

KUT

**Materials towards an interdisciplinary performance
reflecting the encounter of Christianity and Buddhism
in contemporary Korea**

by

Michael Springate

A Project Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF FINE ARTS

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Abstract

This paper includes the performance script and an extended commentary upon an interdisciplinary performance by writer-performer Michael Springate, developed in collaboration with Nathan Hesselink (cello and Korean percussion), Maki Nagisa (dancer-actor), Carolyn Combs (videographer), Ron Stewart (movement) and Kee Kook-seo (director).

The performance, structured as a sonata, has four movements. The relationships between these individual movements and contemporary history are clarified, as are the influences of traditional Korean performance structures, in particular the *p'ansori* and the *kut*.

Differing conceptions of self, reality and performance are defined and contrasted, and the effect of American Foreign Policy on those conceptions is also explored.

Key Words: Theatre, Interdisciplinary Performance, South Korea, Christianity, Buddhism, Ontology, War, *P'ansori*, *Kut*, American Foreign Policy.

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Finally, thanks are overdue to my partner, Carolyn Combs, and to our four children, all of whose lives were directly affected by my choice to move to Vancouver and enter the program. Their loving laughter kept me on track.

**Awake the wooden fish!
Clang the cloud-shaped plate!
Ring the bell and beat the drums!**

**You who drown in ignorance
and stagger in flight, who insist
on struggling with demons,**

**awake, penetrate mind
awake, penetrate character**

adapted from a sign at Naejangsa,
Cholla, South Korea

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Performance Commentary

First Movement: Sonata-Allegro

A performance called *Kut: Materials Towards a Play Set in South Korea* took place on the nights of January 25 – 27th, 2006, on the top of Burnaby Mountain, at Simon Fraser University.

During my first year as a graduate student, I lived in residence on that mountain. I have certain memories: a room and the distinctiveness of my cooking within it. Sardines, mostly. Pasta. The sounds of construction. Not ten yards in front of my window, a large hole was dug and concrete foundations poured, vertical steel rods repeatedly tied to other vertical steel rods as the building grew in height, liquid concrete poured into solid wooden forms which, after curing, were dismantled, leaving concrete floors and walls.

Three very tall cranes consistently transcribed non-concentric arcs in the occasionally blue but more frequently raining sky. On the top of each crane was a very large floodlight illuminating all that lay directly below. When the snow fell thickly, as it did upon occasion, the light could not penetrate the swirling whiteness, and three iridescent globes hovered high, very high, in the darkness above.

Once, during the spring, I walked along a road towards my room side by side with a coyote. He was clearly more at ease with the idea than I. I fidgeted, wary, and could not stop staring at the strangely hunched shoulders and thin spindly legs. How do you do, I said, somewhat dryly, and Coyote said nothing yet seemed, for all his nonchalance, to be enjoying taking the air. I hoped that we might meet

again, for a similar walk in the near future, but Coyote, having chosen to disappear into low brush, did not reappear.

Although, frequently, I heard the cries of he and his friends at night.

It was, predictably, damp and misty on the top of Burnaby Mountain during the evenings of the performance.

They were held in Studio Two, a somewhat ramshackle building of decidedly casual construction, wood framing and pressboard overlaid with corrugated tin sheathing.

I have been told that the building, which had actually started its life as a trailer and thus had no dug foundation, had been set there, temporarily, more than twenty years ago. It was well hidden in a slight depression behind a multiple-storied concrete parking garage, and oriented in such a way as to offer no visible entrance from any angle of approach.

As such, it is a representative venue for the act of theatre – apparently transitory, but stubbornly emergent, a proven gathering place for those who, wanting to know what is going on about them, are willing to seek that out.

I particularly liked the washroom, not just for the immediate relief it offered, but for its completely unfinished interior with the small note written in pencil and placed over the cistern, signed by maintenance, reminding the user that the heater is to be left on so that the plumbing might be safe from freezing.

Such a note, I think, reminds us that no matter where we are there are things we can do, and that each act has its consequence, and that those consequences affect others whose presence and concerns are not always obvious.

Inside the theatre itself, rows of tubular fluorescent lights shone directly above a strip of floor, equal in width to the lights, painted gloss yellow.

The strip, say 15 feet wide by 45 feet deep, continued up the back wall. Placed near the front of the yellow strip, and slightly to the left, was a common stool. Deep stage right, hanging from a small structural wood post at the edge of the strip, hung a gong and a wooden knocker. Off stage left, mid-way to the back, were a cello and two Korean drums, the *changgo* and the *p'ansori puk*.

Other than the glowing yellow strip, all floors, walls and ceilings were painted matte black. Other than the humming fluorescents, there were no other illuminated lights.

I have a strong association with yellow and black, but it is an unusual association, or so I think, and hard to imagine that others will easily share it. While travelling to the city of Wanju in ¹South Korea, in the spring of 2005, my host said he wanted to visit a Christian minister who was mourning the death of his grandmother, and asked if I would mind accompanying him. When I met the engaging young minister in his late thirties, in the parking lot of a hospital on a road under construction, he was wearing a black suit with a strongly contrasting yellow armband, and a high yellow hat. These were, he explained, Confucian funerary traditions, and although his family was Christian, he felt it appropriate to wear them, as a sign of respect for his elders.

We, the minister and I, although having never met before, embraced, and chatted amiably over his memories of his grandmother, every now and then falling into an easy silence as the dust stirred by the road repair swirled about us.

The association of yellow and black, then, includes, at least for me, the meeting of Confucian and Christian traditions for recent death. ²

It is true, too, that such a combination of colours immediately reminds one of traffic signs denoting danger: construction, falling rocks, curve ahead, or even crossing deer and moose; all of which have a yellow field contrasted by the form of a black silhouette.

When I performed in *Kut*, wearing all black, I was constantly aware of the shape of the silhouette my body would cut, and that each position carried an ability to warn, or comment upon, obstructions in the road ahead.

When Nathan Hesselink (see Collaborators), the musician, first saw the space painted, he said that the yellow reminded him of the oiled paper interiors of traditional Korean dwellings... an association I hadn't considered.

Expectations for an audience were suitably modest, and four rows of eight seats had been arranged, although extra seats were unfolded and added to the sides for each of the performances.

To begin the performance, Nathan and I entered from behind a wall at the back of the space. He went to sit behind the cello off stage left and I, pausing before stepping onto the yellow strip, walked the length of the performance space to stand directly in front of the audience.

Given the bright lights and the proximity between performer and audience, there was neither reason nor way to pretend we weren't aware of each other's fidgets and gazes. My eyes sought out the eyes of all those who would engage, a touch disconcerting, in that one becomes intensely aware of the multiple relationships into which one is entering, but also comforting, in the genuine and open interest in which one is embraced.

I spoke, addressing members of the audience as if they were, each of them, the wife of a recently deceased friend of mine, with whom I was staying while visiting Korea.

That is, I spoke to them as if they were people whom I had only recently met, whom I trusted and wished to know better, who had already done me an act of kindness by letting me be with them, and with whom I shared a history through people not present.

In that way, the performance began with the remembrance of a husband's death, a feature I noticed in the first sentences of two of six plays gathered in a small collection of Yuan drama that I have carried about with me for many years, and which was my initial introduction to Asian theatre, many years ago. How does life continue, such a narrative structure asks, when a traditional voice of authority, deserved or not, is silenced?³

It helped me, while developing the performance, to consider it as a sonata: that is, that the first movement, sonata-allegro, begin with the statement of a first and second major theme, which bridges to a development or dialogue between the two which ends in a strong recapitulation. Subsequent movements are further inventions on the relationship between the major themes, and are presented with a comment on the dynamic approach.⁴

The first major theme, presented and clarified by the first character as he talks to the wife of his now deceased friend, is, as he states it, that the radical discontinuity of self is the reality we ignore.⁵

This realization, in the characters own life, is directly linked to his role as an assassin for the American military during the Vietnam War, as part of the Phoenix Project.⁶

I had a friend who offered to help me patch a broken wall in my apartment on Overdale Street in Montreal, sometime during the mid 1970's. While we were working on cutting back the broken lathing, he began to tell me of his experience with sodium pentothal. He started by talking of the nausea it caused him, but moved on to discuss why it had been administered in the first place. He told me

that he should not be telling me what he was, that he was not supposed to tell people what he had done, but that he had been part of the Phoenix Project, a 'pacification' program run by American military intelligence during the Vietnam War. I remember him telling me that I would never understand what it was really like, being there, and that everything in the news was wrong, and that he had volunteered for the war not really knowing what he was doing, but had thought it the right thing to do.

He was a large man, six feet tall or more, strongly built, tousled dirty blond hair, having a naturally open and gregarious nature. I remember stopping the work on the wall and sitting on top of the large plastic tub of fresh plaster, and listening while he talked and, eventually, listening while he cried, for somehow a personal agony of confusion began tumbling out of him.

This all was, of course, a long time ago, and memory is constructed at the best of times, but I would say that what affected me then, and what consistently came through in my performance, was his very real surprise that he had been treated with such contempt by those whom he thought he was serving. What seemed so painful to him was not so much the guilt, as the humiliation – although they are, I suggest, profoundly linked.⁷

My exploration of this character was achieved during the series of three improvisations I performed as part of the course FPA 885, Studio in Fine and Performing Arts, focused on expanding my understanding of, and practical experience with, different ways of approaching character and theme. I discovered most of the turning points in the character's thoughts in front of a small audience. I was very much guided by those experiences when sitting down to shape and record his words in writing.

Physically, I placed the tensions and strength of his body low down, in his legs, and kept a certain tension in the forward thrust of his shoulders. When sitting on the stool, I preferred to lean forward, supporting the weight of my upper body

through my arms onto my knees. I took on a slight accent from Southern Texas – which I copied, for better or worse – from the phrasing and rhythms of my Texan in-laws. I recognized his voice and phrasing as more melodic and nuanced than my habitual range, which allowed me a certain distinct pleasure in the performance.

The character, as presented, understands that his appreciation of the discontinuity of self is linked to his own need to avoid the pain of former identities. He has learned to borrow from, and rely upon, Buddhist traditions of thought to help him understand the nature of change and self.⁸

This tradition has also allowed him grounding in which to question American benevolence in world affairs. As he phrases it, "It is our strategic goals which determine guilt or innocence". That is, he is claiming that our minds, reflecting our desires, are creating our (nominal) enemies.

It was an important discovery for me to find a life experience for that character in which the arbitrary quality of the determination of guilt or innocence was personally realized: it was at the moment he chose not to kill that they decided he was a killer to be dismissed from the military.

It was my hope that the audience might feel the urgency of his commitment to the new structure of his beliefs, while realizing that his search for inner equilibrium was not, in a number of respects, successful or complete.

The bridge to the Second Theme, the tune Onwards Christian Soldiers, was plucked on the cello.

Nathan didn't rally the military spirit of the Christian ethos with the song but rather, carefully separating the notes, created a pathos suspended between the sorrow caused by violence and the simple child-like innocence of the easily identified tune.

There was neither a costume nor light change as I took on the persona of the daughter of the deceased father and the bereaved mother. But I did find a different pitch for my voice, a different enunciation of words, a different set of tensions within the body and, I believe, a different set of memories/imaginings.

During the physical exploration of this character under the guidance of Ron Stewart (see Collaborators), we worked very hard to find a way to lessen the tension in my joints, and to move with more fluidity and less muscular effort than for the American friend. I learned to discover her within a straighter spine, a lessening of tension in the back, and the gentle touch of one hand to the other wrist, which eventually grew into a characteristic motion with the arms.

The daughter stood at the edge of the yellow, her hands moving easily and slowly in repeating patterns that seem familiar and habitual, although not quite clear in function, and then chose to enter the space from stage right, facing the musician.

She spoke briefly, then retreated out of the performance space, back into the shadow.

The musician then leaned into the chorus of the hymn using his bow, giving sustained resonance and fluidity to the music bringing it somewhat closer to the martial nature of its marching beat.

The daughter again determined to enter the space, and this time, having done so, turned to speak to the empty stool upon which the American friend had sat while discoursing with the bereaved wife. The audience quickly understood that she was entrusted to share the thoughts of her mother with the friend, and that she was formulating and reformulating her approach to him.

Each of the first three approaches, initiated with a somewhat willed enthusiasm, ends in indecision, and she only begins again when called to by Nathan's abrupt strikes on the *changgo*.

My formal intent at this moment was threefold: to let her be called into the space by the cello, a Western instrument, but held to her task by the *changgo*, a traditional Korean instrument; to present her such that the repeated reformulation of her own thoughts were clearly evident; and to create a growing sense of conviction as she speaks to a character present, in fact, only in her mind.

I wanted, that is, to continue with formal aspects reflecting the first theme (discontinuity of self) while establishing the setting for the statement of the second theme.

The daughter, however, unlike the American friend, when she speaks most convincingly, does not speak from personal experience, but from her historical perspective as a Korean.

She touches several key points quickly: that Korea was brutally occupied from 1910 to 1945; that the occupation only ended with the defeat of the Japanese by the "Christian soldiers" of America; and that neither the independent sovereignty of nations nor the equality of people under the law, both of which she perceives as necessary and welcome modernizing concerns, were the historical concerns of Buddhism or Confucianism.⁹

Few South Koreans, I believe, would dispute her general thesis in this regard: that there was a strong and beneficial modernizing effect by Christians and Christianity on the country, particularly as it reflects on democratic principles and equality under the law, and that the liberation from Japan was brought on by American military power appropriately used.¹⁰

Thus, not only does she accept a major historical argument for the benevolent effects of American foreign policy, she argues that it is related to a world vision best captured within the Judeo-Christian tradition.

She is, at this point, very much reflecting the perspective relied upon in America for the support of current foreign policy in the Middle East – that is, a superior Western civilization must export its ways to a troubled region to establish the foundation for lasting global peace and social harmony.¹¹

However, she is aware that these supposed benefits of Judeo-Christian concern can be misused by leaders, whose actual intentions can be quite different than those stated. She calls Bush, Blair, Rumsfeld, Cheney and Rice war criminals, and compares them to "the Constantines of every age", referring to the acceptance of Christianity as a state religion during the Roman Empire, an action widely interpreted as being less a reflection of Constantine's personal conversion, and more a way of capturing the energies of the fastest growing popular movement of that time.¹²

In this statement of opposition to American actions in Iraq, she separates herself from the majority of Korean Christians, who tend in overwhelming numbers to support the actions of the current regime in Washington. However, for my purposes, she becomes more interesting, as she becomes representative of an important sub grouping of Christian activists who have had an important influence in Korean society, as well as within the South Korean government, and whose success or failure will have an important impact on the evolution of Christianity, certainly in Asia, but also beyond.¹³

The daughter continues with her thoughts,

I want to say, that the enduring gift of Christianity is that it opens our eyes to the grace of a loving god who embraces all with a compassion that shines in all corners of the world and is available to each and every one of us. Let that light shine in your heart, to soothe and comfort you. You need not pretend that you are another person from one moment to the next, or that the world only changes in silence, beyond our reach and understanding. Forgiveness will not be found through evasion, but in truth.

This, then, is the second major theme: Truth, enduring truth, is rooted within a divine will that works through, and is evident within, the historical narrative.

The second major theme is the guiding principle of western monotheism: it is the shared fundament of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions.¹⁴

As the daughter gathers her strength to say – “Forgiveness will not be found through evasion, but in truth” – consciously countering the wisdom of Buddhist states of non-identity with a divine determinism, she reaches out with her left hand and, tentatively, rests it lightly on the right shoulder of the friend, or at least where we imagine that shoulder would be, were he sitting there.

She is trying to bring her understanding and compassion to his situation, trying to offer him wholeness, and peace.

It is a haptic moment, one rooted in the intimacy of soft, considered touch.

I, as performer, transition as simply and directly as possible into the friend, sliding onto the stool, and responding to her touch by raising my left hand to rest upon hers. I am firm but gentle, wanting to cling slightly to the warmth of her gesture, while I consider the word she offers – forgiveness.

But for the friend, the forgiveness of which she speaks is predicated upon sin for him, and it is precisely the dissolution of sin (but not the dissolution of morality)¹⁵ that he has struggled to achieve. More, he feels that it is an act of great courage, not evasion, to acknowledge the discontinuity of self.

He reasonably (but I think erroneously) concludes that his understanding lies outside of her conceptual framework, and is bewildered and hurt that a person living within such a rich centre of Taoist and Buddhist thought appears unable or unwilling to acknowledge the reality of non-Christian precepts.

He points out (I think correctly) that accepting the relation of divine will to historical narrative, at least as based upon Judeo-Christian scriptures, leads one to an acceptance of the Apocalypse. He looks over the head of the audience, but not too far, within shouting distance, and speaks, somewhat dryly, of what he sees there,

At the end of both bibles, the Hebrew and the Christian, there is an apocalypse, a moment where all the enemies writhe in eternal pain, or have been turned into ash or dust, and the faithful, they rejoice. The whole world is on fire and the faithful sing praises. Hallelujah. That is the ultimate vision of your religion, what used to be my religion, victors rejoicing over the many corpses of their enemies.¹⁶

The American friend, to whom a nuclear apocalypse is a terrifyingly real threat, has reason to believe that we live at the edge of that apocalypse – the renewed acceptance and proliferation of nuclear weapons, the weaponization of space, the militarization of civic society, public deceit and the undermining of democratic accountability – and does not mince his words,

Let me ask you this, are you happy to see your people erase their own culture for the self-serving indoctrination of a movement whose ultimate vision is the total defeat and eradication of all its enemies?

And while he asks the question he, now standing, reaches with his hand to touch her shoulder, and holds the pose: A black silhouette against a yellow background... a human reaching to touch another... a recapitulation of her gesture. There is a different context and meaning implied, more to establish the reality of the warning, than the compassion of an alternate vision.

The question of a new Asian war is extremely troubling to Koreans. Not only does it reopen memories of the indiscriminate firebombing and wanton devastation of the Korean war, but it is built on anxieties attributable to the uncertain effects of the present re-arming of Japan, the nuclear capabilities of North Korea, and the American-Sino tensions, particularly regarding Taiwan.¹⁷

It is that question which ends the first movement of the *Kut*.

The American friend leaves stage left, taking the stool with him. The performance area is now, for the first time, completely empty. It is overseen by Nathan, sitting cross-legged with the *p'ansori puk* in front of him. The fluorescents continue to shine brightly

Second Movement: Aniri P'ansori

The second movement in the western tradition of the sonata is often a song form. I reference this in the second movement of *Kut*, which is influenced by *p'ansori*, the traditional musical story telling of Korea.

In *p'ansori*, a solo performer-narrator is accompanied by a single percussionist who, while offering a variety of rhythms and accents, may also interject comments and exclamations. Of the extant original *p'ansori*, all are attributed to Cholla province, in the southwest of Korea, where the form was thought to have first evolved from shamanistic practices.¹⁸

In that respect, it can be said that the main *p'ansori* performer, the *kwangdae* (a term originally referring only to masked performers, but later used more generally) is a later development of the *mudang*, that person who performed the shaman ritual of exorcism, or ceremony of healing, which is called a *kut*.

The central concept of both *kut* and *p'ansori* is that one person assumes the persona of many, and achieves a spirit of spontaneity in a performance based on ritualized song, speech and gesture.

The role of the *mudang*, however, is to call forth, enter into, and find harmony among contesting spirits – and thus achieve a lost equilibrium in the life of the persons needing the *kut*. The role of the *kwangdae*, on the other hand, is to tell a story already known. Thus, although central elements of performance are shared,

the social role of the performer and the performance are dramatically different. While the *Mudang* heals, and uses representation to do so, the role of the *kwangdae* is specifically to re-present.

The first written references are found in the early 1700's, so it is reasonable to assume that it evolved somewhat earlier, midway in the life of the *Chosun* Dynasty (1392-1910), perhaps partially as a response to the suppression of the *Kut* during the Confucian epoch. Also referred to as the *Yi* dynasty, the *Chosun* dynasty represented the victory of Confucian thought and practice over Buddhism, and was generally hostile to the spirit world of the Shamans.¹⁹

While in Korea I watched two stylized *kuts* (that is, the kind without the social role of healing), and about a dozen or so live *p'ansori* performers most frequently, but not exclusively, at the *Pungnyu Hanmadang*, located in the Seoul Training Centre for the Important Intangible Cultural Properties. The centre was located across the street from where I stayed in Seoul both in October 2004 and during the spring of 2005.

I went frequently to the *Pungnyu Hanmadang*, and audiences were always small, usually 30 or so, rarely more. However, when I went to the Seoul Arts Centre, which I did occasionally, it was overflowing with people interested in, and appreciative of, the abundant offerings of western classical music. As well, it was always much simpler for me to find someone willing to go to hear classical music than it was to hear traditional Korean music.

There is a strongly formalized aspect to the vocal quality of *p'ansori*: the variety and conviction of attack is extremely important, and rhythms are quickly challenged and shifted, responding to the immediate needs of the image being described or the emotions being expressed. It is difficult to compare or describe, but does fall, I think, under the terms of extended voice work and expressionistic delivery. While script interpretation may be subtle, it is never unclear. The form demands clear choices.

