

Jane Jin Kaisen

DISSIDENT TRANSLATIONS

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ÅRHUS KUNSTBYGNING

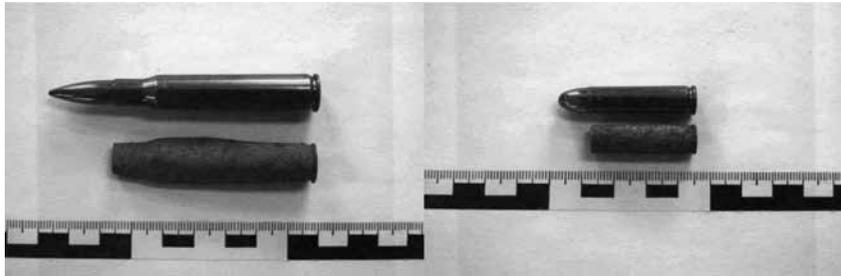


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

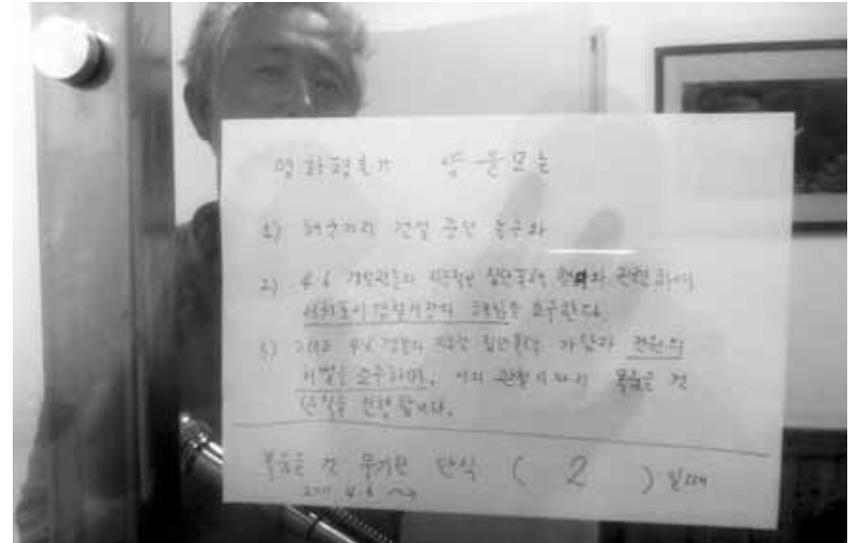


Fig. 4

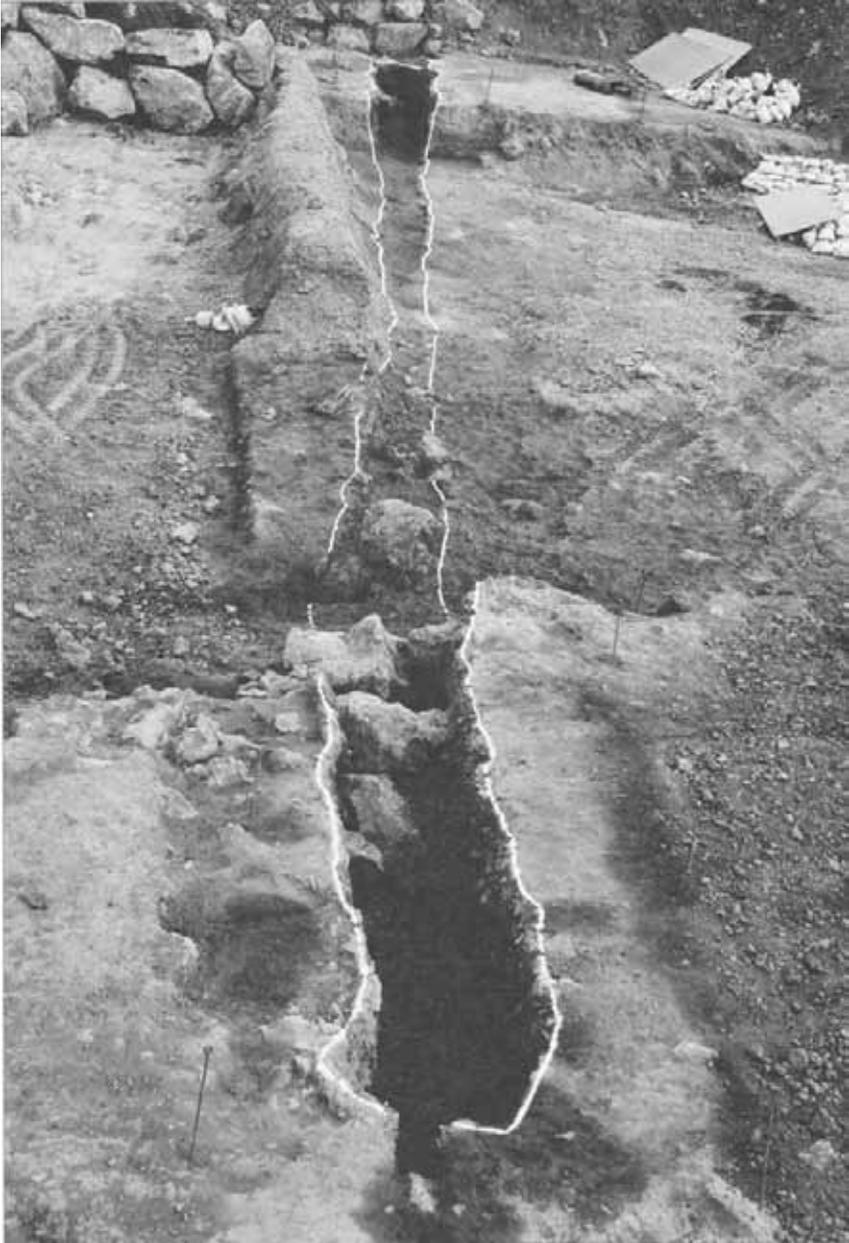


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

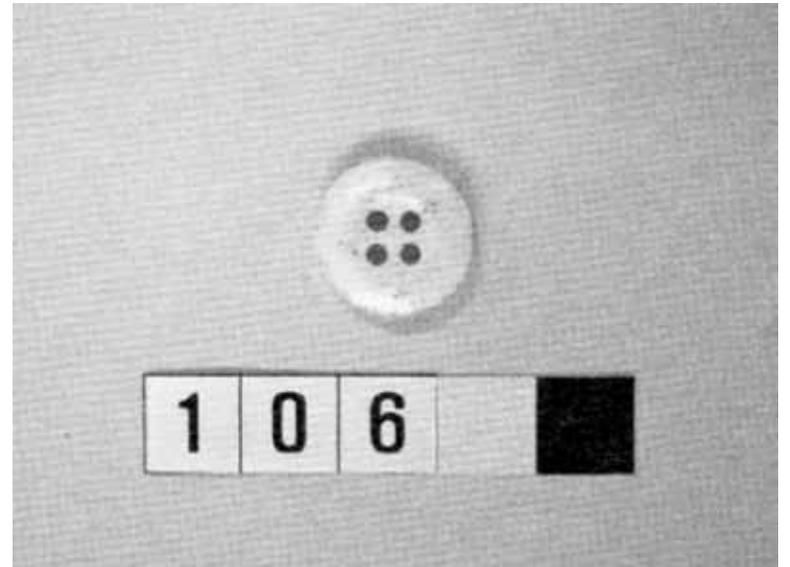


Fig. 8



Fig. 9

A conversation between Cecilia Widenheim and Jane Jin Kaisen

Curator Cecilia Widenheim and artist Jane Jin Kaisen met during the workshop “Dialogic Imagination” which coincided with visual artist Mary Kelly’s residency at Iaspis and her retrospective exhibition at Moderna Museet in Stockholm in 2010, curated by Cecilia Widenheim, director of Iaspis 2008-2010. The workshop, which discussed *the voice* in relation to narration and performativity as well as means of “witnessing” in contemporary art, included a conversation between artists Mary Kelly, Jane Jin Kaisen Sharon Hayes, Andrea Geyer, and Dont Rhine around project-based art practice with a forthcoming publication edited by Cecilia Widenheim.

In the following conversation, they engage in a dialogue around some of the aesthetic concerns and themes that informs Jane Jin Kaisen’s project-based practice and address her new works presented in the exhibition in relation to older works, such as the film, *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger*, which was screened during “Dialogic Imagination”.

Cecilia Widenheim: Viewing the videos produced for this exhibition it strikes me that a concept as “translation” could be an interesting way of looking at your work - translation as a tool for understanding, but also a process that inevitably includes some level of interpretation and negotiation, I guess. What do you mean by “Dissident translations”, the title of this exhibition, and how does that relate, or not, to your own personal history?

Jane Jin Kaisen: Yes, the concept of translation runs as a thread throughout the new works presented in the exhibition, and it also resonates in several of my prior works. I think of translation as a tool, but also as a political act and as a condition, the state of being in translation. As you point out, translation is a process that inevitably involves some level of interpretation, and I am interested in the revisions or modifications it produces. It responds to, but also dissidents or diverges from the ‘original’, whether this is a text, a history, or an event that is being re-interpreted.

I chose the overarching title *Dissident Translations* to emphasize the notion of translation as an alteration that implicates a form of defiance, a dissident being someone who disagrees with, or whose opinion diverges from that of the government or the authority of power.



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

The work in the exhibition that most concretely deals with translation is a text-based work, *Light and Shadow* composed of 27 framed pieces, 21 of them each consisting of three framed text elements: my grandfather's memoir written in Korean, the translation of his memoir into English, and my commentary or translation of his text, which, as a non-Korean speaker, I could only access through its translation. In addition the work includes 6 pieces that expand on the notion of translation through a vocabulary, a dictionary, maps, appropriated photographs, and memorabilia.

Whereas my grandfather emphasizes his lived experience and direct involvement in the Jeju 4.3 Incident, which is one of the main themes of the exhibition, I write from a belated perspective as someone who has come to know that history only recently. My text oscillates between formally and thematically relating closely to his writing, and deviating from or directly contradicting it and thereby questioning notions of originality, affiliation, history, patriarchy, memory, and language.

While he writes about his homecoming to Jeju Island and the ideological disputes following Korea's liberation from Japan and the outbreak of the 4.3 Incident in 1948, I write about my return to Jeju Island in 2011, witnessing the aftereffects of the Jeju 4.3 and the disputes around the current Jeju Naval Base construction, another main theme of the exhibition. I see my addition to his writing as a form of dissident translation in that it recognizes the 'original' text, but also departs from it in the creation of a new one.

I became interested in the Jeju 4.3 Incident because it is simultaneously one of the most suppressed events in Korean modern history and one of the most crucial events in understanding the beginning of the Cold War in Asia. It can be seen as a kind of primal scene and a microcosm of the ideological battles that led to the division of Korea.

Interwoven in the account of Jeju 4.3 and the Jeju Naval Base, I also contest and hold my grandfather's memoir against my mother's silenced story. Their narratives converge in my translation of his extensive writing about the Jeju Women Divers' Anti-Japanese resistance in 1932 versus my mother's real life experience as a woman diver, as well as in my adoption due to patriarchal values, which clash with the notion of Jeju Island as a matriarchal society.

The 5-channel video installation *Reiterations of Dissent* discusses the significance of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and deals with the concept of translation as a political act of dissidence by revealing the silenced memory of the people against the official history of the state. For five decades, even mentioning the date April Third was illegal, and the naming of the event continues to be disputed. Whereas the Jeju islanders' translate the Jeju 4.3 as a 'peoples' uprising', the



Fig. 12

government has predominantly interpreted the event as a 'communist rebellion'. The ongoing negotiation of the legacy of Jeju 4.3 epitomizes the ideological nature of translation.

I think my personal relationship to the themes of the exhibition is not so much based in the fact that my family is from Jeju Island, as it is based in a sense of affiliation with the silenced history and suppressed memories of the Jeju 4.3 Incident, which echoes with a kind of 'diasporic' condition defined by fractured histories and the lack of concrete memories, that I find myself in. In that sense, the concept of translation is related to my personal history and I turn to it as a tool.

I am interested in how the fractured memories of Jeju 4.3 reverberate in the present moment and in how the violent effects of its silencing is exemplified by the Jeju Naval Base construction, which reconfigures Jeju Island from being an environmental paradise and 'island of peace' to becoming once more a militarized space and centre for future conflict.

The reason why the Jeju islanders' dissident translation of both the official motives for building the current Jeju Naval Base and for the state violence committed during the Jeju 4.3 Incident is suppressed, is that it simultaneously questions the very nation state foundation of South Korea based on anti-communism, the constant United States military presence in the country for the past sixty-some years, as well as the continuous division of North and South Korea.

Cecilia Widenheim: Film as medium plays a crucial part in your work reflecting on the 4.3 Incident that took place in 1948 and the protests against the Jeju Naval Base that is being built for the Korean fleet right now. In your 3 channel video projections you use clips from the archival film shot by the U.S. Military, a film that was manipulated and produced to justify the American involvement in the 4.3 Incident. In addition to this, two of your main informants are people who work with film, one documentary filmmaker and one film critic. How would you describe the role of film in this context?

