

NEW VERDICT ON AN OLD WAR

RECKONING WITH THE KOREAN WAR

BRUCE CUMINGS

Eugene Hasenfus, shot down delivering weapons to the contras in Nicaragua, is an unlikely carrier of historical truth. His capture embarrassed the Reagan Administration, but how can we grasp his symbolism in the broadest sense? He was on a rollback mission, just as he had been when he worked for Air America during the Vietnam War. He is an asterisk in a forty-year history of sometimes open, sometimes clandestine attempts to depose Communist regimes.

The matrix of thought and decision on all such interventions was formed in the 1950s by the Korean War and the options it raised: accommodation, containment or rollback. Then as now, shadowy and allegedly private actors interfered with the foreign policy process in an explosive mix. Are there lessons to be learned from this past?

Heidegger asserts that there is an intimate connection among historical memory, the naming of things and that process we call thinking. Bad memories give you bad thinking. By naming, we locate or "call" something for the memory to rescue it from oblivion and keep it for thought.

It doesn't seem to be history that we renember, but particular verdicts. Ask yourself he following question: What kind of war was he Korean War? The Truman liberal will repond, It was a limited war, a success that rought containment to East Asia, invoked colective security arrangements and taught the Communists a lesson—this far, and no farther. The MacArthur conservative will assert, It was he first defeat in our history, and it showed that here is no substitute for victory.

South Korea Faces Food Shortage

Rice Crops Ruined in Fighting, Nation Seeks Grain Imports

PUSAN, Korea, June 28 (Reuters) - There will be many empty rice bowls in Korea this year.

Slogging infantry and churning tanks destroyed an estimated 240,000 tons of rice in the paddies north of Scoul and another 160,000 tons was lost due to drought in the southern provinces.

To ward off starvation and nicet the needs of her own people as well as 170,000 refugees fleeing the Communists in North Korea, the country will have to depend on an expected humper crop of wheat later this year and on imported grain.

Rice Price Inflated

Petitions from hungry provinces reach this temporary capital almost every day and thousands of South Koreans find that they cannot afford rice at the present inflated prices.

. South Korea was once the rice bowl of this corner of Asia, but now she has had to negotiate a contract with Thailand for 24,000 tons of rice and the government has allocated \$7,000,000 to buy 54,000 tons of barley in America.

Cold War Conflict or Humanitarian Crisis?

American historical discourse has declared Korean War the "forgotten war." Forgotten by whom? To understand war as a humanitarian crisis is to reframe the way media has overwritten history. The goal is to hold on, simultaneously, the many interpretations of the (ongoing) Korean conflict. As proxy war, as domestic geographic upheaval, as a forced global diaspora.

PRO-RED G. L'S BALK AT HEARING PLEAS BY U. N. IN KOREA; 22 Americans ...



on Peace Parley If Foe Will

Withdraw Accusations

to Interviews First

day, Dec. 14-The United Nations pear today before their fellow countrymen for explanation

ÃO KILLED AS FIRE

N. Aurea, April 4 (Sun. sorety needed rice, naries and leaky gas main where grains, Damago was at the chicago a current gast \$1,000,000.

d packing crate slum, into a the American installations. oaring fire trap yesterday in

which many of the estimated 40 killed were piled on top of one mother in their terrorized The victims, all South Koreans, included one nine-member (amily. A high wind kept the

leaping flames out of control Lack of escape facilities were blamed by U.S. Army officials

slum dwellings, then spread to Korean factories and ware-

Brief Context of the Situation in Korea

The Korean War took place from June 25, 1950 to July 27, 1953. An armistice was signed to end the fighting, but no peace treaty was ever created, so the two countries are still technically at war. The war was sparked because there were two governments existing within one country separated by the 38th parallel. Both governments wanted to unify the country under their own control and the war started when the northern forces invaded the south on June 25, 1950. The result of this war was not only the separation of a country into two, but the separation of families because some were left behind in the North and could not travel to the South.

U.S. Involvement in the Korean War/With the Refugees

- Although the U.S. had sided with the southern forces of Korea and fought beside them, the U.S. forces had an informal understanding that they could use force to control the movement of the refugees.
- No Gun Ri Massacre: U.S. forces shot at Korean refugees because they were worried that Korean forces from the north had infiltrated. An unidentified number of refugees were killed.
- Heungnam Evacuation: "From Dec. 19-24, 1950, approximately 105,000 troops and 98,000 civilians" were evacuated from Heungnam, North Korea as northern troops were beginning to surround the southern and United Nations troops and the refugees. This "christmas miracle" was accomplished with the help of the troops and Hyun Bong-hak, a medical doctor.

