former intelligence officer, "He uses it to build villas and buy foreign cars, delicacies, clothes and luxury goods.

According to various sources, from several thousand to a million people starved to death in the DPRK in the mid–1990s.

"The entire political culture of North Korea, their judgement of everything, their way of thinking is entirely based on unconditional obedience to the Supreme Leader. Over generations, they have developed what they call a 'loyal heart."

- Перебіжчик про Північну Корею: режим живе терором, наркотиками та зброєю. Лора Бікер, BBC, Сеул. Режим доступу: https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-58882122

Source 20

From an interview with Kang Mi Jin, a refugee from the DPRK (2016)

"I think I have done very much for North Korea. I worked hard and well. I did not do anything wrong to anyone and tried to live honestly and rightly, but the atmosphere around me was completely unacceptable.

First of all, I mean human relations in society and the attitude of the security services towards people. I mean the extortion of bribes, I mean the impudence of bosses and officials at every turn, I mean the constant lies in which people are born, grow up, grow old and die.

As soon as the law enforcement authorities see that you are breaking out of the general poor stratum of the population (and I did), all sorts of small and big troubles start falling on you one after another. And immediately a man in uniform appears and offers to solve these troubles. For money, of course. Do you understand? This happened a lot. Whether I was a platoon commander or someone else, it didn't matter at all. At some point, I started to have serious friction with the authorities because I was defiant and did not give bribes. I did it on principle, and it was already really dangerous.

I started a family of my own, I began to spend a lot of time raising my daughter and began to think again and again that I didn't want this background to be part of her life too. This is the most important thing. The main reason for my escape was the desire to give my daughter a better education and a better future in general, which I had an idea of from films, leaflets and radio programmes."

- Відверта розповідь біженки з Північної Кореї про "систему, яка перетворює людей на рабів." Радіо Свобода, режим доступу https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/27811354.html

Source 21

Two refugees, Choo Changyang and Kim Yusung, who fled the country in 2011, tell their stories to the BBC (2013)

"Rumours of cannibalism appeared during the Great Famine of 1994–1998 when China drastically cut aid to North Korea due to a shortage of grain. According to cautious estimates, between 600,000 and a million people, or three to five per cent of the country's population, died.

It was the worst famine of the twentieth century... No wonder people went to the edge, they went crazy.

When Kim and Choo were children, they were taught to adore the regime and its founder, Kim Il Sung. "The first sentences babies learn are "'Thank you, great father Kim Il Sung" and 'Thank you, dear leader Kim Jong Il,'" Choe recalls. We have to thank the leaders for everything. Portraits of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il hang in every school, in every classroom, and even in railway carriages."

The biography of leaders is the most important discipline for a young northerner: he studies it from kindergarten to university. "You don't have to know anything, the main thing is to learn the history of the Kim family," says Choo.

Despite the fact that Kim Yusung's parents lived in prosperity and were successfully engaged in illegal activities, they knew that some rules had to be followed without fail. They did not watch foreign news or criticise the regime. Yusung could only discuss politics with his parents.

"Where there are more than three people gathered, there is always a snitch," he says, "You can easily end up in a camp for talking too much.

Kim Yusung says that life is not easy in Seoul, although he appreciates the freedom he has gained. He often encounters prejudice against Northerners who are considered uneducated and backward because of their archaic dialect and specific accent. "When I tell my fellow students where I'm from, they look at me like I'm an alien," he says.

There are currently more than 24,000 refugees from the North living in South Korea. Many of them, when they arrived in the country, did not know how to do such basic things as withdraw money from an ATM, drive a car, use a mobile phone or a computer.

It is difficult for them to find work, and some of them have to steal, which has given the North Korean community a bad name. "Sometimes I think we are lucky to live here, and sometimes I think we are not," says Mr Kim."

● Втікачі з Північної Кореї: "У нас їдять людське м'ясо." https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/politics/2013/04/130424_n_korea_az

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 15

- Based on **source 22**, explain what importance Kim Jong Un's regime attaches to strengthening the demarcation line between the DPRK and the Republic of Korea. Why?

Source 22

Demarcation line between the DPRK and the Republic of Korea (from the Republic of Korea)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 16

- How are **sources 18–21** related?
- What new information do they add to our understanding of the peculiarities of socio-political and socio-economic life in North Korea?
- Think about what the North Korean and Soviet models of social organisation have in common.
- What historical parallels can you cite to characterise the DPRK state as dictatorial and totalitarian?
- Return to the comparison table (**source 2**). Add new elements to the table to compare the two Koreas based on **sources 1–22**.
- Choose from the **sources** offered in part 1 those that best illustrate the opposition (alternativeness) of the socio-political models of Korean society on both sides of the 38th parallel.
- The inhabitants of the DPRK and the Republic of Korea are one people who have shared a common historical path for centuries but have been separated for less than a century. Write a short essay or organise a class discussion on the following topic: "Ethnicity or social organisation: what gives people more understanding?"

2. Democratic transformation of South Korean society

2.1. Stages of South Korean society's progress towards democracy

How has the Republic of Korea's society undergone a transformation on democratic principles?

INTRODUCTION

The Yushin Constitution, proclaimed by Park Chung-hee in 1972, gave the president the ability to control the parliament and become the head of the state for life. This sparked a series of protests in the country that marked a new stage in South Korean **society's transition to democracy (2.1)**. In response, the authorities resorted to persecuting those who were dissatisfied.

The assassination of Park Chung-hee and the establishment of the military dictatorship of Chun Doo-hwan triggered a new wave of mass anti-government protests known as the Seoul Spring or the **18 May Movement (2.2)**. The central event of the Seoul Spring was the 1980 Gwangjuuprising, which was brutally suppressed by the authorities and went down in history as the Gwangju Massacre.

In 1987, Chung Doo-hwan's attempt to hold indirect presidential elections caused outrage among the Koreans, which resulted in the June Democratic Struggle. The struggle resulted in concessions by the authorities, enshrined in the constitutional amendments, which paved the way for further democratic processes in the **Republic of Korea (2.3)**. A striking phenomenon in the democratisation of South Korean society was the candlelight revolution, which culminated in the impeachment and conviction of President Park Geun-hye in 2016.

Suh Yong-sung. December 2016 in Seoul (2016)

- https://field-journal.com/issue-12/far-east-and-australia/the-art-of-protest

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 17

- Acquaint yourself with the findings of the researcher J. Nilsson-Wright (**source 23**).
- What stages of Korea's political development does he distinguish? What are their chronological boundaries?
- What factors have influenced and continue to influence democratic processes in South Korea?
- What is the fundamental difference from the current stage of democratization?
- What do the development of democracy in the Republic of Korea and Ukraine have in common?

Source 23

From the article of the American researcher S. J. Nilsson-Wright *Contested Politics in South Korea. Democratic Evolution, National Identity and Political Partisanship* (2022)

"South Korea's post-war democratic development has passed through five distinct stages:

A period of democratic innovation and experimentation that might be best characterized as illiberal democracy from 1945 to 1960, bookmarked by liberation from Japanese colonialism and by the student- and academic-led 'April Revolution' of 1960 which ended Rhee Syngman's presidency.

A decade of democratic authoritarianism from 1961 to 1972, following the 16 May 1961 military coup engineered by Park Chung-hee.

The imposition of more explicit restrictions on political liberty marked by the promulgation of the Yushin Constitution in 1972, introducing a period of authoritarian exceptionalism and accelerated economic growth. This period, which also saw the assassination of Park Chung-hee in 1979 and his eventual succession by General Chun Doo-hwan, culminated in the transition to civilian-led democratic governance in 1987.

A gradual entrenchment of democratic norms and practices from 1987 to 2001, covering approximately the presidencies of Roh Tae-woo, Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung, which can be characterized as democratic paternalism.

And finally the period from 2002 to the present, notable for a form of increased participatory democracy in which the use of social media, the effects of modern

technology and regularized public demonstrations suggest a partial dilution of the power of traditional political elites.

Such classifications invariably simplify to a degree, but they are analytically useful in revealing some of the key factors relevant to making sense of the nature and pace of democratic change in South Korea. Three sets of influences can be discerned as having had a bearing on this process, namely: cultural and social norms (particularly Confucian norms of hierarchy and deference) on the part of citizens towards their leaders; institutional rules governing elections, political parties and the nature of presidential power; and wider contextual and geopolitical factors, particularly the impact of the Cold War, alliance relations with the US and the persistent existential risk posed by North Korea.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 18

- Analysing the path of the Republic of Korea to democracy, researchers identify three main forms of civic engagement of the Koreans. Analyse the scheme offered below (**source 24**) and determine which of the methods of struggle for democracy are common and which are unique to the Koreans.

Source 24

Forms of civic engagement of the South Koreans

The pie chart should not be interpreted as meaning that each category applies equally. Instead, it means that forms of civic engagement change over time. Civil disobedience is highlighted as a 'last resort'.

Political participation	Civil activity	Civil disobedience
Involvement in the electoral political process: - Voting. - Running for office. - Joining a political party to a political party. - Donating to a political party or politician. - Volunteering in an election campaign. - Lobbying for a particular law, cause or issue. - Signing a petition or proposal.	Striving to change the life in your community for the better and acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to do so: - Serving on a jury. - Volunteering. - On-the-job training. - Attending meetings such as school board, city council, etc. - Joining or supporting an interest group. - Boycotting. - Protest.	A public, non-violent and deliberate violation of the law with the intention of achieving social change in legislation or government practice: - Trespassing on or seizing private or public property. - Blocking access, for example, to an entrance or roadway. - Disrupting normal business operations, such as overwhelming a telephone bank with calls or a website being down. - Conscientious objections, such as refusing to pay taxes or register for military service, etc.

Kim Jin-soo. The Gwangju Uprising

- https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20200528007800315

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 19

- Acquaint yourself with the infographic "Youth Influence on Government Policy" (**source 25**) and, using the artistic techniques used in it, create a similar infographic dedicated to the South Koreans' struggle for democracy.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 20

- Based on **source 26**, explain the peculiarities of the democratisation process in the Republic of Korea.

Source 25

Infographic "Youth Influence on Government Policy"

Source 26

From the materials of the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History
Democracy in South Korea

"In Asia, aside from Japan the Republic of Korea alone is a full democracy. But, Korea's history with democracy has been turbulent.

Two Coupd'états. Two people with dreams of being president-for-life.

Three forcible dissolutions of parliament.

Nine constitutional amendments.

The form emerged before the content. Representatives of the people selected by election, division of powers and political freedoms were introduced first. But it took much time before the principles became realities. Initially, Koreans did not pay for democracy, it was handed to them on a platter. Only later, by paying the price, did they actually get real democracy. Thanks to the form they were given, could they create a democratic reality. Liberal democracy and democratic institutions were partially damaged, but the framework remained. Even under dictatorship, elections, the bedrock of representative democracy, remained. Citizens expressed their opinion through the ballot box.

Kim Yong-ho / Political Science Professor, Inha University

Q. What are the characteristics of Korean democracy? Korean party politics and elections went on since they were established in 1948. Under dictatorships in Latin America and in Southeast Asia, after the army seized power, there were many instances of all parties being dissolved. But in Korea, Generals had to don suits in order to rule, while continuing to let elections happen. They also formed political parties.

Election results reflected the popular will, and heavily influenced the political system. The democratization movement, that included opposition parties, students, intellectuals and religious groups, was able to gain momentum from electoral results. Economic and social development became the basis for democratization, while industrialization and the emergence of the middle class created a core constituency for democracy. The middle class could not abide dictatorship, an anachronism given the fruits of economic development. They threw their support behind the democratization movement, and thus the military dictatorship exited the political stage. Circumstantial factors like the scandal created by the torture of students in the movement and the impending Seoul Olympics were also important. The scandal created by torture inflamed public opinion in 1987, as the Olympics neared, the ruling group were not in a position to suppress the movement any longer. Lastly, because democratization has been a gradual, brokered process, it wasn't clear how it was all going to turn out, but social chaos was averted and progress made. Thus it was, in 1948, constitutional democracy was introduced, after 1987, procedurally it became consolidated. Now all that is left is to add substance and depth to Korean democracy.

Kang Won-taek / Political Science Professor, Seoul National University

Q. What is left to resolve to make Korea a more mature democracy? Democracy is not something that just ends at a particular point, it's something that keeps going. We have succeeded in creating a democracy, it's been consolidated, now it must progress a further step, so that we can live together in one community in which the lives of all are considered. In a community, one does not merely assert one's own rights, one also considers what one must do for the community, and what one's community needs. In that respect, we must seriously consider the problem of political education of citizens.

Yun Seong-I / Political Science Professor, Kyunghee University

Q. What is left to resolve to make Korea a more mature democracy? As yet, the average citizen's engagement is lacking, and grassroots democracy remains weak. We must consider how get citizens involved in the politics of their lives and active within grassroots democracy. When this happens, it can be said that our democracy has progressed a step future.

Now Korean society needs to improve the functionality of politics as a resolver of social conflict create reliable political leadership and improve political accountability. Moreover, we must raise the people's interest and sense of responsibility, while getting citizens more involved in the political process."

- Democracy in South Korea. Educational Materials. https://www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 22

- What metaphor is used to show the 2022 election process in the **cartoon 29**?
- Who is watching the ring? How are these characters portrayed?
- What mood does the cartoon convey?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 21

- What do **sources 27–29** tell us about the process of democratisation in the Republic of Korea?
- What differences in the 1971 and 2022 election campaigns can be seen in **photographs 27–28**?

Source 27

Canvassing for the 1971 presidential election

In this election, the Republican Party candidate and military dictator Park Chung-hee competed with the candidate of the New Democratic Party, and later President Kim Dae-jung.

Source 28

Canvassing for the 2022 presidential election

The leaders of the election race are Yoon Suk Yeol and Lee Jae-myung.

Source 29

Radio *Free Asia's* cartoon for the 2022 presidential election

The names of political parties are on the T-shirts. The caption in the corner reads: "2022. South Korea. Presidential election." Behind the ring are the leaders of the PRC, Xi Jinping, and the DPRK, Kim Jong Un.

2.2. The 18 May Movement

Why did students become the leading force in the struggle for democracy?

Why did it take seven years to achieve a practical result?

The GwangjuUprising

On 12 December 1979, General Chun Doo-hwan carried out a military coup in Seoul, which resulted in political instability and mass anti-government protests known as the Seoul Spring. Students protested across the country to urge the government to move towards a democratic change. The government threatened drastic measures if the demonstrations did not stop. But this did not stop the strikes in defence of democracy in Kwangju. On 17 May 1980, General Chun Doo-hwan declared martial law in the country in order to suppress the student unrest.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 23

- Acquaint yourself with the memoirs of witnesses (**sources 30 and 31**) and answer the questions below:
- What caused the uprising?
- What were the slogans of the demonstrators?
- How did it take place?
- By what means did the authorities try to stop the protests?
- What was the significance of these events for the development of democracy in the Republic of Korea? Can the events in Gwangjube compared to the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine?
- Based on the information from **sources 30** and **31**, determine the nature of the Gwangjuprotests: a street protest, act of civil disobedience, uprising or revolution.

Source 30

From Kim Chung Keun's essay *Days and Nights on the Street* in the book *The GwangjuUprising: Eyewitness Press Accounts of Korea's Tiananmen* (2000)

"It was a Sunday [May 18]. All the same people were gathering in groups on Kumnamno. Looking into their eyes I saw tension, resolve, and determination, and of these three, tension was the strongest. Someone shouted. "End martial law!"

It was like a gunshot.

People poured out of shops, side streets and buildings. They had been waiting for the word, and a demonstration was forming. Leaders shouted slogans.

"Let the prisoners go. Let them go." "Let Kim Dae Jung go!"

"Announce the nation's political timetable. ANNOUNCE!"

That was not all. The people demanded to know who was responsible for the violence at Chonnam University the day before (when the military had broken in on students studying for their exams and beaten them indiscriminately). "Apologize, Apologize!"

That was how the demonstrations began in downtown Gwangjuthat morning. Out came the riot police, of course. They chased after the demonstrators, doing their best to catch them, but still numbers were limited. It was close on lunchtime when the whole streetview changed. People in business suits came out for lunch and mingled with the demonstrators as they came. The riot police got pushed back, lacking numbers. Steadily and then suddenly, the whole of Kumnamno was inundated with people. A sit-down demonstration commenced.

What followed is all but impossible to describe: an army attack — a pincer attack on civilians. Military trucks crammed with heavily armed paratroopers with fixed bayonets lurched into sight at both ends of Kumnamno simultaneously. The paras jumped out and waded into the crowd from both ends of the street, working toward the middle-striking out with heavy-duty clubs, left, right, left, right…with no regard to who was there, male or female, young or old. The soldiers went for headshots with their big clubs. Kumnamno — moments before the scene of a peaceful sitdown demo — was transformed in a matter of seconds into a hell on earth.

It was terribly one-sided. Some bold spirits threw stones. Others had bottles full of petrol — Molotov cocktails–prepared. But the soldiers reacted quickly. They chased after anyone young, beat them with their rifle butts and kicked them with their heavy armed boots. If they caught them…

The outcome? The Gwangjucitizens' idea — to demonstrate peacefully against martial law and t to protest violence — was blown away. The exorbitant violence of the troops was what did it. The reaction was: "What the hell is the military up to?" "How could a (Korean) national army do this to fellow Koreans?" Rank incomprehension was overtaken by a sense of outrage.

Covering the Gwangjuuprising — and writing of it in the aftermath — I was stuck for words. A reporter is supposed to be able to write. I couldn't get down on paper, for myself even, what I had seen.

Some events, some actions resist words: they beggar description.

The original outrages by the troops, remember, took place in broad daylight, with thousands of people present. Afterward? "Massacre" is the word, the only word to begin to describe what followed.

More than that I cannot say. Here and there in the city, in different spots, I encountered situations that boggled the mind and left me numb, left me without the faculty of cognition, over on the other side of the mind.

Typically — in other places, in other situations — the authorities put down demos following a standard pattern that I was deeply familiar with. The way to quell a demo, usually, was to threaten the crowd of demonstrators or to make a limited, controlled attack on that crowd. The military used a totally different quelling model at Kwangju, not at all like the usual one I had seen at other times.

At Kwangju, once the soldiers showed up on Kumnamno, they ran headlong into the demonstrators. The boundary that had existed between the soldiers and the crowd was eliminated. It vanished in the midst of a melee, a free-for-all with no holds barred and no rules. The soldiers smashed out with their clubs at all and sundry, regardless of age, sex or anything else. Worst of all were the attacks on young women and office workers — identifiable by their regulation dark suits. If a soldier found himself facing a young male, he lit into that man, got him down and kicked the shit out of the guy. The soldiers had a trampling routine that they enjoyed. Suddenly lives were at risk. But if one of these young civilians tried to flee, the soldier chased him, hit him with everything he had, and did his utmost to trap him and reduce him to an immobile."

- https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/LessonsbyTopic/History/The_Gwangju_Uprising.pdf

Source 31

From C. Juke's article *The Democratization of South Korea Can No Longer Be Stopped* (2021)

Chan-ho Kim (Manager at the Korea Democracy Foundation

"I grew up in Seoul, which is about 166 miles away from Gwangju. I attended Gwangju University in 1980s. The government had strict anti-communist policies a d, at the time, the majority population preferred not to doubt or question it, including myself. The (popular) struggle against the government violent repressions was not intense at the beginning.

Things started on the streets, and later on spread in the form of pamphlets and tracts. Neighbors in big cities, including Seoul, began to whisper as we received anonymous tracts in our mailboxes with pictures of May 18th Democracy Movement. It was a complicated and bloody process (for the nation), but eventually it ended authoritarian military regime of South Korea and we transitioned into a democratic state. During the regime, state violence was on plain sights and such history shouldn't be repeated in the future.

I consider studying in Gwangju as part of my destiny as it paths my way to the May 18th Memorial Foundation, where I learned how May 18th demonstrators lived difficult lives as survivors of extreme state violence. I had the opportunity to listen to the stories of those survivors. Many students, workers and democratization movement activists were illegally arrested and tortured during my university years.

The May 18th Uprising was a cornerstone for civilians to set themselves free from being subjugated to political power. Since then, the struggle continues by commemorating the truth about the Democratic Uprising that began since 1980. Thanks to this pivot in South Korean history, this collective history that we went through, South Korea now has the direct presidential election system."

- К. Юке. Демократизацію Південної Кореї уже не спинити https://uk.globalvoices.org/2021/11/18/5776/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 24

- What information about the events in Gwangjucan you get from **source 32**?
- What is the most striking about the photo?

Source 32

Chonnam National University, where the GwangjuUprising began, 18 May 1980

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 25

- Take a good look at the photographs of the National Memorial Complex, a commemoration dedicated to the GwangjuUprising (**source 33**). How do you think the architects intended the memorial to make visitors feel?
- What is the main idea of the sculptural group? What is the significance of each element of the monument?
- Think about why there are different data on the number of victims of the uprising in the sources. Which data do you think is more realistic?

Source 33

The National Cemetery Memorial Complex in Gwangju (general view and the monument to the rebels)

According to official figures, the number of killed demonstrators is 165, according to unofficial figures, from 1000 to 2000 people.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 26

- In modern South Korea, the question of responsibility for the Gwangjutragedy is quite acute. In 1995, a Special law was passed that allowed those responsible for the suppression of the Gwangjuuprising to be brought to justice, even if the statute of limitations had been exceeded. Trials were held, which resulted in harsh sentences, against government officials. In 1997, 18 May was declared an official day of remembrance. In 2020, the independent May 18th Democracy Movement Truth Commission was launched to investigate repression and the use of military force. Why do you think it is important to raise the question of the government's responsibility for the use of force against its own people 40 years after the events? How relevant is this issue for Ukraine?
- Acquaint yourself with **source 34**. Express your own attitude to the personality of Chun Doo-hwan. Comment on the court decisions against him.

Source 34

From a newspaper report on the death of Chung Doo-hwan (2021)

"The years of Chung Doo-hwan's rule are known not only as a period of economic prosperity in South Korea but also of brutal political repression. He resigned amid the rise of a nationwide student democracy movement in 1987, which demanded the introduction of an electoral system.

In 1995, he was charged with sedition and high treason and fled, but was arrested for refusing to appear before the prosecutor's office. The verdict was that Chung's rise to power "came about through an illegal means that caused enormous damage to the people."

The dictator was sentenced to death, but the court later changed the decision to a lengthy prison sentence. The former president's contribution to South Korea's rapid economic development and the peaceful transfer of presidential powers in 1988 were considered mitigating circumstances. He was subsequently released on parole."

https://news.liga.net/ua/world/news/umer-eks-diktator-yujnoy-korei-chun-du-hvan-zahvatil-vlast-posle-perevorota

June Democratic Struggle

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 27

- Acquaint yourself with the encyclopaedic fact file (**source 35**) and the coverage of the June 1987 events in the Korean textbook "Society" for the 6th-grade students aged 10 (**source 36**).
- Identify what were the causes of the mass protests.
- How did they take place?
- What was the triggering factor?
- What methods did the authorities use to deal with the protesters?
- What explains their brutality? Why did the authorities make concessions to the protesters?

Source 35

From the encyclopaedia *The June Democratic Struggle* (1987)

"The June Democratic Struggle (Korean: 6 월 민주항쟁; Hanja: June Democratic Resistance), also known as the June Democratic Movement and the June Democratic Uprising, is a large-scale protest movement from June 10 to June 10. It is a nationwide democratic movement in South Korea that caused the 29th, 1987. The demonstrations forced the ruling government to hold elections and implement other democratic reforms, which led to the formation of the current South Korean government, the Sixth Republic. On June 10, President Chun Doo-hwan's military government announced that it would elect Roh Tae-woo as the next president. The public nomination of Jeon's successor was seen as a final affront to the delays and delays in the process of amending South Korea's constitution to allow direct presidential elections. After pressure on the regime had been building for some time in the form of demonstrations by students and other groups, the announcement finally sparked large and effective protests. He was unwilling to resort to violence before the 1988 Seoul Olympics (which drew a great deal of international attention) and, given the divisions within the opposition, believed that Roh Moo-hyun could win the competitive elections anyway. Believe it or not, Chun and Roh Moo-hyun have complied with the important demands of direct presidential elections and the restoration of civil liberties. Roh Moo-hyun was narrowly elected president in December of the same year, but South Korea's democratic integration was fully underway."

- Encyclopedia, Science News & Research Reviews. https://academic-accelerator.com/encyclopedia/june-democratic-struggle

Source 36

From the South Korean textbook *Society*

P. 25. Ah! An emergency. Reason: why I stand for direct presidential elections.

1. After Park Chung-hee changed the direct presidential election system to an indirect one in 1972, Chung Doo-hwan also supported it in 1987.

"Let's elect an electoral college to represent our will!"

2. The essence of an indirect electoral system is that people elect an electoral college to represent their will, and the electoral college elects the president.

"Let's elect a president on behalf of the will of the people!"

3. "Most of the electoral college candidates are government supporters, aren't they?"

However, Park Chung-hee and Chung Doo-hwan formed an electoral college of government supporters and used the indirect election system as a means of maintaining power.

Electoral College: "Chung Doo-hwan was elected with 90.2 per cent!"

4. Democracy advocates called for a constitutional amendment to allow for the election of the president personally.

"Change the system of presidential elections to direct elections!"

"We need to elect the president ourselves!"

P. 26. June 1987. Demonstrations against the dictatorship of the Chung Doo-hwan government took place across the country, calling for the establishment of a system of direct presidential elections. Chung Doo-hwan's government tried to suppress them, but students and citizens from all walks of life responded violently (the June Democratic Uprising).

Photo.

Event of the day: "The June Democratic Uprising."

"Implementation of the direct system." "Overthrow of the dictatorship!"

Democracy rallies were held across the country.

On 10 June, people protest in front of Myeongdong Cathedral.

Photo.

Slogans: "Please do not shoot tear gas."

During the dispersal of the protesters, the police used tear gas, killing Lee Han Yeol, a college student. This further enraged the protesters.

P. 27 Photo. Protesters on the street on 26 June.

On 26 June, protests took place in many cities, involving more than 1 million people.

In the end, Chung Doo-hwan's government, together with Roh Tae-woo, who was a presidential candidate at the time, announced that they would accept the people's demand for democratisation of the country, including a direct presidential election system (6:29 Declaration of Democratisation). People rejoiced at the victory in the battle against an unjust government. The June democratic uprising played an important role in the abolition of the long dictatorship and the democratisation of society in our country in various spheres.

- https://download.mirae-n.com/elemteacher/ele_society_6-1/index.html#p=59

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 28

- Take a good look at **sources 37 and 38**. What information do they provide about the events?
- What conclusions about the nature of the events do they illustrate?
- Which definition, in your opinion, best reflects the essence of the June 1987 events: a revolution, uprising, struggle, resistance, street protests or act of civil disobedience?

Source 37

A crowd gathers for the funeral of the deceased student Lee Han Yeol in the square near the municipality in Seoul (9 July 1987)

Source 38

Police use tear gas against students at Yonsei University

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 29

- Based on **sources 39 and 40**, evaluate the June 29 Declaration.
- Do you think it was a victory for the protesters or a temporary compromise?
- How did ordinary citizens react to the Declaration?