There are many varieties of *P'ansori*, it now being a mature and well-developed form. A *sori-kwangdae* would be a performer specializing in song, while an *aniri-kwangdae* is a performer who mostly uses words to amuse or humour his or her audience.

Thus, my performance in this movement was that of the *aniri-kwangdae* type, although I personally wished to have had the time to achieve a more ad-libbed and melodic presentation, which would then have been called a *soricho aniri*.

Guttural throat sounds are associated with *p'ansori* from the western *Cholla* region, and brusque and sudden cries with that of the eastern *Cholla* region. I felt free to explore both.

But let us be frank, my knowledge of *p'ansori* is extremely rudimentary. Rehearsals for the second movement were actually about Nathan and director Kee Kook-seo (see Collaborators) working together to simultaneously challenge and support my limited abilities and knowledge. They knew what effect they thought possible in the circumstances and time we had, and I worked hard to accommodate their insights.

I was extremely fortunate to be working with them, and they worked easily and well with each other, using native Korean musical and performance terms.

The hardest challenge, in rehearsal, was to achieve the quality of voice while discovering and maintaining the gesture. While *p'ansori* is usually delivered standing up with gestures created through the upper torso, we decided to work with the character seated on the floor, as he would be during the scene, and gesturing through the whole body. Ron worked to help me find a coherent set of body images rooted in a shifting three-point balance, that is, always keeping three points touching the floor, but changing what they might be, and shifting weight and balance among them.

There is a certain distance to travel from the presentation of the American friend leaning forward on the stool, speaking directly to the audience in a range of normal tones, to cutting a series of fairly rapidly shifting images with one's body while doing extended vocal work within rhythms being beaten out beside one.

The *Puk* is struck sharply, calling forward the son of the deceased and the bereaved, calling forth the brother.

I, as actor, having never left the audience's vision, wearing the same black shirt tucked into the same black pants and, as before, barefoot, re-enter the space with palpable energy and enthusiasm.

I, as actor, want to quickly shake off the heavy concerns of the earlier characters, hoping to re-establish a spontaneous and direct relationship with the audience: one that was put on hold while the friend and the daughter earnestly engaged with their projections of each other.

The son looks at the audience directly, talking to each of them as if they were the American friend. He smiles and laughs. His voice is clear and large. He aims to command attention, but also to please.

He speaks English in a way that is a touch laboured and self-conscious, but he speaks it well. He announces that it is time to eat and that *soju*, a fermented rice wine that tastes somewhat like vodka, will be a most suitable accompaniment to the food and conversation. He takes the role of ordering upon himself.

Having had the option of bringing the friend to a restaurant serving western style, or not, the son has made a statement with his choice. It could be that he is being hospitable; it could be that he is making a point. He sits as most Koreans do, cross-legged and on the floor. He casually remarks that the American friend's meditation is useful in this regard at least, as he, too, can cross his legs and sit

comfortably at a low table. The son very much doubts that the meditation will serve any other purpose, although he does not say so.

South Korea has its share of westerners looking for Eastern wisdom and the exotic, and there is an ambivalent attitude towards them. On the one hand, there is a genuine appreciation of any westerner's interest in Korean society and history, especially as the visitor perceives the distinctiveness from Japan or China. On the other, there is a general frustration that westerners seemingly refuse to see both the industrialized and, increasingly, post industrialized nature of South Korean society, nor understand the length of the struggle for South Korean modernity, independence and self-government.

Koreans, like people everywhere, find it patronizing to be known solely, or even primarily, for what they would consider, cherished as it might be, their folklore.

I was grateful, while in Korea, that I had had the time and opportunity to pursue the breadth of readings begun in earnest in the independent study course in my first semester, FPA 889 (See annotated readings for a partial list). That kind of research was essential to put all my conversations with native Koreans in a more informed context.

It is relevant, when considering the second movement of *Kut*, to remember that a functioning and freely elected democratic government did not come to Korea at the end of the Japanese occupation, but was wrested, during a fiercely contested half century of radical social change, from an authoritarian and American backed tradition of strongman/military rule (Syngman Rhee, Park Chung-Hee and Chun Doo-Hwan). While the representative institutions of freely elected governments had been put into place earlier, they were not used, and it would be a serious mistake to take the existence of institutions for the reality of their functioning.²⁰

The first national election that is generally accepted as a free expression of the public will was the victory of Kim Dae-Jong in 1998, a situation partially made

possible by the 1997 economic crises throughout Asia. Some argue that the date should be placed earlier, at the election of Kim Young-Sam (1993), but either way, a functioning, civilian-led democracy was a long-fought and hard-fought victory.²¹

Not co-incidentally, both Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae-Jong had suffered arrest and imprisonment during their careers, and the latter, who won the Nobel peace Prize in 2000 for his 'Sunshine' initiative to reconcile with North Korea, had survived several death attempts.²²

The last major pro-democracy uprising which met with lethal and unrestrained state violence was in 1980 in Kwangju in Cholla province. The demonstration was forcibly put down by the Korean military under orders of Chun Doo-Hwan, with the expressed approval and backing of the American government. Over 200 citizens were killed, although some claim the number to be much higher.²³

It was, however, a watershed moment. The harsh response to the demonstration in Kwangju only helped consolidate the legitimacy of the oppositional movement. The South Korean people would no longer accept the government ruse of calling a pro-democracy movement a communist uprising.

One of the original protesters in Kwangju was Kim Dae-Jong who, later, as Prime Minister, pardoned Chun Doo-Hwan in exchange for a public apology. The pardon, not a popular act, was widely interpreted as an attempt to lessen the historic tensions between Cholla province and Kyongsang province, where both Park Chun-Hee and Chun Doo-Hwan had their power base. One of the young civil rights lawyers protesting Chun's action was Roh Moo-Hyun, who is the current Prime Minister.²⁴

One should not, however, be complacent about the success of South Korean democracy. There are enough fundamental issues wherein democracy might again be thought too limiting for the needs of the moment. Park Geun-hye, the leader of

the major opposition party, the Grand National Party, stands an excellent chance of being elected. She is the daughter of Korea's most famous authoritarian, Park Chung-Hee, who remains semi-revered among the population for the rapid economic growth during his rule (1961-1979). His grip on power only ended when he was killed by his own Chief of Intelligence. Her victory could lead to 'accommodations' with the now dormant military.²⁵

I walked around the city of Kwangju, capital of Cholla, for two days.

It is not a financial centre, and has none of the cosmopolitan and corporate glamour of Seoul. It is built low to the ground with ageing architecture that seems rigorously unaware of itself. It is a city built to labour, not manage, and it reflects the life of the workers in it.

While there I went to a memorial service for the uprising, twenty-five years after the event, as well as to the cemetery for those who were killed (the 5/18 National Cemetery).

I also visited the small dedicated museum recounting the events of that time through photographs, film and writing. I saw images of youths on flatbed trucks with stolen rifles challenging elite air-borne forces, equally young. I read about the successful citizen's self-government that was organized while the city was entirely cut-off from all outside contact, before the successful final assault of the military.

There is an alcove off the main room with a sign warning that the young or pregnant should not enter. Inside are candid, gruesome photos of those who suffered the violence of that assault.

The tombstones in the cemetery, however, row on row, have pictures of the dead as they looked at their best. It is impossible to return their gaze.

Cholla province: wherein is located Naejangsa (the Buddhist Monastery originally founded during the 600's and from where I took the words I adapted for the first page of this thesis); wherein *p'ansori* developed during a long Confucian reign after Buddhism was eclipsed; wherein the rebellion of 5/18 was centered; wherein Kim Dae-Jong, the very first genuinely democratically elected leader of South Korea, was born; is generally perceived as rough, uncouth and provincial.

There is so much to be said about Cholla, yet the son only mentions it as a good place to eat. Which it is, surely. He does not exaggerate in that regard.

But what is not mentioned is not necessarily forgotten, nor far from mind, and the history of his father, and of Cholla, and of the Korean people, ripples through everything he does and says.

The son explains that Christianity first came to Korea through China, and was accepted as a form of Confucianism. He claims that the basic tenets of the religion are not foreign.

Which is historically true, if a bit ingenuous. The ontological tenets of a supreme being, retreat and meditation, patriarchy, sage-hood and rebirth, all of which are evident to a greater or lesser degree in Christianity, were certainly not introduced by the modern west to Korea. However, the institutional organizations which support Christianity – the Catholic Church and the Protestant denominations – most definitely were. It is the actions and orientations of those institutions which have had the social impact, not the ontological tenets on which, we too often suppose, they are based.²⁶

More to the point, the son positions the acceptance of Christianity (roughly a third of the nation) not as reflecting widespread popular agreement with its claims of revelation (which ethos separates Judeo-Christianity sharply from Confucianism), but as an appropriate and timely bridge to the west which will be used and

discarded according to the needs of the time. Faith is but a tool that serves the nation.

The thrust of the son's defence of his sister's beliefs is not to enter into a conversation about her convictions, but to point to the longevity and stubborn endurance of the Korean nation, and to suggest that it has been, and remains, the master of its own fate.

He, not so subtly, wishes to emphasize his argument by pointing to the current and remarkable industrial success of South Korea, now the tenth largest national economy in the world.²⁷

The son, noting that he has an advanced degree in Engineering and works in shipbuilding, remarks that almost half of all new ships in the world are built in Korea, and that only 1 percent are built in the United States.

The son exaggerates only slightly. Korea surpassed Japan as the leading shipbuilding nation in 1999, and has, with the exception of 2002, maintained the position since. It regularly builds more than 40% of annual new tonnage. Analysts believe its future major competitor is China, but that South Korea is still a decade or so ahead.²⁸

Such an achievement is a reflection of much more than cheap labour. It is a reflection of a sustained and coherent industrial policy supported by government, matched by productive and well trained labour (hard work over an extended period of time), which is partly, but not entirely, a reflection of the authoritarian nature of the South Korean governments.²⁹

It is also a genuine reflection of a national desire, after a prolonged and brutal occupation by the Japanese and the horrors of a desperately waged civil war, to strengthen the economy and thereby the prospects of the nation, whatever the cost.³⁰

Such costs have included accepting lower rates of return than the 'mature' economies of the west. However, to maintain higher levels of investment coupled with lower rates of return over a long period, the nation had to access capital at a different rate and in a different way than the mature economies, and this is what South Korea managed to do, both through extensive cross-collateralization of assets, and the integration of financial and industrial services within the Chaebol.³¹

It is also relevant to note that the largest of the Korean shipbuilding companies, for which it can be imagined the son works, is Hyundai Heavy Industries. The company is one of the major foreign currency earners for South Korea, and thus contributes to the fact that South Korea is now the seventh largest holder of American debt, after China and Japan.³²

At the time of Hyundai's entry into shipbuilding, in 1972, the bulk of South Korean foreign reserves were earned by its soldiers fighting in Vietnam. The Korean contribution was, in fact, a mercenary army paid for by the American military at the rough equivalent of forty dollars per month per soldier. It is reputed that 20% of Korean foreign currency earnings at the time were due to the 350,000 individual Korean soldiers who fought, by far the largest foreign force after the Americans.³³

The participation of South Korea in the war was as much an economic strategy as an ideological one, although it certainly served ideological purposes as well.

The son, during this dinner with his deceased father's old acquaintance, is conscious that the role of the father was to earn foreign currency for South Korea as a soldier, and that his role is to earn it as an engineer. He is also conscious that both father and son have worked for a company (Hyundai) which itself grew from early contracts servicing the American military.

While young men were earning foreign currency as mercenaries in Vietnam and receiving state commendations and medals for doing so, young women were earning foreign currency as prostitutes and they, too, received state commendations for doing so. In fact, the state organized training and recruitment of young prostitutes in government sanctioned 'camp towns' surrounding the American military bases in South Korea, at the same time as pursuing (as they still pursue) agricultural and industrial policies that ensured hardship and unemployment in rural regions and the inevitability of massive urbanization.³⁴

All of this is well known to the son, for we can assume his father, too, had been forced from a poor provincial village into the military embrace. Nor is it far fetched to think of female relatives as prostitutes, although it would not be acknowledged.

Among South Koreans there is a certain sense of shame when talking of privations, harsh government policies, and prostitution during the decades immediately following the war, but there is an understandably great pride in the knowledge of the recent 'turning of the tables'. (It is interesting to note that the development of wealth in North Korea actually stayed ahead, or equal to, the wealth development in South Korea up to the year 1980.³⁵

Currently, indicating its change of fortune, the South Korean government pays the salaries for the third largest foreign contingent in Iraq, after the US and Britain.³⁶ The government has also, recently, implemented an anti-prostitution policy, and is willing to "hurt" its tourist business to do so.³⁷

The son claims that being open to new beliefs, understanding and integrating them, is part of the Korean genius.

If one detects justifiable pride, it is intended, and reflects accurately the not unreasonable emotional feeling of many Koreans for their own country.

If one detects hubris in the statement, and a certain disregard for both the history of Korean isolationism and the realities of a narrow nationalism, that, too, is intended.

The son claims that it was his ancestors who walked across the Bering Strait and spread throughout the Americas, suggesting that common roots between Native Americans and Koreans are still visible after ten thousand years.

Saebuyuk World Church, a Presbyterian Church led by a charismatic and engaging senior pastor who was kind enough to let me stay in his guest room for two months, has recently initiated an evangelical initiative among the natives of Vancouver. The pastor believes it is important for the Korean church to reach out to natives in America, and to share common bonds and understanding of the true faith.

But this issue also speaks to a general awareness of Koreans that is not usually shared by North Americans, at least those who are not native: it is a visceral anxiety of a people that are never secure; that they can, from one historical moment to another, be reduced to rubble.

Korea, correctly, sees itself as a target on everyone's list, being positioned as a swing state (that is, important to all and loyal to none) among three powerful players, Japan, China and USA. However, when all is said and done, it is the Americans who have their soldiers there, 36,000 of them, and their presence is meant to do more than to defend the south from the north.³⁸ The son is, of course, aware of that as well.

At the end of the meal the son says that before his father died he had confided things to him that he had not told anyone else, and that he, the son, the firstborn, carries it with him in his heart.

At this point of the performance the vocal attack is intense, fluid and varied, and the emotional underpinnings of the scene are allowed full expression: a rapid sequence of exaggerated pride, fear, frustration, nostalgia and unreserved allegiance to his father.

The elements of filial commitment and obligation, which we associate with Confucianism, are nowhere else as clear. And since we do not know what the father confided to the son, we are left wondering.

The son rises to his feet, affected by the numerous bottles of *soju*, and stumbles away looking for a suitable place in which to piss out his *han*. He has fulfilled his obligations to the American friend, having hosted him to a wonderful traditional meal in a good restaurant, and he has made the necessary effort to defend the honour of his sister. He leaves doubting that the American has either the wit or historical perspective to successfully add two and two together, or to grasp much of what he meant to imply. The history of Korea resides in the subtext, that which is not clearly said, but fuels the intentions of the speaker.

The fluorescent lights are extinguished. Nathan, encircled in a solitary glow of a directed theatre lamp, plays Bach's first solo suite for cello. Written in 1720, at about the same time as the first written reports of *p'ansori* in Korea, the suite can be thought to incarnate the baroque certainty of a divine voice made manifest in simple but inspired patterns.

The humour of the staggering son is undercut by the pathos of the cello.

During the performances, I was always amazed at how good the sound quality within a trailer can be, and I always felt fortunate, while catching my breath, to be sharing the stage with a gifted performer committed to his craft.

Third Movement: Scherzo

The third movement in the western tradition of the sonata is often a scherzo, a dance.

In this performance, during the third movement, the yellow back wall became a screen filled with the video projection of a piece shot and edited by Carolyn Combs (see Collaborators).

The first image is of the stool used by the American friend, solitary and isolated on the yellow floor, as we saw it upon first entering the space. The image flickers, is engulfed by light, disappears.

New images emerge, and it is clear that the video has been shot in the space in which the performance is happening, and that two people have been recorded dancing. One is the performer, with whom we are familiar; the other is a young Korean woman, her long hair braided.

The camera moves fluently, sometimes stopping to focus and capture the intimacy present in an eye, a face, or hands, other times panning unfocused, turning the performers' images into abstracted colour fields, or shifting, human-like forms, on the flat plane of the back wall.

Contrasting surfaces and contrasting kinaesthetic rhythms find expression, and the images find reconciliation in a painterly, gestural surface.

While there is a visual sensibility at work, there is not a readily apparent visual narrative. Sequences are looped, sequences are superimposed.

The use of video had several interesting advantages: it was used to represent our conception of time: past action the dance that had taken place within the space and been previously recorded; present action the images as they are projected;

and the future images which will be recognized at the end of the performance are edited into the video.

During the editing process, the videographer dimmed the image whenever the verbal concept of the past was used, creating a dampened effect, which, by contrast, created a sense of illumination whenever the verbal concept of the present was maintained.

The video allowed, too, a momentary identification with a visual and vocal image of a missing person, the daughter. The video reminds us of who is outside the room.

The two performers do not touch, and it is hard to notice if they acknowledge each other. But perhaps they are listening to the same now silenced music, for every now and then they appear to move in a co-ordinated choreography.

The female performer was Maki Nagisa, an actor and fellow graduate student in the MFA program (see Collaborators).

The dance she and I performed was, in fact, a sustained, non-choreographed improvisation, performed in silence, which grew out of an effective physical warm-up led by Ron. At a certain moment he left the space, and Carolyn and the camera entered it. Sometimes she stood still, other times she danced with us, rolling on the floor or spinning, always holding the camera, manually changing focal length and sensitivity to light.

The first voice heard during the video projection is the feminine voice of a native Korean speaker, and we associate it with the image of Maki on screen, although there is never any attempt at voice-visual synchronization. Introduced over her voice, seemingly translating into English, is my voice, inflected as in the persona of the daughter.

The musician carrying the cello and the *kwangdae* carrying the *changgo* pass in front of the back wall. The projected images of the video briefly dance upon them. Their silhouettes are, briefly, sharply cut shadows.

My intent in the studio course FPA 883, which I took in the winter semester of 2005, was clear, but challenging: to focus on the evolution and current status of Korean Christianity, particularly as it effects, or is perceived to effect, character formation and identity.

As part of my activities for that course I interviewed Korean-Christians in Vancouver. Knowing of my desire to meet those willing to discuss their beliefs, Professor Jin-me Yoon was kind enough to put me in contact with a Korean theologian who was then guest-lecturing at the Vancouver Theological Institute. Her name was Dr. Chung Meehyun.

Other than my Senior Supervisor, Professor Don Kugler, no other person has had more of an impact on my research and performance than Dr. Chung. She was instrumental in arranging the majority of my contacts in South Korea, but the pervasiveness of her influence is rooted in how she defined Christianity, and in my subsequent struggle with that definition.

This is, perhaps, best evidenced by sharing my memories of our first meeting, as developed from detailed notes taken at that time.

We had agreed to meet at 4:30 PM on a January evening in front of the ticket booth of the Sky Train Station in Metrotown. I arrived a few minutes early, and was scanning the rush hour crowd for a Korean lady of indeterminate age. We had shared no identifying information with each other over the telephone, a silly oversight, I was thinking, given that we had never previously met. But I suddenly realized, with certainty, that I saw her approaching a woman in a long raincoat, not particularly fashionable but certainly not shabby, an umbrella half open in front of her moving forward with lowered gaze and determined step. Since we

would have to return in the direction from which she was coming, I decided to approach her. I was quite close before she looked up with an instantaneous gaze of recognition, though not necessarily warmth.

We walked out of the station into the constant drizzle of the Vancouver winter. The umbrella went up over her head. I suggested a bakery-cafe that I had noticed from the train as it had slowed down and pulled in. I explained that I didn't think it far. She was a bit uncertain, but then, characteristically, walked forward quickly.

We entered the café and went up to the counter to look at the pastries, salads and pies behind the glass. The room was warm and well lit. One could 'settle in', and other patrons had done so, quite ensconced at their tables, babbling under the sounds of the radio. She ordered a hot chocolate and I a cappuccino. I insisted on paying and she sensibly deferred. We were told to choose a table and the order would follow.

We sat opposite each other. She was, I thought, in the firmness and strength of early middle age. Her gaze was thoughtful and open. I asked if she had children - responding, perhaps, to something matronly about her bearing and dress, or perhaps just wanting to establish a shared set of experiences, but she said no and fell silent. It was clear that I would not be able to aimlessly chitchat while waiting for an appropriate moment to turn our thoughts to the purpose of the meeting. Nor should I assume any personal affinities. Already, I felt a slight discomfort at having tried to identify her as a mother.

I spoke directly of my interest in writing plays reflecting the history of our time, and more specifically, plays that revealed the reciprocal influence of several themes, the evolution of Christianity, the extent and limits of American military power, and the historical effects of the cold war, including issues of nationalism. (see Development of the History Series). All of these themes, I suggested,

affected the daily life of Koreans, and the Korean experience was important to understanding their inter-relation properly.