U.S. Involvement in the Korean War/With the Refugees Cont.

Due to the air attacks of both the UN forces and the Chinese and northern Korean forces, many bridges leading to the southern part of the country had been destroyed as a precaution to keep northern forces out of the south. However, refugees were still trying desperately to cross into the southern part of the country by those damaged bridges. On December 4, 1950, photographer Max Desfor captured this image of refugees crawling on the broken bridge over the Taedong River in what is now North Korea to try to reach the south.



Journey of the Refugees Within Korea



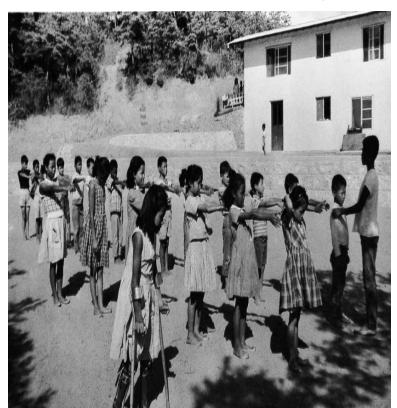
A majority of the refugees moved to the southern end of Korea in the hope of outrunning the North Korean army

Many thought of the move as temporary, and left precious belongings at their homes to retrieve later

The refugees were pushed into the southwestern end of Korea where the rice fields were located and so that they would not interfere with the military

Some of the main cities that housed the refugees were Pusan, Taegu, Taejon, Ponang, Kojo Island, Kusan, and Cheju

Journey of the Refugees Abroad



Many of the refugees that went abroad went to the U.S. and were orphans up for adoption or new wives of the army men

During this time period, Korean culture placed a heavy emphasis on bloodlines, so many of the biracial children fathered by the army men were the first up for adoption

Many of the other children were orphans whose parents died in the war

From 1950-1960 approximately 500 Korean woman went to the U.S. a year as wives of American soldiers

KOREA MOTHER HAS 120 IN HER FLOCK

Playing Foster Parent to Teen-age Girls Can Be Trying-When Boys Prowl About

BY DAN L. THRAPP, Times Religion Editor

Foster mothering 120 Korean teen-age girls can be a headache, as for instance, when amorous-minded youths prowl around in the dead of night whistling for them, but more often it is a rewarding experience.

At any rate this is the conclusion of Mrs. Hanna Yang and with human labor, even Kim, 62, who in the bitter re- to plowing. construction years since the cared for more than 500 girls. Many of them were mere children, aged 5 or so, when they arrived.

and left the informal home Yang maintains for them at Pusan. She described her work in an interview here.

Never Disappointed

Since most of the girls are refugees from North Korea, and cannot go back, they are often homesick, sometimes ill, and, despite their numbers, occasionally lonesome. In any event, they turn to Mrs. Yang for solace and they are never disappointed. With that many girls,

birthdays are a common occurrence, but parties are costly and Mrs. Yang couldn't swing an individual party for each girl.

So she has a birthday party once each month for all the girls who have birthdays during that month. The only cakes are pancakes and the rest of the party meal usually is rice and soup, but it is always a treat and for the girls each party is a fabulous suc-

Started in Tent

Raised a Presbyterian, Mrs. Yang, from a well-known and prosperous Korean family,

"It would cost \$100 to buy Korean hostilities ceased has a cow to pull the plow," explained Mrs. Yang, "and it would cost twice that to feed the cow during the winter. So the girls pull the plow." Thieves made off with Others have since married anything not nailed down,

> and Mrs. Yang had constantly to keep a weather eye out. "Men are terrible," she confided, but she didn't mean it the way it sounded.

> even with squealing pigs,

U.N. Helps Out

Finally, with help from U.N. armed forces personnel and from other sources, she managed to fence her farm and thus control the depredations. This, of course, did nothing to lessen the attraction of her girls' home for young Korean men.

"Sometimes they wake me up in the middle of the night, with their whistling for the girls," she said. "But watchfulness thwarts them."

Church World Service and other relief agencies help support her girls until they can make their own living and are grown. Some have been "adopted" by U.S. foster parents who support them at the rate of \$10 monthly.

Ardent Admirer

At Mrs. Yang's they are taught to sew and do other useful things.

"I don't let them just play and loaf, but teach them to become good citizens and



VISITOR FROM KOREA - Mrs. Hanna Yong Kim, right, who runs a foster home for 120 teen-age girls in South Korea, chats with Mrs. Janet Whang at Korea Gospel Mission, Inglewood, as Mrs. Yang visited.