Jane Jin Kaisen: You are right that film as a medium is predominant in the exhibition and that filmic interpretation also plays an important role. The video installation *Retake: Mayday* is framed around the U.S. propaganda film, *Mayday on Cheju-do* shot on Jeju Island on May 1st, 1948. The film has become the principal visual representation of the Jeju 4.3 Incident because it is the only existing moving image documentation of the event. However, the film medium was used by the United States Government to alter the truth of the Jeju 4.3

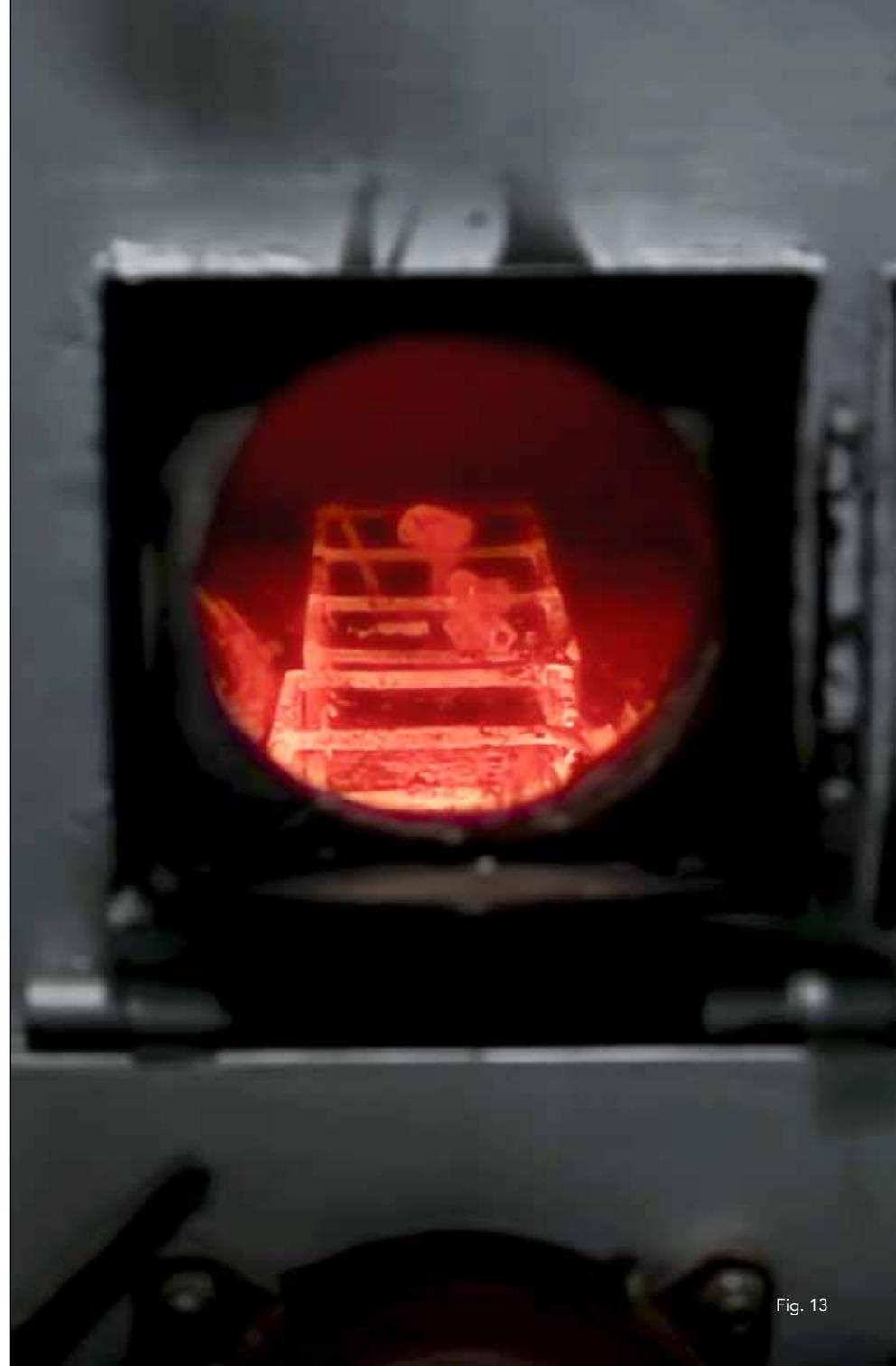


Fig. 13



Fig. 14

Incident by fabricating scenes that show how alleged communist guerrillas burned Ora Village and killed the civilian residents, when in actuality, 90% of the casualties during Jeju 4.3 were committed by the Korean army and police under supreme U.S. military command. Despite that, the United States has never admitted any responsibility in the mass genocide.

As the Jeju documentary filmmaker Kim Dongman explains in one of the videos, although it was created as a propaganda film, today *Mayday on Cheju-do* serves as a valuable piece of evidence of how the United States were directly involved in the incident and how they attempted to distort the truth to legitimize the slaughter. The present interpretation turns the film against itself.

Whereas *Retake: Mayday* centres around reflections on archive film material, the video installation, *Reiterations of Dissent* is almost solely created of new film footage from sites on Jeju Island and of present events, such as the cremation of the airport massacre victims in 2011, sixty-three years after their death. I found it important to create alternative images to the U.S. propaganda material, images that show how Jeju 4.3 is not a past history, but still being actively disputed. The videos are edited into circular narratives that play in loop as traumatic repetitions, showing the aftereffects and traces of the unresolved history.

In the third video installation concerning the current construction of the Jeju Naval Base, film also serves as a witness and as a form of evidence. Further, it refers to how film is presently used as a tool for mobilizing civil dissent. The narrative culminates with the video recording of the violent arrest of film critic Yang Yun Mo and activist Choi Sung Hee when they attempt to prevent the illegal base construction by inserting their bodies under a demolition truck. Following, they were both imprisoned and film critic Yang went on a 76 days hunger strike. It is interesting to me how he, from being an interpreter of film, became a creator of new filmic imagery by using his body as a weapon to direct attention to the issue, which at the time hardly any official media dared to address.

From being a local resistance effectively silenced by the authorities, the issue has reached global attention in the past few months, largely due to the video recording of his statement for opposing to the Naval Base and footage of the arrest, which was shared online through social media such as youtube and facebook.¹ It was viewed by more than 7,000 people during the first 24 hours and was pivotal in alerting to the illegal construction and human rights violations by the Navy and the police. Since then, major networks such as CNN, Al Jazeera, the New York Times, and Amnesty International have covered the situation and several hundred activists worldwide have come to Jeju Island to join the resistance. Film in this way is a very powerful and immediate medium



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

that can be easily shared. It is not just a relic or a document, but an active producer of images that have the potential to alter history.

Cecilia Widenheim: Last year you were invited by the American artist Mary Kelly to do a workshop at Iaspis in Stockholm about “project-based” art practices. With “project-based” practices Mary Kelly did not mean a work that necessarily takes the form of an artistic project, but a work that relates to a “project” in a wider sense of the word - a political project, a historical project or an activist project, that relates to a specific context involving a community and a certain set of ideas. What “project/projects” have been most important for your work up until now?

Jane Jin Kaisen: I will mention two preceding art projects that have been important to and which I also see related to the new works in the exhibition in terms of an engagement with the re-writings of history and the creation of new forms of genealogies which can serve as an active politics. The first is an experimental film, *Tracing Trades*² and traces a history of human trades to Scandinavia. It looks at the region’s colonial history and its nation-building era, which was largely founded around orientalism, exemplified by the popular human exhibitions held in Tivoli, Denmark’s largest amusement park and tourist attraction in the late 19th-early 20th century. The film argues that these histories have been largely repressed and instead a self-image as anti-racist, anti-colonial, and humanitarian has been created, which might explain the disproportionately large number of Asian children having been adopted to the region. By using a combination of archive material, fictional and performative narratives, humour and irony, the film looks at how the combination of colonial repression and orientalist desire effects the ways in which national identity and race is negotiated in the region in the present.

Another project that has been very important to me is the feature length narrative experimental film *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger*,³ which exposes a silenced history of military and gendered violence and migration in a transnational scope. It deals with the around 200,000 former comfort women from various countries who were conscripted by the Japanese military in the 1930s, the around one million women who since the 1950s have been mobilized for the United States military prostitution industry around U.S. bases in South Korea, and the around 200,000 international adoptees who were sent from South Korea to the West since the 1950s. The 1990s was a turning point as it was the decade when these issues each came to public attention. However at that time, they were seen as isolated issues.

With the film, rather than just exposing these histories, I wanted to create a strategic genealogy between them because I recognized that there was a tendency to separate and manipulate each of the histories for other purposes. For instance, the former comfort women issue has in recent years been largely accepted in Korean society, partly because it confirms a nationalist discourse in relation to Korea's continuously tense relationship with its former colonizer, Japan, whereas most people don't recognize the widespread military prostitution around U.S. military bases in Korea, which was basically a structural continuation of the Japanese comfort system. Instead, the U.S. military prostitution industry is seen as a necessary evil and certain women's bodies are sacrificed to prevent sexual violence by the U.S. military within the broader society. In a similar way, international adoptees have been more or less accepted into Korean society in recent years because they, as opposed to the other two groups no longer just seen as products of war and poverty, but also as valuable assets in a contemporary globalized neoliberal Korean society.

Cecilia Widenheim: Could you develop this? In what way are international adoptees used in the new economy?

Jane Jin Kaisen: One example that the film *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* uses is a scene which shows recent footage from the Mall of America shopping complex where an adoptee organization in the United States were asked to represent "Koreanness" as a way to promote Korean culture and business to Americans. The film talks about how, although international adoption from Korea began as a post-war phenomenon, it really took off in the 1970s and 1980s when Korea was developing economically. It both served to secure the flow of foreign economy into the country while at the same time relieving the state from creating a sustainable social welfare infrastructure for poor and single parent families. Several voices in the film talk about the irony of how thirty years later when international adoptees return, they are welcomed because of their political and economic ties to the West and for instance hired at elite educational institutions because of their English skills, their Western assets.

Cecilia Widenheim: I am also interested in your way of working with narration. In many of your works you seem to move from *untold*, to *told* to *retold* narratives, not necessarily presented in an order from repressed and banned stories to truth clarification processes, but through the narratives that are produced by more complex forms and procedures such as images and memories, or lack of



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

memories. Mary Kelly is often using the concept 'discursive site' in her texts—what is your reading of such a concept?

Jane Jin Kaisen: During the workshop at Iaspis we had a conversation around some of the similar conditions and procedures for each our project-based practices. We tried to locate what constitutes each our 'discursive site', something that exceeds the art institution and that each our artistic project somehow holds itself accountable to. I understand the concept of a 'discursive site' as a set of questions or concerns that informs an artistic practice and which it responds to. This can be an engagement with a particular artistic tradition, but an event, a political moment, or a community can also be formative as a discursive site. I see it as something that resonates in specific art projects, but also as a longer engagement across different artworks. I think it manifests both aesthetically and in terms of what kinds of the thematic questions one engages with.

To me that site is embedded in my subjective condition and in my participation within different communities who are critically questioning, confronting, and rewriting official narratives.

I understand my subject position as a transnational and transcultural adoptee as an ambivalent one shaped by conflicting ideologies, which can be seen as both a subaltern subject that embodies residues of war, militarism, and gendered violence but also as a first world subject in terms of the social, economic and cultural privileges attained by the adoption.

In this context, I think it could be interesting to re-invoke our dialogue about translation from earlier, because I see that subjective condition as being in constant translation. It is translated and transported from one culture, language, and family to another, while the body, a racialized body, which can be seen as a text that speaks another language than the tongue, often remains the only tangible trace of the erasure that the migration by adoption created, which is why I think the performative and the body often enters my work. It is a subjectivity that is constantly translated by its surroundings, onto which different desires and stereotypes are being projected while the subject itself is always in question as same-yet-other, both in the sending and the receiving country, as well as in the geographies it traverses.

I am not so interested in adoption itself, but more in what kinds of new understandings of subjectivity it proposes and in the kinds of counter-images, narratives, and discourses that can be produced in exposing and responding to these contradictions and projections. It has informed how I approach concepts of history, discourse, and memory. I think that is the reason why I keep being

drawn to silenced and contested histories that are yet to be defined and inscribed and whose truth challenge conventional notions of i.e. race, nation, and belonging.

My motivation for making *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* was a response to an engagement within a community. The concepts in the film is not an individual effort, but the result of a collective process and reflects a critical excavation of silenced histories by an unsolidified community of adoptees and other groups who in related ways have been affected by war, militarism, and migration. I wanted to create a work about some of the present concerns within that community. There have been a lot of adoptee films about birth search and reunion, representations of how adoptees either remain rootless or become re-incorporated into Korea's national discourse, but I was interested in creating a different kind of genealogy or pointing to a root system that is not biological, but based in political affiliations with other groups who have been subjected by similar structures of power. I was interested in the potentials of exposing this kind of genealogy as a way to circumvent predominant discourses and create new kinds of affiliations.

I think of the discursive site not just as a theme-based art practice. It is an outset for a formal inquiry as well and it manifests in the aesthetic language. I see this materialized in my work through a resistance to provide a singular narrative. This is both an aesthetic choice and a political statement. I am interested in exposing complexities rather than creating simplified conclusions or linear narratives, which has to do with the lack of concrete memories. I think this is also evident in my application of archive material, which often resonates as a trace or form of ghost of history that asks to be redeemed and enters the present in juxtaposition with contemporary recorded or created imagery. Both the present and the past as well as different cultural narratives undergo translation in that process. Speech is also an important part of much of my work. For instance in *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger*, there is an excess of speech, an urgency to speak out, but the subjects speak in a broken, accented, or fragmented manner and are rarely able to claim and insert themselves into concrete geographies.

In the new work for the exhibition this is handled in a different way, but there is a similar engagement with how fragmented memories of the past resonate in the present and a continuous preoccupation with narrative construction. Because Jeju is an island and an isolated location, all the memories seem contained within the space and there is a different sense of time. The circular geography of the island somehow kept imposing and became a narrative premise for the works, which are all shown in loop and have a



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

circular structure where meaning is not contained within one single work but to be read across the works presented in the exhibition. *Tracing Trades and The Woman, and Orphan, and The Tiger* have a different kind of narrative structure that has more to do with the attempt, and at times failure, in having multi-layered stories from fractured memories create a coherent narrative.

Cecilia Widenheim: *The Woman, the Orphan and the Tiger* starts with a moment of cacaphony – a multitude of female voices that are speaking Chinese, Danish, English and Korean are intertwined and setting the tone of the whole film. In my view this polyphony introduces the complexity of the word “community”. What is your view on this? Is it productive to talk about a diasporic community, what does it consist of and what are the political dimensions of such a community?