She acknowledged that Korean life did, in fact, incorporate those particular strands very tightly interwoven.

The fact that I am from Quebec interested her, and she wondered if my interest in Korean nationalism was a reflection of my interest in Quebec nationalism. I answered yes, inevitably so, but that I was not a nationalist of any stripe. This wasn't to mean, I added, that I was unaware of injustice or power imbalances among national groups, but that nationalism is as often used to hide as to express the structure of power within a society.

In some ways this was safe and familiar ground – I could speak of Quebec/Canada and she could speak of Korea – but it was, too, I thought, a delicate negotiation, trying to determine the orientations of the other person's thought. All of my reading indicated strong nationalist sentiments among Koreans, and yet a good part of the reading, certainly the feminist critiques by Koreans within the American academia, indicated a growing repugnance to Korean nationalism, condemning it as a social strategy of patriarchal control perpetrated by authoritarian regimes.³⁹

I was wondering if she needed, or wanted, a specific stance on Quebec nationalism before she would open up to me with her own thoughts. I also wondered if she had a primary allegiance to either nationalism or feminism.

Only considerably later would I realize that Dr. Chung doesn't see feminism and nationalism as a contradiction, but sees them reconciled through Christian values. More, she believes that it is the feminist principles within Christianity that offer the best route for the unity of Korea.

I pursued the idea, which I had read and thought reasonable, that the rapid rise of Christianity within Korea was due, at least in part, to the action of missionaries supportive of the indigenous Korean movements during the long and extremely punishing Japanese occupation. To my surprise, Dr. Chung hastened to correct me. She proposed, rather, that the great majority of the missionaries, while perhaps not unsympathetic to the plight of the Korean people, had accepted the ruling Japanese structures during the occupation. She was emphatic. There were a noble few exceptions, but they proved the general rule.

She did, however, corroborate the role of modern Christianity and its missions in offering a vision of gender equality in Korea. This vision has played, and continues to play, a significant role in countering the well-established patriarchal order associated with Confucian thought and practice.

I asked if she thought the Christian church patriarchal. There was no doubt in her mind that it is. She noted that 70% of Korean church members are female, but women hold only 3% of higher church positions. I asked if she thought that would change. She thought it would. How? Her answer, not in so few words, but not many more, was that she and others were working to change it.

I learned that Dr. Chung has been editor-in-chief of the Journal of the Korean Association of Women Theologians. She is also a vice-president of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians. She clearly sees Christianity as a principle of action within the world, and believes an egalitarian relationship between the sexes to be an important part of the good news that Christianity can bring. She thought it necessary to stress that she was not interested in a second tier status for men, or the exclusion of men in women-only parallel organizations, but for a true equality of status and opportunity.

We were both interested in the important role of women in the founding and propagation of the early Church, and we discussed this. I think her perception is that earliest Christianity was feminist in inspiration, but that the church, like any

human institution, would always struggle between its core message and the general attitudes of the society in which the faith is propagated.

In other words, she sees the Church as patriarchal through weaknesses, not in fundamental principles, and that this failure can, and must, be overcome. The essential meaning of Christianity should not be limited by accepting the institution of the Church as we now know it.

We briefly discussed the trinity. The comment I most clearly remember is that she attributed feminine attributes to the Holy Ghost. She argued that the correct reading of the gospels comes through an opening up to the Holy Spirit, which is synonymous with feminist, progressive principles. She does not argue for literal readings of the New Testament, as during the Reformation, but rather that we achieve an understanding of the progressive principles within the early Church and commit to applying those principles to new circumstances.

It was at this point that she promised to send me a paper upon which she was working, dealing specifically with Korean feminist theology. I told her, quite honestly, that I was anxious to read it.

Her English is not 'second nature', but it is very good, and at no time did I feel any need to reduce the range of vocabulary to help her understand. However, she told me that her German is "much, much better" than her English.

I felt myself surprisingly moved to learn that she had received her doctorate from a German-speaking university in Switzerland, the University of Bern, and that she had studied Christianity and the history of the Reformation there, in one of its important historical centres. She told me that her Supervisor had been Professor Lochman, who had written an influential book with a Marxist interpretation of the Lord's Prayer.

In some strange way, the concerns and choices that had guided her life allowed me to again realize, as sometimes happens, that I am not alone in my commitment to the themes and issues about which I write. She understood what I was working on, and more importantly, why. She had asked, or was asking, many of the same questions.

There is an elation that comes with the knowledge that genuine communication across time and cultures is possible. We can, and should, let ourselves think in terms of hundreds of years, perhaps, too, of millennia. It is not impossible. And such thinking is not an abandonment of the present; it is, rather, *the unrestrained acknowledgment* of the present.

It is impatience that blinds us to the present, and to the reverberations, both past and future, that we might perceive within it.

I specifically remember looking out the window into the dark Vancouver sky and wondering how it was that I should be so clearly in the right place at the right time – in this bakery, at this hour, in this conversation – and I was moved by the fragility, or is it the strength, of the personal commitments and decisions which had brought me here.

What do we see, really, when we see two people in a café?

I have no trouble agreeing that every subjective consciousness needs to be situated to be well understood, but I don't think it true that the situated consciousness is therefore limited to the situation used to define it.

The history of the Reformation is often bloody. Luther, Calvin, as well as those they opposed, all had recourse to violence. What is best considered wanton cruelty was then presented as appropriate and necessary, and in the name of the Lord. I began a series of questions on this, but Dr. Chung made it clear that I was heading off in a direction she didn't want to go.

Her attitude seemed to be that we must bear our burdens, now, as others bore theirs, then, and we have no right to insist on a perfect world, or even a perfect tradition within an imperfect world.

We began to discuss the American presence in Korea, and for the first time I fully realized the importance of Syngman Rhee, being Christian. The Korean authoritarian right has, and has had over the last half century, a strong Christian face. Christianity is strongly associated with the authoritarianism, industrialization and modernization of the period.⁴⁰

Dr. Chung couldn't help but laugh when she told of Bush's most recent visit to her homeland. She found it genuinely amusing that he was everywhere met by two Christian groups, the larger group supportive of him, but always accompanied by a smaller group clearly upset by his policies. She is proud of that smaller group, and proud that it has neither disappeared nor fallen silent.

When we began discussing the social effect of the American bases, she immediately brought up the legal extraterritoriality of American soldiers under SOFA (Status of Foreign Army Agreement). We discussed the recent case of two girls being run over by an American army vehicle, in which the soldiers were not held accountable under Korean law. Such privileged treatment is a deep thorn, as it belies the legal universalisms thought to be basic to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Dr. Chung was very interested to know if I planned to visit North Korea. I said no. She was disappointed by this answer. She encouraged me to reconsider. She told me that the unification of Korea was very important. She also told me of a Canadian group working towards, or supportive of, Korean reconciliation, and she hoped I would become more aware of it. She told me she herself wanted to visit North Korea, although she would not be allowed to do so. She noted, too, that there were no direct flights between North and South Korea. One had to leave the

country to China or Japan, two antagonistic imperial powers, to return to the other half of the smaller nation.⁴¹

Pervasive in Korean history and culture is the tension with the greater power next door – as exists in Canada beside the United States, and in Ukraine beside Russia but with a longer and more tumultuous history, and multiplied, in Korea's case, by the number of powerful countries which border it.

Eventually, I judged it right to ask what I had thought prior to the meeting to be one of two essential questions: What, in her eyes, is the major difference between Christianity and Buddhism? Asked at the wrong time, or perceived in the wrong way, this could be a vague and annoying question, even silly, but somehow she grasped that I wanted her to state the nub of the distinction as she saw it, and she did so, with one word. That word wasn't faith, hope, salvation or Jesus, but rather, and it surprised me, grace.

Grace, she said, is the major difference. Christianity believes in grace, offers grace.

She asked me if I knew the meaning of the word *han*. I said I did. It is a word that Koreans willingly and often use to describe an anxiety they feel. It is usually associated with a complex of powerlessness, unjustified shame, and emotional discomfort. Some Koreans use it as a synonym for sorrow, others for bitterness.

For Koreans, Dr. Chung said, grace relieves *han*.

She went on to say that, in Buddhism, one responds to suffering by retreating (from illusions, from desire) and that suffering was regarded as part of the necessary inheritance of every individual. However, in Christianity, according to Dr. Chung, suffering of others can be relieved through human action, not acceptance.

Moreover, divine grace, “freely given from god”, if recognized, will comfort and delight everyone at all times.

Such an orientation allows us to better understand the ‘hopeless’ action of committed Christians. Dr. Chung argues that through an opening to divine grace one gathers the strength that enables the benevolent action, whether it be “useless” or not, whether or not it have beneficial consequences for the doer or not. It is unlike Karma in that regard, for the good action need never reflect on one’s future.

The argument is something like this: virtue for virtue’s sake, for our strength and wisdom (by the grace of God) make such possible.

(But what is that grace of God, I have often wondered since, if not an appreciation of the choices inherent within the richness and wonder of the present?)

Dr. Chung, like many Korean Christians, rarely, if ever, uses the word sin, and in fact there is a fairly substantial tradition of Korean thought wishing to use the word and concept of *han* in place of the word and concept of sin. That is, the anxiety of powerlessness, humiliation and sorrow of *han* better captures the moral paralysis which grace addresses, than the concept of sin, which is the certainty of a wrong action in the past.⁴²

We had, by this point, been talking for about an hour and a half. The coffee and hot chocolate had long been finished. She had by now promised to send me three papers she had written: the first on feminist theology, the second on the reunification of her country, and the third on the nature of Jesus.

The meeting was over. We walked back through the dark to the train station. She told me she was going to return to Korea in mid-February, and while she was not sure, perhaps we might be able to meet again.

During the video, the voice of the daughter summarizes the tense structure of the Lord's Prayer: present, present, present, present, present, present, present, present, present, present, present.

In contrast, she then summarizes the tense structure of the Apostle's Creed: present (of belief), past, past, past, past, past, present (of death) past, past, past, past, present, future, present.

The daughter draws the implications, "What was a religion of forgiveness, hope, and collective well-being through an understanding of the present and our desires within it, has, a mere two hundred years later, become a cult wedded to a magical past, focused on the certainty of death and future judgment."

The insight which was seeded during my first interview with Dr. Chung, and which eventually grew to find expression in the third movement of *Kut*, was the appreciation of ontology as a grammar of engagement rooted in one's actions in the present, as opposed to ontology as a set of beliefs rooted in historical certainties.⁴³

Another way of saying this is to point out that the daughter – who introduced the second theme (truth is rooted in a divine will evident within the historical narrative) – has revealed that historical narrative is best understood as a full expression of the present, and that divine will is best understood as the presence of choice within that expression. The daughter has supported her interpretation, shared with the American friend, through an analysis of a key document in her scripture.

Thematically, the stage has been set for the confrontation (or entanglement) of the first theme (the radical discontinuity of self) with this newly expressed variation of the second theme.

Fourth Movement: Kut

As the first movement is based primarily in a naturalism, the second movement in *p'ansori*, the third in filmed dance, so the fourth is rooted in a ceremony of healing, a *kut*. It is, compositionally, the most complex, and from the performer's perspective, the most demanding.

The narrative action that begins is simple enough. The American friend is standing in a subway car. He sits. He gets out to transfer. He finds a place to stop. He prostrates himself.

The dramatic action, however, the consequential action, takes place within his subjective reality, and leads to the prostration. The performer communicates the development of this inner subjectivity through words, movement, and the occasional song.

The lighting is theatrical throughout, putting a premium on shifting moods and areas.

Previously, when a character spoke directly to the audience, it was in context of a presumed relationship. The friend spoke *as if* to the wife, the son *as if* to the father's friend, the daughter on video spoke *as if* to the friend. That *as if* is now abandoned: the character of the friend speaks directly to the audience. It is an important, though I think largely unnoticed fracture, upon which I will comment later.

Metropolitan Seoul has a population approaching twenty million people. It is one of the world's four most populous metropolitan areas, roughly the same as Mexico City, Sao Paulo and New York City, but considerably smaller than Tokyo-Yokohama. However, in terms of population density, it is five times more dense than Tokyo, and almost eight times denser than metropolitan New York.⁴⁴

The subway system is vast, modern, clean, and well used.

It is not unusual, at a major station, to pass by a mendicant monk, a begging bowl in front of him or her, gathering funds for the temple, standing as if in a trance, and hitting his or her *mokt'ak*. Sometimes called a wooden fish, or temple block, the *mokt'ak* is a small, hollow, slotted wooden instrument that gives out a surprisingly resonant 'tok' when struck with a mallet.

Millions of people stream by, aware, to a greater or lesser degree, of the rhythmic "toks" that accompany them.

Nathan begins the fourth movement standing off to the side, as would a monk in a subway, focused on his own inner vision, striking the *mokt'ak*. However, he wears a single red sash, as a monk might wear at a temple performance. There is, for those who notice, a certain ambiguity in Nathan's presentation: it refers both to subway and temple.

The friend is standing, one arm up, as if holding onto the strap in a subway car, on his way, or so he presumes, to meditate at the temple. He sways slightly with the momentum. A seat becomes available and he has a moment of indecision, should he continue to stand, or to sit? Should he battle his laziness, or his pride? He chooses to address his pride, and sits.

The audience laughs. It is an instant, perhaps, of self-recognition, but also a moment of bemusement – how silly we are to get caught up in these small, interior dramas.

But the act of sitting is, actually, the inciting incident for the rest of the friend's journey. He has committed to fighting his pride. That is, he has acknowledged to himself that it would be preferable to lessen that pervasive sense of being the only, or at least, the most central, subjective consciousness. It is a first step, but a

necessary step, in the path towards the full recognition of the subjective reality of others, and the consequences of that.

The friend notices a begging couple moving slowly through the car, an older man, holding a white cane in one hand and a mendicant's bowl in the other, leading a woman young enough to be his daughter. They are tied at the waist by a thick, short rope. The younger woman appears withdrawn into herself. Dangling off the rope around her waist is a small tape machine playing traditional Korean music.

To genuinely recognize, and to be genuinely drawn into, the subjective reality of others, is not only an extremely demanding discipline; it is a discipline that lies at the heart of theatre.

To better understand what he sees, the friend performs the beggar.

Now grasping an imaginary cane in his left hand and an imaginary bowl in his right, he shuffles forward, eyes newly sightless, feeling the weight and tug of the rope around his waist, aware of the silence of the woman behind him, listening to the ancient music of Korea merging with the metallic rhythms of the train.

Such a couple carries disputed significances in a subway car: is the beggar truly blind; is there anything wrong with the young woman that being untied might resolve; is the indifference of the people on the subway indicative of the indifference of Koreans to their own history; or does the couple's presence on the subway point to a re-emergence of Korean history in the popular mind.⁴⁵

Resolving the questions is not the issue: asking them is. If one, however briefly, can suspend judgement, then the variety of interpretations, anticipations and meanings, can quickly grow into a rich tapestry of conflicted significance within one's own subjective consciousness.

To some, this is a frightening phenomenon. They would, literally, rather die than see the lotus bloom – a metaphor for the opening self.

The friend suspends judgement, relating to his thoughts in such a way that we recognize that it is the queries, not the certainties, which are active in his mind.

Arriving at the Station, the friend allows himself to be swept out of the car by the crowd.

Nathan hangs up the *mokt'ak* to take up the *ching*, a large gong. Through that one action, he has definitely moved from subway to temple.

Aware that he is surrounded by so many other realities, and perhaps slightly anxious within this awareness, the friend desires to step outside the human current, to find a way to stand alone, in stillness. He momentarily swims against the crowd, and finds himself with his back against a pillar.

He tries to control his breathing – I, as performer, try to control my breathing. He tries to let go of the pride of that small success of controlling his breathing – as do I. Although his eyes are open, the character tries to focus on his hearing – as do I. Character and actor share the same tasks.

The critical work is to stay entirely in the present. It is important that the audience know that the character is intensely focused on his present reality.

He hears the intricate knots of shifting rhythms of thousands of feet, and the raised voices of numberless people. To achieve that I must work through a sound memory gathered during my time in Korea. If I concentrate, I can recreate the sounds in my mind, and the words accurately reflect what I hear.

Because he has become sufficiently still, the friend is sensitive to the slight but definite movement of the swaying floor.

I found it hard to play the floor swaying. Unlike the breathing and listening, I can't do it directly. The floor is not swaying. And it is difficult to do through kinaesthetic memory the trembling was so fragile, present in the fluid of my inner ears. How to play this?

During early rehearsals, I tried to play it with the slightest movement of the body.

Kook-seo knew that I was struggling with this section. He asked me to start jumping lightly on my feet – as if the floor were hot, not because the floor was hot – but to capture my discovery of the beating heart of the universe. No judgement implied, he said, whether or not the beating heart is good or bad, just that it is there. Jump.

I tried. It didn't work at first – it felt silly – and I felt it lessened my concentration, but he insisted that the moment needed a suitable physical expression. He was clear that although he believed I was attempting to live it in my mind, if it did not express itself better than that, it wasn't there. Besides, he said, that is how they jump in Shaman rituals. It is not elegant. It is not complex. But they jump.⁴⁶

I realized that there was a physical commitment and expressiveness that Kook-seo was seeking, physical metaphors he grasped better than I, and I committed to fulfilling them. He was “laying in” expressive gestures during moments I had presumed to be, while writing, intimate and small.

Eventually, the jumping became a metaphor and an action I could accept. Later, when Kook-seo linked this moment to the jumping of the Mother after she has invited her dead husband into the performing space, it became both a metaphor and an action I quite liked; a bridge, if you will, of rather simple but solid construction, that I could use to cross between characters.

The friend begins to wonder *why* the floor is swaying: is it in his mind, or is it the effect of people walking and trains arriving, or is it that the earth beneath the station trembles?

One might recognize the similarity of these questions to the more commonly phrased questions about a flag flapping in the wind: is it the flag that moves, or is it the wind that moves, or is it the mind moving?

The point, as in the perception of the beggar couple, is not to choose the answer, but to see the whole pattern of possible thought.

Of course the flag is moving, and of course it is the invisible wind (which we can sense through other means) which moves it, and of course it is the world spinning (which we can't detect through our senses, other than, perhaps, seeing the wind and the flag) which creates the wind, and of course it is the mind moving not only as image, but as concept relating flag to wind to world to mind.

Those who insist on arguing for one choice or another (and there are many) miss, quite fundamentally, the significance of the question.⁴⁷

The hard, and most rewarding discipline, is not to immediately privilege any perspective, but to understand that each and all of them can be usefully opened to further insight.⁴⁸

The friend, standing in the station with his back to a pillar, grasps the pattern of his thoughts, as he feels the floor sway.

His mind is on a journey in which to "let go" is to neither wander nor wait, but to respond to a pressing inner necessity. What is real?

He notices the sequences within the thoughts he is having. He identifies which thoughts lead to which others, and by doing so he becomes aware of how

intention (desire) organizes his world. If he can change his desire, he can change his world.

Nathan stops hitting the *ching*. There is a moment of silence – somehow, a fresh silence.

The friend is caught by surprise as he feels a waft of cool air and, looking for its source, sees an air-conditioning vent. He smells perfume. This was always a delightful moment to perform; scenting the fragile fragrance, the trace of someone else's desire.

Nathan begins to again hit the *ching*, driving forward an accelerating action.

The friend sees that those around him are known to him, and reflect different stages of his own life. He notices the commonality of movements and relationships. He sees himself, his many selves, approaching and departing.

The progression the friend has followed so far is this: he committed to addressing his pride; by doing so he began to better appreciate the subjective reality of others; which allowed him to perceive contested interpretations; which interpretations presented themselves within patterns; which patterns were shaped by intention and purpose; which intentions and purposes he could suspend; which suspension changed his perception of others and himself; which allowed him to realize that distinctions between himself and others carry an arbitrary quality; which arbitrary quality he is willing to forego; which allows his identity to equate with his awareness, which awareness is blossoming,...

He laughs as he discovers an infinite freedom, a kind of nothingness, but then, there is a crisis, and for the first and only time in the performance, he tells the musician to stop playing, not to hit the *ching*. The friend says he is shaken and awakened by the contempt and disdain within three words... Shock and Awe.