- Religious charity organizations and UN Relief funds made up the bulk of refugee relief efforts.
- Relief efforts also took form of clothing drives and canned food drives.
- Sensationalized terms like "waifs" were used to describe South Korean children refugees.
- Assimilation into 1950s America often looked as a pledging to anti-communism, Christianity, and domestic social norms.

Korean Refugees Reception and the World

Due to American racial quotas on immigration, the North American continent did not receive a large influx of immigrants from the Korean Peninsula until they were abolished in the 1960s. On the Asian continent, the Chinese Civil War ended shortly after the beginning of the Korean War and established China as a communist power. China did not see the Korean citizens as refugees, and to this day maintains a policy of returning North Korean citizens to the DPRK. Russia also supported North Korea, and boycotted the United Nations for a significant portion of the beginning of the war. The United Nations High Committee on Refugees released very few documents concerning the Korean War, as the mandate of the UNHRC at the time did not cover internally displaced persons, and also a Euro-centric view on what constitutes a refugee. There were however several United Nations plans to deal with the displacement of civilians during the war, but Cold War politics and a wide ideological divide on the progression of the war made it difficult for both sides to reach a compromise.

REDS REJECT ALLIED PLAN FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

day)- The allies today offered- U.N. command gave the Reds a and the Reds rejected-a pro-chance to bring up their pet projposal that teams from neutral ect-demand for the withdrawal nations be named to interview displaced persons in Korea to determine where they want to live after a Korean armistice.

The proposal was made at Panmunjom by Rear Adm. R. E. Libby after the Reds turned down the allied plan to give the same job to the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Communists said the ICRC was not neutral.

MUNSAN, Korean, Feb. 1 (Fri- In yesterday's meeting the of foreign troops in Korea.

Vice-Adm. C. Turner Joy, chief allied negotiator, attempting to speed the talks, invited the Reds to open immediate negotiations on the final agenda item, although agreement has not yet been reached on other major issues.

Refugee Plans in Korea Spurred;
Masses Kept Out of Pusan Area
Barriers Set Up Around a Wide Perimeter

in Southeast Sector While Exodus to Near-By Islands Is Speeded

By GEORGE BARRETT
Special to The New York Times.

that the surred living in Maran

PUSAN, Korea, Friday, Jan. 19 announcement, so even to guess at —A chain of roadblocks and rail the death rate is impossible. But and river barriers has been sprung civil assistance administrators say

Trimmed-Down Refugee Bill Passed by House Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Jul 29, 1953; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 14

Trimmed-Down Refugee Bill Passed by House The Senate approved an

The House tonight approved a trimmed-down version of President Eisenhower's request for gees and reducing from 12,000 authority to admit 240,000 "spe- to 10,000 the number of escial quota" refugees from Com- capees residing in allied Westmunism and other immigrants ern European countries who giving asylum to refugees was not simply an into the United States. could enter the United States act of conscience: it was also a strategy of The House set the limit at under the bill. The House set the finit at under the fill.

217,000, while the Senate The House vote was 221-185, viewpoints through assimilation. worked into the night on its; The aliens would be admitted own version of the legislation, within the next three years

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP)

row, however, when debate from foreign lands. will be limited to 10 minutes or As passed by the House, the shaped the war.

amendment by Sen. McCarran

(D) Nev., providing for the ad-

mission of 2000 Chinese refu-

each amendment. special quota group would take

in 4000 orphans under 10 years of age, including 1000 Korean war waifs to be raised at Boys Town in Nebraska. Secretary of State Dulles sent

the Senate a last-minute plea for passage of the measure, declaring that unrest in Sovietoccupied East Germany and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain "increases the urgency" for such a bill.

For U.S. policymakers during the Cold War,

Final Senate action on the and would be in addition to the Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' writing, bill was put over until tomor regular quotas of newcomers from political speeches to columns in Vanity Fair and Time, showcase how rhetoric had