Jane Jin Kaisen: It was important to stress with the film, that it didn't speak from an individual perspective but from a collective set of voices belonging to women who were affiliated through their mutual otherness in relation to for example nationhood, while at the same time showing their internal differences. Through the cacophony of voices, various textures of difference are revealed. The voices speak in multiple languages, with accents, and belong to women of several generations. The film in this way introduces from the beginning that it is not a uniform collective but very much as you say, a collective that complicates the notion of community and who each have different circumstances, goals, and desires.

The concept Diaspora has commonly referred to the migration or scattering of a people away from a homeland. It presumes a tie to a national or ethnic body, but as the film concludes, those ties are not based in a geographic or ethnic sense of belonging but in the shared histories of biopolitical violence against women and children. Instead of seeing it as a diasporic community, I think it might be more productive to talk about it as a destabilized community, which inherently questions concepts of nationality and belonging, but shares in common that they were produced by a shared legacy of war, colonialism, patriarchal violence, and forced migration. The political potential of that kind of community lies, I think, in the constant deferring of a notion of subjectivity as grounded in - or as representative of a nation state or people. I see it more as a kind of strategic and imagined community, that speaks to the potential of an emerging community that is inherently transnational and political as which does not only contest Korean history, but the World War II and post-war narratives of Europe, Japan and the United States as well.

Cecilia Widenheim: The way you treat the subjective narrative in the film is very effective, and intriguing at the same time. The three generations of women reflecting on the different issues you raise in the film are never seen. On the other hand there are very strong moments in the film showing women who were forced into prostitution during the occupation, witnessing about the crimes committed and their suffering., Their tormented faces challenge the images of contemporary “Koreanness” that are produced by the same society. This makes me think about community also as a forced belonging, in this case for example the community of comfort women, but also the bi-racial babies (babies with a Korean mother and a Japanese or American father) who were seen as a social problem in Korea after the war years and therefore were sent away. This kind of community could be seen as cynical consequence of a bio-political strategy, a community created by ‘racialisation’ of human beings. In all of your films reflecting on the legacy and negotiation of Korean history in relation to contemporary society there are activist elements. Would you consider your artwork part of this activist movement?

Jane Jin Kaisen: I find the strategies of activism and art to be quite different. I understand activism as a strategy aimed to produce concrete change in real life. To be effective, it is often necessary to come together around a common goal, and in doing so, different antagonisms within a group often have to be overlooked. I understand art as a site where critical reflection can happen through asking questions and destabilizing, contradicting, or creating new ways of seeing and understanding. These can contribute to social change but I think, often in a different way than activism as it inevitably also participates and has stakes in the system and economy of art.

I think of my work as actively participating in a transformative political process by its deep commitment to the communities and discourses it engage. I consider my work to be participating in activist movements by contributing to a re-thinking of structures and proposing new connections or readings. Perhaps instead of calling my work activist, I think of it as proposing an active politics that takes place within the process of making the work in collaboration with the communities it engages and in the dissemination of the work. It has been interesting to me how my work has been able to communicate to an audience within the art world but also beyond it, for instance within activist and academic contexts, and how it seems to have an audience in different socio-economic, cultural and geographic contexts.

You are right that the works we have talked about responds to issues in Korean society but I see all these issues intertwined in broader issues. South



Fig. 23

Korea was, and in many ways still is, very much a territory where international politics are being directly played out and the country's history and present reflect the ideologies of various superpowers of the 20th century, such as the United States, Russia, Japan, China, and Europe. My interest lies in the double translation as for instance with the new works that re-interpret the origins of the Korean War but also challenge the predominant American Cold War narrative. *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* portrays how the biopolitical violence onto women and children's bodies was part of these larger geopolitical negotiations. It challenges contemporary images of 'koreanness' but also images that have been created to support for instance the continuous U.S. foreign military occupations in many regions of the world.

I am interested in how, with the present re-configuration of global power, different alternative forms of aesthetic representations and narratives are emerging. As transnational mobility has become a common condition also within art discourse, it alters the terms of production, circulation, and reception of art. In this context I think it is important to discuss and distinguish between forms of mobility enabled by social and economic privilege and the other side of the transnational movement of people for instance in terms of migration as a consequence of war, economic disparity, and biopolitical mobilization. I am interested in how this is negotiated in society, but also how it materializes in artworks through new juxtapositions and forms of narratives and image creations.

1. Jane Jin Kaisen and Guston Sondin-Kung collaborated on making a one channel version of *Island of Stone* containing an interview with Yang Yun Mo as well as his following arrest, filmed and used with permission from Gangjeong villager and filmmaker Kim Min Su. They uploaded the film onto youtube, facebook, and vimeo. The film circulated on the Internet and was shown as one of the closing films of this year's Seoul International Human Rights' Film Festival.
2. *Tracing Trades* is a 38 minutes experimental film by Jane Jin Kaisen made in collaboration with Tobias Hübinette. The film was first exhibited as part of a larger installation at the Faroe Island Art Museum for *Rethinking Nordic Colonialism – A Postcolonial Exhibition Project in Five Acts* curated by Kuratorisk Aktion, Tone Olaf Nielsen and Frederikke Hansen in 2006. <http://www.rethinking-nordic-colonialism.org/>
3. *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger*, a 72 minutes experimental film by Jane Jin Kaisen made in collaboration with artist Guston Sondin-Kung in 2010. It was first exhibited at the New Wight Gallery, the University of California Los Angeles in 2010.

Cecilia Widenheim is curator at Moderna Museet and responsible for the collection of Swedish and Nordic art. From 2008-2010 she was director of Iaspis in Stockholm. Her selected curated shows and projects are *Cecilia Edefalk* Kunsthalle Bern/Moderna Museet (1999); *Utopia and Reality: Modernism in Sweden 1900-1960* Bard Graduate Center New York (2002); *Ann-Sofi Sidén: In Between the Best of Worlds* (2004); *Martha Rosler* (2003), *Gunvor Nelson – pioneer in New America Cinema* (2007); *The Pontus Hultén Study Gallery* (2008) in collaboration with architect Renzo Piano; *Mary Kelly - Four Works in Dialogue*, Moderna Museet (2010). Cecilia Widenheim is also active as lecturer and writer. Since 1998 she has curated a number of presentations of the permanent collection in Moderna Museet.

Jane Jin Kaisen is a visual artist. She holds an MA in Theory and Communication from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, an MFA in interdisciplinary studio art from University of California Los Angeles and was a studio fellow at the Whitney Museum of American Art Independent Study Program. Selected shows: *Rethinking Nordic Colonialism*, Faroe Islands Art Museum 2006, *Traces*, The National Museum of Photography, Denmark 2007, Gana Art New York 2008, *Deformes Biennale*, Galeria Metropolitana, Chile 2008, *Incheon Women Artists Biennale* South Korea 2009, *10th Open International Performance Art Festival*, 798 Art District, Beijing 2009, *Taiwan Intl. Documentary Film Festival* 2010, *Videonale 13*, Kunstmuseum Bonn, 2011, *ACTS*, Museum of Contemporary Art in Roskilde 2011, *Fourth Wall*, Vox Populi, USA 2011, *Yamagata Intl. Documentary Film Festival* 2011.



Fig. 24

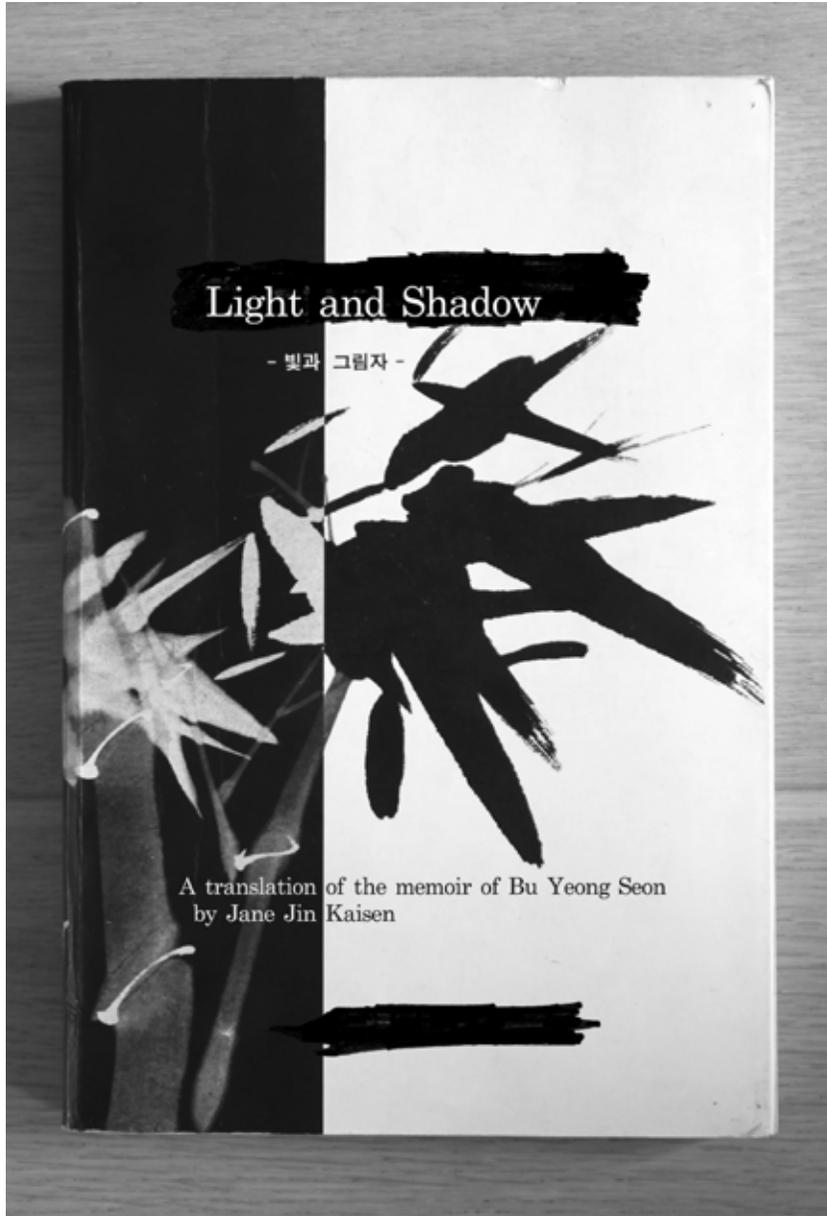


Fig. 25



Fig. 26

Wishing that I will have the wisdom
to overcome the hardships of translation

It is August 12, 2011 and although your book was given to me ten years ago by my father / your son, being a stranger to you, your language, the Korean language, I could not know its contents until it was translated for me upon my request just recently.

The translated title of your book is 'Light and Shadow' and it contains your memoir, the story of the events you deemed worthy of remembering.

It is not in flesh, but in writing that you enter my present, and you do so only through translation. I am on alert: Experience tells me that translation is dangerous; that what I am about to perform by entering your text is a balancing act between comprehension, mediation, and assertion of not only linguistic meaning, but also of intent, and that I run the risk of getting lost.

Whereas you experienced these crucial historical events in modern Korean history, the Japanese Colonial Period and the Jeju 4.3 Uprising firsthand, I access them at a distance, belated. Having no memory of these events, neither having felt their effects, to me it is not about remembrance but about finding indications in your text and halting at slips of your pen, in order to assemble some narrative or some image and relating it to what I know.

I decided to take outset in your text and weave around it my thoughts as an appendix added onto your original from my future-present. As an unknown orphaned grandchild of yours, although there are much more clues left in the dark than brightly accessible to me, I meticulously search for signs to explain your text, your history, a history, mine? In doing so, I alternate between desiring to incorporate it as mine, despite my inherent suspicion of blood relations - and wishing to approach it from a safe analytical distance as a disassociated translator who is in no way indebted to the original.

Wishing for you to have the wisdom
to overcome hardships through many vicissitudes

^{Date of Birth} On March 25th, 1917, although it seems just like the day before yesterday that I began my life's journey, I have ended up with white hair after ^{Age when writing Light and Shadow} 81 years of experience.

Since I directly experienced the cruel Japanese Colonial Period and the following miserable 4.3 Incident, ¹⁹¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁴⁵ I wrote this essay from my journal, in which I wrote down each time I faced difficult events, fun events, and experiences of having gone through many hardships as a teacher from the initial elementary school period to retirement age. I wrote and gathered the events that I could not forget one by one. I tried to write my whereabouts in my life as I remember them.

I wove it in the following order according to the nature of the subject; 1st chapter memoir, 2nd chapter articles, 3rd chapter, history, 4th chapter, contributions, and 5th chapter, healthy life.

I wish to add even a small contribution for the reader to accept the events lively, which I myself suffered at that site in a period full of vicissitude when there were many more dark events than bright ones. I wish for the reader to have the wisdom to overcome hardships.

Finally I would like to express my gratitude for those who helped editing this book; Hyun Hwa Jin, Oh Nam Hyun, Kim Chang Ryul, for Kim Cheol Su who made many efforts to proofread, and to the president of Taehwa Print Company who psychologically and economically supported me.

파란만장한 과거사에서
고난극복의 슬기로 이해하시기를

1917년 3월 25일 이 세상에 태어나 인생행로를 시작한 지 바로 엇그제 같은데 81년이란 연륜 속에 지금은 백발이 되고 말았다.

가혹한 일제 식민지 시대와 뒤이어 비참한 4·3사건을 직접 체험하였으며 초창기 초등학교 시절에서 정년에 이르기까지 교단의 어려운 일이며 즐거웠던 일들, 사회 각계 각층에서 산전수전을 겪었던 체험 등을 하나 하나 그때 그때 기록해 두었던 것과 잊혀지지 않는 사건들을 주섬주섬 한데 모아 내 인생의 행적을 생각나는 대로 적어 보았다.

주제의 성질상 제1부 手記, 제2부 論說, 제3부 斷想, 제4부 寄稿文, 제5부 健康生活 순으로 엮었다.

밝은 일보다 어두운 사건들이 많았던 파란만장한 시대에 고향 자신이 사건현장에 직접 고통을 겪었던 사건들을 여러분들이 생동감있게 받아 드려 고난 극복의 슬기를 이해하는데 조금이나마 보탬이 되었으면 한다.