Source 39

From the article by the Swedish researcher G. Jonsson *Consolidation of Democracy in South Korea*? (2014)

"On June 29, 1987 the ruling Democratic Justice Party's (DJP) presidential candidate Roh Tae Woo made a declaration accepting the opposition's demands for democratic reform. The declaration included the following: a) amendment of the constitution for direct presidential elections, b) revision of the presidential election law to ensure fair elections, c) the granting of amnesty to Kim Dae Jung and other political prisoners and allowing them to resume political activities, d) guaranteeing all citizens basic rights, e) restoring press freedom by abolishing the repressive Basic Press Law, f) ensuring local self-government through the popular election of local assemblies and executive heads of local governments, g) the creation of a new political climate for dialogue and compromise as well as h) carrying out bold social reforms to build a clean, honest society."

Jonsson Gabriel з книги Г. Джонсон "Stockholm University. 2014. P. 14 https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:703399/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Source 40

Korean women read newspapers with the declaration on 29 June 1987

On the morning of 29 June 1987, at the Euljiro 5-ga bus stop in Seoul, citizens read a newspaper article reporting that Roh Tae-woo, the leader of the Democratic Party of Korea, had declared his agreement to a direct election system.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 30

- **Pictures 41–43** are part of an exhibition at the Gyeonggi Museum of Modern Art.
- What topics did the Korean artists depict in their paintings?
- What ideas did they put into them?
- What feelings did they try to evoke?
- What artistic means did they use?
- Have you seen any paintings of similar topics by Ukrainian artists of the Revolution of Dignity?
- What can you find in common in the works of artists from different countries and different times?

Source 41

Lee Ki Young. *The end of an era. The workers are rising* (1988)

Source 42

Kwon Yong-taek. *Free Prisoners of Conscience* (1990)

https://m.blog.naver.com/joimy/22179189227390

Source 43

Yongtaek Kwon. *From YN to the Boom Rebellion* (1991)

Source 44

The exhibition hall of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Gwacheon for the exhibition *The Square*

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 31

- Why did the Seoul Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art use this format to showcase the events? (**Source 44**).

In the background, the poster reads: "Long Live Han Yeol" 1987 and on the right is the picture of *Liberation of Labour*, 1989

2.3. Democratic processes in the Republic of Korea in the late 20th – early 21st centuries

How did democratic processes in the Republic of Korea develop in the early 21st century?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 32

- Based on **source 45**, explain the contribution of Kim Dae-jung to the development of democracy in South Korea.
- Why does the Nobel Committee consider reconciliation with North Korea to be part of the struggle for democracy?
- What does photograph 46 show about Kim Dae-Jung's recognition?
- Why do you think Kim Dae-jung, who had run for president several times, was elected president only in 1998?

Source **45**

Historical background on the website of *the Nobel Peace Prize Laureates' World Summit*

Nobel Peace Laureate 2000

Kim Dae-Jung (1925–2009), South Korean politician, President of the Republic of Korea from 1998–2003. President Dae-jung was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work for democracy and human rights, and in particular for reconciliation with North Korea.

While living in exile in Japan and the US, Kim Dae-jung organised opposition against then South Korea's dictator Park Chung-hee in the early 1970s. Many times imprisoned, he was sentenced to death, kidnapped, tortured and exiled from his home country. Despite his experiences, he continued to promote the idea of reconciliation and forgiveness.

In the period from 1998–2008, he implemented the so-called Sunshine Policy towards North Korea which aimed at intensifying contacts between both Korean states, formally remaining in the state of war since 1953.

Called "the Asian Nelson Mandela", in 2000 he managed to organise the first summit of the leaders of North and South Korea, meeting the North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in Pyongyang.

- http://www.nobelpeacesummit.com/project/kim-dae-jung/

Source **46**

Kim Dae-jung at a meeting in Seoul (1989)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 33

- Acquaint yourself with **source 47** and explain why Kim Dae-jung considered democracy to be an important factor in the development of the country's economy and personal self-actualisation.
- What did the politician mean by talking about transparent national governance?

Source **47**

From Kim Dae-jung's presidential inaugural address (1998)

"It can be said that the historic significance of today's inaugural ceremony is great, indeed; today is a proud day when a democratic transition of power is taking place on this soil for the first time. Moreover, it is a historic day when an Administration is, at last, being born that will develop democracy and the economy at the same time…

Unfortunately, however, at this very important juncture, we have run into a foreign exchange crisis which is the most serious national crisis since the Korean War. We are faced with a crisis that could bankrupt our country, if we are not careful...

To overcome the national crisis, you have undertaken a campaign to collect gold and have managed to collect US$2 billion worth already. I am boundlessly proud of your patriotism, which is more precious than the gold itself. Thank you very much.

Meanwhile, our workers are participating in pain sharing by voluntarily freezing wages and the like, despite mounting difficulties in their daily lives... This demonstration of the patriotism and potential of the Korean people is earning us respect around the world.

Political reform must precede everything else. Participatory democracy must be put into practice; the people must be treated as masters and must act like masters. Only then can national administration become transparent and irregularities and corruption disappear... .

When democracy and a market economy develop together in harmony, there cannot be collusion between politics and business, government-directed financing and irregularities and corruption. I firmly believe that we can overcome today's crisis by practicing democracy and a market economy in parallel..."

- Korea's place in teaching social studies. National Council for the Social Studies and World History Digital Education Foundation. 2022. P. 263.

The candlelight revolution

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 34

- Based on the analysis of **source 48**, identify the main causes, essence and consequences of the processes that went down in history as the "candlelight protests."
- What role did the fight against corruption play in these social protests?

Source **48**

From Sangmin's article *Beef Politics and Candlelight Revolution* (2008)

"History of mass demonstration in Korea is history of struggles — struggle against military dictatorship, struggle toward labor liberation, and struggle toward national unification and liberation from the 70s to the 80s laid the foundations of democracy in this country since the 90s. Candlelight appeared relatively lately as an icon of protest. The first candlelight demonstration might be held in 2002 to the memory of two girls who died being hit by a US Army armored vehicle. Since then, candlelight symbolized peaceful demonstration, whether political or not. On the one hand, the emergence of candle in the mass demonstrations means that violent resistance using the Molotov cocktails, stones and metal pipes come to the end.

...On the other hand, candlelight is a symbol of network. As participants share light to other participants, the scale of candlelight increases ad infinitum. A fire in a candle is so weak to be easily blown out by the wind, but when it spreads it kindles the people to revolt. In other words, candlelight demonstrations have been radical experiments of a new form of political participation and new media technology (network) as well. These novelties do not mean intense break with previous struggles but certain qualitative changes.

Though there has been a gradual change in the direction of social movements at large since the settlement of formal democracy, it was striking for both longtime activists and the public themselves to observe the emergence of new subjects of resistance. ... Instead of traditional participants in the political mass demonstrations such as male laborers and university students, a large part of candlelight demonstrators were consist of much younger (teenage) generations, housewives with their kids and members of diverse online communities (fashion, interior design, plastic surgery, etc.) — this grassroots movement was led by ordinary citizens networked through broadband Internet and candlelight...

Another significant feature in this demonstration consists in making it fun and enjoyable."

- https://ksangmin.wordpress.com/2008/12/31/beef-politics-and-candlelight-revolution/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 35

- How do the photographs (**sources 49, 51, 53** and **54**) reflect the attitude of ordinary Koreans to street protests? How popular were they?
- What role did modern communication technologies play in the collective movement? How can you explain the fact that the protests took place mainly on Saturdays?
- Is it possible to compare the protests in Ukraine in 2004 with the candlelight protests in the Republic of Korea? Why?

Source 49

"Candlelight" demonstrations against the import of American beef in Busan (2008)

Source 50

Historical background. *The protest movement in the ROK in 2008*

Korea is the third-largest U.S. beef market, and negotiations concerning U.S. beef imports have been the biggest issue in concluding the bilateral trade treaty — Korea-US Free Trade Agreement. … Arousing people's anger, President Lee, ex-CEO of Hyundai, commented that thanks to the imports of U.S. beef Korean people were offered a good chance to eat higher-quality beef at a better price … .

However, it is clear that there were more substantial causes of candlelight protests than fear of mad cow disease. People were angry at the failure of governmental policy and felt humiliating sense of submissive foreign policy especially to the world super power. Moreover, there was no communication between the state and civil society on this important matter. Most of all, it is said that people began to recognize what is lying behind the new government's neoliberal policies — … and that they decided to resist against justification of governmental failure out of self-righteousness and sense of privilege.

Source 51

Candlelight rallies calling for the resignation of President Park Geun-hye in 2016

Source 52

Candlelight revolution: how the South Koreans overthrew the government

The Candlelight Revolution in South Korea was the culmination of the twenty consecutive Saturday night rallies attended by more than 16 million people out of a population of 51 million. This spring, support for Park fell to 4 per cent, and even that number could be a statistical error. On 11 March 2017, hundreds of thousands of Koreans rejoiced in downtown Seoul after the country's parliament and constitutional court upheld President Park's impeachment on charges of bribery and corruption. "Celebration of Democracy"! … Women danced under bright green electrified umbrellas. "We are so happy!" reads one popular poster; on the other — "This is our country; This is our justice." Politicians admitted that it was street protests across the country that forced parliament to submit a proposal for impeachment. The large margin in favour of impeachment (234–56) was impressive, as was the Constitutional Court's 8–0 votes in favour of the parliament's decision.

…Humour has been constant since the beginning of the Candlelight Revolution. Street posters, newspaper cartoons, television skits, blogs, startling sculptures and performances filled even the coldest, wettest winter nights with hope.

Source 53

A Korean family celebrates the resignation of President Park Geun-hye. March 2017

Source 54

Rally of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions against the government's labour policy near the National Assembly in Seoul, 3 December 2022

The sheets read: "Stop the deterioration of labour laws"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 36

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 55 and 56** and explain how effective the protests were in South Korea.
- What problems of Korean democracy do the authors of the articles draw attention to?
- To what extent can the description of Korean democratic processes be used to explain Ukrainian political culture? Why?

Source 55

From Joan E. Cho's article *How South Korea's Authoritarian Past Shapes Its Democracy* (2022)

"Deep political polarization and an underdeveloped party system — coupled with powerful social movements — have been identified as "flawed" aspects of South Korea's democracy. These factors are, in fact, authoritarian legacies. When democracy is built on indigenous political traditions and pre-existing conditions — such as an authoritarian past — it is bound to take different forms and become "differently democratic." Authoritarian legacies have lasting effects on people's attitudes and behavior even decades after a country becomes a democracy. As such, we cannot expect the party system and social movements in South Korea to behave like those in democracies that have not experienced authoritarianism or experienced different forms of authoritarian rule.

South Korea, dubbed as one of the most successful "third-wave democracies," seemed to have defied the global trend of democratic backsliding when in 2016–2017 approximately 15.87 million South Koreans (nearly a third of the country's population) were involved in a series of peaceful candlelight protests that led to the impeachment of President Park Geun-hye. She was found to be corrupt, unjust, and undemocratic.

In addition to the political division that surfaced in the protests surrounding Park's impeachment, the scale and impact of the 2016–2017 Candlelight Revolution affirmed a reoccurring pattern in Korean politics: powerful protest movements — instead of the National Assembly (South Korea's unicameral legislature) — being the first mover in bringing about major political changes. Other examples include (but are not limited to) the 1960 April Revolution that overthrew Syngman Rhee's corrupt government, the 1987 June Democratic Uprising that ended authoritarian rule, the 1987 Great Workers Struggle that resulted in labor law reforms, the 1996–1997 Workers' General Strike that led to yet another amendment of labor laws, and the candlelight protest against the impeachment of President Roh Moo-hyun in 2004, which contributed to the landslide victory of Roh's Uri Party during the national legislative elections and the dismissal of the impeachment case by the Constitutional Court. Such a pattern arguably reflects the weaknesses of South Korea's representative democracy, which is marked by a hyperactive civil society and a weakly institutionalized political party system."

- Як авторитарне минуле Південної Кореї формує її демократію. Щоб зрозуміти слабкі сторони південнокорейської демократії, потрібно поглянути на авторитарне минуле країни. 2022. https://thediplomat.com/2022/11/how-south-koreas-authoritarian-past-shapes-its-democracy/

Source 56

From You Soo-sun's article *'Candlelight Revolution' Marks 1st Anniversary* (2016)

"Professor Shin Se-don at Sookmyung Women's University:

"People should be able to criticise the president if needed, so our society can become a fairer place."

"The candlelit protests were a revolution — a hope of the people to do away with the old system and make way for the new."

"Laws, ordinances and moreover the public's level of consciousness all need improvement if we are to have a society that upholds fairness, and one in which abuse of power no longer exists. And to get there, change must take place not just under Moon, but also under the presidents to come."

- https://www.korl3eatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2023/11/113_238314.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 37

- Take a good look at the cartoon (**source 57**).
- What problems does the author raise in the cartoon?
- Are these problems purely Korean? To what extent are they inherent in modern Ukrainian democracy?

Source 57

A cartoon from the influential Korean English-language newspaper *The Korea Times* (2024)

The Liberal Democracy car, which has reached the "Road 2024" sign, is surrounded by: "Trumpism" [a mixture of populism and nationalism, play on emotions, nostalgic feelings, fears and stereotypes], "Corruption", "Authoritarianism", "Illiberalism" [hidden undemocratic nature] and "Unfair elections."

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 38

- Based on **source 58**, find out what Korean political scientists think needs to be done to make South Korea's democracy more mature.
- Consider how the problems of improving democracy faced by the Republic of Korea are relevant to Ukraine.

Source 58

From the materials of the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History

Kang Won-Taek, Political Science Professor at Seoul National University: "What is left to resolve to make Korea a more mature democracy? Democracy is not something that just ends at a particular point, it's something that keeps going. We have succeeded in creating a democracy, it's been consolidated, now it must progress a further step, so that we can live together in one community in which the lives of all are considered. In a community, one does not merely assert one's own rights, one also considers what one must do for the community, and what one's community needs. In that respect, we must seriously consider the problem of political education of citizens."

Yun Seong-I, Political Science Professor at Kyunghee University: "What is left to resolve to make Korea a more mature democracy? As yet, the average citizen's engagement is lacking, and grassroots democracy remains weak. We must consider how get citizens involved in the politics of their lives and active within grassroots democracy. When this happens, it can be said that our democracy has progressed a step future.

Now Korean society needs to improve the functionality of politics as a resolver of social conflict create reliable political leadership and improve political accountability. Moreover, we must raise the people's interest and sense of responsibility, while getting citizens more involved in the political process."

- Democracy in South Korea. Educational Materials https://www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9

Survey results on democratic deviation in the Republic of Korea

- https://news.zum.com/articles/83744424?cm=news_rankingNews

3. The fight against corruption

What is the essence of the Korean experience of fighting corruption?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 39

- Based on **source 59**, explain what are the roots of corruption in Korea.
- In your opinion, can corruption be attributed only to the national characteristics of a country

Corruption in South Korea is moderate compared to most countries in the Asia-Pacific region and the wider international community. Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index 2022 scored South Korea at 63 on a scale of 0 (very corrupt) to 100 (very clean). When ranked by score, South Korea was ranked 31st out of 180 countries in the Index, where the top-ranked country is considered to have the most honest public sector. For comparison, the best score was 90 (ranking 1) and the worst was 12 (ranking 180).

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corruption_in_South_Korea

Source 59

Based on N. Butyrska's materials *South Korea leads in the number of trials of top officials* (2018)

"Corruption in the highest echelons of power is primarily explained by the cultural and religious factors. On the one hand, it has become an important foundation for the formation of South Korea and its economic breakthrough, and on the other hand, it has given rise to a monopoly of chaebols (family financial and industrial conglomerates), which, in close cooperation with the authorities, are the main lifeblood of the country.

Unlike Western business culture, Eastern business culture, in particular Korean business culture, involves a close relationship between family, friends and business. It is not an exception but a rule for the Koreans to hire and employ relatives and close friends in their companies. This way, companies turn into a conglomerate of interconnected people, as the second- and third-line employees also try to take advantage of the opportunity to employ their relatives and friends. The situation is similar with politicians and civil servants. Another characteristic feature of such close interaction is loyalty and devotion on the part of subordinates — the so-called Subordination at all levels of their lives, which is deeply rooted in the minds of the Koreans who are brought up on Confucian philosophy.

Therefore, the relationship between a supervisor and a subordinate involves two-way interaction — the subordinate's loyalty in return for the preferences he or she receives from the superior.

The scandal surrounding former President Park Geun-hye is precisely a manifestation of favouritism, which is deeply rooted in Korean society. So are the bribes that have been used by large conglomerates for decades to buy favours from high-ranking officials. Another thing is that the economic power and influence of the conglomerates, which once lifted the country out of poverty, have turned them into "oligarchic monopolies" that now work to enrich individual families and clans but not the country."

- https://zn.ua/ukr/WORLD/pivdenna-koreya-lidiruye-za-kilkistyu-sudovih-procesiv-nad-top-chinovnikami-ekspert–275131_.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 40

- Acquaint yourself with s**ources 60–63**.
- How can you explain the fact that corruption cases in South Korea involve the highest officials in the state?
- Why, despite severe sentences, do the successors of these officials become involved in corruption scandals again?
- How do court cases against high-ranking officials demonstrate the development of democracy in the Republic of Korea?

Source 60

From the article by the Ukrainian political analyst Yurii Bozhych *The Dark Side. Why Corruption is an Integral Part of Democracy and Bribery is the Price of Politics* (2021)

"South Korea. This country has had dizzying twists and turns with three of the last five presidents. For example, Roh Moo-hyun, who led the country from 2003 to 2008, after leaving office was accused of taking a $6 million bribe. Unable to bear the severity of the charges, he jumped off the cliff of Owl Rock on Mount Bonghwasan, leaving a suicide note: "I am going through a difficult time. I have made life difficult for many people."

He was succeeded by Lee Myung-bak, who promised to create a new Korea with "rich people, a friendly society and a strong state." He had implemented some

of his plans, but at the end of his term, he was also accused of corruption and abuse of power. In October 2018, the politician was sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined $11.5 million. Five months later, he was released due to his deteriorating health, but in October last year, the Supreme Court upheld the sentence, imposing an additional $5 million in fines on Lee and remanding him into custody again.

His successor and fellow member of the conservative Saenuri Party (New Horizons Party), Park Geun-hye, became the first woman president in South Korea's history. At the end of her term, she called for the country's constitution to be amended to give the head of state the right to be re-elected for a second term, but to no avail: the president can still only be elected for one five-year term. And two months after Park's calls, the parliament impeached her. The standard set of charges followed: bribery and abuse of power. To this were added accusations of passing on classified information to people who were not civil servants. In particular, to Choi Soon-sil, her fortune-teller friend. The electronic tablet belonging to the latter's secretariat contained not only confidential documents that the president passed to her friend for reviewing and editing but also a list of strange personalities who were part of the head of state's inner circle: shamans, sectarians, gigolos, etc. In April 2018, Park Geun-hye was sentenced to 24 years in prison and a multi-million dollar fine. The case was later reviewed, but the sentence did not undergo major changes. In January of this year, the country's Supreme Court upheld the last sentence: 20 years in prison.

If the experience of South Korea is anything to testify to, it is three things in particular.

First, corruption is almost an integral part of democracy. As the contemporary French philosopher Alain Badiou wrote, it is "not a threat to the functioning of democracy. It is its true essence." His statement echoes what Bettino Craxi, the Italian prime minister in the 1980s, said when in December 1993, prosecutor Antonio Di Pietro was granted permission to question him in connection with suspected "superbribery." Bribes, he said, are the price of politics. By the way, he was not so much insisting on his own innocence as suggesting that all politicians are corrupt, all parties have received and continue to receive illegal funding.

Second, limiting the term of office of the head of state to one term does not protect against corruption. Those who come to power are not deterred by the sad examples of their predecessors and cosmic prison sentences. Perhaps the system of amnesties contributes to this attitude. However, the last two cases show that this mechanism fails and you can end up in jail with no holds barred.

Third, the scale of corruption is determined by the fact that the president's actions, due to their immunity, were rarely suppressed before their term of office expired. Because of this, the system of governance of the temporarily "immune" leads to catastrophic consequences, and after the insane damage worth hundreds of millions of dollars, they try to compensate with insane sentences. This solution is a little more sophisticated than trying to treat a headache with a guillotine.

In all of the above, only the term of office, the scale of corruption and the amplitude of sentences are specifically South Korean. The rest of it is quite consistent with the general features of Western democracies. If not all of them, then many of them."

- https://focus.ua/uk/world/478334-temnaya-storona-pochemu-korrupciya-neotemlemaya-chast-demokratii-vzyatki-cena-politiki

Source 61

Former President Lee Myung-bak is taken to court

Source 62

A cartoon of those detained with regard to Park Geun-hye's corruption case

Lettering: on the chest in red: "Detainee"; on Park Geun-hye's wig: "Waiting for a warrant"; under the arrow: "Court"

Source 63

From the newspaper report *Corruption scandal in South Korea. Court finds ex-president guilty of bribery* (2018)[4]

"In South Korea, a court has found former President Park Geun-hye guilty of bribery, abuse of power, disclosure of state secrets and a number of other criminal articles.

In particular, the court ruled that the former president conspired with her long-time friend Choi Soon-sil to receive funds from the accumulation of "voluntary" donations from large Korean companies into the accounts of shell companies.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 41

- Based on **sources 64–67**, describe the measures taken by the government of the Republic of Korea to combat corruption.
- How can you explain the rather strict legal requirements for public officials?
- In your opinion, how effective are the means of combating corruption in South Korea?
- Which of these measures should be applied in Ukraine? Why?

Source 64

From the news report *Which countries provide financial rewards for whistle-blowers?*

"In South Korea, the law provides protection and financial rewards to government and corporate whistle-blowers who report violations related to safety, health, environment, consumer protection and fair competition. In 2002–2013, the Anti-Corruption and Civil Rights Commission received 28,246 reports of violations. As a result of an investigation of 220 cases, $60.3 million was returned to the budget and $6.2 million was paid to whistle-blowers as a reward."

- https://acrec.org.ua/news/yaki-krainy-peredbachaiut-finansovu-vynahorodu-dlia-vykryvachiv/

Source 65

A politician's standpoint. A. Bystrai *Corruption, like cancer, hinders economic development* (2018)

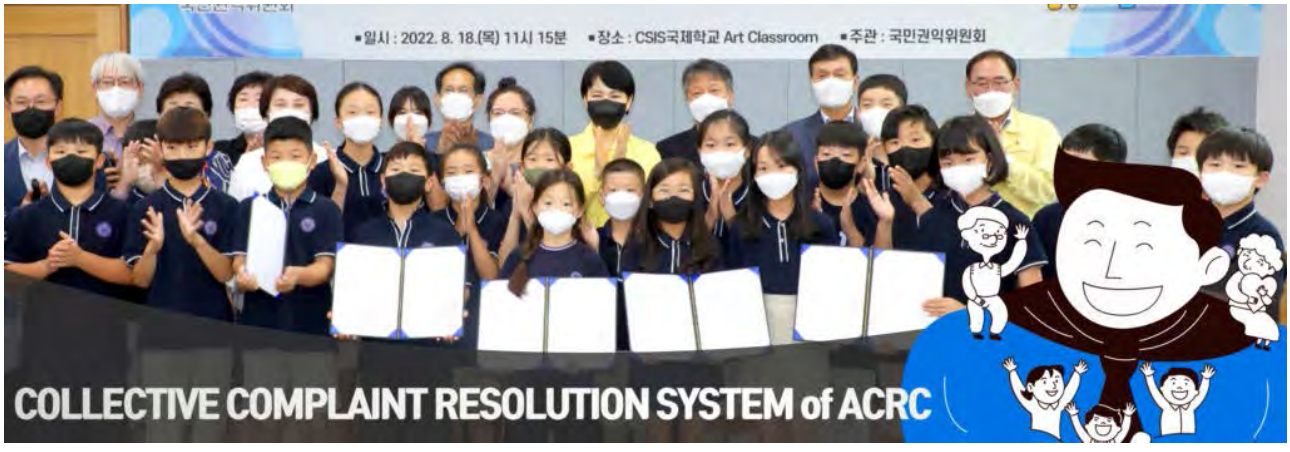
"It is appropriate to cite the experience of South Korea. In 2001, the parliament passed a law on combating corruption, which provided for the establishment of the Korean Independent Anti-Corruption Commission. The Commission consists of nine specially authorised commissioners: three recommended by the National Assembly, three from the Supreme Court and three from the President. The main tasks of the Commission are to develop a strategy for the anti-corruption programme and evaluate it, monitor the situation with bribery, identify the causes of corruption, and eliminate those institutions that provoke corruption. There also operates the Government Complaints Counseling Center affiliated with the Commission, which is available around the clock throughout the year. However, to prevent citizens from abusing the right to accuse somebody of corruption, the Law provides for criminal liability for false accusations with a 10-year prison sentence or a fine of up to $40,000."

- https://poltava.to/news/48784/

Source 66

The Banner of South Korea's national ombudsman institution, the Anti-Corruption and Civil Rights Commission (ACRC)[5]

The ACRC is the only public agency in the country that handles all civil collective complaints against governments. In 2021 alone, the Commission received 3 million collective complaints.



Source 67

Infographic *Improper Solicitation and Graft Act* by Kim Young-ran (2016)[6]

In the beige rectangle: **Scope of application**: 1. Government, public agencies, local government and affiliated agencies, public corporations. 2. All national, public, private educational facilities from kindergartens to universities. 3. All mass media outlets.

In the green rectangle: **Upper limit of money paid**: for food — USD 26, gifts — USD 45, wedding gift, funeral allowance — USD 90.