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August 18, 1950 Video

An update on the Korean War and its refugees:

http://www.nbcnews.com/video/nbc-learn/52589331#52589331

The Current State of North Korea



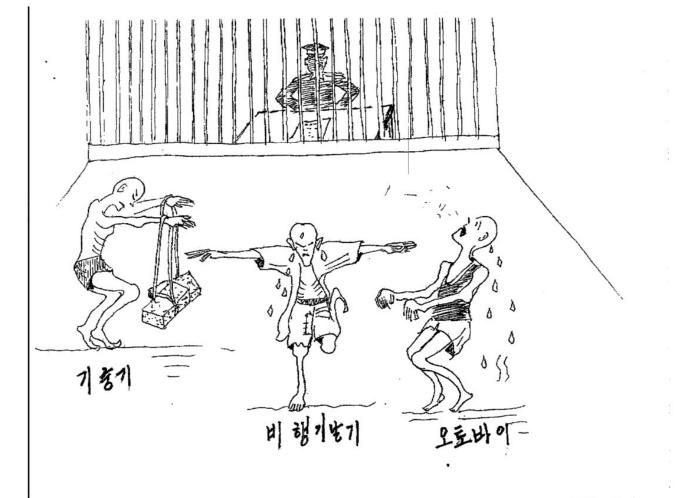
- Kim Jong-Un, following his deceased father's lead, has instituted totalitarian reign over his state
- Freedom of expression is repressed, political opposition is quashed, and anti-state offenses are punished in inhuman prison camps
- Between 80,000 and 120,000 people are currently being held in political prison camps
- The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), which covers the border between North and South Korea, is patrolled by over 1 million soldiers
- This border is nearly impossible to bypass and most refugees escape through an underground railroad system that takes them across the River Tumen to China, continues to Laos and Thailand, before snaking back to South Korea
- These refugees, mostly women, are vulnerable to deceit, abuse, and sexual trafficking



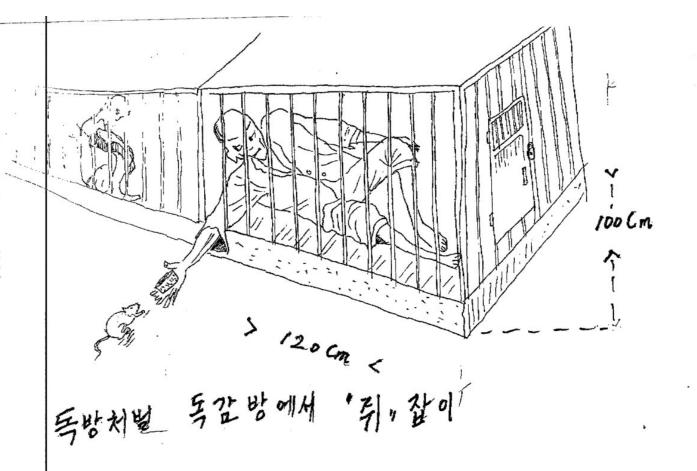
Sketches Released by a Former NK Prisoner



'The "pigeon torture": "[W]e are bound to stay in that position until the jailer feels that you have been tortured enough. So the torture goes on until the time has come to the satisfaction of the jailer. This is the pigeon torture. This is a very strange word in Korea and to you. Your hands are bound back and if they tie you like this, your chest comes out forward and in this position you are tortured." (Image source: United Nations)'



'In Kim's own word to the U.N. panel: "We are supposed to think there's an imaginary motorcycle and we are supposed to be in this position as if we are riding the motorcycle. And for this, we pose as if we are airplanes ourselves. We are flying. And if we stand like this there's no way that you can hold that position for a long time. You are bound to fall forward. Everybody in the detention centre goes through this kind of this torture." (Image source: United Nations)'



"The State has used food as a means of control over the population . . . The State has also used deliberate starvation as a means of control and punishment in detention facilities. This has resulted in the deaths of many political and ordinary prisoners." (Image source: United Nations)'

The Refugee Crisis Today

North Korean refugees are officially considered South Korean citizens according to constitutional law

Since the late 1990's, approximately 28,000 North Koreans have fled to South Korea



- Officially the South Korean government states that 13 defectors have returned to North Korea, however it is believed that many more have returned unofficially
- Adjustment is tough for defectors. They have an unemployment rate that is 3X higher than the national average. More than half of them experience depression and 25-30% of them have entertained thoughts about leaving South Korea because they didn't fit in

Moving Forward

If it's difficult to integrate 20,000 North Korean refugees, how can we possibly assimilate 20 million?

China has repeatedly propped up the North Korean state, partially because it provides a buffer state between China and South Korea, but also due to concerns over hundreds of thousands of refugees flooding into Beijing

When interviewed, North Korean defectors had many ideas on how we can help

Most believe a "carrot and stick" method is the best way to help North Korean citizens

The international community needs to start paying attention to North Korean human rights. Food aid to the country should be conditional on improved human rights and if that is not enacted, then heavy sanctions should take place

To do this, public awareness needs to be raised. People need to focus on human rights violations rather than nuclear weapons

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