끝으로 이 책을 편찬하는데 도움을 주신 현화진, 오남현, 김창률 선생과 교정 기타에 수고가 많았던 김철수 선생, 정신적·경제적으로 도움을 주신 태화인쇄사 사장님께 감사의 뜻을 전한다.

귀 음 향

1947년 5월 10일경에 귀향했다. 그 당시 하도리 신동에 사무실 겸 강당이 있었다. 이 자리에 하도중학원(무인가)이 개설되었으나 책임자도 지도교사도 없어서 내가 그 책임을 지고 혼자 수업에 임했다. 국어, 역사, 수학, 영어 등 중요과목을 혼자 맡게 되니 수업에 임하려면 미리 교재연구를 해야 했다.

학생수는 30여 명인데 출석률이 좋지 않고 지각, 조퇴 등으로 정상적인 수업을 할 수가 없었으나 때가 때인지라 좋은 방법이 없었다.

동년 12월에서 48년에 접어들자 본도의 시국은 날로 분분해졌다. 학교도 수업시간은 말 뿐이고 학생들의 행동도 학생이 아니고 딴 곳에 얽매어 있어서 좌익계열의 활동에만 정신을 팔리고 있었다.

3·1 독립운동 기념대회가 좌·우익 별로 개최되었다. 구좌면 세화리에서 개최되었는데 좌익계열에서 주동이 되어 개최되었다. 제주시에서는 전도적으로 관덕정 앞에서는 우익, 제주북국민학교에서는 좌익 계열이 기념대회를 개최했는데 이를 말리려는 경찰과 좌익계열 간에 충돌이 일어나고 기마경찰에 의해서 어린이가 치어 서 부상당하는 사건이 일어나자 그 충돌은 극에 달했다.

Homecoming

^{Hado Village} I returned to my hometown on May 10, 1947. At that time there was an office-cum-lecture room in Shin Dong, Hado Village. In that room, Hado Middle Institute was established but there was neither director nor teacher, so I took over the responsibilities and taught lessons alone. Since I alone took charge of the main subjects such as Korean, history, math, and English, I had to study teaching materials before giving a lecture. There were 30 students and the attendance rate was low, so a regular class could not be expected because of tardiness and early leave. But I had no other way but to stay there as time passed.

Around December that same year and at the turn of the year 1948, the state of things in the Korean Peninsula was chaotic. The classes in the school were not properly operated, and the behavior of students was inappropriate and distracted as they were completely absorbed in left-wing activities.

During this time leftists and rightists held the commemoration assembly of the ^{Independence Movement} March First Movement separately. The leftists led the one held in Sehwa Village of Gujwa Township. In the city of Jeju there were big gatherings of the rightists in Guan Deok Jeong and of the leftists in Jeju North Elementary School. Unfortunately, a clash between suppressing police and the leftist organizations occurred and reached an extreme after the mounted police hit a child.

Homecoming

I returned to your hometown on February 8, 2011. At that time your house had been left partly abandoned for years since your death. I decided to film the debris with my video camera so as to substitute your absence with an image, even if that image would be illustrative of your absence alone. Then your neighbor came over to see about the stranger filming your house. Not speaking Korean, I felt closer to being a thief or a spy than your granddaughter, and not possessing language to explain my intent, I soon decided to leave.

I was not met by the chaos of an emerging massacre and ideological war in the way you did upon your homecoming to Jeju Island, but in a sense I encountered the after-effects through the heated disputes over the ongoing Jeju Naval Base construction in Gangjeong Village. Whereas revisiting your hometown only brought a sense of distance, whenever I went to Gangjeong, I was thrown into the midst of a present battle about the legacy of both the past and the future.

Around March that same year and until I departed in May, the state of things in Gangjeong Village was becoming chaotic and there were frequent clashes between villagers and activists on one side, and the Navy, police, and Central Government on the other. The clash between suppressing police and anti-Naval Base activists occurred on April 6, 2011 when Gangjeong native, film critic Yang Yun Mo and activist Choi Sung Hee tried to prevent the illegal Naval Base construction by blocking a truck with their bodies, and reached an extreme after they were violently arrested by the police.



일제시대에는 해녀시간이 짧아 일할수록 해녀들의 불행이 시복시연이라 했으나 이는 일제에 항거해서 해녀들이 당면한 경력을 뜻하는 것으로 해녀라고도 해야 할 것이다.

육속일자들이 불행에서 즉 무이를 탐욕하여 수익을 취

을 주어 불합리하게 풍급노 비만하고 그해들이 경외한다 로 이익을 독점할 수 있게하여 해녀들의 경력을 풍탈할 뿐 아니라 실상가상으로 조합 비를 받으면서도 일여행사로 5% 의확한내 수수로 5% 근행(行)과 육속수용으로 불포를 지출하고 향의를 빼 보아야 아무런 조과를 거두지 못한다.

에 돌아갈 것일 경외한다 田中島島 일일이 제후주에 소로 도착하자 해녀대표들은 도시와의 연담을 요청했으나 연담을 거절당한 해녀 주 재소로 접근하는 해녀군관을 막기위하여 주재소 건물 옥 상에 기관총을 배치하여 난 시하면서 해녀군관과 해산물 감요하게 이르렀다. 그러나 시화군관들은 일본도 후퇴한 자 없고 버리고 있는데 일본 들은 지도자로 지적되는 해 녀의 재고리에 붙은 스탠드

생존권 수호위해 日帝에 항거

濟州海女義舉 62주년에 부치(上)

하는 일이나 제주어삼들이 일이다에서 부임으로 해소족 과 제국을 버다가 이들 자유 롭게 관대한 부수일으로 생 계를 보겠다는 것은 누구도 달할 수 없는 전통적인 자연 스포츠 일이었다.



夫 天 性

한정하는 전통문화 일일사 는 전통문화 요일이며 모진종 통 통지된다 유년기를 보내 귀국 직대 책을 기슭에 간제 무의미한 손에 잡힐 것은 할 수 없게 된사라 마는 내 술 불행 불행이라 「새달은 감수의 노래(수상기)」 / 해녀 수일기에서 나타났듯이 항해정령의 종로에서 열한 해도를 뒤꿈치 하나로 제작하여 책을 그리며 냐나 물이 잔잔한 정령의 그림 속에서 살아온 해녀들을 꼭 해의 대상으로 삼았던 일제 에 항거한 목격였다.

1. 통기 일제는 해녀들의 경력을 조는 미행이며 해녀조합을 조직했으나 1922년 2월에 이 일로향으로 이를 통행하여 무력화하고 영세한 해녀들을 불합리한 수탈을 목적으로 그 조합장을 경찰관과 일반 행정관을 가진 도시(島)가 자음적으로 경일할 수있게 조치하고는 아무런 보복도 무지않으면서 해녀들이 술을 먹으면서 향이 큰 해산물을 달인(日)에게만 국경상

할 주재소에게 시정을 건의했으나 아무런 반동이 없었다 다 할을 수없는 해도의 해 녀대표 부순현(당21세) 김국 현(당22세) 부재담(당22세) 제석은 1931년 4월19일 의도 60에서 구좌를 자아를 해녀 대표자 회의를 소집 주재의 에 다나가 대이기(田中島)로 도시(島)일적으로 3개조로 정령서를 작성하여 제출할 것을 결의하였다.

한인 7월7일 위대포장이 경찰관 제후주재소 수(島) 불에게 해녀들이 영연한 건 통서를 제출했다. 이 무대소 수서는 이 사실 과 종대상을 인치하고 그 경 일을 제주도사에게 감행한이 제주도사는 감행서에 관연한 사형과 그 제후조를 용서지 않을 수사제초기 위하여 권리남도 경찰의 자살을 달 고 용인 5월10일에 제후주재 소로 출항하게 되었다.

제주도사가 제후주재소로 나르다는 정보를 입수하게된 해녀대표들은 등부구출 자아 을 해녀대표들을 소를 속의 하여 5월19일 정오에 자아 해녀 정령을 제후주재소 앞 앞주도로에 출항하면서 시화

난임을 해는대로 제포정행하 는데 너무도 난해한 그물어 게 어둠을 쳐부으면서 일본 과 모자를 짓기는 통급한 해 녀도 있었다. 이날의 해녀대 표 부순의 김국현 부재담 고 은호이하 20에서 60여이당 권 노인과 이즈기까지 제포 송지하는데 남아 자살했다.

다들날부리는 경찰관 30여 명이 해도의 제후의 통행이 연행리에 이즈기까지 통행하 여 해도의 김순중 요문구와 와 부순인 이명록 김우를 인 강을 조물기 일어난 김안인 송해록 김우현 등 19-25세로 소년을 60여명이 제포송지일 으며 제후의 김시은 김도희, 송영리 재제오씨로도 이종간 을 통해서 제포송지되기에 이르렀다.

해도의 김순중 요문구, 제 후의 김시은 김도희씨는 대구출무소에서 3년에서 1년 간 부순의 김국현 부재담 제 석은 4개월의 옥고를 치르게 되었고 기타 제석은 이종수 로 60여일간의 옥고를 치렀 다.

해소를 죽이는 행인할 수 없는 특유한 제일(제후어)이여의 제행도구를 달한다) 과 기타 같은 방법으로 제행 을 기항은 물론이었다. 사건 무명단체는 제후어와 (海女)통행이있으며 구좌면 에서는 일한 인사와 정년할 이 이 당해에 기용되었다고 전해진다. [編者 趙두지(두지)]



Fig. 27

Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30

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Police raid ousts naval base protesters

Use of force brings back memories of April 3 Uprising on Jeju-do

The Hankyoreh



Police conduct an early morning raid on protesters camped out at the construction site of the disputed Jeju Island naval base. (Photo by Ko Seung-mil, Kyungil University student)

By Huh Ho-joon, Jeju Correspondent

At dawn on Sept. 2, around 1,000 police officers were suddenly deployed at Gangeong Village in the municipality of Seogwipo on Jeju-do, where a sit-in demonstration against the construction of a naval base is under way.

Police took away 35 activists and villagers and drove out other residents that were occupying the construction site, while the Navy put up a fence at the entrance to the site and completed preparations to allow construction to resume. On the afternoon of the same day, civil servants from Seogwipo demolished the tents and banners that had been put up around the site.

Ko Gwon-il, head of the village's committee to oppose the base, resisted by climbing a five- to six-meter watchtower that had been installed at a nearby road junction and tying himself up in chains. Local residents and activists also fought physically to resist police. Residents protested that police from the mainland had used violence against them once again after the Uprising of April 3, 1948, while opposition parties and civic groups criticized for government for using physical force to push the construction of the base.

"To the people of Jeju-do, who remember the pain of the April 3 Uprising, the government's decision to use force is a proclamation of battle," said Democratic Party leader Sohn Hak-kyu at an expanded executive meeting. "The government must stop ignoring the National Assembly and come up with a peaceful solution."

Democratic Labor Party Chairwoman Lee Chung-hee arrived at Gangeong Village in government's decision to use force is a proclamation of battle," said Democratic Party leader Sohn Hak-kyu at an expanded executive meeting. "The government must stop ignoring the National Assembly and come up with a peaceful solution."

Democratic Labor Party Chairwoman Lee Chung-hee arrived at Gangeong Village in the morning and joined the ranks of the demonstrators.

Jeju Special Self-Governing Provincial Council Chairman Mun Dae-rim criticized authorities, saying, "The government has made a terrible move deploying force before the ink on the statement has even dried."

Fig. 31



Fig. 32

Jeju 4.3 Uprising

Until recently I did not even know the term 4.3, much less that a massacre had occurred. When I first came to Jeju at age twenty-one, I was too preoccupied with having found my birth family and trying to make sense of the conflation between present reality, annulled past, and imaginaries of could-have-been, to engage in the broader history of the island. Instead, I saw what most people see upon first visiting Jeju: An astonishingly beautiful volcano island and favored tourist get-away for mainlanders and regional tourists, fully living up to its nicknames 'Honeymoon Island' and 'Hawaii of Korea'.

1) The circumstances between the state of not knowing and knowing

Over the years I came to know about the massacres on Jeju, though only through scattered and mostly outdated information in English and I realized that I had to go there again if I wanted to know more. So it was 4.3 and not my birth family that made me decide to return in 2011 after many years of absence in order to try to understand for myself a history that I at once felt affiliated with and distanced from. However, upon knowing the contents of your book, I could no longer separate the desire to know the macro-history of Jeju Island and the 4.3 Uprising from my desire to understand the micro-history of my family and the effects the event had on them.

2) Political movement to clarify the truth of the April Third Uprising

Although the Jeju 4.3 was systematically repressed and politically censored for over fifty years, the islanders' will and passion to clarify the truth was incessant. When I came to Jeju Island, I encountered with a broad range of people who had devoted their lives to speaking the truth of the incident. Among them were survivors, children of victims, shamans, poets, theater people, historians, archeologists and scholars. During the military dictatorship they endured prosecution, imprisonment and torture for even mentioning the date 4.3 or April Third.

Jeju 4.3 Uprising

There is no change in my mind that I still want to avoid even the term 4.3. Considering it with a philosophic eye, I have lived this long, believing that it was an atrocity.

Since the village people lived friendly with one another from the old days, they took good care of each other when times were rough.

However, there occurred merciless bloodsheds, arsons and destruction, as if it happened during the Warring States Period of China.

1) The circumstances between the end-stage of Japanese Colonization and immediately after liberation

We wanted to live peacefully and mentally stable although we could not avoid economic hardships. I heard that there was even people who became Kisaeng in order to send money to freedom fighters and dropped tears of hope for an independent nation. Conversely, there were too many who had collaborated with the Japanese Colonial Rule and betrayed the people by choosing to make their own fortune.

In both rural and urban areas, there were many traitors who worked with government officers, kept loyal to Japanese Colonization, and took advantage of the people. But we put up with them without a uttering a word of complaint.