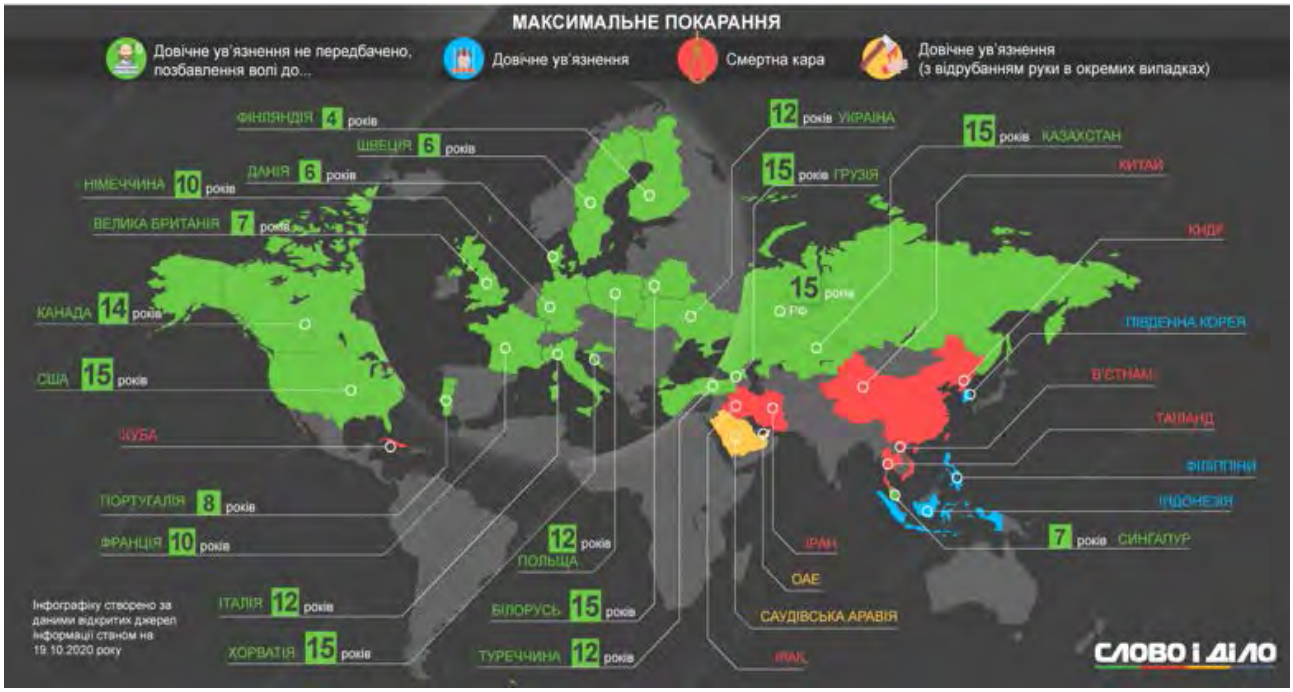
In the blue rectangle: **Honorarium**: to ministers — USD 450, to deputy ministers — USD 360, to Grade 4 officials — USD 270, to Grade 5 officials — USD 180.

The upper limit for private school teachers and journalists is USD 900.

Single cash cannot exceed USD 900.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

TYPES OF PUNISHMENT FOR CORRUPTION IN COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD



4. The use of modern technologies in the expansion of democracy

How do modern technologies help to expand democracy in the Republic of Korea?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 42

- Based on **source 68**, explain what e-democracy is and what its advantages are.
- Are there any disadvantages of e-democracy? If so, what are they? How can these disadvantages be minimised?

Source 68

From the manual *E-Governance and e-Democracy. Part 1: Introduction to the course. Conceptual foundations of e-governance and e-democracy* (2018)

"The Council of Europe defines e-democracy as the use of ICTs by governments, political parties, citizens and other participants in a political process at local, regional, national or international levels to increase citizen participation in public decision-making. ICTs can be used in a variety of forms and not just for voting. Within the framework of bottom-up approaches, citizens and organisations can use them as a means to make their voices heard, parties can use them to campaign, and public authorities can use them to improve public services by introducing electronic tools for submitting complaints or conducting consultations.

It is possible to single out such main advantages of e-democracy:

- significant reduction in the costs of performing democratic procedures;
- reduction in the costs of interactive forms of interaction with citizens, which enables public authorities to take into account the opinions of different social groups more fully when making decisions;
- involvement of citizens in decision-making at earlier stages and in a closer form;
- involvement of social groups of handicapped citizens who find it difficult to ensure their civil rights through "traditional" forms of democratic participation;
- strengthening the confidence of citizens in the state through the image functions of new communication channels, creating the illusion of participation in decision-making among communities."

https://old.suitt.edu.ua/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Part_001_Feb_2018.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 43

- Acquaint yourself with **source 69**.
- In your opinion, what are the features of the South Korean approach to e-democracy?
- What effect did it have on the country?

Source 69

From the article of the Ukrainian researcher B. Dziundziuk *Foreign Experience of Interaction Between Authorities and Citizens under Conditions of the Development of Information Society* (2016)

"The Asian model of e-government is based on a specific style of governance, an Asian type of corporate culture and a multi-layered system of public administration organised on the principle of a hierarchical pyramid.

The South Korean government has placed the main emphasis on meeting the information needs of the population and introducing ICTs into the culture and education system when developing its e-democracy model. The successful development of e-democracy has allowed South Korean citizens to assimilate the idea of their own importance and the ability to really influence the affairs of the state and society. An important and useful aspect of the Korean experience is the well-considered and far-sighted policy of the state in the development of electronic communication. The creation of a single information space throughout the country puts into practice the basic principle of democracy: people are the source and bearer of power.

Since 2010 and up to the present, the UN has recognised South Korea's e-government system as the best and most efficient in the world. More than two thousand transactions are available to citizens of this country. South Korea has a big lead over other countries in terms of both the level of development of the system and the degree of its popularity among citizens. The development of the infrastructure and framework for e-government in South Korea began as far back as 1987. Thanks to this system citizens can conduct virtually all transactions without leaving home: starting with shopping in stores to paying bills and processing documents. In public places, you can see special terminals where it is easy to find the information you need or print out any certificate.

South Korea annually ranks first or second in the world, both in terms of average Internet speed and the degree of broadband access of the population to the World Wide

Web. The country's public sector has a 100 per cent electronic document management system. Only the most important reports and certificates at the ministerial level and above are in paper form. The functioning of the e-government system, for example, allowed to save the state budget more than 1 billion dollars during the period from 2008 to 2010 and reduced the number of employees by almost nine thousand. The total socio-economic effect for the above-mentioned period is estimated at 16 billion dollars."

- https://nuczu.edu.ua/sciencearchive/PublicAdministration/vol5/visnyk_nuczu_14_2016_2.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 44

- Based on **source 70**, name the areas covered by e-government (using the example of Seoul).
- Find out which areas are covered by e-government in Ukraine.

The word cloud 'e-government' from GURT website, where you can learn about Ukrainian e-democracy practices

- https://gurt.org.ua/articles/44096/

Source 70

Infographic *Areas of e-government expansion on the example of Seoul*[7]

Clockwise: Taxes, Finance, Contracts → Construction → Transportation → Health, Food Safety → Culture, Tourism, Sports, Design → Environment, Parks, Water Supply → Housing, Real Estate, Urban Planning, Magok Project → Security, Fire Safety, Civil Defence → Economy, Jobs → Women, Childcare, Children & Youth, → Welfare, Seniors, the Disabled → Planning, Audit, Education Informatisation Planning, Human Rights, Communities.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 45

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 71–73** and make predictions about how the Smart City platform functions.
- How is the implementation of this platform related to the democratisation process?
- Do you know of any similar experiences in Ukraine?

Source 71

Infographic *The integrated platform Smart City*

In the centre: *The Donghan Smart City Platform* (integrated operation centre). The information on the functioning of facilities, traffic, administrative services, security and preventive control is provided to it. From the platform, information is sent to the fire safety services, police, ambulance ... and street lights, media boards and mobile terminals are regulated. In parallel, this information goes to the operational centres of a district, county, and ministries.

Source 72

Employees of the Integrated Operation Centre at work

Public services are provided through digital platforms, which are the main element of communication between the Government and consumers, both for business representatives and ordinary citizens.

For example, the well-known integrated Korean Internet portal has 90,000 different government services in its arsenal and is available 24/7. There is also a website for foreigners in English.

In turn, the open web portal of public data of the Government of the Republic of Korea has 50,000 open databases of 956 state organisations (registers of property rights to real estate, vehicles and business.

https://economyandsociety.in.ua/index.php/journal/article/view/1660/1597

Source 73

The Ukrainian economist S. Petko's standpoint *Digital Breakthrough of the Republic of Korea in the Public Administration Sphere* (2022)

"We should take into account that digital public services in the Republic of Korea are diverse, which includes their provision in the following service orientations for the respective consumers: Government — Consumer (G2C); Government — Business (G2B); Government — Government (G2G); Government — Employees of governmental organisations (G2E). In addition, there are Government service portals (digital platforms) that minimise the factor of human intervention in communication between governmental organisations and consumers of relevant services.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 46

- Comment on the table "Stages of digital development in the Republic of Korea" (**source 74**) and the graph "Seoul's e-Government Development Phases" (**source 75**).
- In what areas of public life does the government of the Republic of Korea recommend digital government?
- How are these governmental steps expected to affect the quality of life of the South Korean population?

Source 74

Stages of digital development in the Republic of Korea[8]

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
1960–1970	1980	1990	2000	2010 to the present
Use of the decimal computer IBM 1401 for the population census (1967)	Implementation of the Plan for the development of nationally oriented systems of information networks (1984)	Enactment of the Regulation on the Exchange of Public Information (1998) and the Digital Signature Act (1999)	Enactment of the law "On e-Government" (2001)	Launch of the digital data platform DATA. GO.KR. (2011) and the government services portal Gov. KR (2017)
Implementation of the first five-year "Plan of computerisation of the state apparatus" (1978)	Development of the Resident registration system in Korea (1989)	Launch of digitised public services	Creation of the Integrated state data processing centre (2005)	Creation of the Cloud Government Data Centre (2012)
Computerisation of the public administration	National Information and communication networks	Informatisation Public Administration	Integration of e-Government systems	Integration of services, Open data

Industry 4:0	DIGITAL GOVERNANCE	Digital infrastructure
State databases		Register of real estate, vehicles, criminal cases, households, businesses
Back-office and front-office system for civil servants (G2G)		E-mail correspondence, electronic docu-ments, HR department, audit, taxes, budget
Online services for citizens and businesses (G2C/ G2B)		Education, healthcare, employment, pro-curement, transport, customs
Integration of IT infrastructure and platforms		Interoperability standards, digital applica-tion development, government IT capital management
Integration of services and data		Single state information web portal, public information exchange system
Convenience of service, accessibility, security		Cybersecurity, security rules, mobile ser-vices, digital solutions
Communication between the state and private sector		Open data, e-participation, big data analy-sis, digital intelligence

Source 75

Seoul's e-Government Development Phases (for 2013)

Phase 1 (1990–1999): computerization — creation of basic infrastructure for the use of information technology.

Phase 2 (1999–2007): online connection — making the road map, integration of the city's administrative services and electronic information.

Phase 3 (2007–2011): network formation — the "e-Seoul" plan was implemented to adjust to a new mobile environment.

Phase 4 (2011–2015): the city of Seoul's smart government — integration of online and wireless infrastructure and provision of customized services to the citizens by utilizing big data and open public data.

Phase 5 (2016–): support of functioning in the hyper-connected digital technology era and through the "Global Digital Seoul 2020 Plan.

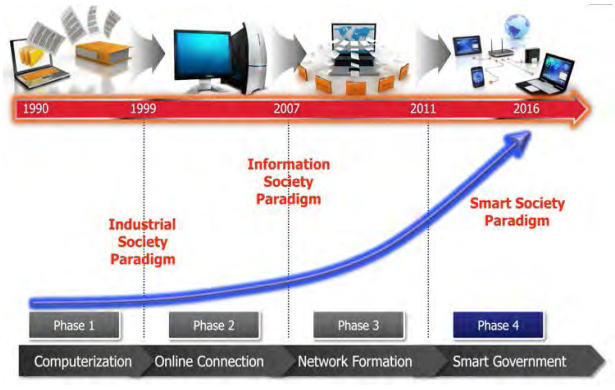
TASKS AND QUESTIONS 47

- Based on **source 76**, describe the achievements of the Republic of Korea in the field of digital governance.
- Which of South Korea's achievements in this area are also being implemented in Ukraine?
- Which other ones should be implemented in the near future?

Source 76

The language of numbers. Ukraine ranks 69th on this list

The Republic of Korea in the "2020 E-Government Development Index"						
No.	**Country**	**EDGI**	**LOSI**	**TII**	**HCI**	**Income level**
1	Denmark	0.9758	0.9706	0.9979	0.9588	High
2	Republic of Korea	0.9560	1	0.9684	0.8997	High
3	Estonia	0.9473	0.9941	0.9212	0.9266	High
4	Finland	0.9452	0.9706	0.9101	0.9549	High
5	Australia	0.9432	0.9471	0.8825	1	High
6	Sweden	0.9365	0.9	0.9625	0.9471	High
7	Great Britain	0.9358	0.9588	0.9195	0.9292	High
8	New Zealand	0.9339	0.9294	0.9207	0.9516	High
9	USA	0.9297	0.9471	0 9182	0.9239	High



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 48

- Identify the role of information technology in the fight against corruption (**source 77**).

Source 77

From A. Prykhodko's article *Information and Communications Technologies as an Effective Tool for Combating Corruption* (2023)

"Of particular interest is the experience of using information technology in the fight against corruption in South Korea — OPEN programme launched in 1999. The programme allowed citizens to control the process of consideration of their appeals by civil servants via the Internet. As soon as a citizen submits an application, for example, for a building permit, the staff of the relevant department posts information about the application on the OPEN website. Through the Internet, citizens can find out in real-time mode whether their application has been properly registered, who is dealing with this issue, when they can expect the permit, and if the application is not granted, for what reasons.

Thanks to this programme, citizens can track the progress of consideration of their application at any time. The OPEN system of online control over the consideration of citizens' appeals, which ensures transparency in the work of the city administration, helps prevent unnecessary red tape or unfair consideration of citizens' cases by officials, allows citizens to monitor how issues of obtaining a permit or sanction in a particular case are resolved in this or that situation in those cases when corruption is most likely to occur, and to protest if any violation is noticed. Thus, the ensured transparency of the administration's activity creates the preconditions for eradicating corruption."

https://prikhodko.com.ua/my-i-zmi/my-i-zmi/stattya/informaczijno-komunikaczijni-tehnologiyi-yak-efektyvnyj-instrument-protydiyi-korupcziyi/ц

5. The experience of the formation of Korean democracy and Ukraine

How can the experience of democratisation in the Republic of Korea be useful for Ukraine?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 49

- Based on **sources 78–81**, make a list of features of the historical significance of the experience of South Korean democracy.
- Recollect the material from the previous subtopics and make your own list of important lessons in the establishment of democracy in the Republic of Korea.
- Compare these lists and make a common one.
- Which of the lessons of Korean democracy are of primary importance for Ukraine? Why?

Source 78

From J. Baek's case study *South Korea — Exploring Worldwide Democratic Innovations* (2022)

"The country case study of South Korea's democratic innovations provides three key lessons. First, the role of technology in creating new ways to engage citizens is important. As a country with a population who have widespread access to the Internet and mobile phones, South Korea has been able to use technology, such as Gwanghwamoon 1st Street to draw the public and government closer together and facilitate ease of communication.

Second, given the tools, the public is highly capable of creating inventive and effective policy…By allowing public participation, citizens will become more aware and informed on important issues, such as social distancing and nuclear policy, as it is their responsibility to come to an informed consensus. Despite some challenges such as quality improvement and increasing the number of policies adopted, South Korea has demonstrated strong action towards improving public participation both on and offline.

The third lesson is the importance of trust-building between the government and its citizens. The use of an effective online public forum for policy suggestions allows the public to see concrete examples of how their voice can have an impact and encourages further participation. It is also vital that the outcome of the poll was respected and that the will of the people was carried out … It is important for citizens, not just elected officials, to engage in this type of action in order to create a healthy and vibrant democracy."

- https://europeandemocracyhub.epd.eu/exploring-worldwide-democratic-innovations-south-korea/

Source 79

The researcher E. Mobrand's standpoint Democracy is *More than a Political System: Lessons from South Korea's Democratic Transformation* (2023)

"We can learn from South Korea's experience the importance of caring for democracy. When wider forces were denied opportunities to contribute, chances for improving the country's democracy were missed. The constitutional reform of 1987–88 is the most significant example of such a missed opportunity. Had the main groups in the National Assembly permitted other forces to contribute to constitutional revision, such as by holding fresh elections first or initiating an extended constitutional reform process, then more inclusive political institutions could have been built. The authoritarianism that required undoing might have been imagined differently. When voices outside of mainstream party politics have been sufficiently loud, politicians have been pressed to respond. This has been the case at a series of major demonstrations, most prominently in the 2016–17 Candlelight Movement.

The lessons outlined here are political rather than technical. That is because improvements to democracy come not from elites tinkering with institutions but from a wide range of civic-minded people taking action. Still, there may be more specific lessons that South Korea has to offer. The impressive record of the country's civil society has not escaped the notice of neighboring countries. Even in the 1980s, Taiwanese activists marveled at the success of their Korean counterparts. Activists could share their strategies with civil society groups in the region. These would include, for example, strategies for keeping large demonstrations orderly."

- https://theasanforum.org/democracy-is-more-than-a-political-system-lessons-from-south-koreas-democratic-transformation/

Source 80

The researcher Eun A Jo's standpoint *A Democratic Response to Coronavirus: Lessons From South Korea* (2021)

"South Korea's "democratic" response is, in this sense, a result of public solidarity. Were it not for the voluntary cooperation of the public — reporting to be tested, self-isolating when symptoms arise, and social distancing in general — the government would have had to adopt more forceful measures as seen in China and, increasingly, Europe. But importantly, this democratic response was learned from past misfortunes and mistakes. Perhaps COVID-19 could serve as such a harbinger for democracies around the world."

- https://thediplomat.com/2020/03/a-democratic-response-to-coronavirus-lessons-from-south-korea/

Source 81

From an interview with E. Mobrand, the author of *Top-Down Democracy in South Korea* (2022)

"By global standards of the past several years, I find Korea's democratic experience enormously uplifting. In Korea, we have tremendously high levels of public engagement in politics. People follow the news closely, and political discussion is everywhere. So much — though not all — of the mass engagement in politics also happens with a positive tone. Consider the Candlelight Movement of 2016–17, as well as other demonstrations that have followed. These events bring people together to celebrate what can be achieved collectively for a better future. The contrast with the negativity and cynicism around popular politics in so many other corners of the world is stark. I hope that Korea can serve as an example to remind others of the positive side of collective political engagement.

Another important lesson is that democracy is not something that can be engineered. It's a messy process rather than a system designed through cold calculation. In Korea, progress has come through struggle, and it has taken uprisings and demonstrations followed by partial responses from leaders. That interaction is a defining feature of the functioning of the country's democracy."

- https://asiasociety.org/korea/meet-author-top-down-democracy-south-korea

Source 82

The cartoon *The Dictator* from *Compass*, the manual for human rights education with young people

Every former dictator will tell you... democracy is the worst of all systems

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 50

- What does the author of **source 80** mean by South Korea's "democratic response" to the coronavirus epidemic? Has the response of the Ukrainian government and society been democratic? Why?
- Yoon Suk Yeol has been the President of the Republic of Korea since 2022. What does the author of cartoon 83 accuse the politician of?
- What aspects of the formation of democracy do **sources 82–87** reflect?
- Why do you think these aspects of the formation of democracy are presented in cartoons?
- Recollect what a chaebol is in South Korea. Why was this socio-political structure caricatured?
- How do **sources 82–87** relate to each other?
- How were these problems solved in South Korea and Ukraine?
- Which ones still need to be solved?
- What needs to be done?

Source 83

Cartoon *Democracy feeds you!*

Source 84

The cartoon *Stop! The Corruption*!

Over time, the chaebols have become more powerful than the government. They give money to politicians (ministers and parliamentarians) who will facilitate people's business. They are also willing to buy judges, police and prosecutors to cover up their corruption.

Source 85

The cartoon *Freedom of a standpoint expression*

Source 86

The cartoon *Heredity*

From left to right: representatives of the three most prominent modern dynasties of the Korean peninsula on the balconies: former President Park Chung-hee and his daughter Park Geun-hye reading a textbook: "5 16 is positive, Yushin [October — comment] is inevitable"; the late and current North Korean leaders Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Un; Samsung CEO Lee Kun Hee with his son Lee Jae-yong, vice chairman of Samsung Electronics. On the street, a poor father leads his son and says: "Let's never be hereditary."

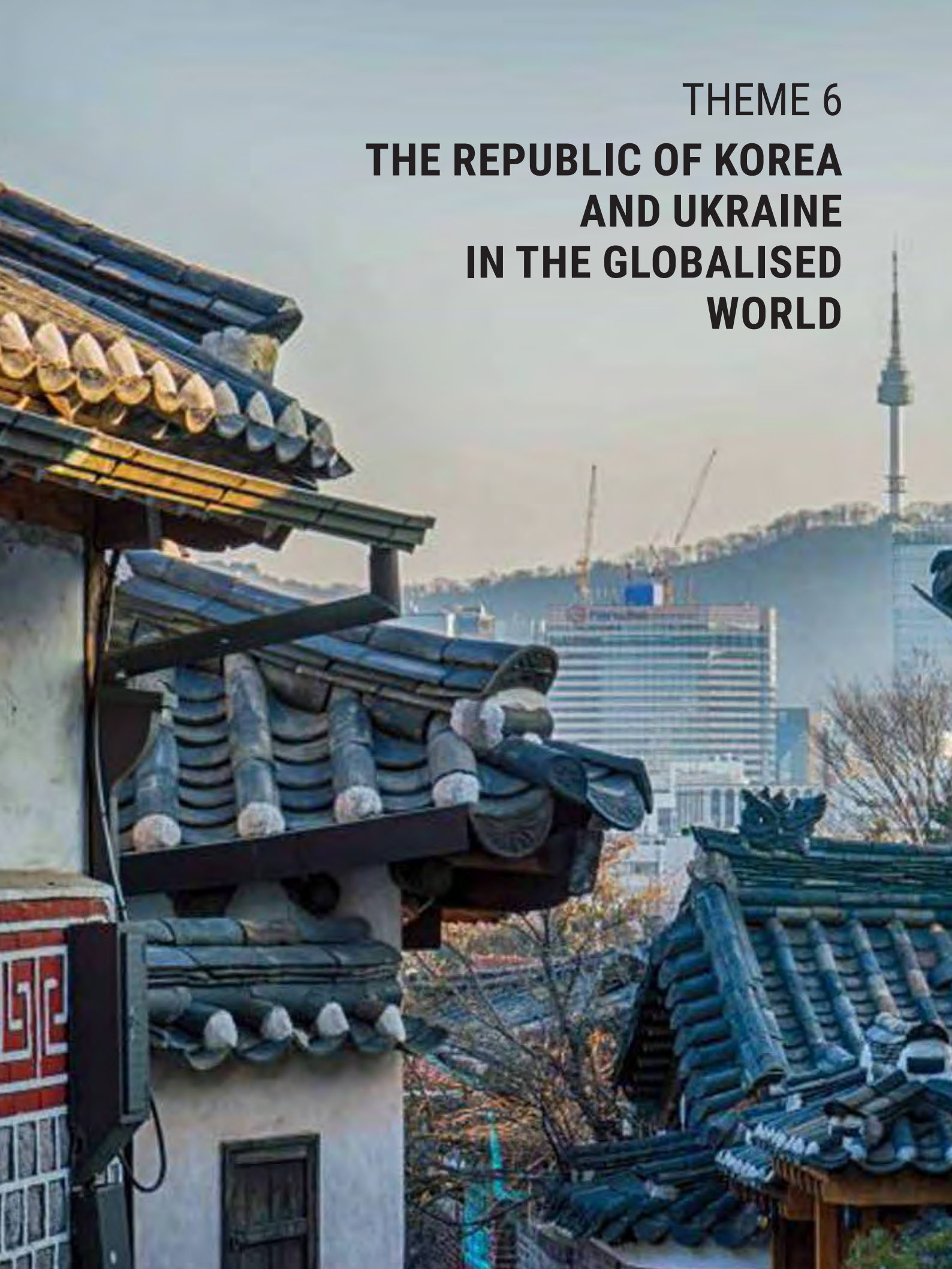
Source 87

The cartoon *How do I look*?

Relating to the results of the Summit for Democracy 2021. This was a virtual summit organised by the United States "to restore democracy at home and confront autocracies abroad", which addressed three themes: defending against authoritarianism, fighting corruption, and promoting respect for human rights

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 51

- Refer back to the plan and key questions in this unit. Which of them did you answer most fully using the unit's resources? What information did you find missing?
- Discuss as a class: what helped the Republic of Korea move from dictatorship to modern democracy?



THEME 6

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND UKRAINE IN THE GLOBALISED WORLD

How have globalisation processes affected the Republic of Korea and how can its experience be useful for Ukraine?

1. Global challenges and responses to them by the Republic of Korea and Ukraine.
2. The problem of Korean unification and the ways to solve it.
   - 2.1. The zone of tension.
   - 2.2. Steps to meet.
   - 2.3. Prospects for unification.
3. The Korean cultural wave.
4. The Koreans in Ukraine and the Ukrainians in Korea.

https://environmentalprogress.org/south-korea

https://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20230813000144

http://dwtrb.com/?sports/olympics/la-sp-olympics-north-korea-mystery-20180217-story.html

https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d514d7751544e34457a6333566d54/index.html

1. Global challenges and responses to them by the Republic of Korea and Ukraine

What global challenges has the Republic of Korea faced in the early twenty-first century and what responses does it offer?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- Based on the previous tasks and **source 1**, define the concept of "global problems of mankind." Name the most important of these problems. Explain why they are global in nature.

Source 1

From the textbook on geography for the 6th-grade students (2017)[1]

GLOBAL PROBLEMS OF HUMANITY
Political
The problem of preserving peace
International terrorism
Regional conflicts
Ethnic
The problem of ethnic wars
Demographic
The problem of the «ageing of nations»
«Demographic explosion»
Social
The problems of health care
The problems of education
The problems of crime
The problems of drug addiction
Economic
The raw material problem
The energy problem
Overcoming the backwardness of developing countries
Food
The problems of hunger and malnutrition
The problems of overproduction
Environmental
Atmospheric pollution
Pollution of the hydrosphere
Land degradation
Destruction of biodiversity

"**Global problems** are those that affect the whole world, lead to significant, often irreversible socio-economic and biological losses on the planet, pose a threat to the existence of mankind and require coordinated cooperation of all countries to solve them. Among today's global problems, there are several groups: political, ethnic, demographic, economic, social, food, and environmental. Within these, in turn, there are narrower aspects that affect certain aspects of human life. For example, the problem of ethnic wars, the energy problem, education and healthcare, etc. At the same time, there is no clear division among them: all global problems are interconnected, and even a partial solution to one can have a dramatic impact on another.

At the current stage of society's development, political issues have become more acute, especially the problem of maintaining peace. At the same time, we should realise that there are no important or secondary issues among global problems. All of them require urgent solutions, the goodwill of peoples, heads of state, national and religious leaders, and significant material and financial costs."

- Бойко В. М. Географія: підруч. для 9 кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закл. Тернопіль: Підручники і посібники, 2017. С. 245.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

- Based on **sources 2** and **3**, name the new global challenges that have become relevant in the modern world and in the Asia-Pacific region, to which the Republic of Korea belongs in particular.
- To what extent are these challenges relevant to Ukraine? Why?

Source 2

Infographic. *The main challenges of 2023*[2]

#1. Cyber incidents. #2. Business interruption. #3. Macroeconomic development. #4. Energy crisis. #5. Changes in legislation and regulation. #6. Natural catastrophes. #7. Climate change. #8. Shortage of skilled workforce. #9. Fires and explosions. #10. Political risks and violence.