Shock and Awe is the name given to the military operation that resulted in the American-British occupation of Iraq. The operation, an illegal war by both domestic and United Nations standards, justified by the argument of pre-emption against the use of weapons of mass destruction – although it was known at the time that such weapons did not exist within the invaded country – has led to a very conservative estimate of 185,000 civilian deaths.⁴⁹ Torture of innocent prisoners held without charge or trial has been widespread.⁵⁰

After three years of occupation the quality of life in the country has deteriorated, an eventuality many thought impossible, given that Iraq had been defeated during the Gulf War of 1990 and been harshly embargoed during the interim years, the embargo itself being the direct cause of half a million or more unnecessary deaths of Iraqi children.⁵¹

However, from the perspective of the invaders, certain accomplishments can be counted; the economy was privatized; contracts with French, Chinese and Russian energy firms were voided and the control of oil assets firmly allied to American and British interests; the proposed trading of oil on a Euro-based bourse was stopped.⁵²

Although much has been made of elections, it is worth pointing out that the existence of the current government relies on American armed force; that it is widely thought the country is on the brink of a civil war; and that all new infrastructure monies for rebuilding Iraq have been stopped, except for the building of prisons.⁵³

Along with the actions of Shock and Awe, perceived as a strategy within the war on terror, have come a plethora of legal actions to restrict or lift the hard-fought gains of human rights. It is now an accepted practice in the major English speaking countries – the UK, the US, and Canada – for the authorities to ignore *habeas corpus*, presumption of innocence, freedom from arbitrary arrest and the ban on accepting testimony from torture.⁵⁴

The friend is aware of the above.

He has found such freedom and delight in letting his identity equate with his awareness, but his awareness includes Shock and Awe, what does he do?

He can choose to “let it go”. Why not?

But then he will live with both the awareness of it and the awareness of having let it go. It is a false solution. He can, however, ask if Shock and Awe is significant. If it is insignificant, then to be aware of it is fine, and to let it fall from awareness is fine.

How the friend goes about answering this pressing question moves me as a performer: he asks if his own life carries significance.

He remembers a fire on a beach, the colours on the surface of a lake, the wind in the trees. He remembers the innocent elation of childhood and the warmth of family relations, the generosity of his mother. He understands her love for him as much as his love for her, and how that supported her own spirituality. He sings from her heart. All this is present within him.

He knows that he cannot say that his life, or her life, or any life, is insignificant. There is a limit to his subjective freedom, and that limit is rooted in the values he associates with life itself. Hence, Shock and Awe is significant. He can't let it go.

This leads to a genuinely, but strangely, painful moment for the character. He accepts his values, he understands their worth, but he also feels that somehow he has failed to free himself from the pains of this world. And since he cannot free himself, he dreads being born again into it.

He does not want to weave the blanket of lies within which the tortured will be wrapped, but his arms are making a wrapping movement even as he speaks. Not only is the violence he dreads right now, it will be.

His awareness, which is his being, is fully conscious of this.

It is to weep.

Awakening to where he is in the moment, in the station, the friend prostrates himself on the floor, and stretches his arms, palms up, in front of him.

Chungmoro Station has become the temple in which the friend experienced his necessary rebirth and future. He prostrates himself, a sign of the greatest respect, to the people who are passing by. This is his way of paying respect to those he has killed and will kill. It is a genuine act both of honour and contrition.

And I, as performer, as honestly as I can, prostrate myself to the audience.

Nathan taps the wood of his cello, as if it were a *mokt'ak*. Then, as the friend lies on the ground, he begins to play the final movement of Hindemith's Unaccompanied Sonata for Cello (1923).

I leave the stage as Nathan plays, and stand in the darkness.

I return to the stage in the persona of the Mother, wearing a thin white scarf over my shoulders, the only costume change I have made during the evening. She sets her feet and hands as if holding a golf putter, and prepares to tap the ball.

The Mother breaks her concentration to confide to the audience that her son thinks that the war between America and China has already begun. She also says that he thinks the invasion of Iraq, and the coming bombing of Iran, are directly relevant to the American-Chinese war.

Reading the American press, and following foreign policy decisions, it is difficult to fault the logic of the son in this regard. The larger issues are the intersection of nationalism and capitalism, access to resources, and the privileged use of military funding as investment capital. These issues play out in the shipbuilding industry, and the son is aware of their reciprocal influences.⁵⁵

But fore-grounded at that moment is how the Mother speaks of these things. She speaks calmly. While seemingly inevitable to her son, these future events are not treated as such by her. Why not?

The mother notes that the daughter can hold onto a contradiction without losing her common sense, and should leave to study or work overseas.

The Mother is keenly aware of the limits of any one person's reason, and privileges calmness in the face of experience. Nor does she cling to those who are most precious to her.

The mother wonders what the reciprocal influence will be between American Buddhism and Korean Christianity.

The Mother has lived with the interrelation of Buddhism and Christianity all her life. In certain ways, she begins where the friend leaves off.

She presumes that the situation is changing. Choices will be made. There is an unknown.

She seeks to deflect momentum, to understand and use the broken line.

The early Shaman rituals took place in the woods. The temples were but clearings. This is the reason why the final scene is on a golf course. As writer, I regard the Mother as having the gifts of the Shaman, and have been working to

find a way for her to speak, for her to announce her presence in a way that makes sense both to her and the times.⁵⁶

She remembers being informed of her husband's death, standing as she is now, on the putting green. She remembers knowing before she was told that her husband had died. She also remembers, later that evening, listening to two of her husband's favourite recordings, the solos for cello by Bach and Hindemith.

Nathan, now strapped into his *changgo* and wearing a yellow sash, like a performer at a folk dance, stands at the edge of the performing space.

The Mother looks at the drummer and sees her husband at the edge of the clearing, in the mist. She speaks to him. She tells him, at best she can envision it, of the future of their children and their country.

The Mother says that she need not speak of the beauty in the memories they both hold, for neither of them needs the words to remember.

She splits her scarf and begins to use the two pieces as long sleeves, waving them as a Shaman might, calling for the spirit of her dead husband to join her in the space.

He does so, and at her urging begins to play a sequence of rhythms indigenous to Korean folk culture. The Mother dances with him, before leaving the space. He continues to play while dancing: rhythms and movements one might see at a celebration during the harvesting season, or during the night beneath the largest full moon of the year, in a field in the countryside.⁵⁷

The performer, now without the white sleeves, enters the space for the final time of the evening. He bows his head against the floor, as the dancing spirit of the dead fades from the space, and the spirits within him calm.

Performance Text

First Movement: Sonata-Allegro

The American Friend

I am glad to be here, in Korea, visiting you. Thank you for letting me stay with you. It is a privilege.

Your husband, my friend, has been dead almost a year, and I very much wanted to be here during this time of remembrance. I have often thought of him.

As you know we first met in Vietnam. A long time ago. Few Americans realize that the South Koreans fought beside us in that war but I, of course, I never forget. We were both young soldiers then. It's amazing how easily those words slide together: young, soldier. Neither of us was conscripted: we both volunteered, he for his country and I for mine, and we fought together, side by side.

I believed in it then. The cause. At the beginning, I believed in all the arguments for why we were there, that somehow I was doing what was necessary for freedom and independence, maybe not of my own people, but for a weaker people who had asked us to come. I thought we were doing the noble thing, the generous thing.

I remember we were sitting in a field beside a small village whose name... I can't remember, and we were both covered in sweat, and the sky above us was grey and laden, and it looked as if it was about to open and wash us with rain, which would have been welcomed, it had been a long day. We were waiting for the chopper to take us back to the base and your husband was looking around, or maybe looking

inside, I don't know which, and he said, simple like this, he said, "the real is good". Just like that, "the real is good."

I remember leaning forward and saying to him: 'That's a question, not a statement. It's a question.'

After the war I wanted to know what had happened to him, what he was thinking, how he was. I didn't have his address so I sent a letter just addressed care of the Korean Army. He got the letter. He was surprised to get it, but that's how our correspondence began. His broken English got better and better and my lack of Korean never changed. Eventually he came to visit me in Arizona, not that long ago. Of course, you know that. I don't really know how he felt about my country, but we, we were relaxed together.

While I am here, I also want to visit some of the famous Buddhist monasteries I have read so much about. I look forward to that. Soon, I will be out among your beautiful mountains trying to keep my back straight and my mind empty.

My understanding of Buddhism actually goes back to that time in Vietnam.

Your husband and I were involved in the Phoenix Project. I am not sure how much he ever told you about that. People don't want to talk about that sort of thing very much and really, I don't blame them. Our job was to pacify the countryside. Pacify. Bring peace to.

We were sent into certain places, towns, villages, hamlets, with instructions to "remove obstacles". That's how we put it. Makes it sound like we were some sort of engineers, doesn't it, or drove bulldozers, or were even heart surgeons... removing obstacles. In fact, we were part of an elite team whose express and only purpose was to kill collaborators, or people we thought were collaborators: those who pretended to be our friends during the day and proved to be our enemies at night.

We were good at it, your husband and I. We knew how to do what was asked, and to get out quickly and safely.

We would get a list of names, and our job was to make sure they didn't ever see the dawn again. I will be honest with you, it was kinder to kill the person quickly than to bring them back for interrogation. Almost no-one survived interrogation, and those who did would rather have died. No-one now seems to remember the tiger cages we kept. They have been erased from the history we tell. It is more than a failure of memory, it is part of an on-going design of ignorance.

The names on these lists of collaborators came from the interrogations. Can you imagine? When in extreme pain you give names. You give anyone's name, everyone's name. They tortured people to get a list of names of people who were tortured in turn only to get more lists. It's silly, really. It's happening now in Guantanamo and countless other places... but I didn't mean to talk about that now... the point is, it's barbaric, doesn't work, and still continues.

It used to bother me that I had killed the innocent as well as the guilty. It doesn't bother me anymore. Not that. I've thought more deeply about it. It's only a conceit to pretend that there is a real distinction between the two. I mean, the guys in the airplanes dropping bombs don't try to hold on to that sort of distinction. How could they? And if the war was never justified in the first place, what can it possibly mean, the guilty? Seriously?

So let us say the obvious, we were not there to kill the guilty, we were there to kill all those who, for strategic reasons, were in the wrong place at the wrong time. We once supported Afghani fundamentalists and Osama against the Russians. We strongly supported Iraqi nationalists and Saddam against Iranian fundamentalism. And now we swear that both are our mortal enemies. It is our strategic goals which determine guilt or innocence.

It took me a while to understand that.

If one has killed a person, or many people, as I have, there is a certain questioning that gathers momentum in one's life. At first one wants to think of it in big sounding words like sin and redemption, justice and injustice. But really, it isn't like that at all. It's simpler, more about the nature of change. You come face to face with this great... discontinuity. Lives do not continue. People, things, places, even thoughts, really do disappear. We think we know that, but we don't. It's hard to know that.

And it's not only the world of the dead person which has changed, but the world of the person who killed as well. Before the action you have not committed it, and after the action you have, and there's no going back. You can no more reach back to what was before than can the dead.

I think, too, that countries that organize to kill or torture, afterwards they are no longer the same country. Oh, they would like you to believe they are, they desperately want to convince you that the change has only happened to the dead or the wounded, but they are wrong.

After our missions, we were injected with sodium pentothal. Some people call it the truth serum. We would get an injection. We were injected to make it impossible to shut up. That's what the drug would do. Not being drunk, worse, it was like no longer being in control of your mind, even though your mind was still clear. Or seemed clear.

There would be three intelligence guys sitting in front of you asking questions. They called it a debriefing. Not that it was ever brief. I mean the whole purpose of the drug was to make sure you would talk and talk. Chatter away. They'd ask what the weather was like and I'd go on about that particular shade of blue of the sky, if I had ever seen it before, and the clouds, the shapes in them, whether they reminded me of a duck, or a horse, or a dragon or an eagle, and how high I thought they were, and they'd say enough about the weather so I'd talk about the vegetation, strange plants I had never seen back home and the fuzzy underside of

a leaf and how it felt when moist, and they, the intelligence guys, they would try to get me back on track, and I would nod, try to concentrate, and answer the next question.

But I'd feel kind of ill, too, because the drug, it wasn't natural, and my mouth would be dry and kind of woolly and they'd notice and would ask do you want a glass of water, and I'd say, yes, I would really like that. Thank you.

And then they'd get to the point and ask what all the guys each did and if the mission was a success. And I'd tell them about the jokes we told, and who laughed, and what I thought made it funny and then I'd go on about the heaviness of the rifle, lugging it around, and the soreness of my shoulder, from the kickback, and then I'd tell them about the faces of the people that disappeared, so to speak.

Faces that exploded, more accurately... sometimes exploded in a recognition that this was, in fact, their last moment, and sometimes... much more literally, just... exploded.

And the weird thing is, I wanted them, my interrogators, to like me. Can you imagine? I talked and talked about what I had done hoping they would like me, and they did like me, they would say, good, good, yes, you are a wonderful soldier, so daring, so aware.

I was the guy they would send out to the places they were too frightened to go, and do the work they were too high and mighty to do, and when I got back I would tell them everything. I was this incredibly sensitive recording device. And when they injected, I spoke.

And it astonishes me to this day, it humiliates me, to this day, the incredible lack of dignity in being drugged to answer questions like that. I remember feeling a rage, like I never felt before, rage at being injected with something to give the details about actions which I should never have done, to say it and be recorded in

front of three people who would never take responsibility for the blood I have on my hands at their request, and they were questioning me, asking me if I forgot something. Forgot something.

At my last debriefing I remember I leaned forward real fast and I got one of them by the throat, my thumb in exactly in the right place, exactly the right place, and all I had to do, all I had to do, was just... twist it in the right way, and I swear to God...

That was the only time I ever fought for freedom and independence in Vietnam, and the only time I didn't kill when I should have.

I was kicked out of the military after that. I was forced to leave. Trauma, they said, stress, psychological problems. They were frightened of me. One of them called me a killer gone mad.

It's odd isn't it, it was exactly at that moment when I learned not to kill that they decided I was a killer gone mad. You see, its not what you actually do that makes you guilty, it's only where you fit within their strategy. They see nothing else. They are permanently, perfectly blind to everything other than their desire.

In any case I had learned something, I had learned that even with the thumb in the right place and the right motivation you don't have to do it. I had learned that there's an independence which comes from the act of not doing, and a freedom which comes with silence.

What is particular to Korean Buddhism, at least as I know it, Seon Buddhism, is that revelation is not a series of words being strung together for us to repeat, it's not like the Christian creed that way. In fact, it's only when words being strung together stop that there is even the possibility of enlightenment. Only when we go beyond the spoken...

I believe, now, that it is the radical discontinuity of self which is the reality we ignore. We change. I am no longer that particular person, my younger self. That person is an illusion held together by chains of silly words spoken by people who refuse to live in the present. It is not who I am now.

So those words your husband said to me, the real is good, I have interpreted them in my own way, to mean that, in the present, there is a place of silence, of non-action, and within it change, real change, is always taking place.

So it's with a tremendous amount of respect that I talk to you tonight. I want to honour that man, your husband, who had such an effect upon me, and I look forward to meeting his children to tell them, too, how much I honour him.

Verse of hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers" played pizzicato on the cello

The Daughter

My mother has told me about your conversation with her. She is happy you are here, and is very surprised how openly you talked to her.

Chorus of hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers" played bowed on the cello

My mother has told me about your conversation with her. She is sorry that her English isn't better, as she is afraid she didn't understand all you wanted to say. She says that you carry a great hurt inside you and that she hopes you will find some peace while you are here. She welcomes you as a friend of my father. She wishes that... she wishes that...

기다

My mother has told me about your conversation with her and how happy she is that you are here. She was surprised to learn that you are not Christian as we are a

Christian family and my father, as you must know, was devoted to the church. My mother was Christian as a girl but my father only chose to become so after he finished military service. We, my brother and I, were both baptized. We were both born in a hospital founded by missionaries, and studied at schools and universities founded by missionaries. He at Yonsei, I at Ewha. It was an honour for us to go.

기탁탁

My mother has told me of your conversation. She wishes she had a better grasp of English but she is happy that you will have other conversations with her. She has been lonely over the past year, not because she doesn't have friends but rather, well... perhaps she has withdrawn a bit into herself since the death of my father. She should travel, I think, but she says it is too late, although surely it is never too late. I would like to travel... I have been to Japan, to China, briefly, but have never left Asia, but will, I think, perhaps to further my studies, I would like to do that but I have to work now and I keep my mother company. My brother is married and has children and rarely visits. I am not married. I don't expect to get married, although sometimes I wish I could have had... Perhaps, one day, my mother and I will travel together, that would be good, she and I on an airplane, or staying in a small hotel in ...

탁, 기탁탁

Moses not only led his people out of slavery but gave them a set of laws to be applied equally to all. Freedom from foreign oppression and equality under the law – how could that not be attractive to us we, who, so weakened by the fixed hierarchies of Confucian society and the passivity of Buddhism, had let ourselves become the slaves of another people? We were brutally occupied for 35 years, from 1910 until 1945, until the Japanese, our occupiers, were defeated by your country, a Christian nation, with Christian soldiers.

It is a bit odd, for us, my mother and I, to think that you, from America, see the same religion so differently. I mean, if my mother is right in what she says ... I am not sure that she truly understood...

Of course, there is always a conflict between true Christians with their commitment to social justice and the centralizing might of Empires which claim Christ as their leader, but to whom faith is nothing but an organizing principle for propaganda.

But as Christians we can have the courage to turn our backs on the hypocrites, point out Bush, Blair, Rumsfeld, Cheney, Rice, witness the true intentions behind their pretend religion, the diseased flesh behind the masks of innocence. The Constantines of every age depend on lies and confusion. So must you think all Christians wrong because war criminals hide among us?

기탁

My mother has told me about your conversation with her. She is sorry that her English isn't better, as she is afraid she didn't understand all you wanted to say. She says that she hopes you will find some peace while you are here. She welcomes you as a friend of my father. She wants to say... I want to say, that the enduring gift of Christianity is that it opens our eyes to the grace of a loving god who embraces all with a compassion that shines in all corners of the world and is available to each and every one of us. Let that light shine in your heart, to soothe and comfort you.

You need not pretend that you are another person from one moment to the next, or that the world only changes in silence, beyond our reach and understanding. Forgiveness will not be found through evasion, but in truth.

Key to hourglass drum (changgo) strokes on rim: 기 (ki = grace note with tip of stick), 탁 (tak = stroke with entire stick)

The American Friend

Forgiveness, did I hear the word forgiveness?

How often have I seen young soldiers bow their heads in fervent prayer before shooting, in the vain hope that the consequences of the deed will not cling to them. They will be forgiven. They are of the right group.

I have done it myself.

All that *divine* forgiveness really means, or has ever meant, is that the guilty, if they are of the right group, go free. That's all it is. A touch convenient, isn't it?

You think Christianity is a radical search for social justice, rooted in a profound understanding of the will of the divine. Is that right? We are loved by a loving God... is that right? And if only we could recognize that and acknowledge it and live according to it... is that right?

At the end of both bibles, the Hebrew and the Christian, there is an apocalypse, a moment where all the enemies writhe in eternal pain, or have been turned into ash or dust, and the faithful, they rejoice. The whole world is on fire and the faithful sing praises. Hallelujah. That is the ultimate vision of your religion, what used to be my religion, victors rejoicing over the many corpses of their enemies. Is that too strong for you?

Do you have any sense of the true worth of the spiritual traditions which it has taken thousands of years for your people to achieve? Why are you abandoning those roots now? How can you be happy to do so? It pains me to see it.

Every time a religion declares that there is one and only one true god, that is a declaration of war against those who believe in another. Does Confucianism do that? Buddhism? Taoism? It is the tradition of the militant west that claims one

god, so we can insist that *we* are beloved by this benevolent god, so that *we* can forgive, no, so that we can *bless* our crimes.

Let me ask you this, are you happy to see your people erase their own culture for the self-serving indoctrination of a movement whose ultimate vision is the total defeat and eradication of all its enemies?

Second Movement: Aniri P'ansori

The Son

구궁따따궁

We should eat. It is time to eat. Do you like Soju? [ㄷ] It tastes like a gentle vodka. We could try it. Are you comfortable? [ㄷ] Ah, from meditation. Well, an unexpected benefit from meditation, you can sit at a low table while drinking Soju. [ㄷ]

Did you know that Koreans use the spoon and the chopsticks simultaneously? [ㄷ] And we use scissors, too, that surprises westerners, but really, why not bring scissors to the table if they are the right tool at the right time. We also drink from the bowl. Sometimes the bowl itself is the right tool. Shall I order? [구궁따]

Down in Cholla, in the south, [춤모리/ *rhythmic cycle*] they have incredible food. Everyone thinks so. Every side dish is a delicacy and every delicacy is tastier than the last. I have had meals with thirty side dishes. And when you're full, they come with the main plates. But this will be good. May I? [STOP cycle]

We never pour our own drink. We keep an eagle eye on the other's glass and then refill it as soon as it is empty. [ㄷ] And when we pour we hold the other arm like this, as if to hold back a large sleeve. [구궁] In our imagination we are all still

aristocrats and wear large, drooping sleeves. [ㄱㄷ] Thank you. To what should we drink? To the spirit of my father? May he find peace.

It's usually quite hard to upset my sister but you went straight for the jugular. [ㄷ] You told my sister that she was giving up her Koreanness by being a Christian. That is what you meant, isn't it? You aren't the first to suggest that... The issue isn't whether you were impolite. It's a fact you were impolite. The issue is whether you were ignorant as well as impolite.