2) Political movement

People's will and passion for nation building was very strong. On April 11, 1945, Park Heon Young declared the reconstruction of the Communist Party of Korea and subsequently Song Jin Woo and Kim Seong Su established the Korean Democratic Party, Ahn Jae Hong organized the National Party, Yeo Woon Hyeong started the People's Party of Korea, Doctor Rhee Syng Man, who returned in October, organized the Central Association for Independence Promotion, and Mr. Kim Gu and his company of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea returned in person

[빛과 그림자]

4·3 사건

4·3이란 말조차 기피하고 싶은 심정에는 변함이 없다. 냉정하게 생각해서 망징패조에 속한 것이라 생각하고 살아왔다.

오랜 옛날부터 동네사람이라면 정답게 살아왔기에 어려울 때일 수록 유무상통해서 오손도손 살아왔다.

그런데 4·3 사건이 일어나자 중국의 전국시대를 방불케 하는 무자비한 살상과 방화와 파괴가 일삼아졌다.

1) 일제말기에서 해방직후의 상황

경제적으로 곤란을 면치 못할지언정 정신적으로 안정되고 평화롭게 살기를 원했다. 기생의 몸이 되더라도 독립운동가에게 성금을 할 정도로 우리도 나라가 있었으면 하고 눈물 흘렸다고 한다.

그런데 일제와 손잡고 그 하수인이 되어 동족을 외면하고 자기 내만이 잘 살기를 택한 사람들이 얼마나 많았는가

도농간, 어느곳 할 것 없이 양곡 기타 공출에 공무원들과 하나가 되어 일제에 충성을 다하여 잇속을 차린 도배들이 적지 않았지만, 그들에게 한 마디의 불평 불만도 표시하지 못하고 살아왔다.

2) 政治運動

국가건설의 의지와 열기는 대단했다. 1945. 9. 11. 박헌영은

[제주해녀 항일투쟁 기념대회사]

제주해녀 항일투쟁 기념대회사(제1회)

이 자리에 모이신 여러분과 제주도민의 성원에 힘입어 제주도 3대 항일투쟁의 하나인 제주해녀 항일투쟁은 63주년을 맞는 오늘까지 민족적 관심에서 소외되어 왔으나 광복 50주년을 맞이하는 오늘에 구좌JC 회장님의 주관으로 국회의원 양정규, 현경대, 변경일님과 제주도지사님, 제주도의회 의장님, 북제주군수님, 북제주군의회 의장님 그리고 더욱이 해녀항쟁을 몸소 주도하신 세분중 유일하게 살아계신 김옥련 할머니를 모시게 된데 대하여 충심으로 경의와 감사를 드립니다.

내외 귀빈 여러분과 해녀 여러분 및 구좌읍민 여러분!

오늘 이 새화리 해변가에서 제주해녀 항일투쟁 재연행렬과 63주년 기념식을 경건하고도 엄숙한 분위기에서 거행하게 된데 대하여 거듭 감사의 말씀을 드립니다.

여성은 남성에 비하여 역사적으로 불공정한 대우를 받아왔으며 더욱이 해녀선배 여러분들은 정신적, 물질적으로 주도적 역할을 담당해 왔음에도 그 해녀인 어머님과 딸들은 사회적으로 무시당하는 고역을 감수하지 않을 수 없었습니다.

더욱이 일제하에서는 정신적, 물질적으로 착취를 당하면서 생활권이 유린되었습니다.

Speech on the Occasion of the (1st) Convention in Commemoration of The Jeju Haenyeo's Anti-Japanese Resistance

The Jeju Haenyeo's Anti-Japanese Resistance Movement, as one of the three major anti-Japanese movements on Jeju Island, has been neglected and lacked national attention until today when we celebrate its 63rd anniversary. Thanks to all of you and the residents of Jeju Island on the 50th anniversary of our national independence for hosting the Gujwa JC President. Now that we could gather the MP's of Yang Jeong Gyu, Hyeon Kyeong Dae and Byun Jeon Gil, the Governor of Jeju Island, the President of the Jeju Provincial Council, the Northern Jeju County Governor, the President of the Northern Jeju County Council and most important of all, the lady Kim Ok Ryeon as the only survivor among the three who led the Jeju Haenyeo Movement, we would like to express our deepest gratitude and respect.

Distinguished guests, present haenyeo and residents of Gujwa Town!

Once again, I would like to extend my gratefulness for being given the honor to hold a reenactment march of the Jeju Haenyeo's Anti-Japanese Resistance Movement and the commemoration service for the 63rd anniversary at this Sehwa Village Beach in a devotional and dignified manner.

Historically, women have received unfair treatment compared to men, and especially our senior haenyeo as well as our mothers and daughters couldn't escape from having to suffer from social marginalization, despite their economically and mentally performed leading roles.

Especially under Japanese Imperialism, they were mentally and economically exploited and their right to live was infringed upon.

Trying to make sense of your writings about The Jeju Women Divers' Anti-Japanese Resistance

You published your book about the Jeju Women Divers' Anti Japanese Resistance in 1995, 63 years after the fact, which I in turn discovered in 2011, 63 years after the Jeju April Third Uprising, while another peoples' resistance against the Jeju Naval Base is being fought. Little by little, I came to know some of the nicknames of Jeju Island in addition to 'Honeymoon Island', 'Hawaii of Korea' and 'Island of Peace' that are its present-day brands. I learned that it used to be referred to as 'Island of Endless Rebellions' by mainlanders because a major uprising has taken place at least once a generation since time immemorial, that it was called 'Island of Exiles' by the Central Government who used Jeju Island as a prison camp for political dissidents during the Joseon Dynasty, and that for centuries it was called 'Island of Amazons' by European voyagers, missionaries, and American soldiers alike.

I stand among a crowd of Japanese tourists frantically photographing two divers in their 60s as they approach the large dragonhead shaped rock formation off the coast of Jeju city between Jeju International Airport and The Ramada Hotel. They are not taking pictures to capture this last generation of Jeju women to perform the arduous and dangerous labor of diving, which they do to ensure that their daughters can go to school to avoid a similar fate, and whose mothers revolted against the Japanese exploitation of their unglamorous vocation during the Women Divers' Anti-Japanese Resistance. Instead, they are creating their own version of the exotic tourist promotion images of women divers in harmony with nature who have now been designated as living cultural treasures. Their pictures confirm the old myth of the Island of Amazons, a matriarchal society where women earned the income by diving for abalone, shellfish and octopus with bare hands 25 feet deep at sea, while the men reared for the children in an otherwise rigidly patriarchal Korean society.



Caption 1: “Before a rebel slaughter as the rebellion began. An American adviser, Lieut. Ralph Bliss, looks on silently where no advice will help.” (LIFE Magazine, 15. Nov, 1948).

Caption 2: Look! Here is our implacable enemy! Look at this Yankee soldier who is standing shamelessly and coldly watching this mourning woman at the scene of merciless massacre! (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyun 1963:259).





Fig. 35



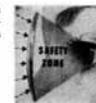
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AO Cool-Ray Sun Glasses keep your eyes in the "Safety Zone"



A Cool-Ray sun glasses
The smart style shows here.
\$3.50. Others, \$1.99 and up.

Cool-Ray Sun Glasses, unlike inferior types, absorb both violet (sunburn) and infra-red (heat) rays, while admit plenty of "seeing light" and providing the eyes with a "Safety Zone" in which they remain cool and comfortable.

American Optical
COMPANY
World's largest makers of ophthalmic materials



LIFE'S REPORTS



SEA WOMEN of Cheju-do, an island near Korea, change from dresses into cotton swimming suits. They dive for abalone, supply the island with sea food.

ISLAND OF AMAZONS

While women work, men of Cheju-do tend babies

by WILLIAM P. GRAY

SEOUL, KOREA

The exotic domains of American Military Government are scattered from Italy to Okinawa, but no other one of them is remotely like Cheju-do, a long green island some 50 miles off southern Korea. Once an island of amazons, it is still a limited matriarchy. The 40-odd GI's who are stationed there describe Cheju-do as "the place where the women do the work and the men tend the babies." This description neglects only to explain the background of this rare but seemingly happy balance in human affairs.

According to native legend it all started an indefinitely long time ago, in an event at least as spectacular as the recent atomic bomb blast at Bikini. As one chronicler of local mythology put it, "A huge commotion took place in the sea. . . . A great mountain arose, spouting fire." When the heat of this volcanic creation had subsided, three men named Ko, Yang and Pu came up out of three holes in the ground. Blinking at first, they looked over their fresh, bare land and found three women freshly arrived by sailboat. From their union, according to legend, descended the population of Cheju-do.

Whatever their true origin, the islanders long ago attained fame as seafarers. In the dim beginnings of Korean history—in the centuries around the beginning of the Christian era—it was recorded that "wherever you see the masts of ships you see men from Cheju-do." Like seafaring men of other lands, they left their wives at home and found girls in every port. Indeed they seem to have been as unfaithful a lot as ever jared a deck.

But the women of Cheju-do were not so patient or forgiving as the women of other lands. They found they could get along without men. They seized authority and property on the island and began treating the few male stragglers who remained as something inevitably underfoot, like snails.

The women recognized a biological need for men, however. Every spring they imported a stock of males who rode the choppy azure sea in small, straw-sailed boats from Korea's mainland. According to Korean history, which is often hard to distinguish from legend, they would fight like stags in spring for the choice of their trousered imports. They would yank out each other's sleek black tresses or even bash in their rivals' teeth with small volcanic boulders (a form of fighting that comes naturally on rocky Cheju-do). By the time the romantic season had spent itself, the males were probably quite happy to leave the amazon island, and that was indeed the amazons' idea. All boys who had reached the age of 13 were

Fig. 36

濟州海女抗日鬪爭實錄



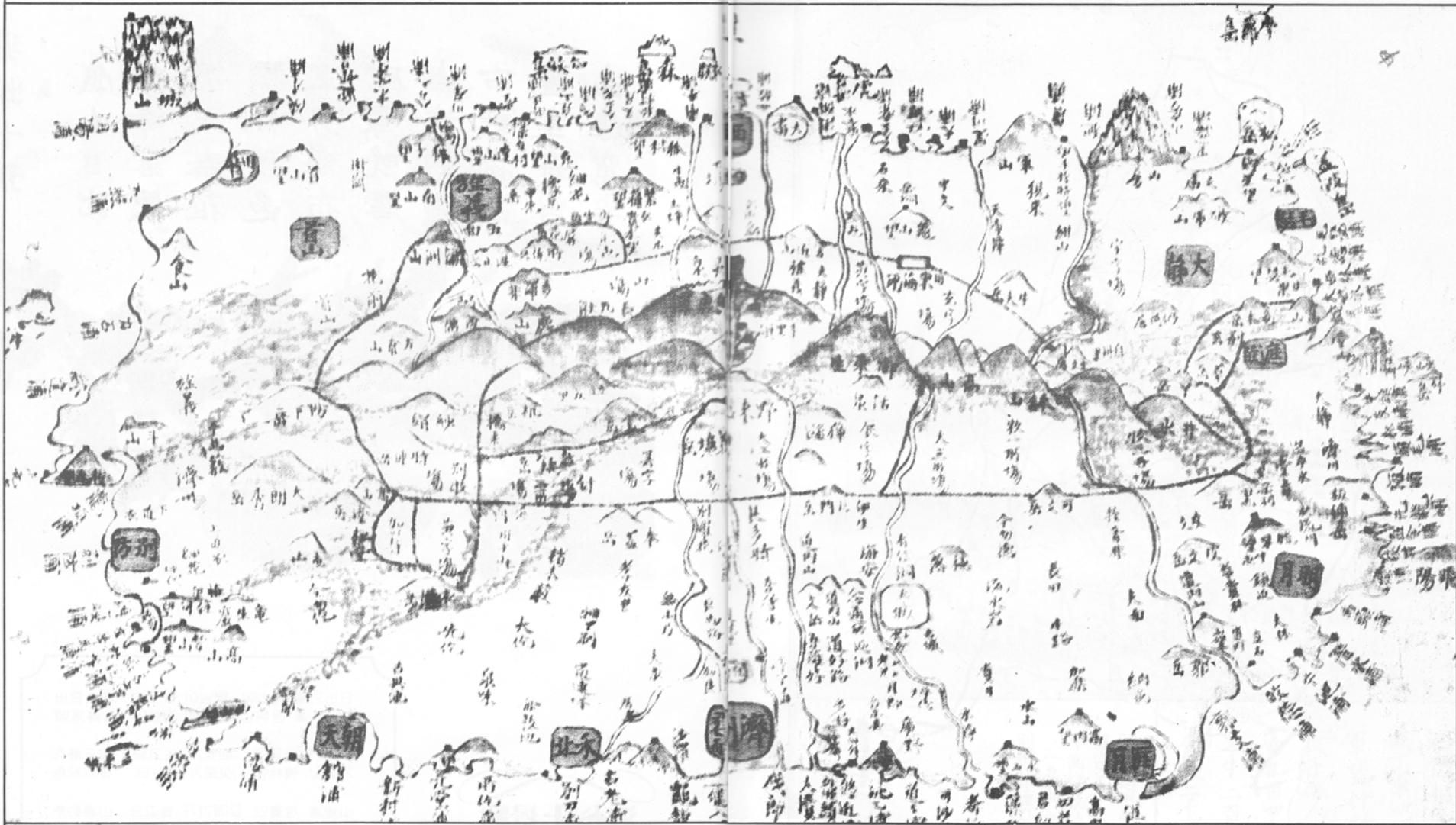
濟州海女抗日鬪爭紀念事業推進委員會

Fig. 37



Fig. 38

曠 壯 罕 漢



壬午四月十五日
 地方官海州判官李養顯
 軍官提督李廷楷書十一頁
 富集戶起數
 幅員四百八十里
 大路周回三百七十八里
 東西一百七十里
 南北七十三里
 北距海州九百七十里
 東距日本國二千餘里
 而距女人國千餘里
 千羅城周回五千餘里
 丁羅安南四百七十里
 未羅暹羅國占城高麗里
 坤甸穿波府八千里
 中羅麻州七千里
 庚羅福州七千里
 辛羅山東省高麗里
 戊羅貴州島餘里