Source 3

From the analytical report of Allianz Risk Barometer (2023)

"Top Asia Pacific Risks"

"Business Interruption (#1 with 35% of responses) is the top risk in Asia Pacific, surpassing Cyber Incidents (#2 with 32%) which ranked top for the previous three years. Natural Catastrophes (#3 with 27%), Changes in legislation and regulation (#4 with 24%), and Climate Change (#5 with 22%) make up the other top risks in the region.

Ranking second in Asia Pacific, Cyber Incidents remain a significant concern in the region, especially in Japan and India where it ranks top.

Cyber Incidents claimed the top spot in India for the past six years, and the country has been dealing with cyber security concerns for a while. For example, in November 2022, multiple servers of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), a federal government hospital that caters to ministers, politicians, and the general public, were infected.

Businesses in Japan were also most concerned about Cyber Incidents, which claimed the top spot for the past three years. Notably, in 2022, a large Japanese car manufacturer closed all of its factories nationwide for a day following a cyberattack at a supplier. The suspension affected the output of around 13,000 vehicles."

- https://10guards.com/ua/articles/cyber-incidents-among-top-business-risks-allianz-risk-barometer-2023/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Acquaint yourself with **source 4** and **visuals 5–9**. Characterise the challenges facing the Republic of Korea today. Which of these challenges are local and which are related to global issues?
- To what extent do you think these challenges are relevant for Ukraine? Have you come across any posters/appeals similar to **sources 5–7** in Ukraine? What does this indicate?
- What can Ukraine learn from the experience of the Republic of Korea to overcome global challenges?

Source 4

From Son Ji-hyoung, Shim Woo-hyun, Park Jun-hee, Jo He-rim, Park Ga-young and Kim So-hyun's article *Seven challenges for South Korea's social, economic survival* (2023)

Climate crisis becomes irreversible reality

The average rainfall across the country came to about 650 millimeters for this year's monsoon season, a period of about a month ending on July 26, often involving extremely heavy rain recording 50 mm of precipitation per hour. It was the third-largest total volume for an annual monsoon season after 2006 and 2020. The downpours left 50 people dead or missing, and nearly 20,000 people displaced.

The record monsoon rains immediately gave way to a heat wave that has killed 21 people.

Korea's greenhouse gas emissions more than doubled from 1990 to 2020. As a result, as of 2021, about 77 percent of Korea's primary energy came from fossil fuels.

With the goal of reaching carbon neutrality by 2050 first introduced in 2020 under the previous Moon Jae-in administration, the nation's climate neutrality target is enshrined in a framework act that came into effect in 2022.

Korea's actions to mitigate climate change ranked the country near the bottom — 60th out of the 63 countries surveyed — in the latest CCPI report, receiving "very low" ratings in the areas of greenhouse gas emissions, renewable energy, energy use and climate policy.

Coping with the consequences of the world's lowest fertility rate

In 2021, South Korea experienced the first on-year decline in the country's total population, to 51.73 million, since the country started to collect related data in 1949. The population dropped again in 2022 to 51.69 million.

Experts pointed out that increases in housing prices, the cost of raising a child, living costs and changing attitudes toward marriage have propelled the downward trend in the country's population.

Together with the low fertility rate, the country's increasing aging population is anticipated to spark labor shortages in the near future.

On the other hand, the number of people aged 65 and over increased by 440,000 in 2022 to reach 9 million, or 17.5 percent of the total population.

"To counter labor shortages, which the country will start to face in 2030, South Korea needs to speed up and establish an immigration agency that can take charge of bringing foreign talents needed in different industries," said Cho Young-tae, a demography professor at Seoul National University.

Fading brilliance of Korean education

For many, the country's cutthroat, narrow education landscape has driven them to take their talents overseas. According to data provided by the Education Ministry, 194,916 high school students were enrolled in overseas schools in 2020, 156,520 in 2021 and 124,320 in 2022 -- mostly in the US and Canada.

Another troubling trend is parents' and students' skewed preference towards the medical profession, seeing it as a "golden ticket" to a secure career and high income, which people criticize as being the main criterion by which Korean society defines a person's success.

Economic growth losing steam

In 2022, Korea witnessed the third-largest decline in its gross domestic product per capita of 8.2 percent when compared to the year earlier, posting $32,142. The decline was the largest after Japan and Sweden among major economies.

The growth outlook for Korea does not look upbeat either, with the International Monetary Fund anticipating the rate to be at 1.4 percent, a sharp drop from last year's 2.6 percent.

External factors, such as the unprecedented outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the ensuing global economic slump and persistent inflation are obviously affecting the country's low growth trend.

"The country is also seeing a shrinking working age population."

Korea's leading conglomerates are now eyeing new fields for future growth, such as batteries, electric vehicles, biopharmaceuticals and hydgrogen energy among others.

Explaining how the United States maintains its economic growth rate steadily in the 2 percent range by leading new technologies and adopting proactive immigration policies, Ju said Korea should find new industrial strengths and address the low birth rate and aging population.

Embrace diversity to keep the Korean Wave from crashing

"Due to the (increased consumption of Korean culture) over a wide range of areas in a short period of time, there has been a lack of preparation for how (Korea) is perceived in various cultural spheres, which can lead to misunderstandings and pose risks," Lee Sung-min, an assistant professor in the Department of Media Arts and Sciences at Korea National Open University, told.

Unlike countries where citizens' identity is based on embracing high levels of diversity, Korea has promoted a national identity based on ethnic and cultural homogeneity for much of its modern history. That's why it's necessary today for Koreans actively to seek out opportunities to come into contact with diverse people from other cultures, Lee explained.

Making a more productive politics

To tackle all these major challenges, the country needs a leadership that can effectively articulate its causes and execute solutions, while engaging with the public to win its support.

South Korea remains unwavering in its commitment to democratic institutions, with a track record of removing occupants of the highest office through peaceful means, including recently via the impeachment process.

But in Korea, where most former presidents have faced investigations or imprisonment once their power is relinquished to the other side, an unending cycle of revenge compels politicians to resort to extreme measures at any expense to clinch victory and crush opponents.

Negative public perception of the role of the leadership and politics were among the reasons cited for South Korea's drop in the annual Democracy Index 2022 by the Economist Intelligence Unit, released earlier this year.

A tall order called happiness

Almost every day, Koreans come across news articles about people with mental illnesses who have killed themselves or hurt others in shocking ways.

Korea's suicide rate has long been the highest among OECD countries, though partly because Lithuania was not a member before 2018.

Contrary to the trend in most OECD countries, it rose significantly in the decade after 2000. After hitting a high of 33.3 suicide deaths per 100,000 people in 2011, compared to the OECD average of 12.4, Korea's suicide rate fell slightly, but was still at 26 in 2021)."

- https://www.koreaherald.com/search/list_reporter.php?byline=Park+Jun-hee

Source 5

Poster *Save Earth!*[3]

Source 6

Poster *National Lights-Out Event*[4]

"22 April (Wednesday) at 20:00. Let us all work together for 10 minutes to save the earth!"

Source 7

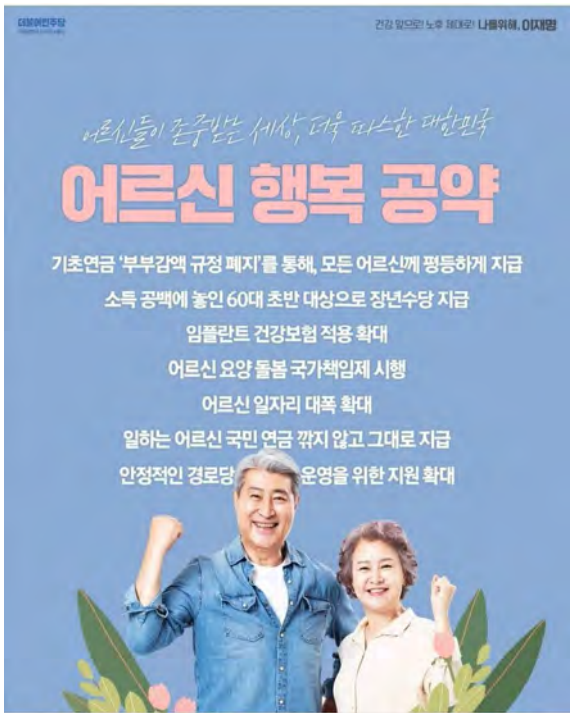
Poster *Is the sea a rubbish bin?*[5]

Plastics, the main culprit behind the threat to marine ecosystems, take 100 years to decompose and turn into polluting toxic substances and become a threat to marine life. Save the ocean from the threat of plastics!

Source 8

Poster *The world where the elderly are respected*[6]

Guaranteeing happiness for the elderly in Korea. Basic pensions are paid equally to all people who are old. Single elderly people receive pensions from the age of 60. Medical insurance for implants is being expanded. For semi-retired.



Source 9

Poster *One is lonely. The best gift for your child is his younger brother*[7]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 4

- Based on **source 10**, explain why the UN General Assembly considers the Russia-Ukraine war to be a global problem.
- How has the Russia-Ukraine war affected the Republic of Korea? (**source 11**).
- Try to explain why, of all the aspects of this war's impact on South Korea, the defence aspect is the most important (**source 12**).
- What might explain the publication of the book (**source 13**)? How can the cover of the book tell us about its content?

Source 10

From the UN General Assembly's resolution *Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine* (24 March 2022)

"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing that the military offensive of the Russian Federation inside the sovereign territory of Ukraine and its humanitarian consequences are on a scale that the international community has not seen in Europe in decades …

Expressing concern about the impact of the conflict on increased food insecurity globally, in particular in the least developed countries, as Ukraine and the region are one of the world's most important areas for grain and agricultural exports, when millions of people are facing famine or the immediate risk of famine or are experiencing severe food insecurity in several regions of the world, as well as on energy security, …

Recalling the link between armed conflict and violence and conflict-induced food insecurity and the threat of famine, and stressing in this regard that armed conflict, violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, and food insecurity can be drivers of forced displacement and that, conversely, forced displacement in countries in armed conflict can have a devastating impact on agricultural production and livelihoods,

Expressing concern about the grave humanitarian consequences of a possible accident resulting from the bombing and shelling of the Ukrainian nuclear infrastructure, reiterating the obligation to ensure the safety and security of all nuclear infrastructure, and expressing concern about the impact of the conflict on the environment, …

1. Reiterates the need for the full implementation of resolution ES–11/1 of 2 March 2022, entitled "Aggression against Ukraine" … (Reaffirming its commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, extending to its territorial waters).

- https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3966630?ln=en

Source 11

From the article *Russia's war in Ukraine (4 consequences for our country and countermeasures)* (2023)

"**1. An economic impact.** … Korea is heavily dependent on imports from Ukraine in various industries, such as steel and auto parts. Therefore, if the supply of imports is interrupted or the price increases due to the Russia-Ukraine war, it will negatively affect our economy. In addition, as the probability of global economic fluctuations increases, foreign investment inflows decrease, which affects exports.

2. A political impact. The war in Russia and Ukraine is expected to cause significant fluctuations in the international situation. This also has a direct or indirect impact on our country. As the security situation in the international community has deteriorated due to the war, it is likely to lead to a downturn in the international economy, which may affect our country's export and foreign exchange markets.

3. A strategy for influencing security. The war in Russia and Ukraine poses a direct threat to regional stability. The war can lead to a situation where conflicts spread and military confrontations intensify. Accordingly, the Republic of Korea must strengthen its national defence and establish a security preparedness plan. This requires strengthening military capabilities and enhancing information gathering and analysis capabilities, as well as preparing for cybersecurity and responding to intelligent cyber threats.

4. Talent drain and foreign investment. The war in Russia and Ukraine may lead to an outflow of talent as it becomes difficult to live safely in Russia and Ukraine. It may also affect our country and is expected to lead to changes in the flow of economic and human resources. In addition, if the war weakens the stability of large countries such as Russia and Ukraine, a decrease in foreign investment could affect our country. In preparation for this, it is necessary to promote policies to attract foreign investment and talent, as well as to strengthen the image of a very stable country.

- https://metisfam.com/러시아-우크라이나-전쟁우리나라에-미치는-4가지-영/

Source 12

The cover of Tae-hwan Kwon's book *One year after Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Implications of the Ukraine War and Korea's Defense Innovation* (2023)[8]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

- Create a short list of the consequences of the Russia-Ukraine war for Ukraine based on **source 13**. To what extent are these consequences purely Ukrainian and which ones have regional or global impact?

Source 13

From V. Antoniuk and I. Mytsenko's article *The War in Ukraine as a Global Civilisational Conflict: Causes and Consequences for the Economy and Human Development* (2022)

"The war in Ukraine unleashed by Russia has a global civilisational character and threatens the democratic values of the world and international stability. It is causing enormous damage to Ukraine's economy and is leading to losses in Ukraine's human potential as a result of:

- losses of military personnel in the course of hostilities from killings and injuries;
- civilian casualties in the course of hostilities, during the occupation and as a result of shelling of settlements and civilian objects;
- increased mortality from injuries, exacerbation of chronic diseases, stress and impossibility of timely medical care;
- forced migration of refugees from the war to other countries and their possible non-return to Ukraine after the war ends;
- forced deportation of the Ukrainians to Russia.

As a result of these losses, Ukraine's population could decline by 20–30%.

At the same time, the war is changing Ukrainian society, which creates new opportunities for positive transformations in post-war development. Whether these opportunities will be used depends on the maturity of the state and civil society, the chosen strategy for rebuilding the country, and the effectiveness of public administration of the post-war development.

In post-war development, it is important to formulate and implement an effective post-war recovery strategy based on the use of fundamental development factors, which are based on human capital: development of the entrepreneurial and creative activity of the population; improvement of the quality of education for the formation of human capital; development of science to obtain own innovative products and technologies and their introduction into production; provision of all sectors of the economy with highly qualified personnel necessary for modernisation and growth.

It is important to involve all segments of Ukrainian society in the post-war recovery processes; maintain the consolidation and civic engagement of society, return the maximum number of forced migrants from abroad; create favourable conditions for demographic development and restore human potential."

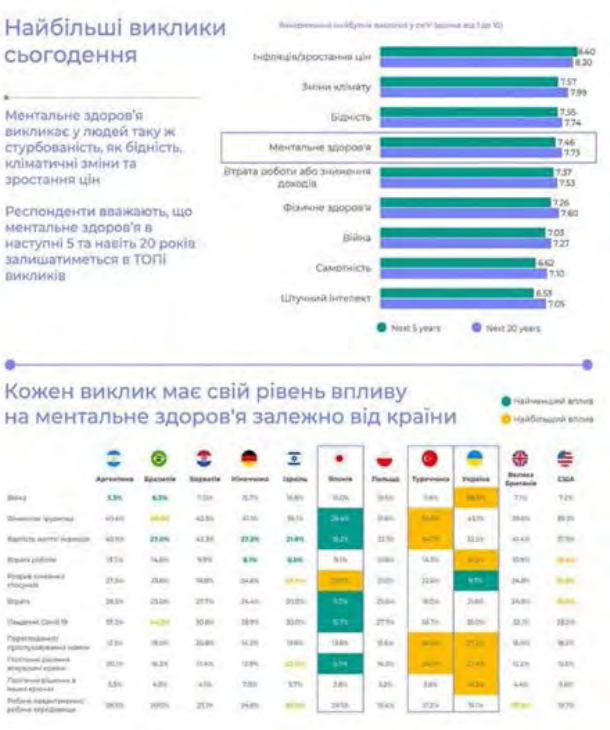
Антонюк В.П., Миценко І. М. Війна в Україні як глобальний цивілізаційний конфлікт: причини та наслідки для економіки та людського розвитку. *Економіка і організація управління*. № 3 (47). 2022. С.15.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- One of the most important global issues in today's increasingly intense human life is the preservation of mental health. This problem becomes especially urgent in times of war. What do you understand by mental health? What influences mental health and what should be done to preserve it?
- Analyse **source 14** and explain why people in different countries consider the preservation of a person's mental health to be the most important issue not only today but also in the next decade.

Source 14

From O. Zelenska's speech *Mental health is one of the greatest global challenges of the future* (2023)[9]



2. The problem of Korean unification and ways to solve it

What is the essence of the Korean problem and how do the Koreans see the possibility of solving it?

INTRODUCTION

The division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945 along the 38th parallel into Soviet and American occupation zones and the formation of the two states on their territories: the Republic of Korea and the DPRK gave rise to the so-called "Korean problem" — the unification of the Korean people in a single state. The Korean War was an attempt to solve this problem, but it only consolidated the existing division. The 38th parallel demilitarised zone is considered to be a symbol of this division, which for a long time became a **zone of tension (2.1)**. It was here that provocations were organised and digging was done. It was it that defectors from the North and those South Korean citizens who were selected to meet their relatives tried to cross.

When the policy of force in relations between the two Koreas failed to produce the desired results, and problems such as separated families began to accumulate, the South and the North began to take **steps towards each other (2.2)**. These have been reflected in the organisation of reunions of separated families, parliamentary and cultural exchanges, joint sporting events, etc. With the signing of a number of declarations (1972, 2000, 2007, 2018), the foundations were laid for further rapprochement between the two Koreas. However, the unwillingness of the DPRK leadership to give up nuclear weapons, missile tests, different ideological, political and economic foundations of the states and foreign policy priorities have hindered the process of Korean unification.

Despite the recent deterioration in relations between the DPRK and the Republic of Korea and the growing number of supporters of the status quo among the South Koreans, the problem of the **prospects for Korean unification (2.3)** remains relevant to South Korean society.

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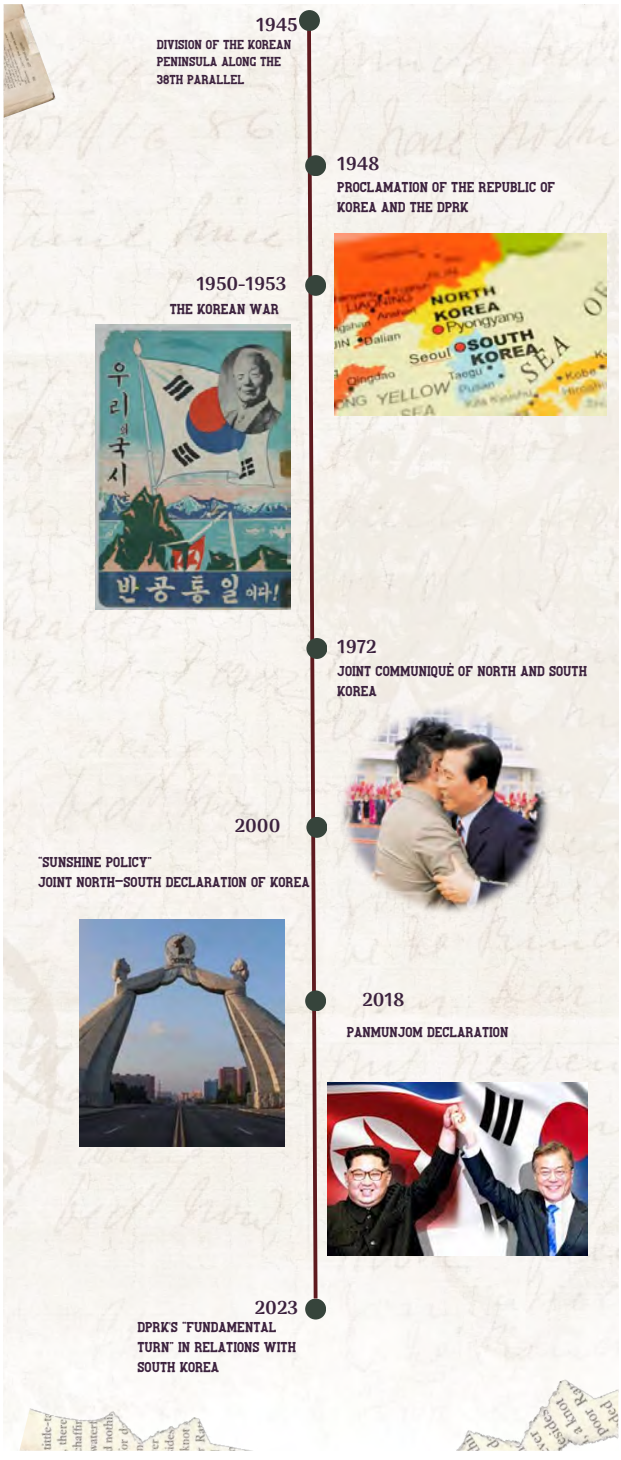


2.1. The zone of tension

What causes and manifests tension on the Korean Peninsula?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 8

- Kan Den Sik, a researcher on the Korean problem, believes that "a complex intertwining of international interests and trends, along with the domestic political peculiarities of the development of the two states, has given rise to the Korean problem, which is inseparably linked to the issue of maintaining peace and security, not only in the Northeast Asian region but also throughout the world." What international interests and domestic political circumstances do you think the political scientist is referring to?
- Based on **sources 15–18**, prove that the 38th parallel has long been a zone of tension. Why?
- How do **sources 15–18** characterise the relationship between the DPRK and the Republic of Korea?

Source 15

The Demilitarised Zone (DMZ)

"Since demarcation, the DMZ has had numerous cases of incidents and incursions by both sides, although the North Korean government typically never acknowledges direct responsibility for any of these incidents (there are exceptions, such as the axe incident). This was particularly intense during the Korean DMZ Conflict (1966–1969) when a series of skirmishes along the DMZ resulted in the deaths of 43 American, 299 South Korean and 397 North Korean soldiers. This included the Blue House Raid in 1968, an attempt to assassinate South Korea President Park Chung-hee at the Blue House.

In 1976, in now-declassified meeting minutes, U.S. deputy secretary of defense William Clements told U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger that there had been 200 raids or incursions into North Korea from the south, though not by the U.S. military.

Since 1953 there have been occasional confrontations and skirmishes within the JSA. The axe murder incident in August 1976 involved the attempted trimming of a tree which resulted in two deaths (Captain Arthur Bonifas and First Lieutenant Mark Barrett). Another incident occurred on 23 November 1984, when a Soviet tourist named Vasily Matuzok (sometimes spelled Matusak), who was part of an official trip to the JSA (hosted by the North), ran across the MDL shouting that he wanted to defect to the South. As many as 30 North Korean soldiers pursued him across the border, opening fire. Border guards on the South Korean side returned fire, eventually surrounding the North Koreans. One South Korean and three North Korean soldiers were killed in the action. Matuzok survived and was eventually resettled in the U.S.

Since 15 November 1974, South Korea has discovered four tunnels crossing the DMZ that had been dug by North Korea. The orientation of the blasting lines within each tunnel indicated they were dug by North Korea. ...

The tunnels are believed to have been planned as a military invasion route by North Korea. They run in a north–south direction and do not have branches. Following each discovery, engineering within the tunnels has become progressively more advanced...

From 1953 until 2004, both sides broadcast audio propaganda across the DMZ. Massive loudspeakers mounted on several of the buildings delivered DPRK propaganda broadcasts directed towards the south as well as propaganda radio broadcasts across the border. In 2004, the North and South agreed to end the broadcasts.

On 8 January 2016, in response to North Korea's supposed successful testing of a hydrogen bomb, South Korea resumed broadcasts directed at the North."

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korean_Demilitarized_Zone

Source 16

Installation on the North Korean side of the 38th parallel[10]

Source 17

Digging a tunnel under the demilitarised zone. From the exhibition of the DMZ Museum[11]

Source 18

Alarm on the border. From the exhibition of the DMZ Museum[12]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- What does the fact in **sources 19** and **20** testify to? Why is it interpreted differently in South and North Korea? Which text contains more emotionally coloured words and judgements? What does this testify to? Do you think these were isolated incidents? What is the basis for your conclusion?
- Why, in your opinion, did such incidents occur despite the declaration of the desire to unite the two Koreas?
- Could they have been prevented? In what way?

Source 19

From Nicholas D. Kristof's article *North Korean Vessel Is Chased and Sunk Off Coast of South* (*The New York Times*, 18 December 1998)

"A North Korean vessel that intruded deep into South Korea's waters was pursued and sunk this morning after a firefight with South Korean forces, South Korean officials said today.

The vessel, whose incursion is sure to aggravate the already strained relations between North Korea and the rest of the world, was first detected late Thursday a mile from the city of Yosu on South Korea's southern coast, the South Korean Defense Ministry said. After a pursuit in which the North and South Korean boats exchanged fire, the South Korean Navy sank the intruder at dawn today about 60 miles off shore in 300 feet of water."

- https://www.nytimes.com/1998/12/18/world/north-korean-vessel-is-chased-and-sunk-off-coast-of-south.html

Source 20

From the statement of the Korean Central News Agency (DPRK), 19 December 1998)

"The South Korean puppets said that they located a "submarine" in the sea off Ryosu, South Jolla Province, at 11:15 p.m. on December 17 and had a battle in which the "submarine" was sunken and they brought a dead body clad in diving-suit to the land. They also said that they issued an order called "Jindogae N.1" throughout the coastal areas of South Korea and have been put on the red alert. This time, too, the puppets described the "incident" as the "intrusion by the north," shifting the blame on to the north. This frantic anti-communist campaign is a continuation of the anti-communist, anti-north campaign such as the fiction of the "intrusion of the north's vessel" near the coast of the Kanghwa island on the West Sea of Korea and the description of a flock of birds as "something mysterious" in the sea off the Kanghwa island. The incidents have nothing to do with the north. Now the South Korean are trying hard to find a pretext for unleashing a war against the north in line with the U.S. imperialists' moves for war against the DPRK. It goes without saying that the "north's submarine infiltration incident" is a farce cooked up for that purpose. We can no longer remain a passive onlooker to the South Korean continuous anti-communist campaign and slander against the north. The campaign can convince no one. We will take resolute measures so that the provokers may drink a bitter cup. We seriously warn the South Korean not to act rashly."

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_Yeosu_submersible_incident#cite_note-9.

Source 21

A memorial sign on the 38th parallel, on the Republic of Korea side of the Demilitarised Zone on the border between North and South Korea, installed near the Third Tunnel, dug by North Korea for possible infiltration into the Republic of Korea[13]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 10

- Explain the idea behind this sculpture (**source 21**).
- What artistic means are used to realise this idea?
- What is the reason for the choice of its location?
- Why do the Koreans put their messages on the fence in the DMZ on ribbons (**source 22**)? Who are they for? Why was this method of communication chosen?
- How are **sources 21** and **22** related to the Korean problem?

Source 22

The barrier wall in the village of Imjingak in the DMZ[14]

This village is the most remote in the north of the country that the South Koreans can freely access. They tie brightly coloured ribbons to the fence wall with messages for their family members in North Korea or in memory of relatives who died there.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 11

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 23** and **24**. Think about the scale of the problem of defectors.
- How do you think defectors from the DPRK affect the process of possible unification?
- Is it likely that a large number of defectors will facilitate unification?
- In 1997, the Republic of Korea passed a law to protect defectors from North Korea and support their resettlement. In 2020, the DPRK legislated to increase responsibility for attempts to defect from North Korea. In your opinion, why and for what purpose was such liability introduced and did it affect the flow of defectors? In what way?