Christianity first came to Korea through China. Three hundred years ago. The Jesuit Mateo Ricci settled in Beijing from where his influence spread. His beliefs were received as a particular form of Confucianism. The son of heaven is a common term for a Confucian sage, and has been for a very long time. What sage worth his salt would not call himself a son of heaven? And 40 days alone in the wilderness is hardly long for a wandering Buddhist monk. Jesus glorified his father – good! Ancestor worship is the core of Confucian society. The death on a cross is melodramatic, but rebirth after three days is clearly a Buddhist influence.

So a holy sage who calls himself the son of heaven, wanders alone in the wilderness for forty days, glorifies his father, dies, and is reborn, well... why should *we* consider *that* foreign?

Besides, Hanaunim, the word Korean Christians use for god, is a word we have used for the divine being for thousands of years before the missionaries came. We are praising our own god and our own history when we praise Hanaunim. [ㄱㄷ]

Yes, I would, thank you. Like this... as if the sleeve were long and heavy, and would normally fall forward. [ㄷ] In the west, you hardly ever see the meat before it is cooked. Here it is presented fresh, then sliced into thin pieces which are cooked to perfection in front of one's very own eyes. To the future? [ㄷ] That's a bit general. To the reunification of Korea. [ㄱㄷ] To the healing of our

wounds and the joy of bringing families together. [쿵따] Good. That will take at least... Two more bottles!!

I did my graduate studies in engineering, investigating stress in steels and alloys. Now I work in shipbuilding. [엇모리 rhythmic cycle, softly] Almost half of the world's new ships are made, each year, in South Korea. In America, they make less than one percent.

Once, while at a seminar in Chicago, I decided to see a baseball game. I like baseball. At one point all the people in the stadium were doing this with their arms, raising them up and down, singing a strange song. [엇모리 rhythmic cycle loudly, then decrescendo]

Thousands and thousands of people in unison, and I asked, what does it mean. An American colleague said: We are pretending to hold tomahawks, as if we are Indians. And I said, ah, you honour your ancestors this way and he laughed and said, no, no, not our ancestors, Indians, and then I remembered that the ancient spirits of your land are not the ancestors of the people who live there now. That was a hard thought for me to really grasp. We Koreans have lived here, on our land, without interruption, for at least 5,000 years, probably much much longer, double, 10,000 years. More. [STOP cycle]

So you tell my sister, someone with roots that go beyond 10,000 years in this land, that she is not a Korean, even though you don't doubt for a second that you are an American, your ancestors having lived there for ... what, a hundred years, two? And what did she do wrong? She considered new beliefs. But there is nothing more Korean than that. We believe that being open to new beliefs, understanding and integrating them, is part of the Korean genius. It is our tradition. [구쿵따따쿵]

The origin of Zen Buddhism in Japan is Seon Buddhism in Korea, which we adapted from Chang Buddhism in China. So why shouldn't we be open to the Christian influence of Europe and America? It's a question of using the right tool at the right time. [ㄱㄴ]

We have an expression, [엇모리] *rhythmic cycle, mostly left hand (soft)* three sages drinking from the same cup, meaning Lao T'zu, Confucius and Buddha. Our image is of them drinking and laughing together. Why not? While there may be disagreements, isn't it pleasant to discuss them? The air is mild, the breeze delightful, the conversation lively and engaged. We lean forward to hear what each of them says. Do you think Jesus can join them, or must he always drink alone?

You assume Jesus must always drink alone, don't you? [휘모리 X3]

Yes, I wouldn't mind. Another bottle!! Can only help.

People say that the singing of the natives in America sounds like ours, and that their dance looks a bit like ours. Do you think that is just co-incidence? I don't. I think it is common roots still visible after ten thousand years. It was our ancestors who walked across the Bering Strait and spread throughout the Americas. Worth thinking about. Soju. [구공] Smooth Soju. [구공] Soju that dissolves our han and helps us to piss it out. [구공ㄴ]

중중모리 rhythmic cycle, forcefully

You're not allowed pouring your own glass. I pour it for you. That's how it works best. And when mine is empty, you fill it. From those who can to those who need. Before my father died he said things I don't think he told anyone else. I am sure he told no-one else. He told his son, his first-born. [STOP cycle] And it

meant something to him. And I carry it with me, I carry it, here, in my heart. I carry it right here.

Key to barrel drum (p'ansori puk): ㄱ (ku = grace note with left [bare] hand), ㄱ (kung = stroke with left hand), ㅊ (tta = stroke with stick [right hand])

Key to rhythmic patterns (changdan): 중모리 (chungmori = medium-speed 12/4 rhythm), 엇모리 (_nmori = medium-speed 10/8 rhythm), 중중모리 (chungjungmori = faster-speed 12/4 rhythm)

Cello Solo: First Movement, Bach's Suite #1 in G Major

Third Movement: Scherzo

The Video

The performer and the daughter are dancing to the same unheard music. They neither touch nor acknowledge each other, although sometimes they dance in a harmonious chorography. Focal length, sensitivity to light and speed of camera movement are varied so that, most of the time, the image is painterly and gestural. Certain sequences are looped, others are superimposed. The illumination dips every time we here the word 'past'. There is a Voice Over... what we take to be the daughter's voice, in Korean, and superimposed on that, as a simultaneous translation, the performer's voice in English, speaking as the daughter.

I want to talk to you about how tense is used in the Lord's Prayer, you know, past, present, future, and how these are structured in the Lord's Prayer, and then I want to show you how tense is structured in the Apostle's Creed. I think the difference between the two structures is where you are having problems, I don't really mean problems, but I want you to better understand my position, my beliefs.

It starts with the collective possessive, our, our father, let's not worry about gender right now, we can't do everything at the same time... who *art* in heaven. That's the present tense, *art* in heaven, and heaven implying a kind of enduring present, a present which endures.

This is followed by an expression of a present desire... *hallowed be thy name*, not hallowed is thy name, which would be a statement, or hallowed will be thy name, another statement, but *hallowed be thy name*, a current longing or desire for something on the cusp of being, something immanent, that is the word I am looking for, immanent.

And then that current desire for the immanent is repeated twice more, thy *kingdom come*, thy *will be done*.

We have a thrice-insistent expression of longing for the immanent...

on earth as it *is* in heaven, meaning, what is immanent on earth is present in heaven, on earth as it *is* in heaven... which creates a parallel between our current desires on earth and what is *in* heaven... not that that which is in heaven is our desire, but rather that which we desire is what is in heaven...

and that immediately is followed by an expression of three important desires, all in the present tense...

give us this day our daily bread, that is, make available to us that which we need for our daily sustenance, our survival, note, not *my* daily bread, not *my* survival, but *our* survival...

and *forgive us*, present tense, our debts, note again, not *my* debts, but *our* debts.

But what is debt, but some sort of imbalance, a fracture, between the past and the present, to be rectified in the future...

so there is a statement that we not have this imbalance between the past and the present, our debt, that it be forgiven, right now, not in the future, but now... that we be made free from the imbalances, unfinished business, and impossibilities of the past...

as *we forgive our debtors*, as *we forgive*, present action, all those from whom we expect retribution for the past...

and *lead us not* into temptation, a present desire, lead us not, and what is temptation but an illusion about the future which leads to a wrong action in the present...

but *deliver us*, a present desire, from evil...

and evil is now simple to define: it is lack of daily bread; it is carrying the imbalances of the past into the future; it is about illusions of the future which create wrong action in the present.

So let us make immanent now our desires: bread for all, forgiveness of the past, and a true, clear, without deceit, knowledge of what is in the present...

and then, that which was immanent at the beginning of the prayer, is free to become present.

For *thine is the kingdom...* an enduring present... the power and the glory, forever and ever, amen.

The tense structure, then, is this: present statement (art in heaven), present desire for the immanent (hallowed be), which is repeated twice more (kingdom come, will be done), present request (give us) present request (forgive us), present action (as we forgive), present request (lead us not) present request (deliver us), present statement (for thine is).

The past is never used. Not once, and the only time it is implied is that, in our debts, it be forgiven. Nor is there a future tense given, except that which is implied as immediately immanent, through the present expression of our desire for it.

Now let us look, if only briefly, at the Apostle's Creed, that which the church says you have to say to be a member of it, that document that captures, if you will, the essence of the church.

It starts with the first person singular, I...

I believe... present tense...

in the Lord our God, maker of heaven and earth...

so we have lost our agency, in the Lord's prayer what we bound on earth is bound in heaven, and what we loosed on earth is loosed in heaven, but it is not so in the creed...

and in Jesus Christ, his only son, our Lord, who was *conceived*, past tense, by the Holy Ghost and *born*, past tense, of the Virgin Mary, *suffered*, past tense, under Pontius Pilot, was *crucified*, past tense, dead, odd, a present tense, but the present tense of death, and *buried*, past tense, he *descended*, past tense, into hell (there was no hell in the Lord's Prayer), the third day he *rose*, past tense, he *ascended*, past tense, and *sitteth*, present tense, on the right hand of the Lord from whence he *shall come* to judge, future tense. I *believe*, present tense....

So, the tense structure is as follows: present (of belief), past, past, past, past, past, present (of death) past, past, past, past, present, future, present

The structure emphasizes that which is important in the present is a belief in the certainty of a magical past: born of virgin, conceived by ghost, descendeth into hell, rose from the dead.

What was a religion of forgiveness, hope, and collective well-being through an understanding of the present and our desires within it, has, a mere two hundred years later, become a cult wedded to a magical past, focused on the certainty of death and future judgment.

So my question to you is simple, should we throw them both out, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed, or should we celebrate the first as we rewrite the latter?

(The Lord's Prayer is then recited only in Korean, as images taken from the end of the performance, focusing on the movement of the white scarf used in the Mother's choreographed appeal, are incorporated into the visuals.)

Fourth Movement: Kut

The American Friend

I take the subway to the temple. [*slow MOKT'AK (Buddhist wooden temple block), rolled*] I've learned how to stand for an hour and a half with one arm up, holding the strap. I have begun to think of it as a challenge. I resent the empty seats which become available, as if they are tempting me to give into a weakness.

But what is my weakness, really, is it wanting to sit down, or is it this ridiculous pride of always wanting to prove a superior discipline?

So sometimes I sit, and sometimes I stand, depending on how I perceive the need of the moment, whether I should address my laziness or address my pride. You might think I am becoming more lazy because I sit more often, but I assure you, it is because I realize that my pride is stubborn and infinite.

So I am sitting there when a strange begging couple come through the car. [*little faster MOKT'AK, clean strokes*] They are tied together around their waists with a thick short cord. The man, in front, is blind, and holds a white cane in one hand and a small bowl for coins in the other. Behind him a woman, younger. She doesn't seem to have anything wrong with her, just a bit hunched, as if, perhaps, withdrawn into herself. Dangling off the thick rope looped around her waist is a small tape machine playing music. Blind beggars in the subway always play music. It announces their arrival and gives everyone time to fish around in their pockets for change. It's often something conventionally beautiful like Amazing Grace, but the music these two were playing was traditional Korean music. It was odd, father and daughter, if in fact they were father and daughter, tied at the waist, one blind, the other seemingly lost in personal despair, walking forward, ever so slowly, through an indifferent subway car to the music of crashing cymbals, bells and wailing horns. [*STOP MOKT'AK*]

atmospheric CHING (large gong)

I transfer at Chungmoro Station. It is busy there. Half of Seoul seems to pass through at any moment, and the city of Seoul is one of the great cities of our age.

I am carried out of the car with the crowd, when suddenly I feel this urgency to move, to stand outside the current. There are large pillars in Chungmoro around which the crowd flows, like a high tide around a rock, and I, if I time this carefully, I could enter a small eddy on the lee side of that rock, I could stand with my back to it, unnoticed, immobile.

I do that, then immediately concentrate on my breathing, trying to inhale and exhale simply, not shallow, not rushed. Easy and deep. I achieve that. I feel proud of myself but then remember to let that feeling go. Let it go. Let all the thoughts come and go.

My eyes are open but I don't actually see, I hear, I enter into sound, become vulnerable to it, as it grows ever more vast and dense, [*regularize rhythm on CHING*] an intricate knot of shifting rhythms of thousands of feet on the floor and numberless voices raised to be heard, an amazing sea of sound roaring in two directions at once as people simultaneously approach and depart, approach and depart, and each and every one of them filled with intention, purpose. Let it go.

The floor sways. Is it only because I am trying to be so still that I feel it move? It is slight, but real. Why does it sway? Is it the rhythm of the people moving, or the trains arriving, or both together? Or is it that the earth itself always trembles?

I become aware of the thoughts I am having, I notice their sequence. In the train of this thought, that thought, and behind this thought, that thought, ah! this thought leads to that thought and behind it this thought which leads...

And all these trains of thought, they, too, filled with purpose, intention...

The shame, the humiliation, the fear, the false pride, the arrogance...

Let it go! [*STOP CHING*]

The coolness from an air-conditioning vent wafts towards me, carrying the fragile scent of someone's perfume, ahh, sweet, and now a sour smell, perhaps the sweat of the same person, or another. Let it go.

My eyes are still open and I begin to see more clearly all about me are people I have seen many times before, all from different stages of my life. Why is that? I recognize them by how they tilt their heads, shrug their shoulders, lean together, hold hands or guide their children. Let it go.

I see myself among the approaching and departing, my many selves, and each insistent with intention, purpose. Let it go.

On my face, now, the cool water of a childhood lake, my eyes opening beneath the surface, looking at my brother as he and I make faces under water the colour of weak tea.

I welcome that thought and let it go

Under the water we are bursting with stopped laughter

I welcome that thought and let it go

[suspended CHING, single strokes] then the image, why now, of you reaching to the earth, your palm open, your thumbs each touching one finger and then thousands of arms holding a thousand cups as you face simultaneously in all directions *[speed up]*

even you, let it go...

Let go of the master, let go of the student, let go of the easy, let go of the difficult, there is no way if you don't let go of the way... *[Climax! until "shhh," then slowly subside]*

Ssssh! *(spoken to the percussionist)*

Standing behind a pillar at Chungmoro Station I am shaken and awakened by the contempt and disdain within three words...

Shock and awe. Who am I to remain silent about what we have become?

Let it go. *[STOP CHING]*

I can't let it go. A sense of responsibility holds the thought that will not let go. Shock and Awe. Have I lived a life of lies and murder only to allow the cycle again?

After swimming with us at dusk – the water oranges, golds, crimsons, ochres, even pale mauves and ethereal greens – the sunset reflected upon the breaking surface, my father would build a bonfire on the beach. The flames were beautiful as they leapt and fell. And we would gather around, shivering from the cool wet, spooked by the dark trees groaning in the raising wind behind us, we would gather and sing... my brother, sister, parents and I, sing.

He's Got the Whole World, Kumbaya, and perhaps my favourite, yes:

(singing) One more river, and that's the river of Jordan, one more river, there's one more river to cross, the animals came two by two there's one more river to cross, the monkey and the kangaroo, there's one more river to cross

And then, at the end of the evening, if she were relaxed and happy, my mother might sing. I remember her high, soft voice – never quite in key – but such clarity, such conviction. She who brought warmth to my life was warmed by this song:

(singing)

The Lord's my shepherd, I'll not want;
 He makes me down to lie
 In pastures green; he leadeth me
 The quiet waters by.
 My soul he doth restore again,
 And me to walk doth make
 Within the paths of righteousness,
 E'en for his own name's sake.

I, the would-be Buddhist, [*slow MOKT'AK, softly rolled*] singing Christian songs drawn from the Hebrew psalms, my back against the pillar of Chungmoro Station as tides of many selves wash over the slightly swaying building...

but the people are kind, or pay no attention at all to the ageing white man singing, badly... Let it go. No shame.

I cannot return to that place, the fires of my youth, the songs of my youth, but neither can I entirely escape it, and because I can't leave, when I die I will be born again within this moment of responsibility. *[STOP MOKT'AK]*

Shock and Awe.

I dread the idea of being born to kill again. I dread that many will be born as I was born and will live as I did live, to kill again.

I want this suffering to end.

I don't want to weave the blanket of lies within which the tortured will be wrapped. I don't want to bury the slaughtered beneath six feet of lies. Again.

I hear a small hollow knocking within the roar.

Cello Solo: Last Movement, Hindemith Unaccompanied Sonata

The Mother

The mother has a thin white shawl over her shoulders. She has her feet and arms set as if she is playing golf on a putting green. She breaks her concentration and looks up.

My son says that the war between America and China has already begun.

He says it is the Americans who are pushing it – not only have they armed Taiwan, but they are re-arming Japan as well. It is hard for a Korean to watch the rearmament of Japan without ... second thoughts.

My son says that the invasion of Iraq, and the coming bombing of Iran, is directly relevant to the American-Chinese war. He says that America can no longer compete in the international market, and must use force to maintain and control the supply of resources that keeps them rich.

He says that there is very little the Chinese can do about it. He says that his father told him that we will have to choose which side we are on.

She mimes hitting the ball, and then goes to pick it up

I wish my son had fewer answers and more questions.

She returns to her starting place

He is very successful, but there are times I think he is a weak man. But then, aren't we happy when our weaker children succeed? The tougher children, it is all right if they fail, they will persevere, and still find moments of enjoyment.

My daughter is very strong. She can hold a contradiction in her mind without losing common sense. But I wish she had more confidence. I want her to leave here, to study or work abroad. I think she will.

She again mimes hitting the ball, and again goes to pick it up

It is a strange dance between her and the American stranger who stays with us. American Buddhism and Korean Christianity... is there an attraction, or are they repelled? Could there be a child from their union? Would it be an ugly baby? Maybe not.

She returns to her starting place

My husband died playing golf. Actually, it was on this course. He insisted that I come with him that day and I said I would as long as I could stay on the putting green. He wore his new shoes and his new jacket. He looked like a foreigner, which he liked, it made him feel successful.

I did then what I am doing now. When I play, I prefer when the ball doesn't go in the hole, but just touches the rim, and then changes direction. It deflects. It is beautiful to watch. I hit the ball, it circles the rim, doesn't fall, but moves naturally in another direction.

I have been able to do that successfully, just now, six times in a row. Six times.

I think of it as six broken lines, yin lines, the receptive.

A year ago today I was standing right here when a man came quickly towards me in the harsh light, and I knew right away what he was going to tell me, before he spoke. Later, sitting in darkness, I listened to two of my husband's favourite recordings, the Bach and the Hindemith.

Today it is misty... and I think, just at the edge of the mist I can see you. You, who, in a brutal age, made yourself into the image of another to ensure that we would survive. What can I say to you now?

Our son will succeed, until he makes a mistake burdened by his anxiety, our daughter will go abroad and persevere, our country will unite because we will find a way to make it our responsibility, and no-one else's. All this I can see, but not much further.

I will live alone and talk to you at odd moments, until you succeed in climbing Pung-man-san-chun.

I remember...

There is so much beauty in so many memories I hold,
 and I need not speak of them, not to you, for you,
 who are in the mist, you hold them,
 you hold them too.

The Percussionist enters the space to join the mother. He begins to play and dance, finding the spirit of celebration. When he finishes, the Mother is seen kneeling at the front of the stage, facing the back wall, bowing her head to the floor as the figure disappears.

hourglass drum (changgo) sequence of rhythmic patterns during the percussionist's final folkdance: 옛모리 (ŏnmori = medium-speed 10/8 rhythm)
 — play until mother dances off of stage 이음새 (iümsae = faster-speed 12/8 rhythm), 삼채 (samch'ae = faster-speed 12/8 rhythm), 반풍류 (pan p'ungnyu = faster-speed 12/8 rhythm), 빠른 갠지갠 (pparün kaenjigen = faster-speed 12/8 rhythm) — entire sequence played through as changgo player dances on stage, then moves off as light fades to black.

Performance Credits

Written and Performed *by Michael Springate*

Directed *by Kee Kook-seo*

Korean percussion and cello *by Nathan Hesselink*

Video *by Carolyn Combs*

Dancers in Video: *Maki Nagisa and Michael Springate*

Movement Coach: *Ron Stewart*

Rehearsal Translator: *Maki Nagisa*

Graduate Studies Supervisor: *DD Kugler*

Stage Manager: *Ally Colclough*

Assistant Stage Manager: *Lucia Lorenzi*

Lighting Designer: *Stanley Ma*

Lighting Operators: *Aurel Stan and Grace Park*

Technical Director: *Anil Chauhan*

Production Stage Manager: *Julie-anne Saroyan:*

Faculty Advisor: *Barry Hegland:*

Poster Design: *Heather Blakemore*

Performance Collaborators

Carolyn Combs

Carolyn Combs is an independent videographer who has worked primarily within the documentary tradition of social activism. Such work of hers includes the Art & Ability Series (2004-05), Protest & Prayer (2005) and Stories From The Diner (1998).

A radical departure from previous work, *Kut* was her first experience as a videographer aggressively working with image distortion while shooting. She describes the process as an improvisation for the camera and two performers inspired by evolving formal relationships among movement pattern, colour, texture and light. The editing process was a continuation of the formal exploration, but in this case guided by the significance of the juxtaposition of the image to the spoken text; a comparative tense analysis of the lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed.