耽羅巡歷圖

李衡祥牧使編

肅宗二十八年(一七〇二)

畫工金南古作

어휘 Vocabulary

- * 3·1절 기념대회 (Anniversary of the Independence Movement of March 1st, 1919)
- * 3·1절 발포사건 (March 1 Shooting Incident)
- * 38선 (38th Parallel)
- * 4·3사건 (April 3 Incident)

ㄱ

- * 강경파 (Hard-liners, 強硬派)
- * 검열 (Censorship, 檢閱)
- * 검찰총장 (Public prosecutor general, 檢察總長.)
- * 검찰청 (District Prosecutor's Office, 檢察廳)
- * 고등검찰청 (High Prosecutor's Office)
- * 경무부장 (Director of Police Department, 警務部長)
- * 경비대총사령부 (Korean Constabulary Headquarters)
- * 경찰서 (Police Station, 警察署)
- * 경찰지서 (Police Box, 警察支署)
- * 경찰청 (Police Division, 警察廳)
- National Police Agency (전국을 관장하는 경찰청)
- * 계엄령 (Martial Law, 戒嚴令)
- * 고문치사 (Torture resulting in death, 拷問致死)
- * 고사포 (Antiaircraft gun, 高射砲)
- * 공무원 (Public servant, public official)
- * 공출 (Offering of rice to the government, 供出)
- * 국가보안법 (National Security Law, 國家保安法)
- * 국민보도연맹 (National Guidance

- Federation, 國民保導聯盟)
- * 국방부 (Department of National Defense)
- * 국방장관 (Minister of National Defense)
- * 군단 (Corps, 軍團, 이하 군대 단위는 [army 이하의 편성] army group, 군 집단 《2개 야전군 이상》, field army 야전군 《2개 군단 이상》, (army) corps 군단 《두 사단 이상》, division 사단 《2개 여단 이상》, regiment 여단 《2개 대대 이상》, battalion 대대 《2개 중대 이상》, platoon 소대 《2개 분대 이상》, squad 분대 《병졸 10명과 하사관 2명》)
- * 군법회의 (Court-martial)
- * 군사고문단 (Korean Military Advisory Group, K MAG)
- * 군사재판소 (Provost court)
- * 군정장관 (United States Army Military Governor in Korea)
- * 귀순 (Submission / surrender, 歸順)
- * 극우청년단 (Extreme right-wing young men's group / ultra-rightist youth organization)
- * 극우파 (Extreme rightist)
- * 기마경찰 (Mounted policeman, 騎馬警察)

ㄴ

- * 낙인 (Stigma, 烙印)
- * 난징대학살 (Nanjing Massacre)
- * 남로당 제주도당 (Jeju chapter of the South Korea Labor Party)
- * 남로당 (South Korea Labor Party, SKLP)

- * 남북협상 (South-North Negotiation)
- * 남조선인민대표자회의 (South Korean Peoples Assembly)
- * 노무현 (Roh Moo-hyun), (대통령, President)
- * 노역 (Compulsory labor, 勞役), (강제 노동 Forced Labor)

ㄷ

- * 단독선거 (Separate election)
- * 단독정부 (Separate government)
- * 대대 (Battalion, 大隊)
- * 대동청년단 (United Young Men's Party)
- * 대량학살계획 (Program of mass slaughter)
- * 대령 (Colonel, 大領. Col.)
- * 대법원 (Supreme Court)
- * 대위 (Captain, 大尉)
- * 대장 (General, 大將. Gen.)
- * 대한청년단 (Great Korean Youth Association)
- * 도지사 (Provincial Governor)
- * 도피자 가족 (Fugitive Family)
- * 도화선 (Signal / key trigger, trigger: 방아쇠, 도화선, (폭탄의) 폭파 장치.
- * 독립촉성국민회 (National Society for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence)
- * 동족상잔 (Fratricide)

ㄹ

- * 러일전쟁 (Russo-Japanese War)
- * 레드 콤플렉스 (Red Complex)

ㄴ

- * 만주 (Manchuria, 滿洲)
- * 맥아더 (Douglas MacArthur) (U.S. Army General)
- * 명령 (Directive / order)
- * 모리배 (Wiling profiteer, 謀利輩)
- * 모병하다 (Enlist, 募兵하다)
- * 모스크바 3상회의 (Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers)
- * 모스크바 결정 (Moscow Agreement / Decisions of Moscow Conference)
- * 모슬포 (Mosulpo)
- * 무소속 (An independent candidate 무소속입후보자)
- * 무장대 (Armed civilian groups)
- * 무장봉기 (Uprising)
- * 무장해제 (Disarmament)
- * 문맹자 (Illiterate)
- * 물고문 (Water torture)
- * 미곡수집령 (Collection of Rice)
- * 미곡자유시장 (Free Market in Rice)
- * 미군 제20연대장 (Commanding Officer of the 20th Infantry Regiment)
- * 미군정 (United States Army Military Government in Korea, USAMGIK)
- * 미소공동위원회 (U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission)
- * 민정장관 (Civil Administrator)
- * 민주주의민족전선 (Democratic People's Front / Democratic National Fighting Front)

ㄷ

- * 반공체제 (Anti-Communism System)
- * 반인도 범죄 (Crimes against Humanity)

- * 반탁운동 (Anti-Trusteeship Movement, 反託運動)
- * 반탁위원회 (Anti-Trusteeship Committee)
- * 보루 (Bulwark, 堡壘)
- * 복구 (Rehabilitation, 復舊)
- * 북촌리 (Bukchon), (집단학살 Genocide)
- * 분수령 (Watershed / dividing ridge, 分水嶺)
- * 불온서적 (Subversive book): Constitutional Court to rule on military's subversive book ban 헌법재판소, 군체제전복적인(불온서적) 금지에 대한 판결(100928 한겨레)
- * 빨갱이 (Commie)

入

- * 사단 (Division, 師團)
- * 사면 (일반사면 A general pardon / 특별사면 a particular[special] pardon / 국제사면위원회 the Amnesty International / 대통령의 일반사면이든, 특별사면이든 amnesty라는 단어 대신에 pardon 이란 단어가 쓰임을 유의할 것. 그런데 일반적으로는 special amnesty라고도 쓴다. 타임스의 한 기사에는 스페셜 파든이 먼저 나오고 나중엔 스페셜 엠네스티라고 써서 동어반복을 하지 않는다. 그런데 통상적 용어는 스페셜 파든인 듯. / 국제사면위원회도 committee 가 없다.)
- * 사면제책 (Amnesty Program)
- * 사법파동 (Judicial Disturbance)
- * 사복경찰 (Plain clothes)
- * 사상 (Ideology)
- * 사실상의 정부 (De Facto Government)

- * 사인 (Cause of death, 死因)
- * 사투리 (Dialect, 放言)
- * 사형수들 (Death row inmates)
- * 생계 (Livelihood, 生計)
- * 생살여탈권 (Power of giving or taking a life, 生殺與奪權)
- * 서귀포 (Seogwipo, 西歸浦)
- * 서북청년회 (Northwest Korean Youth Association)
- * 석방증 (A certificate of release)
- * 선거관리위원회 (National Election Commission)
- * 선동자 (Instigator)
- * 선무공작 (Propaganda Campaign)
- * 선전포고 (Declaration of war)
- * 성범죄 (Sexual assault, sex crime, sex offense, sexual abuse)
- * 성산포 (Seongsanpo)
- * 소개 (Evacuation, 疏開 / forced evacuation, 強制疏開)
- * 소개령 (Order to forcibly evacuate)
- * 소급법 (Retroactive law, 遡及法)
- * 소령 (Major/ 少領, Maj.)
- * 소위 (Second Lieutenant, 少尉. Lieut.)
- * 소작농 (Tenant farmer, 小作農)
- * 소장 (Major General, 少將)
- * 소환 (Subpoena)
- * 식량부족 (Shortage of food)
- * 신락통치 (Trusteeship, 信託統治)
- * 신한공사 (New Korea Company)

○

- * 안장 (Burial, 安葬)
- * 야간통행금지 (Curfew), (계엄령 하의 통행금지 등Curfew under Martial Law)

- * 약식재판 (Summary trial)
- * 양자 (Son by adoption)
- * 여단 (Brigade, 旅團. Brig.)
- * 여순사건 (Yosun Revolt)
- * 연대 (Regiment, 聯隊)
- * 연대장 (Commander of Constabulary Regiment)
- * 연좌제 (Involvement system / implicative system)
- * 연합군최고사령관 (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, SCAP)
- * 예비검속법 (Preliminary Imprisonment Act)
- * 오라리 (Ora)
- * 온건파 (Moderates, 穩健派 / 강경파 hard-liners)
- * 요새 (Fortress / fort, 要塞)
- * 요새화하다 (Fortify)
- * 원수 (General of the army, 元帥)
- * 위령제 (慰靈祭) 추모제(追慕祭) (Memorial service 또는 memorial ceremony) The memorial service proceeded with the incense burning followed by the flower offering. 추모제는 분향과 헌화 순으로 진행되었다<네이버 사전> / a joint memorial ceremony 합동위령제<네이버 사전> / hold(have) a memorial service 위령제를 지내다<네이버 사전>
- * 원주민 (A native; an aborigine; an aboriginal; 총칭natives; aborigines; the indigenous people / 原住民)
- * 위헌 (Violation of the constitution, 違憲)
- * 유고록 (Memoirs 회고록)
- * 유대인 (Jew)
- * 유엔 (United Nations, 국제연합)
- * 유엔 사무총장 (The Secretary-General of the U.N.)

- * 유치 (Custody) 구류(拘留), 유치(留置) detention, remand
- * 응원경찰 (Police as Reinforcements)
- * 이덕구 (Lee Deok-gu), (무장대 사령관, guerilla commander)
- * 이승만 (Syngman Rhee / Rhee Syngman) (대통령, President)
- * 이재민 (Displaced people, 罹災民)
- * 인민공화국 (People's Republic)
- * 인민위원회 (People's Committee)
- * 일장기 (The Rising Sun, 日章旗)
- * 일제 99식 총 (Japanese model 99 rifle)
- * 임시군사고문단 (Provisional Military Advisory Group, PMAG)
- * 임시정부 (Provisional government)

ㅈ

- * 작전통제권 (Operational control)
- * 적산 (Enemy Property, / Japanese Property 敵産)
- * 전염병 (Epidemic, 傳染病 / communicable disease)
- * 전쟁범죄 (War Crimes)
- * 정당방위 (Legitimate self-defense)
- * 정방폭포 (Jeongbang Falls)
- * 정신적 상처 (Trauma)
- * 제17방면군 (Japanese 17th Area Army in Korea)
- * 제1관구 경찰청 (First Administrative Police Division)
- * 제14연대 (14th Regiment)
- * 제24군단 (24th Corps)
- * 제6사단 (6th Infantry Division, 제6보병사단)
- * 제7사단 (7th Infantry Division, 제7보병사단)
- * 제9연대 (9th Regiment)

- * 제노사이드 범죄의 방지와 처벌에 관한 협약 (Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide)
- * 제주4·3연구소 (Jeju 4-3 Research Institute)
- * 제주감찰청 (Jeju Police Division)
- * 제주경찰서 (Jeju Police Station)
- * 제주도 메이데이 (May Day on Cheju-Do)
- * 제주도 (Jeju Island, 濟州島)
- * 제주도 (Jeju Province, 濟州道)
- * 제주도지구전투사령관 (Task Forces Commander of the Armed Force on Jeju)
- * 제주읍 (Jeju City)
- * 조선건국준비위원회 (Korean Committee for the Preparation of State Construction)
- * 조선과도입법의원 (Korean Interim Legislative Assembly, KILA)
- * 조선민주주의인민공화국 (Democratic People's Republic of Korea / DPRK)
- * 조선임시정부 (Korean Provisional Government)
- * 좌우합작운동 (Left-Right Coalition Movement)
- * 주구 (Running dog, 走狗)
- * 주한미군사령관 (Commanding General United States Army Forces in Korea)
- * 주한미군사령부 (Headquarters of United States Army Force in Korea, USAFIK, HQ)
- * 주한미군정 (United States Army Military Government in Korea, USAMGIK)
- * 죽창 (Bamboo spear, 竹槍)

- * 준위 (Warrant officer, 准尉)
- * 준장 (Brigadier General, 准將. Brig.)
- * 중대 (Company, 中隊)
- * 중산간마을 (Villages situated in the midrange of Mt. Halla)
- * 중장 (Lieutenant general, 中將. Lieut.)
- * 즉결심판 (Summary justice)
- * 지병 (Chronic disease, 持病)
- * 직계가족 (Immediate family)
- * 진상규명운동 (Truth-finding Activities)
- * 집행유예 (Probation)
- * 징병 (Compulsory military service)
- * 징집 (Conscription, 徵集)

ㄸ

- * 천제연폭포 (Cheonjeyeon Falls)
- * 철도경찰 (Railroad Police)
- * 초토화작전 (Scorched earth strategy)
- * 총독 (Governor-general, 總督)
- * 최고인민회의 (Supreme Peoples Council), (북한의 국회, North Korea's National Assembly)
- * 친일파 (Pro-Japanese Faction / Pro-Japanese Collaborators)

ㅋ

- * 카이로 선언 (Cairo Declaration)
- * 크메르 루주 (Khmer Rouge)

ㄴ

- * 태평양미국육군총사령관 (Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Army Forces, Pacific)

- * 태평양연합국총사령관 (Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in the Pacific)
- * 토벌대 (Government forces / security forces)
- * 통일부장관 (Unification Minister)
- * 통일정부 (Unified government)
- * 트루먼 독트린 (Truman Doctrine, 트루먼 주의 Harry S. Truman)
- * 특별감찰 (Special Investigation)

ㅇ

- * 포고령 (Proclamation)
- * 피난민 (Refugee)
- * 필화 (Serious slip of the pen)

ㅎ

- * 하사관 (Sergeant)
- * 한라산 (Mt. Halla)
- * 한미군사안전잠정협정 (Executive Agreement between the President of the Republic of Korea and the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, Concerning Interim Military and Security Matters during the Transitional Period)
- * 항복 (Surrender)
- * 항일운동 (Anti-Japanese resistance movements)
- * 해군항공기지 (Naval Air Bases)
- * 해방 (Liberation, 解放)
- * 해안경비대 (Coast Guard)
- * 헌법 (Constitution)
- * 헌법소원 (Constitutional petition, 憲法訴願)
- * 헌법재판소 (Constitutional Court / 연합)

- * 헌병 (Provost officer / military police, 憲兵)
- * 헌병사령관 (Provost marshal)
- * 현행법 (Current law)
- * 혈서 (Writing in blood)
- * 혈서를 쓰다 (Write in one's own blood)
- * 형법 (Criminal law / criminal code) / 형사(민사)소송법 the code of criminal(civil) procedure /민법 civil law
- * 화장 (Cremation, 火葬)
- * 후유증 (Aftermath / Aftereffect)



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43

Tracing Trades -A Parantesis in Scandinavian History-

Peter Paul Rubens's "Korean Man" is the first known work of art by a Western artist depicting an image of Korea. If the man in the drawing actually is Korean, it would serve as visual evidence that could rewrite the historical record of Korean contact with Europe.