Source 23

From Laura Bicker's article *Defector on North Korea: The regime lives on terror, drugs and weapons*

"There are more than 30,000 defectors in South Korea. Only a few decide to speak to the media. The more high profile you are, the higher the risk to you and your family.

There are also many in South Korea who doubt defectors' accounts of their lives. After all, how can anyone truly verify their stories?

Mr Kim lived a highly unusual life. His … story offers us a view inside a regime … and tells us something about what it takes for the regime to survive.

He depicts a North Korean leadership desperate to make cash by any means possible, from drug deals to weapons sales in the Middle East and Africa.

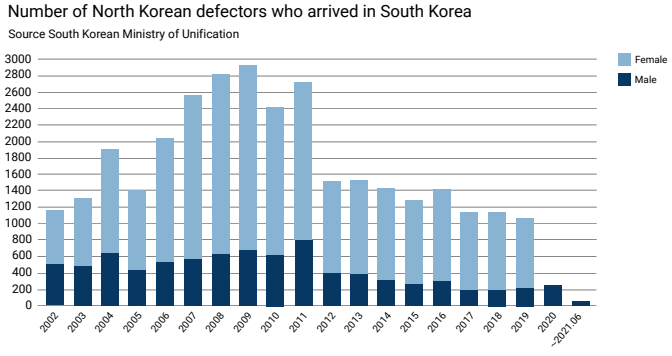
He told us about the strategy behind decisions being made in Pyongyang, the regime's attacks on South Korea, and claims that the secretive country's spy and cyber networks can reach around the world.

"North Korea's political society, their judgement, their thought processes, they all follow the conviction of ultimate obedience to the Supreme Leader," he says. Over generations, it produces a "loyal heart."

- https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-58875761.

Source 24

Number of North Korean defectors in 2002–2020[15]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 12

- The tragedy of family separation is one of the biggest problems in both Koreas. Acquaint yourself with **sources 25** and **photographs**. Do you think it is necessary to maintain family relationships, given that families were separated in the 1950s? Can separated families influence the process of unification?

Source 25

From J. Griffiths, P. Hancocks and S. Jeong's article *Korean Reunions: Tears as mother and son meet for the first time in 68 years* (2018)

"Sang Chol!" 92-year-old Lee Keum-seom exclaimed, as she fell into her long-lost son's arms in North Korea.

Lee had been waiting 68 years for this moment, after the two became separated during the Korean War and became trapped either side of the demilitarized zone (DMZ) which now splits the two Koreas.

Sang Chol was four when she last saw him. He is now 71, himself an old man.

After the initial tearful reunion was over, Sang Chol showed his mother a photo of her husband, who had been with their son when the couple became separated but has since died.

"This is a photo of my father, mom," Sang Chol said, dissolving into sobs.

Lee told CNN she had prayed for her son to have a long life so the pair could reunite.

"(My family) in North Korea didn't live long so I prayed for my son's health," she said.

She felt nervous about meeting her now elderly son, after only knowing him as a small child, unsure about where to start catching up on a lifetime spent apart.

"What shall I ask?" she said. "Oh, I should ask him what his father told him about me. His father must have told him about how we got separated and where our house used to be. I should ask him about that."

On seeing him however, there was no hesitation, and the two elderly Koreans embraced each other tightly, both in tears. During the whole reunion, they did not let go of each others' hands.

- https://edition.cnn.com/2018/08/20/asia/korea-family-reunion-intl/index.html?utm_content=2018-08-20T09%3A30%3A43&utm_term=link&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twCNN

Family reunification in North Korea (2018)[16]

92-year-old South Korean Lee Keum-seom meets her 71-year-old North Korean son Sang Chol

Ham Sung-chan, 93, of South Korea hugs his North Korean brother Ham Dong Chan, 79

South Korean Han Shin-ja, 99, meets with her North Korean daughters Kim Kyung Sil, 72, and Kim Kyung Young, 71

- https://www.npr.org/2018/08/20/640213338/photos-separated-north-and-south-koreans-meet-for-1st-time-in-decades.

2.2. Steps to meet

How did the leaders of South and North Korea move the countries towards unification and what progress did they make?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 13

- Based on **source 26**, characterise the models of unification on the Korean Peninsula. Identify the main features of each model and the conditions for its implementation.
- How can you explain the existence of different theories of Korean unification?
- What do you think accounts for the variation in approaches to Korean unification?
- Which of the models seems the most attractive, and which is the most realistic? Which theory do you think is more promising? Give reasons for your answer.

Source 26

From V. Cha's article *Five Theories of Korean Unification* (2016)

"Unification Theory 1: Winner Takes All

The first theory of unification emerged after the division of the Korean peninsula and was prevalent throughout the Cold War. During this time, the two Koreas were locked in a bitter battle over legitimacy. The deadly Korean War was not only a struggle among regional powers, it was fought by the North and South to have their respective ideological systems and governments recognized as the "one true Korean nation."

Even after the Korean War ended, this struggle for legitimacy continued with the notion of "unification by force," or the idea that the only real definition of unification was the crushing victory of one Korea over the other. Republic of Korea (ROK) presidents Syngman Rhee and Park Chung-hee both subscribed to this "winner take all" view in the South. The same view was also held by Kim Il Sung in the North. The concept dominated both policy-making and the associated academic literature.

The two Koreas' rigid ideological beliefs dictated that any small concessions made to the other side would not only be seen as a "loss of face" but was an acknowledgement of the superiority of the other's system of governance. 2 the aftermath of the Korean War, both the North and South embarked on ambitious economic development plans to demonstrate that each was the more powerful and prosperous of the two Koreas.

Then starting in the early 1970s, a slight thaw appeared in the Cold War deadlock. North and South Korean Red Cross officials began negotiations on the reunification of separated families, and additional high-level talks between intelligence directors in the two Koreas eventually resulted in a surprise North-South joint communiqué in 1972.

In the communiqué, "Seoul and Pyongyang agreed that unification should be sought through:

Independent efforts of the two Koreas, and without interference from external powers;

Peaceful means, not by use of force;

The fostering of a 'grand national unity.'"

In the 1980s, there were again some brief inter-Korean exchanges, including attempts at sports exchanges, inter-parliamentary meetings, and talks on family reunions. Pyongyang even proposed that the North and South co-host the 1988 Summer Olympics. 7 However, rapprochement efforts were dampened by several deadly North Korean provocations, including the bombing of ROK president Chun Doo-hwan's cabinet in Rangoon in 1983 and the bombing of KAL Flight 858 in 1987.

Unification Theory 2: Too Difficult, Too Dangerous

The second theory of unification emerged after the Cold War ended and the two Germanys were unified.

Korean unification was no longer perceived as a simple "winner takes all" scenario but as a complex process that would be messy and highly unpredictable.

The death of Kim Il-sung in 1994 and the widespread famine in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) led many officials and experts to predict an eminent collapse of the North Korean regime. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the South Korean government itself was transitioning from a militaristic, right-wing authoritarian regime to a democratic one. The ROK economy was also slowly progressing from the ranks of a developing country to that of a developed country. It was during this period that we began to see the first serious empirical study of unification, ... all calculated the cost of unification, and the numbers were large and frightening to most South Koreans.

The retreat of communism caused an existential crisis for North Korea as its main source of economic aid and ideological legitimacy started to dry up. Faced with a growing external threat, a failing economy, and a conventional military with increasingly deteriorating capabilities, North Korea seemingly shifted its strategy from "achieve unification at all costs" to "maintain regime survival at all costs."

In South Korea, there was also little domestic political will to push ahead with North-South dialogue and reconciliation efforts. Aside from a short, promising period of dialogue between 1988 and 1992. The short period of engagement resulted in the signing of two accords: "The Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation" (1991), and the "Joint Declaration on Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" (1992).

After 1992, North Korea cut off contact with South Korea and refused all opportunities to further engage in inter-Korean dialogue. The subsequent ROK president, Kim Young-sam, also later attempted rapprochement with the DPRK but revelations about North Korea's suspected nuclear weapons program, and its announced withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1993, only added to the deepening distrust between North and South Korea.

South Korea's liquidity crisis in 1997–1998 made unification impossible, so engaging with the North Korean regime over the long term, and paving the way for a gradual transition or a soft landing, seemed the best policy choice.

Unification Theory 4: Pragmatism

The Sunshine era ended with the election of conservative South Korean president Lee Myung-bak. Lee was a businessman, not an ideologue.

The new theory of unification—the fourth theory—was a pragmatic one tied to Lee's own personal convictions: that is, unification may be expensive, it may be difficult, and it may be dangerous. But Koreans cannot blindly stick their heads in the sand and hope the problems will go away. Instead, as traumatic as unification may be, it could very well come tomorrow or next month or next year, so it was necessary to prepare for the process.

Unification Theory 5: Jackpot

The fifth theory of unification advanced under President Park Geun-hye … laid out her own theory of unification as a "bonanza" or "jackpot" for Korea and her neighbors. According to this theory, the process of reunification should be reimagined or envisioned as a process that could offer opportunities for growth, investment, and peace to both Koreas and to all Korean people."

- https://beyondparallel.csis.org/5-theories-of-unification/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 14

- Take a good look at **sources 27–30**. Think about what ideas are expressed in these posters.
- What means do the authors use to convey this idea?
- Which of the theories of unification listed in **source 26** does each poster illustrate?

Source 27

The poster *Our national slogan is anti-communism and unification*! (South Korea, 1950s)[17]

Source 28

The poster *Let's destroy the pack of traitors*! (North Korea, 1980s)[18]

On the left is a Korean from the South wearing an armband which reads "Reunification of the Motherland", in the centre is a Korean from the North, and on the right is an emigrant Korean with a shoulder bandage reading "One Korea." At the bottom are hostile anti-unification forces and the slogan: "Get rid of reactionaries who obey foreign forces!"

Source 29

Poster *Raise the flag of nationalism and realise your responsibility and role to the time and the nation*! (North Korea, 2018)

The lettering on the flag reads "Ethnic History", on the top — "The power of the North and South is stronger than ever", and on the banner "Our Ethnicity."

Source 30

The winner of the poster contest *We Sew Hope with Our Hands* (South Korea, 2020s)[19]

The caption at the bottom reads "Our country was originally united. If everyone can feel the heartbeat of one heart, unification can be achieved."

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 15

- Based on **sources 31** and **32**, explain why both the DPRK and the Republic of Korea have constitutionally secured the right to the entire Korean Peninsula.
- What is the difference between the approaches of these states to the unification of the country (**sources 31, 33** and **34**)?

Source 31

From the Constitution of the Republic of Korea

"Accepted: 17 July 1948.
Amended: 29 October 1987.
Article 3. The territory of the Republic of Korea shall consist of the Korean peninsula and its adjacent islands.

Article 4. The Republic of Korea shall seek unification and shall formulate and carry out a policy of peaceful unification based on the basic free and democratic order.

Article 5. The Republic of Korea shall endeavor to maintain international peace and shall renounce all aggressive wars."

- https://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_service/lawView.do?hseq=1&lang=ENG

Source 32

From the *Constitution of the DPRK*

"Adopted: 8 September 1948.
Amended: 29 October 1987.
Article 1. The DPRK is an independent socialist state representing the interests of all the Korean people.
Article 9. The DPRK shall struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism by strengthening the people's regime in the northern half of Korea and by vigorously waging the three revolutions -- ideological, technological, and cultural -- to achieve the fatherland's reunification on the principle of independence, peaceful reunification, and grand national unity."

- http://asiamatters.blogspot.com/2009/10/north-korean-constitution-april-2009.html

Source 33

The DPRK leader Kim Jong Un on the prospects of unification of the two Koreas

"Thanks to the great Juche idea and Songun politics of the Workers' Party of Korea and the devoted struggle of our service personnel and other people who are unfailingly loyal to the Party, proud victories have been achieved in socialist construction and lasting foundations for accomplishing the cause of the Juche revolution have been laid."

- https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/3212547/the-potential-of-korean-unification-and-a-unified-korean-armed-forces-a-cultura/

Source 34

An official document. (South) Korean Ministry of Unification (2021)

"We pursue a "Korean Peninsula of co-prosperity," where South and North respect and cooperate with each other, by defining our stance as the "3-Nos" — no desire for the North's collapse, no pursuit of unification by absorption, and no pursuit of unification through artificial means."

- https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/3212547/the-potential-of-korean-unification-and-a-unified-korean-armed-forces-a-cultura/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 16

- Interestingly, the official names of the two "Koreas" are fundamentally different. North Korea is officially called the Democratic People's Republic of Joseon as it positions itself as a direct successor to Ancient and Modern Joseon. Archaeologists have even "found" the tomb of Tangun, the founder of Ancient Joseon. So to speak, they claim that they are the true successors of the ancient Korean state. South Korea is officially known as the Republic of Taehan (Taehan Minguk) as it positions itself as a direct successor to the Korean (originally Taekwang) Empire (Taehan Cheguk) of 1897–1910.
- Recall the facts of Korean history that you know and explain why South and North Korea consider themselves successors to different Korean states.
- Based on **source 35**, think about why the DPRK uses historical themes in its visual propaganda.

Source 35

A North Korean soldier looks at a historical map of Korea (2008)[20]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 17

- Read **source 36** and identify what principles are declared in the document.
- Think about why it was possible to adopt such a declaration in the early 1970s.

Source 36

The July 4 South–North Joint Communiqué 4 July 1972

"Recently, talks were held in Pyongyang and Seoul to discuss the problems of improving South–North relations and of unifying the divided country.

In an effort to remove the misunderstandings and mistrust, and mitigate the heightened tensions that have arisen between the South and the North as a consequence of their long period of division and moreover, to expedite unification, the two sides reached full agreement on the following points.

1. The two sides agreed on the following principles as a basis of achieving unification: First, unification shall be achieved independently, without depending on foreign powers and without foreign interference. Second, unification shall be achieved through peaceful means, without resorting to the use of force against each other.

2. In order to ease tensions and foster an atmosphere of mutual trust between the South and the North, the two sides have agreed not to slander or defame each other, not to undertake military provocations whether on a large or small scale, and to take positive measures to prevent inadvertent military incidents.

[…]

5. In order to prevent the outbreak of unexpected military incidents, and to deal directly, promptly, and accurately with problems arising between the South and the North, the two sides have agreed to install a direct telephone line between Seoul and Pyongyang.

6. In order to implement the above items, to solve various problems existing between the South and the North, and to settle the unification problem on the basis of the agreed principles for unification, the two sides have agreed to establish and operate a South-North Coordinating Committee […]."

https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/KR%20KP_720704_The%20July%204%20South-North%20Joint%20Communiqu%C3%A9.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 18

- Take a good look at **source 37**. Explain the symbolism of the monument. Another name of the Arch of Reunification is the Arch of the Three Charters. What charters are these?
- Why did Kim Jong Un decide to destroy this monument in 2024?
- Acquaint yourself with **sources 38** and **39**. Characterise the positions of Kim Il Sung and Park Chung-hee on Korean unification. How realistic were they?
- Is it possible to unite the countries after so many years of developing diametrically opposed models of state, economic and social relations and culture? How and why?

Source 37

The Arch of Reunification on Thonil Avenue in Pyongyang[21]

The second name is "Arch of the Three Charters." It was built in 2001. In 2024, Kim Jong Un spoke on its demolition.

Source 38

From the inaugural speech of the 9th President of the Republic of Korea, Park Jeong-hee (1978)

"Since our national power has grown to this extent in all fields and we have a clear direction and goal for moving forward without stopping, I have no doubt that the issue of national unification, which is our long-cherished wish, will inevitably face a new phase.

In the end, North Korea will have no choice but to accept our offer and come to the table for dialogue. When viewed from the flowing mainstream of national history, the North Korean communists, who were once a foreign heresy, will never be able to defy and disrupt the consistent wishes of 50 million people. The reason we have developed the power of self-reliance while enduring countless unbearable events over the years is with the intention of relieving the resentment of our people, who have lived divided into North and South for over 30 years, as early as possible.

While I always keep the door to dialogue open for North Korea and wait, I am convinced that the shortcut to peaceful unification is only by cultivating our powerful national power, and I promise again that I will continue to make every effort to achieve this. In this way, we must drive out the shadow of war from this land, firmly establish peace, and welcome an epoch-making solidarity to realize a unified country."

- chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.korean-books.com.kp/KBMbooks/ru/work/leader1/00000311.pdf

Source 39

From Kim Il Sung's Report of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to the Sixth Party Congress (1980)

"Seeking to unite the Motherland, our party proposes to establish a Federal Republic, in which, on the basis of mutual recognition of the ideologies and systems existing in the two zones, the North and South will create a unified national government, which will include representatives of the North and South on an equal footing and under whose leadership the North and South, having equal powers and responsibilities, will each implement a system of regional self-government.

Keeping the name of a united state that once existed in our country and is well known to the world, and reflecting the common political aspirations of the North and South — the desire for democracy — it would be a good idea to call the federal state the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo."

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 20

- Based on **sources 40** and **41**, characterise the dynamics of inter-Korean relations in the first decade of the twenty-first century.
- Researchers of the modern history of Korea have pointed out that the intensification of the policy of rapprochement between the two Koreas clearly coincides with the periods when the Kims were at the head of both Korean states. How can you explain this?
- What role does kinship play in Korean society?

Source 40

From the *South-North Joint Declaration* of 15 June 2000

"In accordance with the noble will of the entire people who yearn for the peaceful reunification of the nation, President Kim Dae-jung of the Republic of Korea and National Defense Commission Chairman Kim Jong-il of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held a historic meeting and summit talks in Pyongyang from June 13 to June 15, 2000. The leaders of the South and the North, recognizing that the meeting and the summit talks were of great significance in promoting mutual understanding, developing South-North relations and realizing peaceful reunification, declared as follows:

1. The South and the North have agreed to resolve the question of reunification independently and through the joint efforts of the Korean people, who are the masters of the country.

2. For the achievement of reunification, we have agreed that there is a common element in the South's concept of a confederation and the North's formula for a loose form of federation. The South and the North agreed to promote reunification in that direction.

3. The South and the North have agreed to promptly resolve humanitarian issues such as exchange visits by separated family members and relatives on the occasion of the August 15 National Liberation Day and the question of unswerving Communists serving prison sentences in the South.

4. The South and the North have agreed to consolidate mutual trust by promoting balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and by stimulating cooperation and exchanges in civic, cultural, sports, health, environmental and all other fields.

5. The South and the North have agreed to hold a dialogue between relevant authorities in the near future to implement the above agreements expeditiously."

- https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/n_skorea06152000

Source 41

From the *Declaration on the Advancement of South-North Korean Relations, Peace and Prosperity*, October 4, 2007

"1. The South and the North shall uphold and endeavor actively to realize the June 15 Declaration. The South and the North have agreed to resolve the issue of unification on their own initiative and according to the spirit of "by-the-Korean-people-themselves." The South and the North will work out ways to commemorate the June 15 anniversary of the announcement of the South-North Joint Declaration to reflect the common will to faithfully carry it out.

2. The South and the North have agreed to firmly transform inter-Korean relations into ties of mutual respect and trust, transcending the differences in ideology and systems. The South and the North have agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other and agreed to resolve inter-Korean issues in the spirit of reconciliation, cooperation and reunification.

[…]

6. The South and the North have agreed to boost exchanges and cooperation in the social areas covering history, language, education, science and technology, culture and arts, and sports to highlight the long history and excellent culture of the Korean people. The South and the North have agreed to carry out tours to Mt. Baekdu and open nonstop flight services between Seoul and Mt. Baekdu for this purpose. The South and the North have agreed to send a joint cheering squad from both sides to the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The squad will use the Gyeongui Railway Line for the first ever joint Olympic cheering.

7. The South and the North have agreed to actively promote humanitarian cooperation projects. The South and the North have agreed to expand reunion of separated family members and their relatives and promote exchanges of video messages […]."

- https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/n_skorea10042007.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 21

- Take a good look **source 42** and explain the reasons for the active promotion of unification in South Korea.

Source 42

A large banner adorns the exterior of the City Hall ahead of the upcoming summit between North and South Korea in Seoul (2018)[22]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 22

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 43–45** and explain the essence of the inter-Korean agreement of 2018.
- Why did the Panmunjom Declaration cause great optimism on both sides of the 38th parallel?

Source 43

From the Panmunjom Declaration of the Inter-Korean Summit (27 April 2018)

Panmunjom Declaration at April 2018 inter-Korean summit (2018)

"1. South and North Korea will reconnect the blood relations of the people and bring forward the future of co-prosperity and reunification led by Koreans by facilitating comprehensive and ground breaking advancement in inter-Korean relations.

(3) South and North Korea agreed to establish a joint liaison office with resident representatives of both sides in the Kaesong region in order to facilitate close consultation between the authorities as well as smooth exchanges and cooperation between the peoples.

(4) South and North Korea agreed to encourage more active cooperation, exchanges, visits and contacts at all levels in order to rejuvenate the sense of national reconciliation and unity. […] On the international front, the two sides agreed to demonstrate their collective wisdom, talents, and solidarity by jointly participating in international sports events such as the 2018 Asian Games. […]

2. South and North Korea will make joint efforts to alleviate the acute military tension and practically eliminate the danger of war on the Korean Peninsula.

(2) South and North Korea agreed to devise a practical scheme to turn the areas around the Northern Limit Line in the West Sea into a maritime peace zone in order to prevent accidental military clashes and guarantee safe fishing activities.

3. […]. (4) South and North Korea confirmed the common goal of realizing, through complete denuclearization, a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. […]."

- https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Translation:Panmunjom_Declaration

Source 44

Kim Jong Un and Moon Jae-in after signing a declaration on plans to end the war (2018)[23]

Source 45

From the Joint Declaration of the Inter-Korean Summit in Pyongyang (September 2018)

"September Pyongyang Joint Declaration

"[…] 1. The North and the South agreed to put an end to military hostilities in the confrontation zone, including the Demilitarized Zone, with the actual elimination of the danger of war in all areas of the Korean peninsula and the elimination of fundamental hostile relations.

(2) The North and the South agreed to immediately set up the North-South Joint Military Commission to check the status of the implementation of the agreement in the military field and to conduct regular communication and close consultations to prevent accidental armed conflicts. […].

2. […] (2) The North and the South agreed to normalize the Kaesong Complex and Mt. Kumgang tourism projects first, and to discuss the creation of the West Sea Joint Economic Zone and the East Sea Tourism Joint Special Zone, subject to the conditions being met diseases.

3. The North and the South agreed to further strengthen humanitarian cooperation to fundamentally resolve the issue of separated families.

(1) The North and the South agreed to open a permanent meeting place for separated families in the Mt. Kumgang area as soon as possible, and to this end, they decided to restore the facilities as soon as possible.

(2) The North and the South agreed to prioritize resolving the issue of reconciliation of separated families and the exchange of video letters through Red Cross talks.

4. The North and the South agreed to actively promote cooperation and exchanges in various fields in order to enhance the atmosphere of reconciliation and unity and to show off the spirit of our nation at home and abroad.

(1) The North and the South agreed to jointly actively participate in international competitions, including the 2032 Summer Olympic Games, and to cooperate in hosting the <> Summer Olympics jointly between North and South Korea.[…].

5. […] (3) The North and the South agreed to work closely together in the process of promoting the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

At the invitation of President Moon Jae-in, Chairman Kim Jong Un will visit Seoul in the near future."

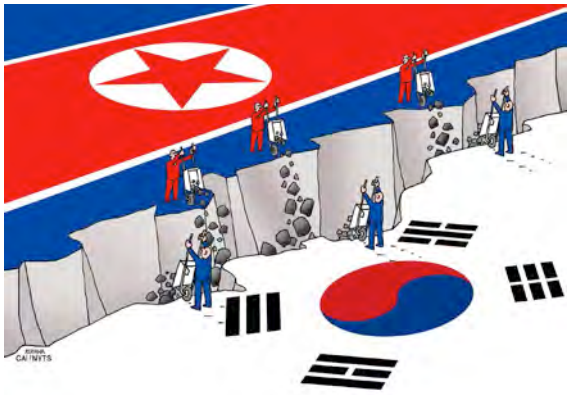
- https://ko.wikisource.org/wiki/9%EC%9B%94_%ED%8F%89%EC%96%91%EA%B3%B5%EB%8F%99%EC%84%A0%EC%96%B8

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 23

- Take a good look at **source 46**. Explain how this newspaper illustration conveys the spirit of the Panmunjom Declaration.

Source 46

An illustration from *The Japan Times* newspaper (2018)[24]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 24

- What role did the 2018 sports initiatives play in the Korean unification (**sources 47 and 48**).

Source 47

From the IOC decision on the "Olympic Korean Peninsula Declaration"(2018)

"The IOC approves the request of the NOCs of ROK and DPRK to have their delegations marching together as one under the name "Korea" at the Opening Ceremony. The delegation will be led into the Olympic Stadium by the Korean Unification Flag, carried by two athletes, one from each NOC. There will be one female and one male athlete flagbearer. The delegation will wear a special uniform with the Korean Unification Flag."

- https://olympics.com/ioc/news/unified-korean-olympic-team-to-march-at-olympic-winter-games-pyeongchang-2018

Source 48

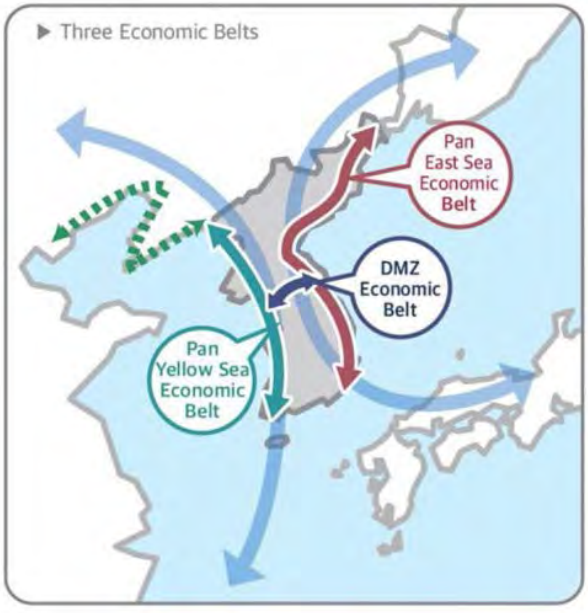
Chung Guam Hwang of North Korea and Yunjong Won of South Korea were joint flag bearers during the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games[25]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 25

- Based on **source 49**, identify the joint Korean plans for the development of the Korean Peninsula.
- The development of which sectors is being emphasised?

Source 49

Korean Peninsula Development Plan (2018)[26]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 26

- Take a good look at **source 50**. Explain what the author of the cartoon thinks are the reasons for the deterioration of inter-Korean relations a year after the promising agreements were reached. Whose point of view is represented in the cartoon.

Source 50

A cartoon *The Great Inter-Korean Summit on 4.27, a year after the fact, didn't you know it would be like this*? (2019)[27]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 27

- What is the change in the DPRK's policy towards the Republic of Korea in 2023–2024? (**source 51**). Try to explain the reasons for these changes.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 28

- Based on **source 52**, characterise the strategy of the US presidents towards North Korea.
- Why do you think the highly publicised meeting between D. Trump and Kim Jong Un did not produce any tangible results?