She is currently working as director and producer on her first feature, *She Sings The River*. She has a Bachelor of Fine Arts from Concordia University and a Masters in Education from the University of Manitoba.

Nathan Hesselink

Assistant Professor of Ethnomusicology at the University of British Columbia, Nathan received a B.M. in Cello Performance from Northwestern University, an M.A. in Ethnomusicology (Japanese music) from the University of Michigan, and a Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology (Korean music) from the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. He has also been a postdoctoral research fellow in Korean studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and a Visiting

Assistant Professor of Ethnomusicology at the University of Chicago. He is a former President of the Association for Korean Music Research (AKMR) and an editorial board member of the interdisciplinary journal *Music and Culture*, he is the editor of *Contemporary Directions: Korean Folk Music Engaging the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (California, 2001) and the author of *P'ungmul: South Korean Drumming and Dance* (Chicago, 2006).

Kee Kook-seo

Ki Kook-seo studied Korean literature at Joong Ang University before co-founding, in 1976, Theater Company 76tan, of which he is now the Artistic Director. He has received many awards for his work, including the Seoul Critics Choice Award, Seoul Critics Director Award, and the Young Hee Theater Award.

From the outset, the company received notoriety as “enfant terrible” for its bold portrayal of the Korean political and social landscape through experimental stage productions and performance pieces. Spurred by President Park Chung-Hee’s assassination (1979) and the Kwangju massacre (1980), the company adapted Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, and ran the series of plays for ten years. In the 90’s the company moved away from political themes and featured societal issues centered around the lives of the marginalized class.

The company has 26 members, and is currently preparing for a production of Shakespeare’s *King Lear* under Kee Kook-seo’s direction.

Maki Nagisa

Maki Nagisa (born Yi Wi-Hyung) is a native of Andong in Kyongsang Province, but moved to Seoul while very young. She graduated in 1992 with a BA in Korean language and literature from Hansung University, and moved to Japan in 1996 where she studied the Japanese language. She returned to South Korea in 1999 and, rebelling against the social expectations surrounding her, moved to

Canada in 2000. She took an ESL program at the University of Regina, prior to registering as a student in the theatre performance program, from which she graduated in 2005. She wrote and performed an autobiographical show entitled *Home of My Soul* which she has performed throughout Western Canada. On screen, she has performed in the Saskatchewan New Drama Series, and most recently as Seuchong in *She Sings The River*, directed by Carolyn Combs, a feature to be released at the end of 2006. She is currently a student in the Graduate Program of the School for Contemporary Arts at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and an independent student with Kathryn Ricketts at Maindance.

Ron Stewart

Ron Stewart's dance training began in Montreal in 1984 with Sonia Vartanian. By 1986 he was performing with her company, Les Ballets Classique de Montreal, where he stayed until 1990. He continued his training in modern techniques while working with Mascal Dance, Kinesis Dance, and Judith Marcuse Dance Company. With the Toronto Dance Theatre he toured nationally and internationally during a period of four years, highlights including tours in Europe and India and, closer to home, to Jacob's Pillow in Massachusetts and to the Joyce Theatre in New York City. Since then he has worked with a number of Canadian companies and independent choreographers, including Lola Dance, battery opera, Winnipeg's Contemporary Dancers, EDAM, Robin Poitras, Sarah Chase, Susan MacKenzie, Susan Elliott and Bill Coleman. Currently based in Vancouver, Ron continues his work both as an independent dancer and as a creator of his own work. As a teacher, he draws from his formal dance training in Vaganova, Limon and Graham techniques, while also bringing principals from alternative techniques, such as yoga, Qi Gong, Body Mind Centering® and Gyrotonics®, to explore body alignment, efficiency of movement, sensitivity and groundedness. He was Guest Artistic Director for the 2003-04 season at Mascal Dance and, in 2005, taught Contemporary Dance Technique at Simon Fraser University's School For the Contemporary Arts. He is also a certified Hatha Yoga instructor.

Commenting on the movement process he led for *Kut*, Ron wrote:

For the creation of the piece Michael was developing four distinct characters that he wanted identifiable through their physical presence. To achieve that, he and I worked from various physical practices and improvisational techniques.

Our warm-up exercises often began prone on the floor, meditative, with the focus on breathing. We would then develop movement using principles such as navel radiation, mitvah and other release techniques, push patterns, leading with the six limbs, stillness, image building, eye focus, movement repetition. As the session built, the exercises would evolve into a physical exploration of space.

Often, after an exercise, I would identify strong physical choices or repeated gestures/ movement which were discussed for their possible relevance to one of the four characters. If there seemed to be a possible connection, we would go back to the pattern or gesture for further exploration. The American Friend was discovered to have quite an angular physicality, therefore we focused on joint articulation, lines in space and stillness to achieve the desired physical presence. In contrast, the daughter's movement was rooted in an exploration of handling a silk scarf – including the feeling of it being drawn across the skin – leading to a delicate sensibility mixed with the potential tautness of fabric under strain.

Always trying to work away from literal gesture and miming, we explored how the movement of the eyes could show the audience that he was in a crowded subway, and how a simple arm gesture sustained while delivering a monologue could become many images.

In this way, Michael and I created the building blocks for the physicality of *Kut*.

Interview with Director, Kee Kook-seo

Interviewed on January 30, 2005, by Carolyn Comb

Translated by Maki Nagisa

How did you meet Michael and become involved in Materials Towards a Kut?

Two years ago when Michael first visited Korea, he happened to see *Insulting the Audience*, which my company produced and I directed. After the show, he went out for a drink with us, and we got to know each other. It was a brief introduction. Then, Michael came back last spring. I think this time he came to actually write a play. The year before, I think he was more focusing on research and probably checking out Korea in general. He came to see *Insulting the Audience* again, and he informed me about his project. He told me that he was writing about Korean shaman, *Mudang*, and asked me to do research together. He also suggested that if possible I could come to Vancouver and work with him. He said he would fly me. I said okay. That's how I am here now.

Michael sent me bits and pieces of his writing through email. John Cha roughly translated them for me. So Michael in Vancouver, John in San Francisco, and I in Seoul, we started to look into the project.

Could you talk about your background and your work in Seoul? What kind of work are you interested in?

When I was 25 years old, I started a theatre company and ever since for 30 years that is all I've been doing. I would say directing is my career. My company, named Theatre Seven Six because it was found in 1976, produce translated works as well as new Korean plays including my plays. In the beginning I directed

mostly, and young directors have emerged from our company. Currently there are 4 residence directors.

In terms of content, early period through 80s, I focused on political themes and experimental styles. For example, Hamlet was produced 5 times differently in that period, each time adapted to fit the current political situation of Korea. So, it became a series that reflect the shifts of Korean politics. In 90s, the focus changed to low-class life and marginalized people aiming the same class audience. Unfortunately, now we have to worry about box office, and the focus have drifted towards commercial success. Well, the company has to survive. However, I'd like to go back to art. It would be ideal if I can produce a piece that has artistic value as well as box office success.

Has there been an audience for the political plays? Has the audience changed? What's the political nature of Korean society, and how theatre changed by that?

In 80s South Koreans shared the feeling of oppression under the military government. The social atmosphere was depressing, so certainly there were many people interested in those plays. But recent 10 years or so, the audience taste has changed. Younger generations are not as keen as before about politics. I am not saying they are less interested in politics, but less active or outspoken about it. Also, there are many entertaining-purpose shows increasing. As serious themes lost the audience interest, there was a time looking for a shock value. But we passed the controversy over nudity and sexuality. Now, major audience, mostly 20s and 30s, seeks comedies.

I don't think young generations are ignorant about our history although modern culture takes up their attention. Historical awareness is there, only not strongly expressed for the variety of choices in contemporary culture. I believe so because of recent shift in Korean film industry. Korean films have struggled and declined against Hollywood films, but last 7 years or so, there are many Korean films gaining the audience. Some of them have broken the record of 10 million viewers,

which is unheard of. They are of course very well made, full of artistic integrity by talented filmmakers. Interestingly, they are also in common in terms of theme. They all depict Korean modern history such as the national separation, North and South Korea conflict, and current socio-political situation.

How much did you know about Kut before you came here? What did you think of it?

Through these drafts of scenes, and from what Michael informed me, I understood the themes broadly and roughly. To me, there were huge three themes- politics, religion, and Korean shamanism. I understood the project as a foreigner's profound search in Korea. I thought it was very important.

I could relate to the anti-Americanism in Canadians. I think it is international atmosphere. In Korea, it has been an on-going issue, and especially the current leftwing government directly faces this issue. So the political theme was very real and at-the-moment to me.

How did you feel after you arrived here and when you read the first draft of the play?

Because I already knew the themes, the impression itself didn't change much. It was good to see the flow and the structure, and I started to think about potential styles accordingly. The structure has shifted little by little and I looked for details to fit into the structure and to support the flow.

Is your personal history relevant to your interest in this project? If so, could you briefly talk about your own history?

I cannot say that my personal history has nothing to do with my thoughts and beliefs. But I have kept my notions on history and ideology to myself, and rather tried not to reflect in my work. However, when I saw Michael's work that digs

into those ideas, I was glad and agreed with Michael's thought. I guess it was my personal history that affected my willing acceptance.

My father was a communist. He didn't praise communism, but always talked about revolution. The word stuck in my mind as I grew up, but when I became teenager, I had to give up any hope of social success. Because of my father's background, I was bound to the Complicity Law. If your family member or any close relative was involved in communism, the law banned your access to certain positions and occupations. I had to find a third place, and for me it was literature. In university, I was introduced to theatre, and I completely fell for its charm.

Since the Korean Independence from Japan in 1945 until beginning of 60s, my father was in and out of jail, running and hiding in between. My mother said that he would disappear for a period time either to jail or to Manchuria. He would secretly knock at the window at night, then the next morning disappeared again. Each time he came home, one of my siblings were conceived, my mother said. I used to visit my father in prison until I was about 10. Then in 1960, there was a national demonstration by students, which we call 4/19 Heroic Deed. We also had 5/16 Military *coup d'etat*. And in 1980, there was Kwangju Massacre, which was committed by the military government against those who demanded true democracy. I grew up in that political turmoil of Korean modern history. The Korean War in 1950 divided the nation, and ever since Koreans have been forced to choose between two ideologies, Communism and Capitalism, or Left and Right.

How does the American military in Korea fit within the polarity?

I am not an expert on that matter. To my understanding army bases in Okinawa, Japan and in Korea are the head quarter for American hegemony in Asia. Some Koreans want American military to withdraw while others want it to stay. Again these opposite opinions are an extension of the polarity of ideologies. I cannot tell which is right because it is a complicated matter involving national profit within

international relation. It seems that more and more people want the withdrawal for the need to gain our independence.

The play, as it is performed now and as Michael is the performer, is an American's journey. In your mind, is the journey of the American similar to your own journey or a Korean's journey?

I don't think so. It is different from mine, and different from Koreans'. It is a Westerner's point of view, which I think is very important to know. Maybe the Westerner looks into the world history, and projects his understanding of it by exemplifying Korea. A Western intellectual's perspective in this play is quite different from Koreans' understanding of life including mine.

You have mentioned the possibility of remounting the play in Korea. How would you make it work so that Korean audience can relate to the play?

I am thinking about it at the moment. To reach to Korean audience, surely we need a bridge or one step further. The play itself is natural and complete as it is, but if we produce it in Korea, there must be a device that makes the play natural for Koreans. It is like Michael is talking outside the room now. But if he wants to sit in the living room and to discuss with people in the room, we have to find a way that he can mingle. I am thinking about how we can make that natural atmosphere.

How do you feel about your participation in this project?

I had lots of fun. I felt very good. At first, I was worried about preparation for a collaborative business, so to speak. But when I sent email to Michael asking more information and materials for my preparation, he replied to forget about what he had said and just to come with 'open mind'. So I asked John's opinion for I felt I should prepare something yet Michael said not to. John told me that it seemed Michael had been gathering and preparing materials, and wanted to explore them

with me when I came here. When I learned that this is not producing a finished work but experimenting a work in process, I felt relaxed. I like that kind of process.

Once I came here, there has been a quick translation going on, reading it in a hurry, then putting our heads together, trying this way and that way, and so fourth. I used to work like that, but once you have the concern of box office success, you cannot solely enjoy that kind of working style. With this project there was a freedom from commercial success. Also, Michael and I are the same generation sharing many same ideas and similar understanding of theatre. So I think we communicated very well, which gave me easiness. When you are at ease, you think better as well.

For North American viewers, could you describe about Mudang and explain why it is important to Koreans? And how this concept is related to the play, Kut?

I would say that *Kut*, the Korean traditional ritual, is one of the treasures in Korean mentality and culture, which is yet to be re-discovered and developed. *Kut* contains everything in it-Korean mind, emotion, history, belief, art, and han. It provides an understanding of Koreanness. Recently, many contemporary artists have expressed great interest in *Kut* and *Mudang*, the shaman of *Kut*.

Kut aims at the emancipation of a soul and the cure of a mind. *Kut* brings spiritual release to the oppressed. *Kut* penetrates a clog and unbinds a knot. In the west, *Mudang* might be likened to a psychiatrist who solves psychological problems. The difference is that a psychiatrist deals with an individual whereas *Mudang* works within a group. *Mudang* chases out all the evil feelings and bad lucks, and liberates the soul. And all the participants in the group benefit from the ritual.

In terms of the connection between *Kut* and Michael's project, it is a matter of the Korean merriment. I think Michael has experienced it. Every nation has its own

way of expressing joy, but Koreans have a very unique and highly developed sense of pleasure. It seems to me that Michael has sensed this merriment and written it down in a logical way. The flow of *Kut* conjures the excessive merriment. Thus, Michael has verbally thought out what comes very naturally and unconsciously to Korean. It is my guess that Michael has seen *Kut* and witnessed a flow of Korean sentiment, and he has built a logical structure of the flow. For me, seeing the image of *Kut* in his writing was very natural and instinctive. We look at the same thing, *Kut*, and I feel with heart and Michael grasps with mind.

Were you surprised that a Canadian playwright was writing about Korea with such a deep interest and understanding?

Yes, of course. I was very impressed.

Is there anything you would like to say?

Well... for now, if the circumstance allows, I wish we would have another fun time in Seoul with these same members, with lots of merriment.

Do you think the film fit into the concept of the play, thematically or emotionally?

I think the use of film fits very well into the form of the play. I liked the experimental and post-modern feeling. To me, the images of the film- a chair appearing and disappearing, a figure clear and blur- created inside a human mind. For example, there was a multiplied scene of Michael rolling, which made me feel the confusion within an intellectual mind. It was effective because later there was explicit confusion in Chungmuro Scene. But, I couldn't make the connection to the concept of *Mudang* from the film.

Thank you very much, Kook Seo.

Ha ha, two more bottles!

Researching Korean Christianity

I twice travelled to Korea while researching materials for my performance. The first trip lasted a very brief, but intense, ten days in October, 2004, the second was a more substantial three months, from the beginning of May to the end of July in 2005.

During those visits I met with many informed persons who were extremely generous with their time and thought. I have yet to find a way to fully reflect the range and quality of those meetings, recorded in several notebooks. However, I think it appropriate to mention some of the more important influences by name.

I have written at some length about my first encounter with **Dr. Chung Meeh-yun** (see Performance Commentary, third movement), currently Head of the Women and Gender Desk at Mission 21 in Switzerland and an important and recognized feminist theologian in South Korea. She opened many doors for me, not only through our conversations and her papers, but through her introductions to others.

Together we met with the then President of Hansung University, **Dr. Han Wansang**. He is an American-educated sociologist, a former Deputy Prime Minister of South Korea, and personally involved in the development of the 'Sunshine Policy' towards North Korea. He spoke at some length of his personal experiences working for unification, and helped me to better understand the depth of social polarization surrounding this issue. It was during this meeting with Dr. Han that I finally began to truly grasp the importance of the historical events in Korea from 1945 to the outbreak of the civil war in 1950; I recognized the responsibility of deeply reconsidering the cold war rhetoric in which Korean history is usually wrapped. I continue to work towards a stronger analysis of

colonial occupation and civil war, and hope to bring the fruits of my research into a later version of the performance. Since that meeting, Dr. Han has been named President of the South Korean Red Cross. This is a position critical to the ongoing North-South dialogue, since a major “unofficial” channel of communication has, historically, been the Red Cross.

Dr. Chung and I met, at Yonsei University, with **Dr. Noh Jong-sun**, a Professor of Ethics and author of works openly questioning Christian thought and its relation to the desired future of Korean society. His passionate voice aims to disentangle the meaning of Christianity from its current function and place within First World society, and to argue strongly for an ethical Christianity rooted in a populist movement for social justice, national independence and unity (Minjung Theology). He takes informed and critical positions towards Western theologians who both reflect and endorse big power politics. His influence can be felt, along with Dr. Chung’s, in how I have framed the daughter’s nationalistic, yet socially progressive, Christianity.

Dr. Chung and I had dinner with, **Dr. Kim Sang-yil**, a Professor of Philosophy at Hanshin University and Publisher at The Institute of Han Studies. Dr. Kim is a curious and agile thinker certain of the historical influence of Koreans on the evolution of both Chinese and Japanese thought. I left our meeting shocked to realize that while I could, perhaps, grasp some of the interplay between Christian and Buddhist thought in contemporary Korean society, I had very few intellectual resources to either correctly perceive or analyze the preponderant Confucian influence. After our meeting I began to address the evolution of contemporary Confucianism (New Confucianism) and its response to the Christian phenomenon. This led, at least in part, to how I have framed the son’s attitude to his sister’s beliefs.

Dr. Chung also accompanied me to the offices of Maryknoll Missionaries to meet with **Friar James Sinnott**. Of Irish Catholic roots, and with a naturally conservative bent, Mr. Sinnott was radicalized by his first-hand experience of

authoritarianism under the Park Chung-hee government, and in particular its coordinated and violent assault on the oppositional democratic movement. Friar Sinnott was, subsequently, expelled from the country for his pro-democracy activities. He returned, however, and is now an author whose semi-fictional works – he gave me two manuscripts to read – draw inspiration from that struggle. While researching *Kut*, it has been clear to me that the “success” of the Korean democratic movement was won through the grit, determination and sacrifice of many people over an extended period. I wish to honour that movement in a more tangible way in my future writing, seeing within it the quality of commitment that will be necessary to re-awaken democratic traditions in industrialized western society.

Dr. Chung was in Switzerland during most of my longer stay in South Korea, and my host became **Dr. Kim Won-bae** then the General Director of the Korean National Association of Christian Pastors. During our time together, Pastor Kim became a friend and confidant. Many of the more memorable moments of my stay in South Korea are directly related to his generosity, including our trips to Wanju and Kwangju, and my participation in the first services of a new, and very small, Christian congregation in Seoul.

With Pastor Kim I met **Dr. Hong Kon Su**, who founded the Fellowship of Reunification Theology in 1989, and was imprisoned in 1991 for a year and a half for his work against the South Korean government’s policy of reunification and the National Security Law. I was taken by the reach of Dr. Hong’s thoughts, straddling economic and spiritual concerns with a sure grasp of contemporary history. What I remember most clearly is his understanding of the vulnerability of progressive forces within the Korean context, as well as his conviction of the wrong-headedness of current American military strategy in East Asia.

Pastor Kim introduced me to **Dr. Jung Jiseok**, a recent graduate from the doctorate program at Sunderland University in England. His thesis, dated March 2004, deals with the relation between Quaker Peace Testimony and Korean

Reunification Theology, and gives a useful overview of one part of the struggle for Korean unification. Of particular interest is Dr. Jung's current work to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Committee as part of a broad social movement towards the unification of Korea.

Pastor Kim also organized a number of groups with which I regularly met, ostensibly to teach English, but which, from my perspective, became opportunities for sustained and interesting conversations relevant to my work. One such group consisted of younger ministers from the Presbyterian Church of the Republic of Korea: Pastors **Lee Kwan-woo**, **Lim Hee-young**, **Park Jung-il** and **Shin Pyong-shik**. Referring to a bilingual bible, we would discuss the tenets of Korean Christianity, trying to relate those ideas to the social issues they faced as pastors. It was during a meeting with this group that I first proposed a comparative tense analysis of the Lord's Prayer and Apostle's Creed, which now forms the heart of the third movement of *Kut*.

A second group consisted of more advanced English speakers, including Judge **Han So-young**, and lawyers **Shin Chu-young**, and **Kim Yoon-young**, as well as, when available, Pastor Kim Won-bae. We agreed to read and discuss together the novel *Disgraced* by J. M. Coetzee, inevitably leading us into conversations about gender relations, imperialism and English romanticism, not only as present in the South Africa of the novel, but within contemporary South Korea as well.

Reverend Lee Seung Young, founder and Senior Minister of Saebyuk World Presbyterian Church, was kind enough to allow me to reside for two months within the Guest Room of the Church's Peace Centre. While there I was fortunate to discuss with him the church's current outreach to native Americans in Vancouver. This unexpected (to me) relationship between Koreans and native Americans did have an effect upon the performance of *Kut*.