"Korean Man", a portrait by Peter Paul Rubens, depicts a mysterious man in traditional Korean costume by Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens now on display in a Seoul art gallery. The drawing is source of vivid speculations centuries after it was drawn. "Korean Man" is the main attraction at a display of Flemish drawings at the Hangaram Museum of Art in the Seoul Arts Center, where visitors lean close to study a black chalk drawing of a man in a robe, his arms buried in its folds, Lines of red chalk highlight his face, which has delicate features that some observers say are Asian. In the background, there is a small boat, apparently symbolizing how far the man had traveled.

The mystery surrounding Rubens's drawing led its commercial value to skyrocket. In 1983 "Korean Man" was sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, in Los Angeles, for 670 million won or \$564,000 At the time, it was the most ever paid for a drawing.

Kwak Cha-seop, a history professor at Pusan National University said, "The Korean Man" is for sure Antonio Corea. I even wrote a book about how Corea met Rubens while the artist was living in Italy from 1600 to 1608. One can only assume and sometimes traces are not historically recorded.

I would say that there's an 80 to 90 percent possibility that the model of the picture is a Choson man. By looking at his facial features, you can't tell whether he's Vietnamese, Thai or a Choson man. Some Westerners say he's a Mongolian. Most of the history of art is based on the history of possibility. Unlike books, paintings don't have long explanations."

In their obsession with bloodline and an extensive keeping track of their scattered Diaspora amounting to 6 million people all over the world, compiling enormous volumes of overseas affairs relations, the story of Antonio Corea finally reached the Foreign Ministry in Seoul in the 1990s. Antonio Corea, a 51 year old Italian is believed to descend from a Korean emigrant in the 16th century, arrived in Seoul, November 1992 for an eight day tour of Korea at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture.

Corea is the president of the Korean Cultural Association in Italy. Antonio Corea is believed to be a descendant of a Korean boy by the same name, who was kidnapped by Japanese soldiers during the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1596 and later sold to a Florentine trader as a slave. Corea appealed in 1989 to president Roh Tae Woo for his help in tracing his origin. The Korean Ministry of Culture sent an official to Albi in May 1992 to conduct a basic survey on the Corea clan in Albi as part of its drive to "trace the origin of our ancestors" on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Japanese Invasion.

History sometimes takes peculiar turns. While Antonio Corea in Albi Italy in the 1990s was trying to link his origin to Korea and even became president of the Korean Cultural Association in Italy, although DNA tests proved no traces left of "Korean Blood" in him whatsoever, other descendants of the first Antonio, left behind all their traces of origin, except their names. The archives of immigrant arrivals at the Ellis Island Port in the last

Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46

19th, early 20th century lists dozens of Antonio Corea's, having departed from various ports in Central Europe, and a few even listed as originating from the village of Albi, none of them were listed as "Korean". They all arrived to the Promised Land, naturalized and untraceable as "French" and "Italian".

"Have you been to Tivoli? Is it not charming; is it not lovely? You need not be shy. The hospitable divans are pleased to receive you with open arms and you need only command, and your favorite drink will stand, steaming, before you. But no! You prefer relishing it outside. The Mohammedan drink is to be inhaled in real Mohammedan manner to full puffs of the tobacco pipe"

Tivoli is Denmark's prime playground. The garden was founded in 1843 by George Carstensen, a globetrotter and son of a Danish consul stationed in North Africa. When asking Monarch, King Christian the VII for permission to establish a "Tivoli & Vaux Hall" named after similar parks in Paris and London, he convinced the King with the words: "When the people are amused, they forget about politics"

Here you find no drunks. Here you enjoy yourself fully with no other stimulant than elegance and good taste. Here you see how "Family Denmark" behaves when it is at its best.

Ever since the opening, Tivoli has been a meeting point for the Danes, yes indeed for the entire World. It is important to ensure Tivoli's prime attraction: the Garden's atmosphere, charm, and spirit: its diversity, tradition, and quality. Tivoli brought the World to Denmark. The so-called "Caravans" were the highlight of the seasons from 1880-1903. First came a huge Nubian family, with all their exotic silken splendor. In 1897, 60 people and animals were arranged in the extensive Bedouin village with Arabic case, belly dance, bazaar, stalls, and fortunetellers. In an arena, there were horseback shows, attacks and arranged thefts. The last of these human zoos was 100 "imported" Indians from South India. -Indeed, Tivoli has always been a mirror to the world!

A stroll around Tivoli will leave you impressed with the harmonious blend of the Orient and fine Danish architecture. In 1950, the Pantomime was re-decorated by Hans Hansen. He tried to match the building's ornaments with Chinese color symbolism, but as he said, "Of course it is difficult for a European to understand this symbolism, so the colors are toned in a palette that pleases us European's sense of aesthetics."

China has been a prime attraction ever since Tivoli was founded. "Tivoligoers" could lose themselves in a Chinese-style Bazaar, lamps, fireworks with Chinese faces, the pantomime theatre, and the Chinese Tower, although actually being more Japanese than Chinese, it fits well into the garden's harmonic Asian display altogether. And in 1902, Tivoli even had a caravan with 34 real Chinese imported straight from China! However the Chinese because so fond of Denmark that it was impossible to deliver them back after the show.

But it wasn't only the Far Orient that inspired Tivoli. In 1905, the garden held a large exhibition of the Danish Colonies. Here, the Copenhageners could peak at the possessions under the Danish Crown. There were two real Negro children from the West Indies and Danes dressed as Eskimos from Greenland, as well as displays of the Faeroe Islands and Iceland. At the turn of the century, however, the Copenhageners had gotten used to the exhibitions, and the mess they created overshadowed the thrills that encounters with the exotic.



Today Tivoli is still celebrating the meeting between the local and the global. After exciting rides in "the demon" and the "panda", visitors can fulfill their healthy appetite at the "Chopstick".

...About Nordic Colonialism... It's about something much more. For the future it is very much a battle about the History. Not just how to view the history, but how to create the history... of ourselves. Why we came here, why we are here, why our children will be here. As adoption is portrayed in such a positive and anti racist and even anti-colonial way, our talk must be to remind western people, Europeans, Americans, and Australians that they have done this before, for hundreds of years, they have done this. They have transported non-western, non-white people in huge amounts and commodified them, and transported them forcefully.

Even if, what is done cannot be un-done, there can be no healing before there is reconciliation, no reconciliation before there is recognition. For this recognition to take place, history must be once again dissected and re-constructed. Such a reconstruction can never be chronologic, nor logic. As our memory and histories are per se concealed, it will always be fragmented and distorted.

The proponents for Scandinavian adoption in the 1960s, when they argued for Scandinavia as a very good place for children from non-western countries, there was then the very convincing argument that the Nordic countries hadn't had any colonies like France or U.K. or Russia, Germany, Spain, Italy, and that was the reason why it was believed that the Nordic countries would be the most fitting, the most perfect place for international adoptees because here they would not meet any kind of colonial stereotypes, racism and so on. I honestly believe that that is what they thought, but they also forgot that, at least Sweden and Denmark, and especially Denmark, they had colonies. And not only colonies outside of Europe, they colonized other Nordic countries. There was also this internal colonialism going on. For example, Sweden dominated Finland and Norway, and Denmark dominated Norway, Island, the Faeroe Islands, and Greenland. And then we have the indigenous, native people that have been living here in Northern Europe for Centuries, especially the Sámi people in the Northern Scandinavia and the Greenlanders in Greenland.

We have melted into the National Culture. You can ask any Scandinavian, and if you say "Korea", they will say "adoption"...When you look at immigration statistics from Korea to the Northern European countries, it is such a bizarre immigration. Adoption is more or less the only immigration. For example Denmark, has more than 8,000 Korean adoptees, but only a few hundred Korean immigrants... I know a few Korean immigrants in Sweden, and they tell me that they usually pass as adoptees, and sometimes they tell Swedes, native Swedes, that they are adoptees, because it is easier than being an immigrant, which is always a problem in Europe.

The Asian children, especially the Korean children, started to come to Scandinavia in the 1950s. They must have reminded the Scandinavians of Sámi and Greenland people. And they must have reminded the Scandinavians that maybe they did not treat those people as well as they wanted to believe. So maybe there are two aspects here. We as Korean Adoptees are always reminding Scandinavians of their own native Asians who have been living with the Scandinavians, probably for thousands of years, the Sámi and the Greenlanders. But on the other hand, this link must be forgotten all the time. It is kind of forbidden, taboo, to make this connection. No one is doing that. It is never mentioned.





Fig. 51

The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger

- Voices and Narratives Opening Up a Site of Contestation -

Yasuko Ikeuchi

Jane Jin Kaisen's film *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* (2010)¹ creates a genealogy of the narratives of three generations of women, and in doing so highlights the historical and geopolitical relations on the Korean peninsula over the past hundred years. These narratives belong to the former "comfort women" mobilized as part of the Japan's imperialist war and colonization of Asia, the sex workers who have serviced the camp towns around US military bases from the post-war period onwards, and the international adoptees who have continued to be sent from South Korea to the West since the Korean War. Rather than dealing with their apparently disparate circumstances in isolation as separate issues, the film interconnects their circumstances in terms of a violence that has consistently systematically silenced the individual voices of these women who have been scarred by history. Here, I want to examine the representational strategies that highlight the film's multilayered connections.

Multiple Languages and Narratives

The film begins with un-narrated footage² from the Women's International Tribunal on Japanese Military Sexual Slavery that was held in Tokyo in 2000. The scene is of the former "comfort woman" Wang Aihua collapsing while giving testimony about the sexual violence she suffered at the hands of the Japanese, and is shown in slow-motion while focusing on Wang as she falls. The images form a narrative of the body crumbling under the weight of another huge blow, this time from the pain of talking about being victimized by violence. We then become aware of the voices of those who have not yet been summoned to testify. These voices, washing over one another and impossible to separate individually, then fade out, and the title *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* appears for the first time, giving the film a symbolic opening.

The voices and narratives of these women who have been scarred by history each closes in on us with an overwhelming physicality and materiality. At the same time, the fact that they speak different languages – English, Korean,

Danish, Chinese – has the effect of placing what feels like an almost insurmountable distance between us. The subtitles³ only serve to further complicate the alienation effect.

Nor is English, the main language spoken in the film, presented as a monolithic language. One of the sex workers felt alienated when she married an American soldier and moved to the US without being able to speak a word of English, while an adoptee who was sent to the US when she was eight was forbidden to speak her mother tongue Korean and forced to become "American." The difference between the English, that the sex workers servicing the American soldiers speak in order to survive each day in the camp towns, and the intellectual, analytical English spoken by the college-educated adoptees raised by middle-class American adoptive parents is plain to see. Ironically, amidst the current push of globalization, all that is wanted from the returned adoptees is their English, and despite striving to regain their lost mother tongue, the broken Korean they speak is "worth nothing." The film also contrasts the "English Villages" and the "hysteria to learn English" with the multiple languages and narratives needed to survive as a Diaspora.

Reproductive Control

- "Comfort Woman" / "Yang-gong-ju" / "Comfort Child"

The film, while articulating the continuity of US military domination as a carry-over from Japanese colonial rule, also draws attention to the continuity of the structures that give rise to international adoption by critiquing the distinction between "comfort woman" and "Yang-gong-ju"⁴ and the politics of boundaries. Underlying the international adoption system is a politics that confines the "Western Princess" to the camp towns and excludes from civil society anyone "biracial" who was born out of a relationship with an American serviceman.

While there were a large number of war orphans after the Korean War, many of whom were sent to the US from impoverished South Korea, the policy of exiling "biracial" children through adoption went beyond being a temporary post-war measure. As Tammy Chu points out, the boom years for international adoption were "actually during industrialization when Korea had achieved quite a bit of economic success in the 1980s." The policies aimed at rapid modernization under the military dictatorships from the 1960s through to the 1980s favored "security and economic growth," and were associated with policies of forced population control. This was essentially reproductive control, and the

international adoption system was a national policy to discard children born to poor families, through prostitution, or out of marriage⁵. Jane Jeong Trenka, who was adopted to the US, expresses the close connection between “comfort woman,” “*Yang-gong-ju*,” and “comfort child” in the following terms.

One step away from a Korean-American woman married to a white man, one more or the same step away from a Korean military wife with a soldier husband. Another step away from a war bride. Another step: war booty. Step: camp town prostitute. Step: *comfort woman*. Step again: *comfort child*. (emphasis added)⁶

Even the contrast between the black and white images of the past in the excerpts from the old news, reels or documentaries and the color images of the present, exhibits continuity. In the images of the present, the “red-lit boxes” in which “the prostitutes apply makeup even while waiting on display” are adjacent to “the gate at the military base” strung with barbed wire and guarded by “uniformed men with rifles.” The most compelling image is of the cross on the church steeple glowing red like a neon sign.⁷ The red-lit cross symbolizing the blood of countless thousands that flowed on the Korean peninsula during the Cold War following colonial rule and the historical scars that are etched deeply into the subconscious of the people gives off a unique light that stands out strikingly in the Seoul night. Accompanying these images are Trenka’s words: “sex red, meat red, motel red, Konglish red...”