Source 51

From R. Frank's article *North Korea's New Unification Policy: Consequences and Pitfalls* (2024)

"At the Ninth Enlarged Plenum of the Eighth WPK Central Committee in late December 2023, North Korea's leader Kim Jong Un declared a "new stand on the north-south relations and the reunification policy." This marked a significant departure from previous policies and carries profound implications:

Kim Jong Un has not given up national unification. However, the official North Korean approach now allows a more aggressive official position toward the South, including the promotion of a public uprising and a destabilization of society. This will substantially weaken progressive forces in South Korea that have advocated for cooperative inter-Korean relations.

South Korea is now categorized as just another foreign state, eliminating the special treatment of inter-Korean relations based on pan-nationalism. This opens the door to regular interstate relations, including both diplomatic normalization and potential conflict.

Kim Jong Un's declaration of the failure of the previous approach toward South Korea carries implicit criticism of his two predecessors, especially Kim Il Sung. This could be a step toward solidifying his own independent claim to legitimacy and setting the stage for leadership succession.

The redefinition of the relationship with South Korea is not an isolated tactical move, but another component of North Korea's broader de-risking strategy.

North Korea has effectively relinquished the "ownership" of pan-Korean nationalism. South Korea is given the golden opportunity to portray itself as the sole supporter of Korean unity, thereby undermining one of the few ideological strengths North Korea had in the bilateral struggle for ideological supremacy.

The consequences of Kim Jong Un's evolving stance toward inter-Korean relations are numerous and multi-faceted and will trigger a cascade of changes across inter-Korean relations and regional dynamics. In the end, it seems that South Korea, especially its conservative forces, will benefit more than the North Korean leader intended."

- https://www.38north.org/2024/01/north-koreas-new-unification-policy-implications-and-pitfalls/

Source 52

Infographic *US Government Position on North Korea in 2009–2021* (2021)[28]

The infographic depicts US Presidents Barack Obama (2009–2017), Donald Trump (2017–2021), and Joe Biden (2021–).

Above is the caption: "How is Biden's new North Korea policy different?"

"The Obama Administration. "Strategic patience and distance." Obama-style strategic patience deferred diplomatic engagement, focusing on pressure. Result: North Korea significantly improves its nuclear missile capabilities during Obama's tenure."

"The Trump Administration. "A top-down package deal. Trump-style "grand bargain" diplomacy that focused on conventional leader-to-leader talks without serious preparatory work on negotiations. The result: He chaired two North Korea-US summits, but because of North Korea's policies [he had no achievements]."

"The Biden administration has taken a step-by-step approach to diplomacy. "The past agenda pursued by this government was 'Seeking a practical and coordinated new approach to the complete denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula'. Continued pressure on North Korea is expected to facilitate a step-by-step dialogue on a practical level."

2.3. Prospects for unification

Are there any prospects for solving the problem of Korean unification?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 29

- Do you agree with the author's opinion on the most realistic scenario for Korean unification (**source 53**)?

Source 53

From E. Olsen's book *Korea, the Divided Nation* (2005)

"Precisely what a United Korea sovereign state would look like and how it would behave internationally is impossible to predict, but— with or without a crystal ball—one can frame the likely parameters of that prospective state. ...

Two possible ways for a United Korea to swiftly become a version of the ROK or the DPRK would be as the result of either: (1) one Korea conquering the other Korea, or (2) one Korea collapsing or imploding and then being abjectly absorbed by the other Korea. In the first case, the chances of such a war occurring are slim, and few—if any—on either side seem to want a war of that magnitude. As important, even if such a war were to occur and yield either the ROK or the DPRK as the survivor in charge of the peninsula, it is virtually certain that the damage inflicted on both Koreas by the war would guarantee that the resulting United Korea could not be an expanded version of either the ROK or the DPRK. It would be a severely traumatized and diminished version of one or the other. The second category is more plausible in light of North Korea's decrepit infrastructure, economic ineptitude, famine-induced health problems, and dictatorial inflexibility, all of which make it a prime candidate for regime failure. However, that bleak aura has surrounded the DPRK for many years and it has managed to survive and function. Equally important, these all-too-real prospects of collapse constitute a serious incentive for the leaders in Pyongyang to negotiate their way out of being coercively absorbed by the ROK in the process of becoming one Korea.

As powerful as these counterarguments are as reasons why the previous two outcomes are unlikely, it remains possible that a peaceful negotiating process between North and South Korea yielding a United Korea could spawn a state that would be a large version of one of today's two Koreas. If representatives of the two Koreas carry out rational negotiations, using objective methods, over a long enough period of time to permit North Korea to close the socioeconomic gap between it and South Korea, it is plausible the resulting state and all of its components would amount to a peninsula-wide version of one of the two Koreas. Short of the DPRK successfully catching up with the ROK and surpassing South Korea's socioeconomic prosperity and flexibility, there is no chance that the DPRK would be the model for the future United Korea. To achieve this scenario, the DPRK would have to be bent on transforming itself into a de facto clone of the ROK en route to a merger. Even if North Korea were ever to follow such a course, it is unlikely to enjoy that much success.

The chances of these scenarios yielding a United Korea of that genre do exist, but another variation of the scenario is more promising. Most likely the kinds of societal reforms North Korea would pursue as the negotiating process plays out over time would draw on ROK and PRC role models, blending them with reinterpretations of North Korea's Kimist philosophy. In essence, North Koreans would be most likely to learn from South Korea and China through adaptation to the DPRK's peculiar political culture and strategic culture. This would enable them to North Koreanize these changes sufficiently so that the DPRK's negotiators would be able to cut deals with their ROK counterparts that would effectively blend the ROK socioeconomic and geopolitical models with their adapted equivalents in the DPRK. This would permit North Koreans to do in the future what they refuse to do now, namely look at the ways the former East Germany incrementally learned from West Germany well before permitting itself to join with the other half of Germany. This would become feasible because a DPRK that had truly North Koreanized a reform model rooted in South Korea and China would see itself in a far better position than East Germany had been at that juncture.

If handled prudently, this could be very beneficial for both Koreas en route to becoming one Korea again because it would give both sides the means to credibly claim that the resulting United Korea is legitimately descended from both the DPRK and the ROK. That United Korea would be tilting overwhelmingly toward what the entire world would recognize as a ROK-derived model, but it would have enough DPRK-derived adaptations of the ROK model's economic, political, and strategic reforms to permit all Koreans in a future United Korea to trace their heritage to both Koreas. A key variable in this evolutionary dynamic for the creation of a viable United Korea would be how external players interact with the reconciliation and reunification process as well as the resulting United Korea."

- Olsen, Edward A. Korea, the divided nation. London. Praeger Security International. 2005. P. 171–173.

Source 54

From Joon Seok Hong's article *The Economic Costs of Korean Reunification* (2010)

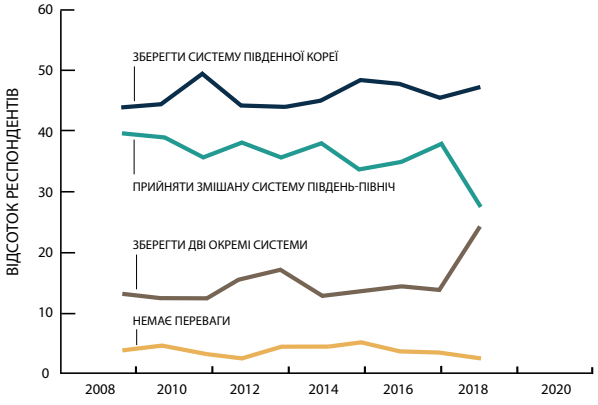
"While the majority of South Koreans seem to favor reunification, there is growing ambivalence about the timing and nature of reunification. Nearly half of the respondents in the KBS survey (January 2011 survey by the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) envisioned a relatively gradual process of unity, with 24.6% indicating

that it could happen within 10 years and 24% citing a time frame of 20 years. This protracted time frame recognizes that there are very complex and difficult issues involved in reunification. There are the seemingly intractable political differences and mistrust between the two Koreas, some of which are embedded in ideological conflicts. In addition, the North Korean nuclear weapons issue over the past two decades has only made reunification even more difficult to achieve. Finally, the social cleavages stemming from division and war and the generation shift to a younger generation that grew up in a divided peninsula all make the idea of reunification more a long-term dream rather than a near-time reality that requires preparation."

- https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Curriculum_Materials/LessonsbyTopic/History/Korean_Reunification_11th_Grade.pdf

Source 55

The South Koreans' response to the question "What kind of system do you think a unified Korea should have?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Asia Program Survey (2019)



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 30

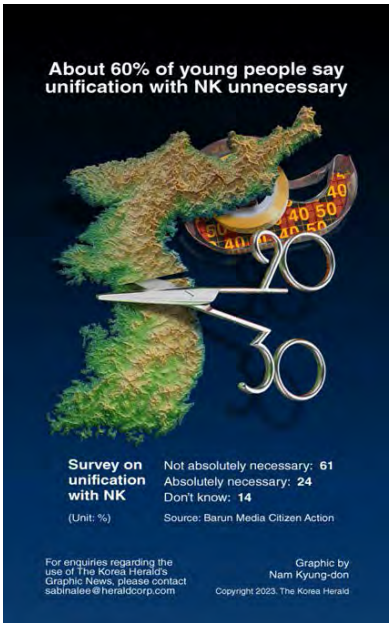
- Acquaint yourself with **sources 54–57** and comment on the statistics in them. Why do the South Koreans believe that the process of unification will take a long time (**source 54**)?
- Why would they prefer to see a South Korean or mixed model of governance in the future state?
- Why do more than 40 per cent of respondents consider peaceful coexistence rather than unification to be the most likely scenario?
- Why are those who support unification dominated by supporters of dialogue and negotiation?
- Why do South Korean youth not support unification in the majority? (**source 57**).

Source 56

The South Koreans' response to the question "Which of the following scenarios is most likely to result in the Korean unification?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Asia Programme survey (2019)

Source 57

About 60% of young people say unification with North Korea is unnecessary (2023)[29]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 31

- Acquaint yourself with **source 56**. How can you explain the fact that a significant number of scholars believe that maintaining the status quo is the best way to solve the Korean problem at this stage?

Source 58

From Kan Den Sik's article *The State of Research on the Korean Problem in Modern International Political Science* (2019)

"Scientists from different countries have different views on the solution to this problem. For example, Japanese researchers do not believe in the Korean

unification in the near future. From the research of the Japanese scientists, we can conclude that they are in favour of a pragmatic strategy aimed at maintaining the status quo because this situation is beneficial and in Japan's interests.

Chinese scholars of Korean studies are also mostly in favour of maintaining the status quo on the Korean peninsula, and despite some changes in relations between North Korea and China, they will still support North Korea in every way possible.

Although some Russian scholars of Korean studies argue that only Russia is neutral and sincerely wants Korean unification, in our opinion, Russia is not keen on Korean unification either, at least under the auspices of South Korea, because of fears that American troops could be on the border with Russia. Most South Korean scholars believe that only the United States really wants unification under South Korean auspices, as this option is in the US national interest.

The opinions of South Korean scholars are unequivocal, with all their works devoted to the unification of the Koreas under the auspices of South Korea and differ only in the approaches and methods of implementation and the choice of strategy. Many scholars understand that unification in the near future is unrealistic, so they propose close cooperation and coexistence with North Korea."

- http://journals.iir.kiev.ua/index.php/pol_n/article/view/4147.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 32

- Referring to **source 57**, describe the strategies of the leading powers in the region to resolve the Korean problem.
- How might these strategies affect the unification process?
- What role does Russia play in destabilising the region **(source 60)**?

Source 59

Infographic *Attitudes of the leading countries of the Asia-Pacific region to Korean unification* [30]

The title: "Unified Diplomatic Strategy of the Four Neighbouring Countries on the Korean Peninsula."

Captions according to the flags of the countries:

"China. Warnings: Expanding US influence on the Korean Peninsula. A large influx of North Korean refugees and growing nationalism among the ethnic Koreans in the three northeastern provinces, etc.

Diplomatic strategy is aimed at reducing problems and strengthening economic cooperation, for example, Korean-Chinese.

Korea-China FEZ and other economic contacts."

"Russia. Warnings: Expansion of US influence in Northeast Asia and loss of leading positions in the region after the unification.

Diplomatic strategy: To persuade through multilateral dialogue channels and propose cooperation measures, such as the construction of a railway and energy pipeline to the Korean Peninsula."

"The USA. Warnings: Possible tilt of South Korea towards China and reduction of US influence in Northeast Asia.

Diplomatic strategy: Strengthening the US-Korean alliance and using it as a lever of deterrence against China, Japan and Russia."

"Japan. Warnings: Security and economic uncertainties of reunification and reducing South Korea's influence in Northeast Asia."

Source 60

A cartoon *The Kim-Putin Meeting* by an Indian artist Paresh Natha. Kim Jong Un to Putin: "Your help here will make us feel better"

- https://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/kim-putin-meeting

3. The Korean cultural wave

What is the Korean Wave and why is it taking the world by storm?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 33

- Based on **sources 61** and **62**, try to give your own definition of the term "Korean Wave."
- Consider the following questions:
- Is the Korean Wave a cultural or a commercial phenomenon?
- Can the Korean Wave be considered a manifestation of soft power politics?
- Is the "Korean Wave" a typical example of cultural imperialism (i.e. promotion, selection and artificial introduction of the culture of one society into another)?
- What made the Korean Wave possible? What contributed to its strengthening?
- What will influence the rise or decline of the Korean Wave?
- Have you experienced the manifestation of the Korean Cultural Wave? If so, with what kind of product?

Source 61

Hallyu. The Korean Wave.
An illustration by J. Reinstein (2015)[31]

Source 62

From M. Roll's article *The Korean Wave (Hallyu) — The Rise of Korea's Cultural Economy & Pop Culture* (2021)

"Since early 1999, Hallyu has become one of the biggest cultural phenomena across Asia. The Hallyu effect has been tremendous, contributing to 0.2% of Korea's GDP in 2004, amounting to approximately USD 1.87 billion. More recently in 2019, Hallyu had an estimated USD 12.3 billion boost on the Korean economy.

Origins of Hallyu.

Hallyu is a Chinese term which, when translated, literally means "Korean Wave."

The word "Hallyu" was given to the world by Chinese journalists, who first used it in 1999. It is a collective term used to refer to the phenomenal growth of Korean culture in general and its pop culture in particular.

The popular media in the region has attributed the origins of Hallyu to a couple of movies and TV dramas that were released in 1999.

It was followed by a drama called "Autumn in my heart" in 2000, … a comedy "My Sassy girl" in 2001 and a drama "Winter Sonata" in 2004.

However, … the actual origins go back further in time… and include five main factors:

Lifting the ban on foreign travel for local Koreans.

Restructuring of Korean chaebols.

The Asian financial crisis forced them to restructure their business models by divesting many of their business units and concentrating on their core competencies. This in turn opened up the market internally and gave other smaller players … an opportunity to venture into varied businesses. Korea realized that it was dependent on the chaebols — if they failed, the country would fail…

Banning the censorship laws.

Increased emphasis on branding by leading Korean companies.

Increased focus on infrastructure.

Five important factors have been crucial for maintaining the popularity of Hallyu and further boosting its potential to expand into other markets:

- Growing popularity of Korean brands…
- Increased R&D in design, production and overall quality…
- Effective management of all touch points … The entertainment industry, the different organizations involved in movies, music companies, online gaming companies, Korean chaebols and the Korean government have meticulously orchestrated their efforts in ensuring constant interaction with customers.
- Continuous support from the Korean government.
- Lesser animosity towards Korea in Southeast Asian region: History, in a strange way, is positively aiding Korea and the growth of Hallyu. Most Asian countries were former colonies of Japan during the World War time. The direct result of this has been the continuing animosity towards Japan in many Asian countries, most notably in mainland China.

This has been the main reason for Japanese music or lifestyle not becoming a rage in many Asian countries. Korea on the other hand has been a former colony of Japan and thus is on the same page as many other Asian countries. The Japanese are able to identify with them as they are closer to Japan in terms of development and sophistication than any of the other Asian countries and therefore, Korean cultural exports have been huge in Japan. At the same time, being a former colony of Japan, Korea and China share the same history. The Chinese are able to relate more closely with Korean cultural products and relate without an underlying sense of animosity and hatred. This has been a major factor for the explosion of Korean culture in mainland China.

- The spillover effects of the rapid development of Hallyu.

Here are some of the major challenges that may arise in the near future:

- The need for sustaining innovation, which is always difficult to maintain...
- The "over-exposure of Korean stars" and its exploitation in the advertising of many companies...
- The need for sustained and significant investment from the Korean government ... and the need for well-thought-out, innovative and effective campaigns to boost Hallyu tourist spends.

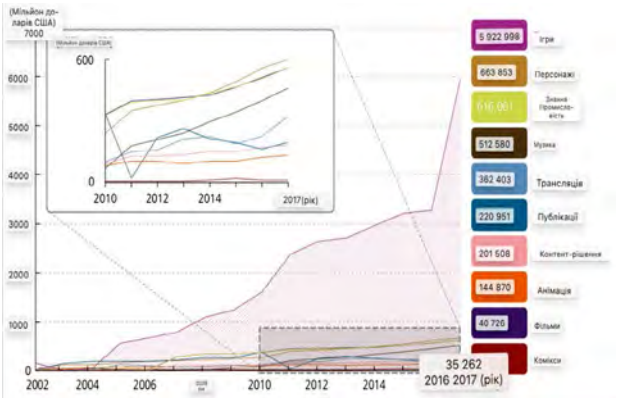
● https://martinroll.com/resources/articles/asia/korean-wave-hallyu-the-rise-of-koreas-cultural-economy-pop-culture/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 34

- Acquaint yourself with **source 63** and explain why the Korean Wave occurred in several stages. How are these stages interconnected?
- Try to identify the manifestations of the current 4th stage of the Korean Wave.
- Comment on the graph of Korean cultural exports in the world (**source 64**).
- Why do you think the government pays so much attention to this issue?

Source 64

A graph of the Korean wave exports[32]



Source 63

From Kim Bok-rae's article The Past, Present and Future of Hallyu (Korean Wave)" (2015)

Characteristics of the "Korean Wave" periods

Criteria	Korean wave 1.0	Korean wave 2.0	Korean wave 3.0
Duration	1997 — mid–2000s	mid–2000s — early 2010s	Since the early 2010s
Characteristics	The emergence of the Korean wave is focused on visual content	Spread of the Korean Wave. Focus on idols	The diversity of the Korean wave
Main genre	Drama	K-pop	K-culture
Genres	Drama, cinema, Korean pop song	Public culture, individual components of art and culture	Traditional culture, art and culture, popular culture
Countries	Asia	Asia, parts of Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Central and South America, and the USA	The whole world
Main consumers	Fans, supporters	Teenagers and twenty-somethings	Citizens of the world
Main media outlets	Cable and satellite TV, the Internet	Popular video sites, social networks	All types of media

● https://www.aijcrnet.com/journals/Vol_5_No_5_October_2015/19.pdf

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 35

- Based on **sources 65** and **66**, explain the peculiarities and appeal of Korean pop music.
- If you are a fan of Korean pop culture, try to compare it with Ukrainian pop culture of the last decade in terms of the following features: themes, genres, musical styles, audience, etc.
- What do you know about the K-pop artists on the poster (**source 66**).

Source 65

From O. Nykolenko's article *What is Special about Korean Pop Music and How It Took the World by Storm* (2020)

"At its core, Korean pop is a mixture, a collage made up of well-known and time-tested ingredients. Numerous bands consisting of the young and attractive Koreans, their mesmerising synchronised dance moves, a complex system of winks and gestures addressed to the audience — the origins of this are deeply rooted in ancient Asian culture. However, the musical component is entirely Western.

R'n'B tunes or hip-hop beats in the verses and dynamic choruses are in the spirit of modern pop music (most often in English). Often, the songs also use other elements of rap music (for example, a filigree fast recitative).

If we look at this phenomenon on a larger scale, it seems not just a mix of Western and Eastern cultures, but also an organic combination of the "old" and the "new." The music is produced on new synthesisers, and we hear urban melodies that immediately refer us to the Billboard charts of recent years. The Koreans adapt everything that is currently fashionable in the world of music, and they carefully follow the charts. The songs always contain key moments — the so-called "hooks", which are usually sung in English. At the moment of the hook, the video often suggests a specific dance movement (for example, steering as in the Mr. Taxi video).

Another important point is that in the songs and videos of South Korean performers (both boy bands and girl groups), there are no references to a promiscuous lifestyle: sex, drinking or club parties. This feature is enshrined at the state level: in this way, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (which educates minors) guides them to "correct traditional values."

In Seoul, you can feel the presence of K-pop at every turn. Street billboards and media advertising — everything is occupied by performers. Their full-length photos greet residents even at the entrance to supermarkets.

The cornerstone of Korean pop music is the search for and cultivation of talent. When the industry titans get involved, the emergence of new artists becomes almost like an assembly line production. Music agencies gather potential stars aged 12 to 19 from all over the world.

Appearance is the most "marketable" commodity in the world of Korean pop music. Performers rarely play musical instruments on stage. The main points of a stage performance are the right angles, perfectly set up lighting, and movements worked out to automaticity. In short, a celebration of physical beauty. The faces of K-pop stars with narrow chins look as if they were carved by the hands of sculptors, and certainly do not resemble a typical Korean face, which is flat and rounded."

https://suspilne.media/17899-cim-osobliva-korejska-pop-muzika-i-ak-vona-zahopila-svit/

Source 66

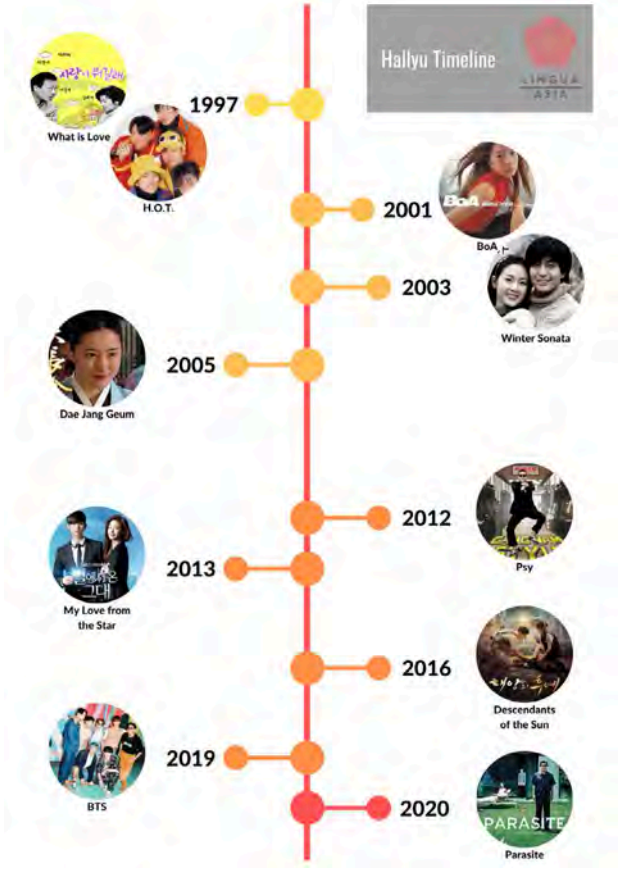
The best representatives of Korean popular culture (K-pop) in 2009–2022[33]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 36

- Acquaint yourself with **source 67** and identify which areas of culture formed the basis of the Korean cultural wave.
- Is it possible to distinguish certain stages of the Korean Wave?
- How did the establishment of diplomatic relations with China and the global financial crisis affect the Korean cultural wave?
- Is there a connection between the "cultural wave" and the "Korean economic miracle"?

Source 67

Infographic "Hallyu Timeline"[34]



- Koreans begin dancing in shamanistic rituals — 3,000 BC
- Korea and China reopen diplomatic relations — 1992
- IMF crisis — 1997
- President Kim Dae Jung injects money into the entertainment industry — 1997
- Korean drama "What is Love (사랑이 뭐길래)" has 150 million viewers overseas — 1997
- H.O.T. is introduced on Seoul Music Room radio broadcast in Beijing — 1997
- H.O.T. performs at Beijing Workers' Gymnasium — 2000
- BoA (보아) starts performing in Japan — 2001
- Winter Sonata (겨울연가) is aired overseas — 2003
- Dae Jang Geum (대장금) is aired overseas — 2005
- Rain (비) makes the Top 100 Most Influential People list by Time Magazine — 2006
- Gangnam Style (강남스타일) goes viral worldwide — 2012
- My Love from the Star (별에서 온 그대) is aired overseas — 2013
- Super Junior (슈퍼주니어) has 100th world tour performance — 2014
- Descendants of the Sun (태양의 후예) is aired overseas — 2016
- BTS (방탄소년단) releases 3 number 1 albums on the Billboard 200 music chart — 2019
- Parasite (기생충) wins the Academy Award for Best Picture at the Oscars — 2020.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 37

- Based on **source 68**, explain why South Korea was the birthplace of the cultural wave.
- Why did Korean entertainment become popular around the world?
- What role does the Korean national character play in this?

Source 68

The Meaning of Hallyu (한류) Explained by a Korean (2024)

"Why is Korean entertainment so popular?

Due to their geography, (surrounded by big and sometimes unfriendly neighbors) Koreans have a unique way of viewing the world.

Koreans have a long history of song, dance and entertainment.

The only natural resource Korea has is people. They spend a lot of time and money developing themselves. This is shown in their private academy culture where young children study after school until 10pm.

There's an endless supply of prospective stars (□□□ or trainees who practice for 3–5 years under strict dieting and social regulations before being signed) cultivated by entertainment agencies.

Koreans are incredibly meticulous when it comes to doing something in public. They believe that if you can't do something perfectly, it's not worth doing it all.

This is shown in their flawless performances. They even practice for company noraebang night. It's also a reason why Koreans have difficulty speaking English, even though they study it for 10 years.

Koreans work long, grueling hours to get things done.

K-pop in particular is known for its flawless choreography, catchy melodies, and of course attractive performers.

K-pop isn't just about the songs or the stars, it's an entire package of choreography, style and stage presence.

Korea has a generally favorable image around the world, since it hasn't been an aggressor since the Three Kingdoms Period.

Korea has a lot in common with other western nations. They value free markets, democratic elections and free press.

Celebrities in Korea maintain a flawless public image. A scandal can damage their reputation and earning power. This makes them marketable in countries with similar values.

Korean celebrities inspire fierce loyalty and a feeling of familiarity. It's common for younger fans to call them oppa or unnie, which means older brother or sister respectively.

Koreans are good at connecting emotionally with their audiences and telling stories full of joy and tragedy.

K-dramas are able to elicit emotions from their audience without using profanity, violence or risqué storylines. This makes them more marketable in Islamic and other Asian countries that are less interested in western entertainment."