I also met with members of his congregation, including younger members of the Church's youth groups, as well as enjoying many sustained conversations with the

youth leader, **Pastor Han Je Hoon**, who helped me to better understand the immense socializing role of the Church in the lives of its young members.

Another member of the Saebyuk Church was **Lee Yong-ja**. She has a complex, but not unusual, relation to the West: her father is a traditional Confucian from Cholla province, while her current work is translating popular American television programs and films. The relationship is also affected by her anxieties for her daughter who is currently studying in the U.S. My approach to the Mother was influenced by my conversations with her.

It was at a meeting at Saebyuk World Church that I first met **Dr. Kim Un Hey**. Her doctorate, finished in 2001, *Subjectivity and Difference: Toward A Korean Christian Feminism*, is a challenging and seminal work which will, over time, have an effect upon my writing. It challenges the reader to question self and identity in a very bold manner, deriving strength from its deep roots in Taoist thought.

Dr. Chung and I overlapped in Seoul briefly at the end of my three month stay. During that time we went together to meet with surviving “Comfort Women” as they demonstrated in front of the purposefully unmarked, non-descript building which is the Japanese embassy in South Korea. We also met with **Reverend Shin Dong-il**, who for years had ministered on Cheju Island, and who, out of personal interest, had gathered information about the events leading to, and the effects of, the Cheju Rebellion of 1947-48. This is important information with which to better understand the origins of the Korean War, the nature of American imperialism, and Japanese-American relations at the beginning of the Cold War.

I wish to stress that I consider my Korean research to be in the early stages, and that I intend to pursue these interests during the years to come.

Development of the History Series

Historical Bliss, 1983

Historical Bliss is a one-man piece demonstrating an attempt at individuation within a failed historical consciousness. The central character questions knowledge and its transmission, parodies his misdirected enthusiasms, and assumes the persona of the woman he claimed to have loved, to allow him entry into an awareness that had eluded him.

Dog and Crow, 1987

I wanted to write about Fascism as a continuing threat in our own society, and ended up writing about an angry but ascendant modernism – represented by Ezra Pound and Benito Mussolini – which longs to be, and claims to represent, a contemporary classicism. All the scenes have implicit relations to writings by Pound: the birth of imagism, his translations of Cavalcanti and Propertius, the Pisan Cantos, and ending, ironically, with the young Pound's translation of a Japanese Noh play. There, the aging Pound denies remorse as he finds himself charged with, but not tried for, treason; his life dependent on a certification by a friendly psychiatrist that he does not have the mental ability to contribute to his own defence.

I tried to contrast that hybrid of classicism/modernism with a more open, immediate and evolutionary understanding of social change.

The Consolation of Philosophy, 1990

The Consolation of Philosophy, an oratorio in five parts, is a radical revisioning of the work of the same name written by Boethius (c.480-c.525 CE), written at the

tag end of the Roman Empire. The oratorio consciously pulls the materialist-idealist tensions taut and, using contemporary imagery, retells the story of Lady Philosophy visiting the stricken writer. It concludes by finding consolation in the congruence of the urgent human needs that led to the idealism held by Boethius and the materialism held by Marx. Rather than taking the failure of any particular philosophy to be a defeat, it recognizes the moment of deception as a legitimate place to start again.

Kareena, 2000

I wanted to write about nationalism, personal loss, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and ended up writing about the necessary role of imagination in our ideologies and hopes. The imagination is historically constructed, but also erotically charged, and both characters are caught in spirals which lead them to unexpected places. *Kareena* is an ill-fated story between a brother and sister who, having fled Ukraine, struggle to build a new life in Montreal.

Freeport, Texas, 2004

Both of my wife's parents are from Texas. It is where her family roots lie, and it was during a family reunion on her mother's side that I first visited Freeport, a small town on the Gulf of Mexico, due south of Houston. Once a seaside town with fishing and shrimp boats as an economic mainstay, the main road to Freeport is now called Chlorine Drive. Many of its residents work in the chemical and oil industries which have so transfigured the face of southern Texas. And yet, the raw beauty of the shoreline remains.

The intended scope of the work, however, did not become clear until my visit to Russia, which led to the play's current context: the realities of deregulated American industry merging with the after effects of the Cold War; the lords of American corporate power meet the descendents of the Soviet Gulag in a story of intersecting beliefs.

The Effect of *Kut* on the History Series

It is tentatively possible, I think, to locate certain effects the research and performance of *Kut* will have on the longer-term thematic development of the History Series. Certain knots of historical interest are more clearly visible now than previously:

- Civil war as an *intended effect* of occupation – Korea, Vietnam and Iraq;
- The on-going American militarization of space and the build-up to a Sino-American war as a foreign affairs response to the domestic weaknesses of the American economy;
- The collapse of converging capitalisms as a route towards world peace;
- Synthesizing a progressive Christian ethics with a Taoist ontology;
- The modernization of Confucian thought and its relation, theoretically, to the Cultural Materialism of Marvin Harris and, practically, to the future governance of China;
- How to develop, in practice, ontology as a “grammar of engagement”, the Covering Law Model of explanation, and conception of character;
- The more overt development of characters with ‘split’ voices.

End Notes

1

2/ The mix of yellow and black actually has a very ancient tradition in Asian culture. In the I Ching, a book at least 3,000 years old, it is written that when the top line is changing within the ideogram of the Receptive, “Dragons fight in the meadow. Their blood is black and yellow.” This is meant to indicate a time where heaven and earth are in confusion, heaven being black (midnight blue) and earth being yellow.

3/ *Six Yuan Plays*, translated by Liu Jung-en, Penguin Books, 1972. The first two lines of *The Soul of Ch'ien-Nu Leaves her Body* are, “I am Mrs. Chang. My husband died long ago.” The first two lines of *The Injustice Done to Tou Ngo I* are, “I am old Mother Ts'ai. We were a family of three until my husband unfortunately died.”

4/ During the 1970's I was the Artistic Director of an experimental theatre company (Painted Bird Ensemble) that produced work influenced by musical form. Titles of our pieces included: *Improvisation in Sonata Form Numbers 1 and 2*, *Fugue*, *Scat*, and *Twelve Tones*. My interest in the sonata form in theatre has remained. I find it a simple but highly effective way to organize thematic material, without recourse to a plot. For a summary of the structure, the following is extracted from the Grove Concise Dictionary of Music:

The structure may be considered an expansion of the binary form familiar in Baroque dances, but other genres, including the aria and the concerto, also impinged on its development. ... A typical sonata-form movement consists of a two-part tonal structure, articulated in three main sections. The first section ('exposition') divides into a 'first group' in the tonic and, after transitional material, a 'second group' in another key (usually the dominant in major movements, the relative major in minor ones), often with a codetta to round the section off. Both groups may include a number of different themes.... The second part of the structure

comprises the remaining two sections, the 'development' and 'recapitulation'. The first usually develops material from the exposition in a variety of ways, moving through a number of keys. Compared with the exposition, this section is usually one of considerable tonal instability and of rhythmic and melodic tension. It also prepares the structural climax, the 'double return' to the main theme and to the tonic key which begins the recapitulation... To the above outline of sonata form may be added a slow introduction and a coda. The primary function of the introduction is to strike a more serious or grander tone and to establish a larger scale of motion than would be possible by the Allegro alone. A coda usually restates the main theme, and most codas include some emphasis on the subdominant, especially if none has occurred in the recapitulation.... A sense of strain between structure and content is often manifest, either in an academic approach to the form, as a mould rather than a process, or in the search for new methods of organization, e.g. thematic transformation.

5/ Read, for instance, this quote by T.R.V. Murti in his essay *Rise of the Philosophical Schools*, published in *Studies in Indian Thought*, edited by Harold G. Coward, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1983.

The other tradition is represented by the Buddhist denial of substance and all that it implies. There is no inner and immutable core in things; everything is in flux. Existence for the Buddhist is momentary (*ksanika*), unique (*svalaksana*) and unitary (*dharmamatra*). It is discontinuous, discrete and devoid of complexity. The substance (the universal and the identical) was rejected as illusory; it was but a thought construction made under the influence of wrong belief (*avidya*).

6/ Much information about the Phoenix Project can be sourced through the web:

<http://www.thememoryhole.org/phoenix/> groups many of the documents;

another sourcing site is http://www.serendipity.li/cia/operation_phoenix.htm. In this instance I am wary of Wikipedia, although it was from their site

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/phoenix_project (posted March 26, 2006)

that I found the following quote, which strengthened my resolve to stay with what I had written: former "Phoenix" officer Bart Osborne, testifying before Congress in 1971:

I never knew in the course of all those operations any detainee to live through his interrogation. They all died. There was never any reasonable establishment of the fact that any one of those individuals was, in fact, cooperating with the VC, but they all died and the majority were either tortured to death or things like thrown out of helicopters... It [Phoenix] became a sterile depersonalized murder program... Equal to Nazi atrocities, the horrors of "Phoenix" must be studied to be believed."

7/ I do not know what happened later in his life: we were never closer than that moment, and that moment had been unusual between us. The last I heard, years later, was that he was working as an assistant manager in a popular restaurant franchise, and was desperately in love with a women who did not reciprocate.

8/ To get a sense of how the individual is perceived in contemporary Buddhist Korean culture, see *The Teachings of Seon Master Daehaeng Kun Sunim*, as published by Hanmaum Seonwon, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004.

9/ Quite simply, neither Buddhism nor Confucianism claim special significance for any particular people or race, and hence the particular collective treatment of that people or race is not where the issue of freedom is decided. For many Koreans, this makes Christianity more realistic and, in this age of nations and nationalism, more modern. The Buddhist tradition of freedom, on the other hand, (I am paraphrasing Murti) is that freedom is best perceived as a 'negative' process, not the accumulation of power, but s stripping away of illusions until one achieves fundamental insight into the nature of the real.

10/ The occupation of Korea is a field worth studying in itself. However, for our purposes, there are four things that need to be mentioned: the Japanese authorities used Confucian concepts and traditional hierarchies to help them enslave the Korean people; the Japanese did this through the manipulation of a conservative Korean elite; that elite became the basis for later American government control; the economic re-organization of Korea as a satellite to foreign interests began in earnest during this period. See the

relevant chapter 'Eclipse' in Bruce Cumming's *Korea's Place in the Sun*, W. W. Norton & Company, London and New York, 1997.

11/ George W. Bush makes the same presumed analogy, see *Bush Equates War In Iraq To WWII*, by Helen Thomas, Hearst White House columnist, September 2, 2005, at <http://www.thehawaiiichannel.com/helenthomas/4930647/detail.html>

Making his third speech in a week to rally public support for the war, Bush compared his resolve to FDR's during World War II. He said the U.S. mission in Iraq is to turn that country into a democratic ally, just as the U.S. did with Japan after World War II.

12/ To review the arguments surrounding the reasons for Constantine's conversion, see T. J. Elliott's, *The Christianity of Constantine The Great*, University of Scranton Press, Scranton, 1996

13/ To follow the tensions between conservative and progressive trends within Korean Christianity, and their respective political influence, see Chung-shin Park's *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003.

14/ There is a relation between the "religions of the book" and revelation which, from my perspective, seeks to justify societal conformity and acceptance of social force through a privileged knowledge of the divine mind. This knowledge is spoken by specific prophets whose word is recorded in a specific (and now holy) historical text. This understanding both reflects, and fashions, a shared ontology among Jewish, Christian and Muslim peoples. That a historical consciousness rooted in such an ontology conflicts with an evidentiary (or scientific) history is not surprising.

15/ Those steeped in the Judeo-Christian tradition sometimes find it difficult to conceive of morality without sin. However, societies which are highly ethical and moral do not necessarily need a concept of sin, and such societies, while willing to borrow from Western traditions, do stumble over the western insistence on good and evil. See the work

of Andrew Sung Park, *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1993, an influential and well known book in South Korea.

16/ Quoting from the *Korean-English Study Bible*, see Malachi 4, verses 1 and 3,

‘Surely the day is coming: It will burn like a furnace. All the arrogant and every evildoer will be stubble, and that day that is coming will set them on fire’, says the Lord Almighty. ‘Not a root nor a branch will be left to them.’

‘Then you will trample down the wicked; they will be ashes under the soles of your feet on the day when I do these things,’ says the Lord Almighty.’

and for a taste of the same desires expressed in the New Testament, read Revelation, Chapter 16, verses 1 to 11,

Then I heard a loud voice from the temple saying to the seven angels, ‘Go pour out the seven bowls of God’s wrath on the earth.’

The first angel went and poured out his bowl on the land, and ugly and painful sores broke out on the people who had the mark of the beast and worshipped his image.

The second angel poured out his bowl on the sea, and it turned into blood like that of a dead man, and every living thing in the sea died.

The third angel poured out his bowl on the rivers and springs of water, and they became blood. Then I heard the angel in charge of the waters say: “You are just in these judgements, you who are and who were, the Holy One, because you have so judged; for they have shed the blood of your saints and prophets, and you have given them blood to drink as they deserve.”

And I heard the altar respond: “Yes, Lord God Almighty, true and just are your judgements.’

The fourth angel poured out his bowl on the sun, and the sun was given power to scorch people with fire. They were seared by the intense heat and they cursed the name of God, who had control over these plagues, but they refused to repent and glorify him.

The fifth angel pouted out his bowl on the throne of the beast, and his kingdom was plunged into darkness. Men gnawed their tongues

in agony and cursed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, but they refused to repent of what they had done.

17/ Regarding the re-arming of Japan, see *Japan Joins U.S. in Dangerous Space Race* by Bruce K. Gagnon, July 07, 2005, originally published at Japan Focus
<http://www.japanfocus.org/>

Japan is now embarking on a historic and potentially dangerous journey into space, urged on by the U.S., which seeks a more heavily armed and militarily active partner in the Asia-Pacific.

...All of this is being done to give the U.S. the ability to surround and neutralize China. Tokyo's shift in policy, as a U.S. proxy in the region, at a time of mounting China-Japan conflicts over territorial issues and provocations such as the Prime Minister's visits to Yasukuni Shrine, signals to China a more aggressive Japanese role in the region and tighter alignment with U.S. strategic goals. In particular, U.S. missile defense strategy is designed to neutralize China's small nuclear deterrent capability giving the U.S. first-strike advantage.

Presenting a rather more benign picture of North Korea's nuclear ambitions than is usually presented, see Bruce Cumings *North Korea: Another Country*, The New Press, London and New York, 2004.

Regarding American-Sino tensions, there is a weekly deluge in all media regarding this subject. However, see the rather misleadingly titled, *Amid China Threat, US to Hold Mammoth Naval Operations in Pacific* Agence France-Presse, Wednesday 15 February 2006,

Amid persistent warnings about China's growing military clout, the US military said Tuesday it would hold one of its biggest naval exercises in the Asia Pacific this summer...

...Two of the exercises are expected to be largely confined to US forces and held in the Western Pacific while the third involving navies from at least eight countries, including Australia, Chile, Japan, South Korea and Peru, would occur near the Hawaiian Islands.

... A major Pentagon review of US military strategy earlier this month singled out China as the country with the greatest potential to challenge the United States militarily.

The Chinese military challenge to America is usually vastly over-stated, see the excellent article *Cornering The Dragon* by Conn Hallinan, a policy analyst for Foreign Policy In Focus and a lecturer in journalism at the University of California, as carried at ZNet on February 24th, 2005 <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=7303>

... The panel [Independent Task Force on Chinese Military Power headed up by former defense secretary Harold Brown and retired admiral Joseph Prueher] found that while China is modernizing its military, it is 20 years behind the U.S., and that "the balance between the United States and China, both globally and in Asia, is likely to remain decisively in America's favor beyond the next 20 years.

China's military budget is less than one tenth that of the U.S. and it does not have a massive arms industry, preferring to purchase submarines, destroyers, aircraft, and high performance anti-aircraft missiles from Russia and Israel... the Chinese navy is designed for defending its territorial waters, not projecting force elsewhere. While the U.S. has a dozen aircraft carriers, China has one, and an old obsolete Soviet one at that.

... A central goal of the confrontations has been to deploy an anti-ballistic missile shield (ABM) in Asia, which the administration is now in the process of doing. So far it has enlisted Japan and Australia in this effort, and is wooing India as well. While the rationale for the ABM is alleged to be North Korea, the real target is China's 20 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs).

The strategy of ringing China with U.S. military bases is also well underway. Besides its traditional bases in Japan and South Korea, Guam has become, according to Pacific Commander Admiral William Fargo, a "power projection hub," that will play an increasing role in Asia, with "geo-strategic importance." The island already hosts B-52s, fighter planes, nuclear attack submarines, and the high altitude spy drone, the Global Hawk. Since Guam is a U.S. colony acquired during the Spanish American war, the military does not need permission for the buildup, as it would in Japan or Korea...

... The encirclement has also spread to Central Asia, an important source of oil and gas for China. The U.S. presently has bases in Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan, and military ties with

Uzbekistan, according to Rumsfeld, are 'growing stronger by the month'.

Or see Kim Sung-han, a professor and director-general for American Studies at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, in an editorial for *The Korea Herald* 2005.11.18, where the North Korean issue is placed, correctly, within the context of the American-Sino confrontation,

President Hu's meeting with President Bush comes while strains are testing the U.S.-Chinese cooperation that emerged after 9/11. On the list of areas of concern for Presidents Hu and Bush may be military build-up, energy, and trade. Above all, President Hu wants the United States to ease off on its rhetoric about China's military threat and stop pushing arms to Taiwan. The Pentagon said in a report in July that China's growing military could endanger other Asia-Pacific countries, which was notable in that the Bush administration, for the first time, branded China as a threat to the Asia-Pacific region, not just to Taiwan. In August, state-controlled CNOOC Ltd. dropped its bid to buy Unocal Corp. after claims that the deal could threaten U.S. security.

Also in August, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice told the *New York Times* that China must make significant changes in its economic policy. Rice expressed concern about China's military buildup and its record on human rights and religious freedom. In remarks to the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations on Sept. 21, Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick implied that China should respect U.S.-centered order, saying "U.S. concerns will grow if China seeks to maneuver toward a preponderance of power in Asia."

On the other hand, China said it was committed to peaceful development and would never use nuclear weapons first, as it outlined its arms control policy on Sept. 1 ahead of President Hu's visit to the United Nations. In the position paper - "China's Endeavors for Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation" - Beijing said it had always favored nuclear disarmament, and called for restraint from other nations. Another interesting point was that it said a balance must be struck between non-proliferation and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. This implies that the United States needs to show some flexibility over the issue of North Korea's peaceful use of nuclear energy.

.... In his book on post-Cold War geopolitics, "The Grand Chessboard," Zbigniew Brzezinski underscores the existing and potential rivalry in Asia between China and the United States.

According to Brzezinski, China regards America as the perpetrator of this rivalry. "Through its Asian presence and support of Japan," he explains, the United States "stands in the way of China's external aspirations." He goes on to make the interesting assertion that the focal point of this Sino-American rivalry will be Korea. Although this assertion may be far-fetched, there is much truth in the notion that the two powers will be increasingly intensifying their competition.

18/ The evolution of p'ansori is dealt with briefly in *Korea Performing Arts*, Jipmoondang Publishing Company, Seoul, 1997. Better information is actually online: http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/resources/korea_slides/dance_and_music/7-1.htm ,

The origin of p'ansori, a narrative-dramatic vocal form of folk music sung by a single performer accompanied by a drummer, is uncertain. Some believe the genre grew out of songs sung by Shamans in the southern part of the Korean peninsula, while others believe that it originated in the chanted recitation of classical literature. The theory that p'ansori grew out of Shamanistic songs seems most credible, however, since the minstrels who traditionally performed p'ansori are believed to have originally been the musicians who provided the musical accompaniment during Shamanistic rituals.

It is not clear when p'ansori became an independent genre but the mention of p'ansori performers in historical records from the late 17th century indicates the genre existed at that time. P'ansori was largely a form of oral literature handed down from performer to performer until the latter part of the mid-Choson period. A total of 12 p'ansori works were handed down through history but all that remain are the five p'ansori works we know today reorganized and codified in written form for the first time in the mid-19th century by p'ansori patron SinJae-hyo (1812-1884).

19/ See, in particular, Laurel Kendall's contribution, "The Cultural Politics of 'Superstition in the Korean Shaman World: Modernity Constructs Its Other.'" in Conner, Linda, and Geoffrey Samuel, eds. *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies*. Westport, Ct. : Bergin and Garvey, 2001, which is also in the annotated bibliography.