The camera’s gaze, capturing a cemetery, a military base, a camptown, an airport, and a street littered with all manner of advertising that come and go like “fugitive visions” as it moves around, reveals the volatile places where women and children live, with fragmentary crosscuts and composition.

The Politics of Speech and Representation

When talking about her relationship with American servicemen, the sex worker remains hidden from view. There is a risk inherent in coming out and talking openly about her experiences. The former “comfort women” were exposed to the same risk, but the struggle to regain their dignity won worldwide support, and they have now captured a public place in which to testify. Scenes from the protest rallies held in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul every Wednesday since 1992 are inserted into the film, and in these we can witness the former comfort women standing tall as they make their case with their many support-

ers. At the same time, the film problematizes the difficulty of talking about issues related to prostitution at US military bases from the post-war period onwards, compared to the ease with which the problem of comfort women under colonial rule is discussed.

Interestingly, by focusing on the conflicts and antagonisms inherent to the struggle to regain their rights, the adoptees have opened up a place in which to rethink concepts and restructure counter-knowledge. For example, Tammy Chu criticizes the bias of feminism in South Korea, which “has very much been middle class-based,” and points out that the adoption issue is “related to working-class women [and] under-privileged women” and arises from the combined oppression of patriarchy and economic disparity.

[I]f you look at the women who give up their children they are mostly all because they come from an economically poor background and it is also very much because of this issue of patriarchy in Korean society. I mean it was only recently where they changed the family registry system so that women could be the head of the household. Before, if a woman had a child out of wedlock, that child was considered non-existent. So women couldn’t be a single mother - society just did not allow it. That was why a lot of women gave up their children. And especially now, all the babies that are being sent abroad are mostly from unwed single mothers.

Maja Lee Langvad, who was brought up by her adoptive Danish parents, expands the debate on the rights of sexual minorities to the alternate context of the structural discrimination.

People talked about equality and rights, about homosexual rights, and of course also the child’s rights... In a Danish context there is a tendency to “forget” the biological parents... The fact that people who are more economically privileged have a right to adopt – even talking about international adoption as a right is problematic in the first place... The most important thing is to ensure that the biological parents have a real choice as to whether they want to relinquish their child or not.

While taking a clear stand against the discriminatory ban⁸ on same-sex adoption, Langvad, who is gay, presents a critical perspective on the one-sidedness of approaching human rights within the framework of Western-centric liberal-



Fig. 52

ism. The prosperity of the international adoption system lies in the circumstances of Asian women who lack both the rights and the economic means to raise a child born outside of marriage on their own.

The adoptees also critically re-examine the identity politics surrounding race and ethnicity in the process of exploring their own roots. As Jennifer Kwon Dobbs says, "It is not so much this nationalism, this Korean race that links us together...but more importantly the economics of this production of us as adoptees." Resisting monolithic identity politics and the neoliberal globalization that has swept the world, the women, rather than being apprehensive of the differences and antagonisms inherent to their struggle, instead talk about the internal conflicts and contradictions, while finding strength in their own radical otherness, and in doing so open up a site of contestation.

A Community of Activists/Artists

The film constructs creative and unique narratives to counter dominant narratives. Its overwhelming power is drawn from the voices and narratives, which are both individual and collective, of the community of international adoptees who strive to reclaim what was taken from them. Kaisen was herself adopted to Denmark from South Korea, and has been actively involved in the community's fight for the rights of international adoptees. The community of activists and artists serves as a foundation for producing the power to enrich and express thought. The adoptees' narratives contain words from poems and books that they themselves have written, and possess "an evocative power akin to reading a philosophical work," says Yayo Okano.⁹

The images of the adoptees talking in voices and languages colored by their fundamental otherness also bear a strong evocative power. In particular, when Dobbs is talking in the following passage, the way in which the corporeality of her philosophical thought is beautifully expressed by the camera's intimate gaze closing in on the movement of her hands, is no less fascinating than her voice or narrative.

We have this text of the body and we are trying to extract from it some thing, some face, that can close down that distance and create a space of intimacy, not necessarily a love connection, I don't even think, but rather a space of intimacy where that distance has been minimized for a kind of confrontation with the radical otherness that comes quite frankly from our bodies. So for instance, I think when we are look-

ing for our birth family, we are not even looking for a mirror. What we are looking for instead, is for that distance to shrink. This presence that is part of the raw materials of our very physicality. And that radical otherness, seeing it face to face isn't necessarily to find out who I am, but rather, to give substance to that image that is kind of flitting, kind of ghostly, moving, ephemera, in that distance.

I want to touch now on the puppet shows and masques that the adoptees put on as part of their community activities. These are provocative displays designed to disrupt and break down the established order, and are directed at the people who gather at The War Memorial of Korea, where tanks and other weaponry are on display and which seeks to "enhance [the] warrior spirit defending this country".¹⁰ There are shocking improvised performances where, for instance, a woman carrying a fetus has her stomach cut open and the fetus beaten out of her, after which straw stuffed into her womb is set on fire. This use of allegorical puppet shows makes it possible to represent the grotesque and brutal reality of issues related to the adoption system and sexual violence of a degree that you could not easily subject a real person to.

A woman, an orphan and a tiger appear in the puppet shows. At the end of the film, as the camera focuses in slow motion on a young girl and her father who have come to see the puppet shows, the women's voices and narratives from the beginning of the film fade back in to form a chorus of voices, washing over one another and impossible to separate individually. These voices and narratives that we have not yet caught seem to beckon us back into the forest of words. This is a call that repeatedly opens up a genealogy of diverse and antagonistic narratives that are neither linear nor monolithic.

1. *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* was co-produced by Jane Jin Kaisen and Guston Sondin-Kung (Production: Itinrantsendsfortinerant).
2. *Record of the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal: Breaking the History of Silence*. Video Juku Productions (2001).
3. The original version only has English subtitles, and Japanese subtitles (translators: Akwi Seo, Yasuko Ikeuchi, Chie Yokozeki) were added to a DVD put together by the Japan Film Screening Committee for screenings in Japan. Quotations are all from the original film script, with slight modification of some words.
4. *Yang-gong-ju*, literally "Western Princess," is a derogatory term originating in the 1950s during the Korean War in reference to Korean women who associated with foreign men, particularly American servicemen. The term was still prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s but is dated now.
5. Mihee-Natalie Lemoine (appears in the film in voice only), a pioneer who returned to South Korea from Belgium in the early 1990s and created a network for restoring the rights of international adoptees, has talked about the adoptees being "industrial waste" dumped overseas. Mihee-Natalie Lemoine, "Nation, Race, Culture – A Korean Diaspora Artist on Her Fight to Overcome Three Barriers" (Japanese) in *Zenya*, first issue, Fall 2004: 81-96.
6. Jane Jeong Trenka, *Fugitive Visions: An Adoptee's Return to Korea*, Saint Paul, Minnesota: Craywolf Press (2009: 68-9). In the film, many passages and words filled with penetrating reflections are quoted and recited from this autobiographical work. The title was inspired by Sergei Prokofiev's piano concerto "Visions Fugitives" (1917). Pieces from this piano concerto have also been included in the film along with other popular American music, and help create the charm of the film's disparate narrative of mixed voices.
7. Zianichi Korean artist Soni Kum (appears in the film in voice only) created a work drawing inspiration from this red-lit cross, of which there are many to be seen dotted around Seoul at night. The work *bloodsea* (2010) is a video installation and performance piece that was produced in conjunction with her doctoral dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Fine Arts, Tokyo University of the Arts.
8. Same-sex couples in registered partnerships now have the right to adopt thanks to legislation approved by the Danish parliament in May 2010
9. Yayo Okano, "On Watching *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger*" – Comfort Women, US bases, International Adoption." feedback from a film screening held by the Gender Studies Research Group, Institute of International Language and Culture Studies, Ritsumeikan University on April 28, 2011 (<http://wan.or.jp/group/?p=982>). A film screening and talk were also held at the Institute for Gender Studies, Ochanomizu University on April 30.10. Quoted from the greetings page of The War Memorial of Korea website (<http://www.warmemo.or.kr/eng/intro/message/message.jsp>)

Yasuko Ikeuchi is Professor of Theatre Arts and Gender Studies in the College of Social Sciences at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. She is the author of *Feminizumu to Gendai Engeki* (Feminism and Contemporary Theatre, 1994) and *Joyû no Tanjô to Shûen—Pafômansu to Jendâ* (The Birth and the Demise of the 'Actress'—Performance and Gender, 2008). The latest article published in Japanese is "Her Body and Her Narrative: On the Video Works by Soni Kum" in Lee Chonghwa (eds.) *The Sounds of Remaining Scars: Asia, Politics, and Art* (2009). She is the co-editor of *Ikyô no Shintai—Theresa Hak Kyung Cha wo megutte* (Being in Exile—Theresa Hak Kung Cha, 2006), and the translator of Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's *Dictée* (trans. 2003).



Fig. 53

List of illustrations

Fig. 1

Four United States Army bullets found during excavation of the Jeju International Airport Massacre.

Source: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute publication, 2011.

Fig. 2

Yongdeunggut shaman ritual - The first known film recording of Jeju Island. Film still from *Eugene Knez Footage of Korea ca. 1938-1941*.

Source: Human Studies Film Archives Smithsonian Institution, USA.

Fig. 3

“Crush down Red Devils to Build up a Unified Korea – Seobok Youth Association”.

Source: 4.3 Peace Park, Jeju Island 2011.

Fig. 4

Yang Yun Mo with statement of demands to stop the Jeju Naval Base construction. Yang was imprisoned on April 6 2011.

Photographed by Cho Sung-Bong.

Fig. 5

Excavation of the Jeju International Airport Massacre site.

Source: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute publication, 2011.

Fig. 6

“The prospective outlook of a strategic naval base to be constructed on the southern resort island of Jeju over the next five years”.

Source: The Korean Navy.

Fig. 7

A War bride named 'Blue' comes home. Sgt. Johnie Morgan brought his wife, Lee Yong Soon (Blue) to the U.S. She was the first war bride to arrive in the USA during the Korean War.

Source: LIFE Magazine, November 5, 1951.

Fig. 8

Button found during the excavation of the Jeju International Airport Massacre site.

Source: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute publication, 2011.

Fig. 9

Still image from *May Day on Cheju-do* filmed on May 1st 1948 by the United States Army in Korea.

Source: The United States National Archive

Fig. 10

The 63rd Anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 Incident on April 3, 2011 at the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park.

Still image from the video installation *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

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Mr. Goh chained to an excavator at the construction site for the Jeju Naval Base, April 2011.

Still image from *Island of Stone #2* by Jane Jin Kaisen and Guston Sondin-Kung.

Fig. 12

Jeju Naval Base protest in front of Jeju City Hall.

Still image from *Island of Stone #2* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

Fig. 13

Airport Massacre victims being cremated, March 2011.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

Fig. 14

Shaman ritual for the deceased guerilla leader Lee Duk Gu and other resistance victims of the Jeju 4.3 Incident, April 2nd 2011.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

Fig. 15

Jeju Island March 2011.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

Fig. 16

Still image from *May Day on Cheju-do* filmed on May 1st 1948 by the United States Army in Korea.

Source: The United States National Archive.

Fig. 17

Clash between civilians and the Navy in front of the Jeju Naval Base construction site April 8, 2011.

Still image from *Island of Stone #2* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

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Archive still image from the excavation of the Jeju International Airport Massacre site kindly lend by the Jeju 4.3 Research Institute.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

Fig. 19

Preparing the victims of the Jeju International Airport Massacre for cremation, 2011.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

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Crows flying over the crater of Halla Mountain, 2011.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen.

Fig. 21

Protestors demand Truth and clarification of the Jeju 4.3 Incident.

Source: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen 2011.

Fig. 22

Still image from *May Day on Cheju-do* filmed on May 1st 1948 by the United States Army in Korea.

Source: The United States National Archive.

Fig. 23

The Jeju Naval Base construction site.

Still image from “*Island of Stone #2*” by Jane Jin Kaisen. 2011

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Landscape by the *One Hundred Ancestors for One Descendant* graveyard near Moseulpo, Jeju Island 2011.

Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen. 2011

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Detail of *Light and Shadow* by Jane Jin Kaisen 2011.

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Source: Family album.

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Source: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute.

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Source: *Life Magazine* November 15, 1948.

Fig. 34

Extracts from *Light and Shadow* by Jane Jin Kaisen 2011.

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Still image from *Reiterations of Dissent* by Jane Jin Kaisen. Jeju Women Divers' Anti Japanese Resistance Monument, Hado Village Jeju Island.

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Source: *LIFE Magazine* July 22, 1946.

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Front cover of "The Jeju Women Divers' Anti-Japanese Resistance" by Bu Yeong Seon published in 1995.

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Fig. 39

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Still image from *May Day on Cheju-do* filmed on May 1st 1948 by the United States Army in Korea.

Source: The United States National Archive.

Fig. 42

Still image from *May Day on Cheju-do* filmed on May 1st 1948 by the United States Army in Korea.

Source: The United States National Archive.

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Still image from *May Day on Cheju-do* filmed on May 1st 1948 by the United States Army in Korea.

Source: The United States National Archive.

Fig. 44

Tracing Trades by Jane Jin Kaisen made in collaboration with Tobias Hübinette, 2006. Quotes from the film.

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Tracing Trades by Jane Jin Kaisen made in collaboration with Tobias Hübinette, 2006. Still images from the film.

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Fig. 53

Soldier and girl. Still image from *The Woman, The Orphan, and The Tiger* by Jane Jin Kaisen made in collaboration with Guston Sondin-Kung 2010.

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