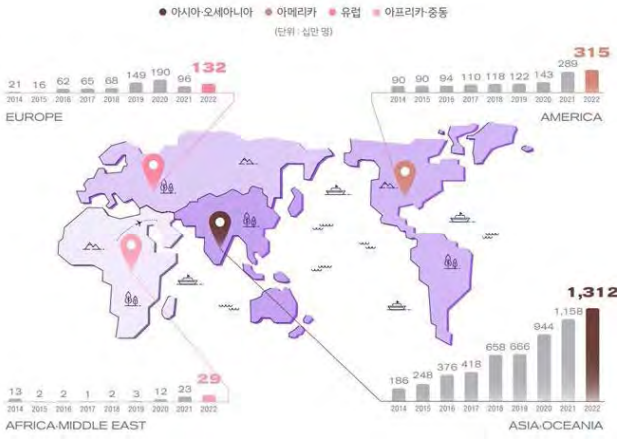
- https://linguasia.com/hallyu

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 38

- Based on **source 69**, identify the trend of the spread of Korean culture in the world.
- How can you explain the growing number of the Korean wave fans in the world?
- Why is the number of Hallyu fans in Asia much higher than in America and Europe?

Source 69

Infographic based on the results of the *Analysis of the Global Status of the Korean Wave* (2022)[35]



TASKS AND QUESTIONS 39

- Take a good look at **source 70** and explain the symbolism of the sculpture.
- Why do the South Koreans consider "Gangnam Style" to be so important that it is worthy of being captured in sculpture?

Source 70

Gangnam Style sculpture in Seoul[36]

Gangnam style is a style of luxury living (from the name of the wealthy district of Seoul — Gangnam). This is the chorus of the song by the famous pop singer PSY, which topped the charts from 2012 to 2017.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 40

- Based on **source 71**, what was the impact of the Korean Wave on the patriotic feelings of the young Koreans? What was the reason for this?

Source 71

An illustration in *The Times* newspaper for the article *How did Korean culture conquer the world?* which has become a symbol of the online community that is passionate about everything Korean [37]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 41

- Do you agree with the depiction of the "Korean Wave" as concentric circles in the centre of which are dramas and pop music (**source 72**)? Justify your opinion.
- Compare the diagrams of the Korean Wave (**sources 72–74**). Rank the elements of the scheme in order of their impact on today's youth or other social groups. What determines the priority of any given element?
- Explain how the Korean Wave influences young people (**source 74**). Do you and your friends feel the influence of Hallyu? If so, how does it manifest itself?
- Does the "Korean wave" pose a threat to the development of national popular culture, including Ukrainian culture?
- What can help Ukraine become a new global cultural wave? What phenomena make Ukraine famous in the world of culture?

Source 72

A scheme for the spread of Hallyu (according to JungBong Choi) [38]

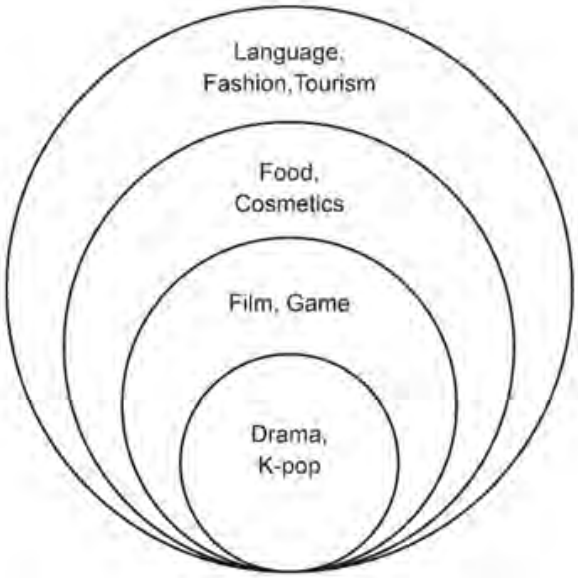
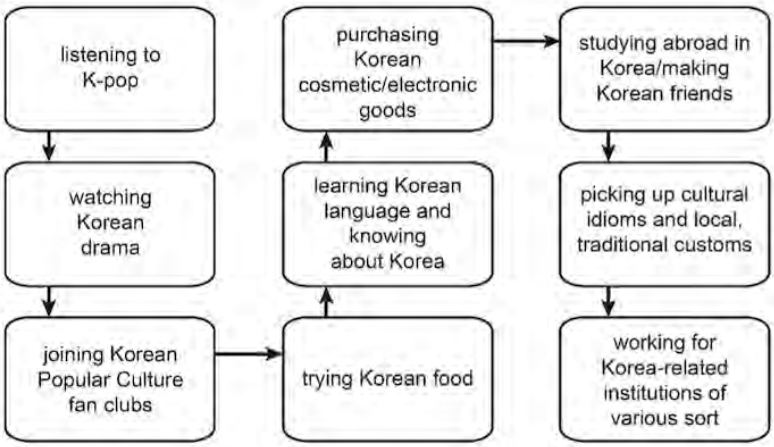


TABLE 1. Concentric Model of Hallyu

Category	Content
Essential content	Television dramas, K-pop, and other media products
Semiessential content	Films, videogames, performing arts, and foods
Para-Hallyu products/services	Tourism, cosmetic products, plastic surgery, fashion items, and language service
Distributive channels	Broadcast/satellite/cable televisions, overseas cultural/educational institutions, diasporic community/media, social-network media, and the Internet
Short-/long-term effects	Sales improvement in content industries/retail business, positive impacts on national image/branding, and higher competitiveness in international trade and public diplomacy

Source 73

The path of immersion in Korean culture (according to JungBong Choi)[39]



Source 74

K-pop fans from different countries about their hobby (2015)

"To me K-pop is more than just music; K-pop is like adapting to a new lifestyle. ... When taking interest in K-pop you automatically set aside some of your prejudice and you're willing to try something new.

"I could almost say it's a fact that your daily routine will change dramatically once you become really into K-pop (there's so much to see and catch up with and so on). (A female fan from the United States)."

"K-pop and dramas have definitely motivated me to learn Korean. I've studied Korean actively for around four months. Ever since I began listening to K-pop I've been interested in the language (when hearing the same words being repeated in different songs and TV shows, it's easy to form a basic vocabulary). I believe I appreciate K-pop more than before now that I actually can read, write, and understand what is being said and not having to entirely rely on translations provided by the fans. (A male fan from Malaysia)."

"Before I got interested in Korean dramas, I did not have any idea about the way of thinking or acting in Korea. I belonged to the group of people who only knew that the country's capital is Seoul and that Samsung is Korean. By getting to know Korean dramas I've learned so much about the cultural differences between Korea and Western countries, which I really appreciate!"

- Jung Bong Choi. Hallyu versus Hallyu- hwa. Cultural Phenomenon versus Institutional Campaign Hallyu 2.0: The Korean Wave in the Age of Social Media.Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015, P. 34, 36. https://www.academia.edu/2440100/Hallyu_vs_Hallyu_hwa

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 42

- Refer to **source 75**, which illustrates the article "America in the Korean Wave." What phenomenon of the Korean Wave does the collage depict? In the United States in 2021, a survey was conducted of Korean film viewers aged 18 to 59. 40% of them said that their attitude towards Korea had improved after watching the films. Comment on this fact.
- What does the photo of the regional qualifying competitions for the K-Pop World Festival in Korea testify to (**source 76**)?

Source 75

A collage illustration for the article *America in the Korean Wave*[40]

Source 76

Regional qualifying competitions for the right to participate in the KPOP World Festival in Korea (San Jose, California, USA, 2019)[41]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 43

- While studying **source 75**, you saw an image of the "Korean Wave" in the form of concentric circles. The authors of the infographic (**source 76**) do not present such strict connections between the components of the model and distinguish slightly different components.
- Which of the "Korean Wave" models is more in line with your idea of Hallyu?
- Try to come up with your own model of the "Korean Wave" using a mind map. Prepare to justify it.

Source 77

An infographic *Riding the Korean Wave* (2019)[42]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 44

- What message is the author of **cartoon 78** trying to convey to the viewer? Find out the meaning of the captions. What differences can you see between the two Korean societies?
- Think about whether North Korea could be the birthplace of a "Korean cultural wave"? Do you think that Hallyu is a pan-Korean phenomenon or an exclusively South Korean phenomenon? Why?

Source 78

A cartoon *A World Dictator. A World Entertainer*[43]

4. The Koreans in Ukraine and the Ukrainians in Korea

What is similar and different in the situation and historical circumstances of the Ukrainians in Korea and Koreans in Ukraine?

INTRODUCTION

The mass migration of the **Koreans to Ukraine (4.1)** is associated with the 1960s. Despite the Soviet policy of blurring national boundaries, the Ukrainian Koreans tried to preserve their national identity and perceived Ukraine as their homeland and stood up to defend it.

The Ukrainians in Korea (4.2) began to appear in the late nineteenth century. First of all, they were those who were involved in the maritime industry, such as A. Seredin-Sabatin, and later — participants in the Russo-Japanese War and immigrants from other countries who established family ties with the Koreans, for example, Y. Mullock. At the end of the twentieth century, Ukrainian engineers and IT specialists began to choose South Korea as a place of residence and to realise their professional abilities.

A Ukrainian-Korean couple who run their own TikTok channel

- https://www.fmkorea.com/6521654106

An envelope with the inscription 'Pray for Ukraine' to collect donations from the parishioners of the Central Church in Gyeongsang to help refugees from Ukraine in Romania

- https://www.kidok.com/news/articleView.

4.1. The Koreans in Ukraine

What is the place of the Ukrainian Koreans in public life?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 45

- Based on **sources 79 and 80**, explain the dynamics of the number of the Koreans in Ukraine. What processes are associated with these surges?
- Why do the Koreans choose to live in the southern and eastern regions of Ukraine?
- Comment on the statistical data (**source 80**). Why did the Koreans identify themselves as the Russian-speaking part of the Ukrainian population?

Source 79

From the memoirs of the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine Ho Sun Cheol *Ukraine is my love* (2009)

"Everyone knows that in 1937, on Stalin's order, the Koreans from the Far East were forcibly deported to Central Asia. At first, there were no Koreans on the territory of Ukraine at all.

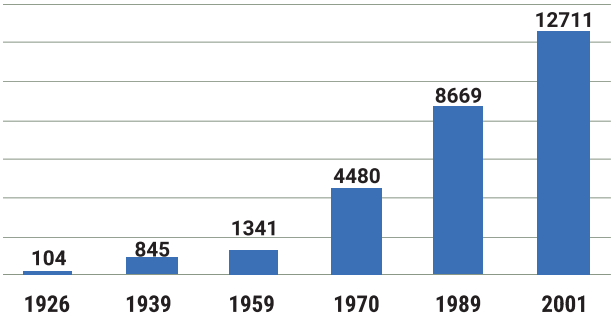
They began migrating here in 1950, some of them — to study, some — to serve in the military and some to work. The Koreans, who settled in Ukraine legally, obtained Ukrainian citizenship after the declaration of independence. Thus, according to the 2001 census, 12,711 ethnic Koreans were living in Ukraine who were citizens of Ukraine. Approximately 3,000 of them live in the Crimea, while Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kherson and Donetsk oblasts account for just over a thousand people each, and 493 live in the capital. The number of stateless Koreans or those with citizenship of another country is approximately ten to twenty thousand. Most of them are citizens of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other Central Asian countries. The southern regions of Russia and the central and southern regions of Ukraine are known to be favourable for agriculture, due to their rich black soil. Usually, in the midst of agricultural work in the field, due to a shortage of labour in these areas, seasonal workers from other regions were attracted who returned to their home country at the end of the season. This is how the term "seasonal worker" came about.

Many of the Koreans who immigrated to Ukraine in 1992 to escape the civil war in Tajikistan are also stateless. After the end of the civil war, Tajikistani passports began to be issued in 1993, but many Koreans with Soviet passports immigrated to Ukraine or other countries to escape the post-war chaos."

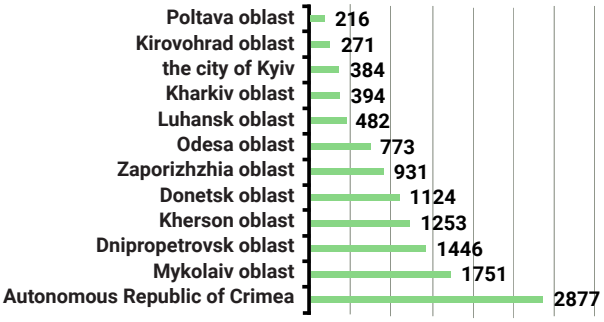
- Хо Сун Чьол. Україна — моя любов (мемуари Посла Республіки Корея в Україні). Київ: Видавничий Дім Дмитра Бураго, 2009. С.111–113.

Source 80

Dynamics of the number of Koreans in Ukraine according to censuses



The number of Koreans in the regions of Ukraine according to the 2001 census



The Native language of the Koreans according to the 2001 census

- https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Корейці_в_Україні

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 46

- How typical do you think S. Jung's conclusions (**source 81**) are regarding the loss of national identity by the Ukrainian Koreans? What are the reasons for this?

Source 81

From Jung Sung-tae's publication *Phantom Syndrome: Ethnic Koreans in Ukraine"* (2017)

Kim Janna lives with her family in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, and wants to visit Korea, which "exists only in her imagination"

"...when I was taking photographs for my project about Chornobyl in Ukraine in 2015, I found out that there are also many ethnic Koreans living in Ukraine — according to the statistics, about 30,000. With the help of the embassy of the Republic of Korea in Ukraine and the Association of Ethnic Koreans I received information about some of them. I managed to take portraits of 20 families in Kyiv, Dnipro, Kryvyi Rih, Kremenchuk, and smaller towns of Ukraine.

It has been 80 years after the deportation, and almost nobody from the first-generation deportees is alive — I met only two people. My pictures mostly feature Koreans from the second, third, and fourth generations. None of them is thinking about going back to Korea; and almost none of them speaks Korean. They have retained few things from their culture, probably only in interior — small tables or cutout calendars on the wall. Their faces are almost the only thing that speaks to their roots."

https://birdinflight.com/en/inspiration/experience/20170718-ethnic-koreans-jung-sung-tae.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 47

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 82–85.**
- How did the contemporary Ukrainian Koreans end up in Ukraine?
- How do they perceive Ukraine? How do they feel about Korea?
- How do they fulfil themselves in Ukraine?
- Can we affirm that contemporary Ukrainian Koreans have a dual identity? How widespread do you think dual identities are? What are the reasons for this?
- Why do you think an American Korean came to Ukraine at a difficult time for our country **(source 83)**.

Source 82

From A. Taranenko's article *A Female Ukrainian of Korean descent Yulia Tsoi: "Otherness" Sometimes Works as an Advantage"* (2021)

"When people ask me how I identify myself in terms of nationality — as a Ukrainian of Korean descent or a Korean with Ukrainian citizenship — I always answer that both options suit me. Although I will never fully belong to either of these two identities — I am Korean by nationality and Ukrainian by passport, and although I have lived in Ukraine almost all my life, I feel more like a Korean inside as I grew up in a family that respects Eastern national traditions.

I also look very different from the people around me, about which I have always been and still often reminded.

My parents are Korean by nationality. My mother was born in Uzbekistan, and my father lived in South Korea until he was 5 years old, but he vaguely remembers that time.

Yulia Tsoi with her husband Olexii Bahinskyi

After they got married, they settled together in the city of Urgench, my father was engaged in construction, and my mother worked in a sewing studio. Later, they both became interested in farming, decided to change their occupation and started growing vegetables. In 1993, they came to Ukraine for one season for the sake of the black soil and good harvests and settled (only temporarily at that time) in Kherson oblast.

After another season, in 1995, my parents decided to stay in Ukraine permanently to develop the farming industry. Thus, we moved — I was 5 years old at that time, and my brothers were 12 and 13."

- https://life.pravda.com.ua/society/2021/03/16/244236/

Source 83

From S. Chang's article *A Korean Who Came Home to Ukraine* (2015)

"The conflict in Ukraine may seem distant and inaccessible to many Korean Americans, but in a way, it is not so different from the history of Korea itself when it was divided in two in 1945, and then the Korean War began.

With the annexation of the Crimea, which is recognised by the international community as part of Ukraine, to Russia in March 2014 and the ongoing war in the east, two different ideologies seem to have torn Ukraine in two. The armed pro-Russian separatists guarding the eastern border echo the sorrowful stories of divided Korean families. This parallel should encourage the Koreans to take a more intimate interest in caring about Ukraine... .

I am a Korean from the United States, but today I am ultimately a Ukrainian — and I want to take care of my home where my beloved parents live!"

- http://iamkoream.com/returning-to-ukraine/

Source 84

Professor Kan Den Sik's reflections. From the article *The Koreans of Ukraine. Who are they?* (2019)

"Ukraine is my second homeland. I've been here for many years; I've lived in Ukraine for most of my life. My wife is Ukrainian, and so is my family. Basically, Ukraine has given me everything: I grew up here as a person, defended my doctorate, and became a professor. Everything I have achieved, I have achieved here."

- https://www.ukrainer.net/koreitsi/

Source 85

J. Jemin and O. Lim about his life in Ukraine

"John Jemin is originally from South Korea: "In 2008, I came to Ukraine, to the Crimea, and I have been here ever since. I like it here in Ukraine: it has beautiful nature, a lot of land and you can grow a lot of things. As for the Ukrainian language, I have Olena who knows Ukrainian and can be an interpreter ..." However, to "Glory to Ukraine!" John can say "Glory to the Heroes!" in Ukrainian."

Korean immigrants from Melitopol, John Jemin and Olena Lim

Olena Lim: "I did not come from South Korea. I am an ethnic Korean. I was born in Uzbekistan. When I was three years old, we moved to Ukraine. I was lucky to go to a Ukrainian school. Despite the fact that Melitopol is more Russian-speaking, I speak Ukrainian, but not as well as I would like. And I learned Korean on my own because my parents no longer knew it. Missionaries from Korea came to us, and that's when I started learning Korean."

- Денисенко М. Навчатимуть мови та знайомитимуть зі східною культурою (2023) https://suspilne.media/370432-navcatimut-movi-ta-znajomitimut-zi-shidnou-kulturou-korejci-z-melitopola-vidkrili-v-cerkasah-kulturnij-klub/

The Koreans who are defenders of Ukraine

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 48

- What can explain the patriotic feelings of the Koreans living in Ukraine (**sources 86–91**)? What is more important in this position: a civic position, ethical responsibility or ethnic identity?
- What phrase made Vitalii Kim famous and why did his TV appearances in the first year of the full-scale war become so popular?

Source 86

Actor and volunteer Pavlo Lee in the film *Myrnyi 21*[44]

Source 87

From the article *Pasha Li: Having Given His Bulletproof Vest to a Child, He Died* (2022)

"Akhtem Seitablaiev recalled that in his film *Mirnyi 21*, Pasha played one of the main roles, in which his character told about himself: his father was Korean, his mother was from western Ukraine, and he was a Hutsul born in Yevpatoriia. In fact, it was a biography of Pasha himself...

On the first day of spring, at the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion, he voluntarily joined the 206th Battalion of Kyiv Territorial Defence. Five days later, he was killed in a bombing while helping to evacuate people from a burning building in Irpin. He saved a child who he was carrying in his arms, having put his bulletproof vest on her. But his own life was cut short by an enemy bullet...

"We are being bombed, but we are smiling. Because we will cope, and everything will be Ukraine," he wrote on Instagram two days before."

- https://poradnica.com.ua/pasha-li-zagynuv-viddavshy-svij-bronezhylet-dytyni/

Source 88

Testimony of the mother of an actor and TV presenter Pavlo Li (2023)

"Pavlo was born on 10 July 1988 in Yevpatoriia into a family of the Korean musician Roman Mykolaiovych Lee and a Galician choreographer Mariia Vasylivna Lee. His mother recalls that since childhood he was interested in the stage and loved the smell of theatre curtains. From primary school, he took part in theatre performances. The representatives of Kyiv Children's Academy of Arts noticed him and invited him to study in the capital.

In 2004, Pavlo got his first full-fledged film role in the Ukrainian thriller The Adit. Subsequently, he starred in a number of films, the most recent of which, *Mirnyi 21*, tells the story of the feat of Luhansk border guards in 2014. The famous photo of Pavlo in military uniform is from the shooting of this film. He also took part in the Star Factory, actively dubbed films into Ukrainian, became a dubbing director, and played in the theatre with People's Artist of Ukraine Ada Rohovtseva. He created his own actor's mastery courses."

- https://nsju.org/istoriyi/mamochko-ya-duzhe-potribnyj-tut-mama-aktora-i-televeduchogo-pavla-li-rozpovila-pro-jogo-zhyttya-i-zagybel/

Source 89

Vitalii Kim: Biography

"Vitalii Oleksandrovych Kim was born on 13 March 1981 in Mykolaiv. His father is an Honoured Basketball Coach who played in the USSR youth team.

Kim is fluent in English and can speak a little Korean and French.

In 1998, he started his own business. From 2005 to 2011, Kim ran several businesses in Mykolaiv and was also involved in foreign investments.

In 2015, he was the head of the analytical department at the Ministry of Agrarian Policy of Ukraine. He was also the founder of a group of development companies and was involved in the construction of residential complexes Apelsyn, Kontsert, and Zatyshnyi.

Since 25 November 2020, Kim has been the Head of Mykolaiv Regional State Administration."

- https://stars.segodnya.ua/ua/stars/ukrainian/dobriy-vechir-mi-z-ukrajini-na-kom-zhenat-seks-simvol-nikolaevskoy-oga-vitaliy-kim-i-chto-o-nem-izvestno-1608171.html

Source 90

From N. Lebid's article *Good morning, we are from Ukraine. 10 Facts from Vitalii Kim's Biography* (2022)

"I am 50% Korean and 50% Ukrainian," Kim says about himself. "My father is Korean and raised me in an oriental style, but my love for Ukraine comes from my mother who is from Ternopil. Both my bloodlines get along perfectly, they are balanced, something bad in me is controlled by my 'good' side, and vice versa," he jokes. By the way, it is due to the influence of his father's roots, as Kim says, that he possesses "healthy indifference." "It's part of the Eastern culture that requires restraint in all circumstances, and it also comes from sports, because when you go into the arena, a cold mind is always better and calmer."

So, when Kim diluted important messages about victories and losses on the frontline with information about himself (he changed his T-shirt, ate or had a haircut), it was neither clowning around nor self-admiration. It was just a way of immersing the viewer in everyday life, putting up a kind of emotional screen that protects them from the horrors of the war. "You have to believe in karma, believe that when you get nervous, you don't help the situation, and a sober, cold mind is always more useful," Kim reiterates.

Kim has learnt some things from Eastern sages and some from Ukrainian musicians. The fact is that Vitalii Kim's most popular phrase, which he always uses to begin his video messages — "Good evening! We are from Ukraine!" — does not belong to Kim himself. He himself admits that he has heard it in a song ... and appropriated it."

- https://glavcom.ua/publications/mi-z-ukrajini-chim-znamenitiy-vitaliy-kim-krim-memiv-ta-shkarpetok-847659.html)

Source 91

Vitaly Kim is the subject of a story in *The Times* (2022)[45]

ASKOLD KRUSHELNYCKY | DISPATCH

Invading Russians will be dog food, says city

The people of Mykolaiv are determined to block Putin's path to Odesa

The Mykolaiv region's charismatic governor, Vitaliy Kim, is considered a likely successor to President Zelensky

The phrase "Good evening. We are from Ukraine!", which Kim made famous without being its author, has become a meme, merchandise, and a memory of the terrible days of the war without being its author.

Source 92

From I. Krykunenko's article *Ukrainians are fighting by improvising. A South Korean ex-special forces officer, who is liberating Ukraine, says how battles are fought here* (2022)

"Everyone has a reason to come to Ukraine. For me, it is absolutely a matter of morality. I saw on TV what was happening here, and I could not believe that Russia could invade a sovereign state like that. In my head, I knew who the bad guys were, and who the good guys were. As a former special forces operator, I have skills that can really help the military here. If I just sit on my backside, do nothing and watch CNN, it would be wrong. It's like walking down the street and seeing two guys raping a woman. Are you just going to watch? Especially if you are trained to do something about it, and if you have the experience to help. For me, it's a crime in itself to do nothing. That's why I'm here...

Once I was in Russia, in Vladyvostok. It's not far from Korea, and a lot of Koreans go there for sightseeing and tourist trips. So, when I came to Ukraine, I noticed that it all reminded me of the history of South and North Korea. For a foreigner, at first glance, people seem to have a lot in common, such as a similar language and appearance. But these are different countries that have always been at war with each other.

I was very impressed by how kind and responsive the Ukrainian people are to foreigners; even during the war, no one was angry or irritated. This is a unique situation: there is a cult of foreign fighters in Ukraine, and everyone is ready to help them...

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 49

- Based on **sources 92 and 93**, explain, using a specific example, the reasons for the involvement of some foreigners, the Koreans in particular, during the Russia-Ukraine war.
- What differences in the approach to warfare between the Koreans and Ukrainians, according to the author, were manifested during the war?

...I was trained with the Korean and American military where we always spent a lot of energy on planning. Ukrainian soldiers are a little different, they are like a flash — they just go and fight by improvising. It's a very good fighting mentality, but I and many Americans and Brits get culture shock because of the big difference in the way they approach combat."

- https://nv.ua/ukr/ukraine/events/ukrajinski-vojini-improvizuyut-kolishniy-koreyskiy-specnaznachinec-interv-yu-novini-ukrajini-50241549.html

Source 93

Ken Ri, a former Navy Seal and lieutenant in the Republic of Korea's special forces who arrived in Ukraine in early March 2022

- https://nv.ua/ukr/ukraine/events/ukrajinski-vojini-improvizuyut-kolishniy-koreyskiy-specnaznachinec-interv-yu-novini-ukrajini-50241549.html

4.2. The Ukrainians in Korea

What is known about our compatriots in Korea?

Afanasii Seredin-Sabatin

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 50

- Who was Afanasii Seredin-Sabatin? Describe his activities in Korea (**sources 94–96**).
- Explain why he is considered a prominent Ukrainian in Korea. Why are the Russians trying to take credit for A. Seredin-Sabatin to themselves?

Source 94

From the website of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Korea

"He became one of the first not only Ukrainians but also foreigners to come to Joseon at the time when the country began to open up to the world. He was a self-taught architect and made an unusual career, becoming the court architect of Emperor Gojong and the author of iconic buildings that still adorn Seoul.

Afanasii Ivanovych was born in Lubny, Poltava oblast, in 1860 into a family of an impoverished landowner, and his mother was a descendant of Zaporizhzhian Cossacks. After studying to become a navigator, he began his service in the Far East and arrived in Korea in 1883. At first, he worked on construction projects for the German baron Paul Georg von Möllendorff and later started his own practice. In 1894, he joined the service at the Gyeongbok Royal Palace, where he witnessed the events surrounding the assassination of Queen Min by the Japanese, one of the most tragic and pivotal moments in Korean history. Seredin-Sabatin's truthful testimony won the favour of King (since 1897 — Emperor) Gojong, and in 1896–1899, the Ukrainian became the first foreigner in Korean history to become a court architect, designing 5 European-style buildings for the Deoksugung Palace.

Among them, the Jeonggwanheon pavilion stands out as the most notable, combining elements of European and traditional Korean architecture for the first time. It is interesting that this pavilion was the starting point not only for modern architectural experiments in

Korea but also for the Korean passion for coffee, which is the national drink now, as it was here that the first Korean connoisseur of coffee, Emperor Gojong, liked to enjoy it.

Seredin-Sabatin's participation in the project of building the Independence Gate, which still adorns the Seodaemun Independence Park in the centre of Seoul, was also significant. Designed to symbolise Korea's independence from China, it acquired a new symbolism during the period of Japan's annexation of the country, post-war liberation and attempts to unite the divided nation."

- https://korea.mfa.gov.ua/spivrobitnictvo/vidomi-ukrayinci-v-koreyi

Source 95

The Architect Afanasii Seredin-Sabatin (1860–1921)[46]

Source 96

The main gate and buildings of the Russian mission in Seoul (1891)[47]

Source 97

From P. Seredin-Sabatin's autobiography, the architect's son (1950)

"My grandfather [Ivan Vasylovych Seredin-Sabatin], my father's father, came from a noble family (an impoverished landowner in Poltava province), lived in the city of Lubny where he had real estate. I heard from someone that we even had a coat of arms in the form of a shield with nine lances or arrows. His first wife, that is, the mother of my father, Afanasii Ivanovych, was a simple Ukrainian woman, descended from Zaporizhzhia Cossacks.

My mother [Lidiia Khrystyianivna] was a German woman, Shalich by surname, (probably from a family of Germanised Poles, as this surname is not German). So, I must have three different bloodlines in me: Ukrainian, German and Polish.

I consider myself Ukrainian by nationality, because Ukraine was my father's homeland, and as far as I remember, everything Ukrainian dominated in him: he looked every inch a typical Cossack in appearance, speech and character traits."

- https://koryo-saram.site/arhitektor-ego-velichestva-korei-seredin-sabatin-1860-1921

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 51

- Imagine that you are a museum worker who is tasked with preparing a stand dedicated to the activities of A. Seredin-Sabatin in the exhibition hall "The Prominent Ukrainians in Korea." Based on the suggested **sources 98–102** and additional information, propose a layout of the stand (list of exhibits and captions to them, order of arrangement, background illustrations, etc.).
- In doing so, take into account that researchers distinguish two periods in the creative work of A. Seredin-Sabatin. The first one is represented by colonial-style buildings (the style emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century, its main feature is a harmonious mix of several ethnic canons and cultures). These are public buildings; barracks, hospitals, officers' houses, schools, stations, and landing piers. They were 1–2 storeys high and were notable for a simple plan (usually rectangular) and a mandatory perimeter extension of galleries with columns. The façade décor was ascetic, its details were usually chosen from the arsenal of classicism (order pilasters and columns, profiled cornices, triangular pediments, etc.).
- The second period is associated with the European-Korean style. These buildings are notable for the fact that the architect focused in them on the search for new forms, combining local architectural traditions with European ones, as well as the possibilities of modernity. At the same time, Korean traditions were emphasised. The development of this experience in Indochina led to the formation of the so-called "Indochinese" style by the 1920s, which aimed to preserve traditional values in a period of rapid development of modern forms.

Source 98

The main building of the Sontag Hotel (1909)[48]

Source 99

The Deoksugung Jungmyeongjeon Palace was built in 1901 for the Imperial Library, the first building in Korea in the Western style[49]

Source 100

Dongnimmun (Independence) Gate (1897)[50]

Source 101

The former Russian diplomatic mission in Korea[51]

Source 102

Deoksugung Palace's Jeonggwanheon Pavilion, situated behind the Emperor's residence, was built in 1900[52]

Yulia Mullock (Lee)

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 52

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 103–105** and A. Shopska's student project, the video film Yulia Lee is the Ukrainian Princess of Korea (4 minutes) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=21qjfQebSc4).
- Write a short review of the student's work.
- Propose your own film script on this topic.

Source 103

From the website of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Korea

"A Ukrainian woman is the last princess of Korea? It sounds unbelievable, but this is the true story of a Ukrainian Cinderella, which, however, did not have a happy ending.

Yulia was born in Pennsylvania in 1923 into a large family of Ukrainian immigrants. Her father was a miner and died when she was a child, and later the family moved to New York. Her service in the US Navy during World War II opened the way for Yulia to study at the prestigious Parsons School of Design, and later she got a job with the architectural firm of I.M. Pei, where she met a young engineer, Yi Ku, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Yi Ku is the grandson of Emperor Gojong and the son of Yi Un, the crown prince of the 500-year-old Joseon royal dynasty (formally, in 1926– 1945, he held the title of King of Korea, although the country was a Japanese colony). However, at the time of their meeting, Yi Ku was an ordinary American citizen, and his family was in disgrace at home.

The couple got married on 25 October 1959 at St George's Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in New York (the groom even learnt a few words in Ukrainian when he proposed) and later they moved to Hawaii. The situation changed when a new president came to power in the Republic of Korea, and in 1963, Yi Un's family was invited to return to Seoul and settle in Naksonje Palace.

The lives of Yulia Lee and Yi Ku change dramatically — new social conditions, the burden of responsibility, social life and intrigues, the conflict of characters and the couple's inability to conceive an heir to the dynasty undermine the marriage, and in 1982 they divorced.

After the divorce, Yulia Lee continues to live in Korea, designing clothes. She pays a lot of attention to social work, taking care of people with disabilities and orphans, for which she is nicknamed "Big Mama." In 1995, she moved to Hawaii. In 2005, she visits Korea to pay her last respects to her ex-husband and donate family heirlooms to a museum. She kept her love for Yi Ku until her death on 26 November 2017.

In the MBC documentary "Yulia's Last Letter", the former princess confesses on camera that she was just a simple Ukrainian girl who would never have believed that one day she would be in the royal palace."

- https://korea.mfa.gov.ua/spivrobitnictvo/vidomi-ukrayinci-v-koreyi.

Source 104

Yulia Mullock and Yi Ku[53]

Source 105

Yulia Mullock loved Yi Ku until the end of her life[54]

The Ukrainians in the Republic of Korea

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 53

- Based on **sources 106** and **109**, describe the current social activities of an active part of the Ukrainians in the Republic of Korea.
- Acquaint yourself with the page of the Facebook group "The Ukrainians in Korea."
- Create a word cloud (a cluster of concepts or an associative bush) that reflects the characteristic features of the life of the Ukrainians in modern

Korea. Explain the chosen form of the cloud (cluster of concepts or associative bush) and its content.

Source 106

From A. Martyniuk's article *The Korean Ukrainians, Meme Interpretation, and Russian Propaganda: How Our Diaspora Lives in Korea* (2023)

"Ihor Vasyltsov is an engineer from Ternopil who has been working in South Korea for many years. After graduating from Lviv Polytechnic National University, he was engaged in research and received an invitation to an internship at a Seoul company. The internship eventually turned into a long-term contract, and Ihor and his family have been living in the country for many years.

"This country is far away from Ukraine, compared to Europe or Canada. The Ukrainians are as exotic for the Koreans as they are for us. That is why we, the local diaspora, try to be together and support each other in Asian countries. We do not have any clear organisational structure, and everything is based on volunteering. That's why we communicate through the Facebook group 'The Ukrainians in Korea'. Before the war, we used to celebrate Christmas together, and when the Russian invasion began in 2014, we started organising rallies and protests," Ihor recalls.

The Ukrainians in Korea tried to tell the Koreans about the events at home.

The first rallies in 2014 gathered from 30 to 50 people.

In 2014, 30 to 50 people came to demonstrations against Russian aggression in Seoul. In 2022, the situation changed.

"When we started organising the first rallies in February, from 300 to 500 people came to us. To my surprise, a lot of the ethnic Korean Ukrainians showed up at the demonstrations. These people have an Asian appearance, but they speak Ukrainian — the Ukrainians both by passport and spirit. And they are mostly young boys and girls. Ukraine has changed, and the Ukrainians abroad are also changing. The last eight years have not passed in vain."

- https://evacuation.city/articles/244298/eho-korejskoi-vijni-pereklad-memiv-z-ukrtvitteru-ta-rosijska-propaganda-yak-zhivut-ukrainci-korei

Source 107

A Ukrainian-Korean rally in Seoul against the war in Ukraine (2013)[55]

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 54

- Write an essay on the following topic: What are the similarities and differences in the situation and historical circumstances of the arrival of the Ukrainians in Korea and Koreans in Ukraine?

Source 108

Poster of the street concert for peace in Ukraine

- https://www.pressenza.com/2022/03/street-concert-for-peace-in-ukraine-and-a-friday-candlelight-vigil-in-seoul-south-korea/

Source 109

Poster of the exhibition *Children's Art of Ukraine within the framework of the Week of Ukraine in the Republic of Korea* (2023)

- https://thegaze.media/news/ukrainian-culture-week-unfolds-in-south-korea/

GENERALISATIONS. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA FOR UKRAINE

How can the experience of the Republic of Korea be useful for Ukraine?

The Republic of Korea is Ukraine's ally in the war for independence

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 1

- Based on **sources 1–3**, describe the official position of the government of the Republic of Korea on the Russia-Ukraine war.
- How can you explain the change in this position towards greater support for Ukraine?
- Why are the government of the Republic of Korea and South Korean business actively involved in the plans for the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine?

Source 1

President of the Republic of Korea Yoon Suk Yeol and President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyi (Kyiv, 2023)

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 4–7** and explain the reaction of the South Korean media as well as cultural and sports figures to the Russian aggression in Ukraine. What do you think caused it?
- Based on media reports, give examples of the assistance to Ukraine in its struggle for independence by citizens of the Republic of Korea.

Source 2

From speeches by President of the Republic of Korea Yoon Suk Yeol

"If there is a situation the international community cannot condone, such as any large-scale attack on civilians, massacre or serious violation of the laws of war, it might be difficult for us to insist only on humanitarian or financial support."

"I believe there won't be limitations to the extent of the support to defend and restore a country that's been illegally invaded both under international and domestic law," Yoon said. "However, considering our relationship with the parties engaged in the war and developments in the battlefield, we will take the most appropriate measures." (An interview with Reuters, 19 April 2023).

https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/south-koreas-yoon-opens-door-possible-military-aid-ukraine-2023-04-19/

"Last year, we provided bulletproof vests, helmets and other necessary ammunition. We hope that this year the level of our assistance will be much higher... Last year, the Government of the Republic of Korea allocated $100 million to support Ukraine. This year, this support will amount to $150 million" (Kyiv, 15 July 2023).

https://www.slovoidilo.ua/2023/07/15/novyna/svit/pivdenna-koreya-zbilshyt-vijskovu-ta-humanitarnu-dopomohu-ukrayini-150-miljoniv

"South Korea will provide $300 million in humanitarian aid to Ukraine in 2024 and another $2 billion in long-term assistance (low-interest loans through the Economic Development Cooperation Fund) beginning from 2025.

This will demonstrate our responsible role as a global pivotal power in providing leading assistance in restoring peace in Ukraine and lay the foundations for our full participation in Ukraine's future reconstruction" (New Delhi, 10 September 2023).

https://delo.ua/ru/politics/yuznaya-koreya-predostavit-ukraine-23-milliarda-dopolnitelnoi-pomoshhi-423659/

Source 3

From N. Butyrska's analytical study *Ukraine and the Republic of Korea: Distant Geographically but Close in Spirit* (2023)

"Nataliya Butyrska. Ukraine — the Republic of Korea: Experience that Unites

The two sides held the Forum of South Korea and Ukraine Cooperation in Reconstruction and announced six major projects they were planning to focus on:

- developing a master plan for smart and low-carbon transport infrastructure for Kyiv and the capital region similar to Seoul's transport network with Korea Overseas Infrastructure and Urban Development Corporation (KIND) in charge;
- design of a master plan for smart city in Uman focused on urban infrastructure, environment, clean energy, and mobility with KIND and K-Water in charge;
- extensive modernisation of Boryspil airport, involving the Korea Airports Corporation (KAC), including upgrade of systems and security complexes, building wider runways and infrastructure maintenance;
- reconstruction of purification systems in Bucha with the support of the Korean Environmental Industry and Technology Institute (KEITI);
- rebuilding of the Kakhovka Dam with the help of K-Water. K-Water signed a memorandum of understanding that includes technical assistance in the reconstruction of the Kakhovka Dam. It will provide technical oversight at the stage of reconstruction and possibly sponsor the reconstruction effort and
- upgrade and expansion of the railway network that connects Ukraine and Poland with the support of the Korea National Railway (KNR).

http://prismua.org/south-korea/

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 2

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 4–7** and explain the reaction of South Korean media as well as cultural and sports figures to Russian aggression in Ukraine.
- What do you think caused it?

Source 5

Lee Young-ae, a popular South Korean film actress, starred in the top-rated 2005 TV drama *Jewel in the Palace*

She donated $82,800 to the Ukrainian Armed Forces and wrote a touching letter: "Dear Ukrainians, As a family of veterans who have experienced war, I sympathise with the horrors of the current situation more than anyone else.

Source 4

A collage in a Korean weekly. The 1st week in March 2022

Captions: "American troops and NATO did not come. Citizens are fighting back on their own", "Ukraine stopped tanks with their naked bodies", "Ukraine", "Zelenskyi: "Please join us, and life will win over death", "Calm the child, sing"

I dearly hope the war in Ukraine comes to an end soon and I pray for everyone's well-being and safety. To all the Ukrainian citizens who are calling for freedom and peace, I hope you do not lose your courage and hope. As a citizen of Korea who is also for peace and freedom, I would like to convey my heart through this small gift. May God always be with you."

Source 6

A professional soccer, Samsung defender Lee Han-do donates 3 million won to UNICEF to help Ukrainian children suffering from Russian invasion

Source 7

The TNX band from P Nation spoke on the *Idol Olympic* show about Ukraine and refugees

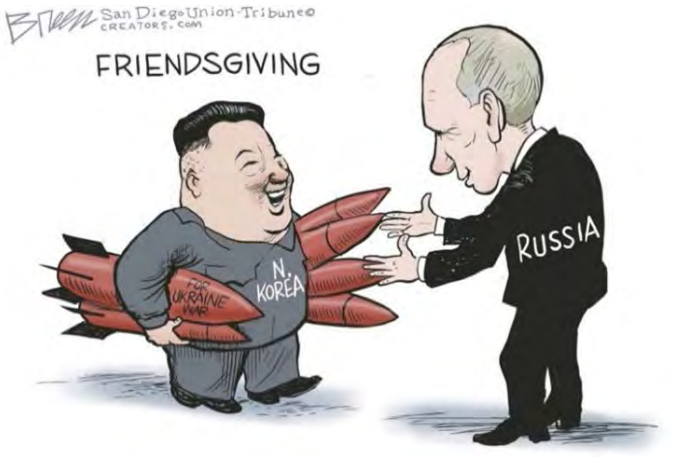
The DPRK is a member of the "club of supporters of Russia"

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 3

- Analyse **sources 8–10** and describe the DPRK's position on the Russia-Ukraine war.
- Why does Kim Jong Un's regime openly support Putin in the international arena but try to hide military assistance?

Source 8

A caricature *Friendsgiving*. The lettering on the shells: "For Ukraine war"



Source 9

From Park Jong-su's article *One year since the 'Ukraine War', Russia's perspective* (2023)

"The Korean Peninsula and the War in Ukraine. The two Koreas have a contradictory position on the war in Ukraine. From the very beginning of the war, South Korea was on the Ukrainian side, while North Korea was on the Russian side. Russia has defined South Korea as an unfriendly country that has supported the UN statements condemning the aggression and economic sanctions and has helped Ukraine to rebuild its weapons. North Korea has supported Russia's "special military operation" and has been closely coordinating its actions with Russia since late 2021. It has recognised the Donetsk Republic and is participating in post-war reconstruction work on its territory...

The Korean peninsula is now in the most dangerous situation after World War II. This is because Russia is threatening with nuclear weapons, and North Korea is

conducting unprecedented missile provocations, such as tactical nuclear exercises. Just as it is impossible for Ukraine to wage war without the United States, it is impossible for Russia to wage war without North Korea's support. "The Western front is Russia and the Eastern front is North Korea" — South Korea is assigned a fantastic part as a stronghold of security. If Korea, the US, and Japan promote solidarity, North Korea will get closer to China. This is what we should think about."

- http://www.firenzedt.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=25837

Source 10

How the DPRK supports Russia in the war against Ukraine (2023)

March 2014	Did not condemn russia's annexation of the Crimea
2016–2023	Systematically voted against UNGA resolutions on human rights violations in the Crimea
March 2022	Did not condemn russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine
July 2022	Recognised the 'independence' of the 'dpr' and 'lpr'
September 2022	US confirms that russia has begun purchasing shells from the DPRK
October 2022	Supported Russia's annexation of 4 regions of Ukraine. Recognised the legitimacy of the 'referendums'
November 2022	US confirms the DPRK's concealment of missile supplies to Russia
November 2022	Did not support russia's payment of reparations to Ukraine
January 2023	Official propaganda of the DPRK: glorification of the rf ar-my, promises to 'always stand on the same battlefield with russia', etc.
February 2023	Did not support the Ukrainian peace formula
August 2023	Ukraine publicly confirms the supply of shells from the DPRK to russia (calibre 152, 122, + rockets, K. Budanov)

The importance of the South Korean experience for Ukraine

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 4

- Acquaint yourself with **sources 11** and **12** and refer back to **sources 92–98** of theme 3.
- What conclusions can you draw for Ukraine based on the Korean experience of creating a security system for the country under conditions of constant threat from the aggressive neighbouring state?

Source 11

From V. Zhar's article *Security Guarantees for Ukraine: Analysis of International Experience* (2023)

"The security of the Republic of Korea is largely the responsibility of the state itself. At the same time, the alliance with the United States and the presence of the American military contingent remains an equally important factor in deterring the DPRK.

Strengths of the South Korean model:

- The alliance with the United States is formalized by a bilateral agreement;
- The security of the state is ensured by the direct deployment of the U.S. military contingent;
- High defense spending is an additional factor in deterring a potential aggressor.

Weaknesses of the South Korean model:

- The control of the South Korean army in wartime is transferred to the United States, which reduces the independence of the Republic of Korea in military and political matters.
- Crises in relations between the United States and the DPRK pose a direct threat to the Republic of Korea. …
- Given the dissimilarities in the security conditions of Ukraine and the above-mentioned states, as well as objective limitations in Ukraine's relations with the United States, the optimal components of the security model for Ukraine at the current stage may include the following:
- signing a bilateral agreement on security and economic assistance with the United States of America, as well as with other partner states (implementation of the Kyiv Security Agreement);
- enshrining in the security agreement the readiness of partner countries to provide Ukraine with high-tech weapons in the amount necessary to protect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity;

- enhanced cooperation with the United States and other partner countries in the military-industrial complex, Ukraine's participation in joint projects to develop modern technological weapons;
- fixing the importance of supporting Ukraine in the legislation of the United States of America, following the example of the Taiwan Relations Act;
- ensuring the permanent presence of NATO warships in the Black Sea."

https://analytics.intsecurity.org/security-guarantees-ukraine/

Source 12

From Ye. Perelyhin's article *Korean Security Policy Lessons* (2014)

"Of course, direct analogies between the situation in South Korea and Ukraine are not applicable for various reasons. However, some lessons from the Korean experience could be useful in developing Ukraine's military security policy.

First, bilateral defence assurance mechanisms (including those involving the United States) are much more flexible and responsive than their multilateral counterparts.

Secondly, bilateral security guarantees are a real alternative to multilateral ones when, for a number of reasons, a particular state cannot join one of the existing military and political alliances. The latest example is Georgia, which signed the Charter on Strategic Partnership with the United States in January 2009, one of the chapters of which includes deepening cooperation in the security and defence sector. Of course, the Georgian-American document is a framework document, but its content can be significantly expanded in case of need.

Thirdly, over the past 60 years, South Korea has pursued a deliberate policy of maintaining the USA's constant interest in preserving its "security umbrella" over the territory of the Republic of Korea. To solve this problem, Seoul not only played on the existing contradictions of global players in the region but also did not hesitate to periodically "pull out its nuclear trump card."

https://zn.ua/ukr/internal/koreyski-uroki-politiki-bezpeki-_.html

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 5

- Based on **source 13** and **sources 87–92** of theme 4, identify which components of the South Korean experience of accelerated economic development should be used in Ukraine.
- What are the challenges facing Ukraine's economy in today's environment?
- How should the Korean experience be adapted to Ukrainian realities?

Source 13

From L. Kistersky, V. Marmazov and I. Piliaiev's article *Modernisation of South Korea: Origins, Achievements, and Experience for Ukraine* (2021)

"Such a contrasting example of the two Koreas is instructive for our country in many ways. It convincingly demonstrates that there are no a priori talented and effective nations outside of historical circumstances, outside of a certain system of values, social structure and system of social institutions. This means that in today's dynamic and highly competitive world, a life based on ancestral heritage and looking back to the "glorious past", following the path of extensive development can doom a country to destruction within one generation and to languishing on the margins of global civilisation.

On the contrary, the consolidation of a nation and its political and business elite around a modernisation project as a national idea of the future can work wonders, as the South Korean "Hang River Miracle" clearly and convincingly demonstrates.

Finally, another lesson is that becoming completely different does not necessarily require a radical change in the vision of your historical past, nor does it require rejecting a common cultural or linguistic heritage. It is only necessary to form a fundamentally different picture of the future, based on fundamentally different values and institutions and to put this vision into practice.

It is the combination of a strong socially responsible state, with competitive structural democracy and social and work ethics based on the amalgam of Confucian and Christian values that produced an effect of the "Miracle on the Han River." Ukraine does not have even that limited historical time, which was necessary for South Korea's modernisation transformation. As the world around us is changing and moving forward so rapidly today, it is time to recall and rethink the wise phrase from the favourite childhood fairy tale Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found: "Now, HERE, you see, it takes all the running YOU can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!"

With all due respect to the national traditions, we in Ukraine need to stop the "holy wars" over the past and focus on building the future by adapting and creatively integrating the most competitive values and management technologies of the Confucian East and the liberal West."

Kistersky L., Marmazov V., Piliaiev I. Modernization of South Korea: Origins, Achievements, and the Experience for Ukraine. *Economy of Ukraine*. 2021. No. 09. Pp. 56–57 https://doi.org/10.15407/economyukr.2021.09.041.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 6

- Based on **source 14** and **sources 78–81** of topic 5, explain which elements of South Korean democracy can be implemented in Ukraine. What needs to be done for this?
- Is it possible to transfer the South Korean model of democracy to Ukraine in its pure form? Why?

Source 14

From V. Chepeliuk's article *Foreign Countries' Experience in Fighting Corruption* (2011)

"The conducted analysis of the peculiarities of combating corruption offences... allows us to form an idea of the foundations of an advanced national anti-corruption strategy, the development of which is necessary in today's Ukraine.

1) Strong political will of the top leadership of the state to fight corruption and a unified state anti-corruption policy formed on its basis, which would include a set of measures of state, political, economic, social and legal nature. Neither legislative, nor administrative, nor any other measures aimed at combating corruption can be effective if there is no political will at all levels of government.

2) Organised social control on the part of civil society over the entire system of public administration (a prerequisite for this is the creation of an atmosphere of transparency) and the possibility of criminal prosecution of offenders within this framework. Truly independent media play an important role here.

3) Independence of the judiciary.

4) Strict accountability of those in positions of power to a truly independent body that monitors the integrity of public officials' activity and that is empowered to bring officials to justice regardless of their position in the hierarchical structure of power.

These provisions, in our view, can form the basis of a successful national anti-corruption policy in Ukraine."

- http://uspishnaukraina.com.ua/strategy/69/244.html.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 7

- Acquaint yourself with **source 15** and explain how the economic miracle and democratisation of South Korean society have affected the welfare of ordinary citizens of the Republic of Korea.
- Do you interpret all of the indicators in the infographic as positive? Why?

Source 15

Ukraine and South Korea — a comparison (2018)

If South Korea were your home country, you would:

live 10.66 years longer
(life expectancy at birth in South Korea is 79.80, while in Ukraine it is 69.14).
earn 4.5 times more money
(GDP per capita in South Korea is $33,200, while in Ukraine it is $7,400).
be 60% less likely to be unemployed
(in South Korea, the unemployment rate is 3.20%, while Ukraine has 8.00%).
consume 6.5 times more oil
(Ukraine consumes 0.3024 gallons of oil per day per capita, while South Korea consumes 1.9698).
spend 5.8 times more money on healthcare
(per capita, public and private healthcare spending combined in South Korea is $1,702.60, while Ukraine spends $292.80).
use 2.3 times more electricity
(electricity consumption per capita in Ukraine is 3,957 kWh, while in South Korea it is 9,165 kWh).
have 48.73% less chance of being imprisoned
(101 people are currently imprisoned in 100,000 people in South Korea compared to 197 in Ukraine).
have 51.48% less chance of dying in childhood
(the number of children under the age of one who died this year per 1,000 births in South Korea is 3.93, while in Ukraine it is 8–10).
have 81.4 per cent less chance of being murdered
(0.80 in 100,000 people were murdered annually in South Korea compared to 4.30 in Ukraine).
have 88.89 per cent less chance of living with HIV/AIDS
(the percentage of adults living with HIV/AIDS in South Korea is 0.10%, while in Ukraine it is 0.90%. 500 people in South Korea and 18,100 people in Ukraine die of AIDS every year).
experience 10.28% more income inequality
(the Gini index measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income. In South Korea it is 31.10, while in Ukraine it is 28.20).
have 12.22% fewer children
(the annual number of births per 1000 people in South Korea is 8.26, while in Ukraine it is 9.41).

- https://clout.com.ua/ukrayina-ta-pivdenna-koreya-porivnyannya.html.

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 8

- Take a good look at **sources 16** and **17**. Notice the collage that adorns the stage of the Invest KOREA Summit 2023 (**source 16**).
- What is the author's idea behind the collage?
- How does it relate to the theme of the summit?

TASKS AND QUESTIONS 9

- Explain the title and symbolism of the poster for the film "A Poem to My Father."
- How does the title of the poster match the title of the film?
- What does the running figure in the centre of the poster mean?
- Why does the author depict the person only as an outline?
- What feelings is the author trying to evoke in the viewer?

Source 16

Invest KOREA Summit 2023

Source 17

Cho Young-nam's poster *Sweat and Dedication* for the film *A Poem to My Father*, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Korean "economic miracle"

https://sgsg.hankyung.com/article/2015010911871

INTRODUCTION

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2. Комікс про зовнішні особливості корейців https://goodhouse.com.ua/poradi/18994-yk-vidrizniti-kitajcya-vid-yaponcya-i-korejcya-z-povedinki-movi-zovnishnosti.htmla.
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THEME 1

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