20/ The complicated and prolonged search for true democracy in South Korea is handled with wit and passion by Bruce Cumings in *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 1997. In his book he claims that the first democratically elected government was that of Chang Myon in 1960, after the forced departure of Rhee, however Cumings acknowledges that this government, which lasted less than two years, "hardly made an important move without consulting the [American] embassy and the Seoul station chief of the CIA". (page 346) Koreans now speak either of Kim Young-sam or Kim Dae-jong as the first democratically elected leaders. An interesting, more up to date, and forceful take on the pro-democracy movement in Korea is presented by Thornton, William H., *Fire on the Rim: The Cultural Dynamics of East/West Power Politics*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

21/ See Brian Bridges' *Korea After The Crash: The Politics of Economic Recovery*, London and New York : Routledge, 2001.

22/ The rise and meaning of Kim Dae-jong, especially in Cholla province, is well handled in Cumings, although it was published prior to his election to the Presidency. Note, in the following quote from *Korea's Place in the Sun*, which gives one a fairly quick sense of the struggle, that the Blue House is the traditional residence for the President,

..the Blue House continued to notice him [Kim Dae-jong]: he was run over by a truck in 1971, kidnapped in 1973, put under house arrest until 1979, indicted in 1980 on trumped up charges of having fomented the Kwangju Rebellion and nearly executed until the Carter and Reagan administrations (one leaving, one incoming) jointly intervened in late 1980, exiled to the States in 1982, returned to house arrest in 1985, and finally able to run in the 1987 direct presidential elections... (page 361)

23/ The wikipedia reference is a concise summary of the event and worth quoting at length. It is found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gwangju_Massacre.

The Gwangju Massacre refers to the atrocities committed in the city of Gwangju, South Korea from May 18 to May 27, 1980.

After the Coup d'état of December Twelfth (1979) in Seoul, General Chun Doo-hwan declared martial law on May 17, 1980 to suppress student demonstrations around the country. The next day, students in Gwangju protested at the gate of Chonnam National University against the closing of the university, when armed forces blocking the university responded with violent means. After the incident, students moved into the downtown area and an even larger demonstration was held, which was met by the use of force including gunfire that caused some fatalities.

On May 20, enraged protesters burned down the MBC local station which misrepresented the students' reasons for protesting. By May 21, some 300,000 people had joined the protest against the General's power; weapons depots and police stations were looted of their weapons and the civil militias, known as the Citizen Army, beat back the armed forces. With all routes leading in and out of the city blocked by armed forces, the city effectively became a commune, and a civilian body was formed to maintain order and conduct negotiations with the government. Although order was well maintained, a number of negotiations to resolve the situation failed to achieve any results.

On May 27, airborne and army troops from five divisions were inserted and defeated the civil militias in the downtown area in only 90 minutes. To this day, a total of 20,000 soldiers are located in Gwangju, which only has a population of approximately 740,000.

Tim Shorrock, through his analysis of recently declassified U.S. government documents, has shown the following discoveries regarding U.S. involvement with the incident (Source: Tim Shorrock, "U.S. Knew of South Korean Crackdown: Ex-Leaders Go on Trial in Seoul," *Journal of Commerce* 27, February 27, 1996):

Senior officials in the Carter administration, fearing that chaos in South Korea could unravel a vital military ally and possibly tempt North Korea to intervene, approved Mr. Chun's plans to use military units against the huge student demonstrations that rocked Korean cities in the spring of 1980.

.... U.S. officials in Seoul and Washington knew Mr. Chun's contingency plans included the deployment of Korean Special Warfare Command troops, trained to fight behind the lines in a war against North Korea. The *Black Beret* Special Forces, who were not under U.S. command, were modeled after the U.S. Green

Berets and had a history of brutality dating back to their participation alongside American troops in the Vietnam War.

On May 22, 1980, in the midst of the Kwangju Uprising, the Carter administration approved further use of force to retake the city and agreed to provide short-term support to Mr. Chun if he agreed to long-term political change. At a White House meeting on that date, plans were also discussed for direct U.S. military intervention if the situation got out of hand.

For the period of Chun's reign, the incident was officially regarded as a rebellion inspired by Communist sympathisers. But after civil rule was reinstated, the incident received recognition as an effort to restore democracy from military rule. The government made a formal apology for the incident, and a national cemetery was established for the victims.

The death toll of the 1980 Gwangju Massacre has been subject to considerable dispute. The official investigation by the civilian government in the 1990s found the number of civilians confirmed dead to be 207. [1] In addition they found 987 "Other Casualties" who suffered substantial injury. However, a BBC report indicated that these numbers may be conservative. [2] Estimates prepared by dissident groups during the period of military government rule, and opposition parties in the late-1980s such as the Peace and Democracy Party, claimed that one to two thousand had died. [3] However, detailed information about the identities of the dead has not been provided to back up these claims.

24/ Roh Moo Hyun is a fascinating person whose story is well captured at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roh_Moo-hyun

25/ This anxiety is shared by a number of people I interviewed. The person who most clearly stated the anxiety was Hong Kon Su, a Christian minister imprisoned under the National Security Law for his work towards the unification of Korea.

26/ Well summarized by Kim, Andrew Eungi 'Christianity, Shamanism, and Modernization in South Korea', published in *Cross Currents; Spring/Summer 2000*, Vol. 50 Issue 1/2, p112, 8p

As impressive as the overrepresentation of Christians in Korean politics is the Christian influence on the democratization of the Korean polity. While not insisting that democracy is an essential element of modernization, in the South Korean context at least, the democratic movement has been intimately linked with the nation's modernization. Both the Catholic and Protestant Churches, especially the former, have championed the values of freedom and democracy, acting as the strongest supporters of the democratic movement against the unprecedented sociopolitical role of the military and its oppressive rule. Although many large, conservative Protestant churches had maintained neutrality, Korean churches as a whole represented, along with university student associations, the only other major organization to oppose the policies and decisions of the authoritarian regime. The churches collectively questioned the regime's commitment to human rights and democracy, confronting the government over labor relations, human rights abuses and political oppression. The prominence of Christians in the democratic movement is evident in the way a large proportion of those who were incarcerated for antigovernment activities were Christian, including priests, ministers, union leaders, students, and journalists. As a potent political force that championed for democracy, the Church thus came to be favorably viewed by the general populace, many of whom are believed to have converted as a result of such positive perception. It was during this period of oppressive political rule, moreover, that a Korean form of liberation theology called *minjung shinhak*, literally meaning the "theology of the people," became a towering symbol of the rally for democracy, equality, social justice, and human rights.

Also, see Chung-sin Park's *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003, for a historical overview of the relationship between Protestantism, economic growth and political influence, and see Jong-Sun Noh's *Liberating God for Minjung*, Hanul Academy, Seoul, 1994, to get the full force and reach of Minjung Theology.

27/ See the news article *Korea Becomes World's 10th Largest Economy* in Digital Chosunilbo (Daily News in English about Korea) at <http://english.chosun.com/w21data/html/news/200501/200501280023.html>

Korea's gross domestic product ranked 10th in the world in 2004, the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Energy said Thursday.

The ministry is confident of a per-capita gross national income of US\$20,000 (some W2 million) by 2008.

According to a ministry report on the Korean economy's global standing, the country is estimated to have become the 10th largest global economy with a GDP of \$667.4 billion last year, overtaking Mexico, whose GDP is estimated at \$663.1 billion.

28/ All my sources were o-line. For a brief history and current trends see the websites for the Asian Technology Information Program, the Korean Shipbuilders Association, and Hyundai Heavy Industries (see Web References)

29/ See Bridges, Brian, *Korea After The Crash: The Politics of Economic Recovery*, Routledge Press, 2001, and Wiegiersma, Nan and Medley, Joseph, *US Economic Development Policies Towards the Pacific Rim*, McMillan Press, 2000, both of which can be found in the annotated bibliography, as well as Kang, David C. *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.

30/ I do not remember seeing this made as a specific point elsewhere, perhaps because it is always assumed. Koreans I met, from whatever stripe of political persuasion, all believed that the economic growth of their country was an important safeguard of their sovereignty. My over-riding impression was that, rightly or wrongly, all Koreans fear a 'weak' Korea. Many, including most Christians, supported the idea of South Korea having its own nuclear weapons. More than a few people suggested to me that if the unification of Korea were to proceed, it would be a good thing if North Korea brought its nuclear know-how with them. Of course, this popular sentiment runs against government policy and political party platforms, as well as international law. But in private, Koreans are aware of foreign forces massed, or massing, against them, and their dependency, in turn, on an unreliable American shield which comes with increasingly uncomfortable conditions.

31/ The most practical book I found about the correlation of Chaebol to Korean government policy was Bridges, Brian, *Korea After The Crash: The Politics of Economic Recovery*, Routledge Press, 2001, notes on which can be found in the annotated bibliography. To see the relation of the Chaebol to organized labour see Seung-ho Kwon and Michael O'Donnell's *The Chaebol and Labour in Korea*, Routledge, London and New York, 2001

32/ South Korea is the 7th largest holder of American foreign debt. See America's Foreign Owners, Thursday, September 22, 2005 at <http://www.thetrumpet.com/index.php?page=article&id=1712>

... the United States' indebtedness to foreign nations has continued to expand to the extent that even little South Korea can exert enormous pressure on America's markets. On February 22, the Bank of Korea, America's seventh largest lender, holding \$53.1 billion, announced that it planned to diversify reserves out of U.S. dollars (Bloomberg.com, February 22). That same day the dollar fell sharply, bonds dropped, and the Dow plunged over 174 points.

33/ See Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, page 321

The operative document was the so-called Brown memorandum of March 4, 1966, under which about 1\$ Billion in American payments went to Korea in the period of 1965-70. Scholars estimated that that this arrangement annually accounted for between 7 and 8 percent of Korea's GDP in the period 1966-69 and for as much as 19% of its total foreign earnings.

34/ By far the most interesting book I came across in terms of the nature and effect of these policies was Gills, Dong-Sook Shin. *Rural Women and Triple Exploitation in Korean Development*. London : McMillan Press; New York : St.Martin's Press, 1999, which I have annotated.

35/ The comparative developments of North and South Korea are best captured in *Korea versus Korea: A case of contested legitimacy*, by B.K. Gills, Routledge, London, 1996.

36/ The Korean media, like the Canadian media regarding soldiers in Afghanistan, usually refers to its nation's troops with the misleading term of peacekeepers. However, a recent article in the Korea Times (February 1, 2006) entitled *Fate of Troops in Iraq* is particularly interesting in that it starkly underlines Korean resentment against Japan's privileged planning with the US military,

(<http://times.hankooki.com/lpage/opinion/200602/kt2006020117583654040.htm>)

A fresh debate looms over the extension of the stay of the Korean troops in Iraq, fuelled by news that Japan will withdraw its forces from the war-torn country at the end of May. No doubt, the withdrawal of U.S.-allied military contingents from Iraq increases the risk that the Korean soldiers could become a main target of Iraqi insurgents. The 3,200-strong Zaytun unit, stationed in Irbil, northern Iraq, is the third largest force after the U.S. and British troops deployed in the violence-ravaged country. The government plans to reduce the unit's strength by 1,000 by the end of this year.

However, the projected pullout of Japanese forces, reported by the Japanese press on Tuesday, is forcing the government to reconsider the safety of our troops arising from their extended stay. It is generally expected that civic activists and members of the leftist Democratic Labor Party will step up pressure on the government to have the troops withdrawn once and for all. A substantial number of the ruling party's members are certain to take sides with them. Many of them opposed extending the deployment, which the National Assembly passed last year with the support of the main opposition Grand National Party.

The withdrawal of the Japanese forces is timed with that of the British and Australian troops. The United Kingdom and Australia are set to pull out their entire forces by the end of May, starting next month. The Japanese press reported that the pullout of the three countries' troops was decided in a secret meeting with the United States in London on Jan. 23.

No less serious are the loopholes in the nation's intelligence activities, as it seems that the government didn't know of the meeting among the four countries until the Japanese press reported it. The secret meeting is also feared to have an adverse impact on the military alliance between Seoul and Washington. Most people here believe that Washington should have informed Seoul of the meeting before it took place in light of the bilateral military cooperation and the strength of the Korean troops among the foreign forces in Iraq.

As the U.S. allies are to withdraw their soldiers from Iraq, there is no reason for the government to stick to its plan of continuing the deployment of the Zaytun unit until the end of this year. As the safety of our troops is further threatened, they ought to be brought home as early as possible.

37/ For past policies on prostitution see Katharine Moon's *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S. – Korea Relations*, Columbia University Press, 1997

For current attitudes, see the article *Sex Buying Practices Still Rampant: Survey*, written by Kim Cheong-won, published by Korea Times (<http://times.hankooki.com/>) on 12-15-2005,

Buying sex in Korea is banned since the government's anti-prostitution law went into effect last September. Law enforcement authorities have cracked down on the sex trade, especially in red-light districts nationwide.

... Those who violate the law will be subjected to a maximum three million won fine or a jail term of up to one year.

38/ For an over-all and recent view of the South Korean-American relationship, including the role of the American soldiers, see the article *South Korea and the United States Sixty Years On* by Charles K. Armstrong, May 30, 2005 . This article, prepared for Japan Focus (www.japanfocus.com), expands on a presentation on the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, March, 31-April 2, 2005,

September 8, 2005, marks the sixtieth anniversary of the arrival of US soldiers on the Korean peninsula to accept the surrender of Japanese forces. There will likely be little fanfare accompanying this event. At the end of World War II, Koreans viewed the Soviets and the Americans equally as liberators, and neither occupation force was expected to stay long on Korean soil. The special relationship between South Korea and the United States was forged by later events...

For over forty years, the purpose of this alliance was seen by both sides as clear and unambiguous: defending South Korea, as part of the "free world," against the threat of the North, backed by China and the Soviet Union. The loosening of cold war alignments and

the Soviet collapse in the late 1980s and early 1990s problematized but did not fundamentally alter this sense of shared purpose. But in the last ten years, and especially the last five, the US and South Korea have drifted increasingly farther apart in their views of the North Korean threat, and the nature of US-ROK relations more generally...

... While there are many differences within South Korea about how to deal with the North, there is a growing consensus that North-South cooperation is beneficial to both sides, that gradual reunification is preferable to sudden collapse and absorption of North Korea by the ROK, that the North Korean threat can be managed, and that it is better to change North Korea's undesirable behavior by persuasion rather than by coercion.

39/ See, in particular, Kim, Elaine H., and Chungmoo Choi; eds. *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism*. London : Routledge, 1997, which is also in the annotated bibliography.

40/ This is particularly well summarized by Andrew Eungi Kim in the article 'Christianity, Shamanism, and Modernization in South Korea' published in *Cross Currents; Spring/Summer2000*, Vol. 50 Issue 1/2,

This strong religious impulse has been sustained in a vastly modernized and urbanized society. Indeed, Christianity remains vital in a society that has been swept into much that are associated with modernization and Western materialism. Upon closer examination of this fascinating development, it becomes clear that such vitality of Christianity in South Korea has been due to the Church's role as a principal agent of the economic, political and social modernization. Also integral to the dynamism of Christianity has been its indigenization or "Koreanization," whereby the key aspects of indigenous religious beliefs and practices have been incorporated by the imported faith. These two factors have combined to ensure Christianity's preeminence in South Korea in spite of rapid modernization, manifesting the continuing relevance and importance of religion in the lives of people in a contemporary setting, while challenging the notion that modernization inevitably leads to the decline of religion.

For an excellent and detailed look at the history of the phenomenon described above, see Chung-shin Park's *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003.

41/ The opening of roads and railways between the two areas is a matter of much symbolic value. See the article *Koreas to discuss reopening rail link* in the Korean Herald, 2006.02.24, written by Annie I. Bang:

The two Koreas will hold working-level meetings next week to discuss plans of reopening the inter-Korean rail link broken since the Korean War, the Unification Ministry said yesterday.

The Feb. 27-28 meeting will be held at the North's border town of Gaeseong, focusing on setting a date to test-run the rail route across the border.

"We will make our best efforts to conduct a test run of trains by March and reopen the railroad at the earliest date," Shin Un-sang, newly-appointed vice minister, told the reporters.

Both countries previously agreed to conduct the test runs by last October and officially reopen the railways last year, but no progress was made due to the North's lackluster response to the agreement.

Since the historic inter-Korean summit in June 15, 2000, South and North Korea have agreed to re-establish inter-Korean rail links along the 248-kilometer-long Demilitarized Zone separating the Korean Peninsula. And the western Gyeongui Line has reconnected Seoul with Pyongyang and the eastern Donghae Line has opened up access to North Korea's scenic Mount Geumgang. There are also two roads adjacent to the railway lines.

42/ See especially the work of Andrew Sung Park, *The Wounded Heart of God The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1993. However, I also gained much from the reading of Myung, Noh Sun's *Circles of Support: Empowering Women Ministers in the Korean Church Through the Healing of Han*, a Phd Thesis of 2005 from the San Francisco Theological Seminary, in which she relates different qualities within *han* to specific biographies.

43/ I have thought a great deal about the relation of ontology to theatre during this time of study at SFU. Defined (http://www.formalontology.it/section_4.htm, posted August 15, 2005) ontology is:

A science or study of being: specifically, a branch of metaphysics relating to the nature and relations of being; a particular system according to which problems of the nature of being are investigated.

For my own purposes, I have used the term “grammar of engagement” as the working definition for the term. People act according to (perceived or unperceived) expectations, and those expectations reflect their understanding of reality. If we study how people act (including speech), we can glimpse the larger generalities they use to underpin their conception of reality. This approach dovetails well with the Covering Law Model of explanation and its relation to narrative. Talking of historical narrative in particular, Peter Munz’s (‘The Historical Narrative’, as published in *Companion to Historiography*, edited by Michael Bentley, Routledge, London and New York, 1997. pgs 856-858) says the following.

The real constraints [of narrative] come from a very stringent phenomenon. Whatever size fact we settle for, the next fact in its proper order must be linked to it via a generalization, not to say, a general law. It is this generalization rather than temporal contiguity which leads from one fact to the next and thus establishes the form of narrative...

One might well ask why it is necessary to use a generalization in order to see the cause-effect relationship. We have known since Hume that causality is not something that can be observed the way we observe a table. It is a relationship which is postulated to hold between two facts and the only way it can be postulated is by using a generalization...

Eventually Carl Hempel gave this analysis its classical expression in a famous paper (Hempel 1942) and applied it directly to the narrative structure of historical writing... William Dray (1957) called it the Covering Law Model of explanation and, by implication, of narrative structure. It is under this name (CLM) that it is now mostly referred to. According to this model the minimum unit of narrative consists of three propositions – one generalization and two particular propositions which stand in a causal relationship in view of the proposition.

In effect, an ontology is the set of most general (or strongest) generalizations as described by the Covering Law Model of explanation. As a specific example, I think the operative strong-set of generalizations (grammar of engagement, or ontology) reflected in the third movement's tense analysis of the Lord's Prayer, is shared with classical Indian thought on being. The following quote from J. N. Mohanty from *Reason and Tradition in Indian Thought*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, (page 153) should make that clear:

The three Sanskrit words crucial for any thinking about Being are: the verb *asti*, having for its root *as*, the abstract noun *satta*, and *bhava*, derived from the root *bhu*.

The root *as* has, among its meanings, to live, to exist, to be present, to take place, to happen, to abide, dwell, or stay, and also to become. Grassman's *Worterbuch zur Rig Veda* singles out as its primary meaning *sich regen* and *leben* – out of which the concept of being is said to be developed. The root denotes, as just said, both to be present and to happen as well as to become. *Astita*, or existence, is then that which is common to them all, existence in a sense which applies both to that which is present, to a happening or occurrence, and to becoming. They all are.

Do I think that such an ontological similarity speaks of an eastern influence within Judaism at the time of Jesus? Yes, I do, and I think aspects of New Testament Christianity therefore, reflect an amalgam of Hebraic, Greek and Eastern thought.

I think, too, that this ontological relation to Eastern thought is part of the Gnostic Christian tradition, and one of the reasons for the protracted struggle between Athanasian and Aryan religious tendencies during the establishment of Christian doctrine: a whole world vision was in symbolic play. This is all directly relevant to my conception of the Mother in Kut, in whom I wanted to create a sense of *epinoia*, as it is defined and used by Elaine Pagels in *Beyond Belief: The Secret Gospel of Thomas*, Vintage Books (Random House), New York, New York, 2004. As she writes:

But according to the Secret Book it is, above all, the 'luminous epinoia' that conveys genuine insight. We might translate this as 'imagination, but many people take this term as Irenaeus did, to refer to fantasy rather than conscious awareness. Yet as the Secret Book envisions it, epinoia (and related modes of awareness remains an ambiguous, limited – but indispensable – gift. When John asks whether everyone receives the luminous epinoia, the

saviour answers yes – ‘The power will descend upon every person, for without it, no-one can stand’ – and adds that epinoia strengthens those who love her by enabling them to discriminate between good and evil, so that moral insight and ethical power are inseparable from spiritual understanding. (emphasis in original, pg 165)

Above all, he (Athanasius) warns believers to shun epinoia. What others revere as spiritual intuition Athanasius declares is a deceptive, all-too-human capacity to think subjectively, according to one’s preconceptions. Epinoia leads only to error – a view that the ‘catholic church’ endorsed then and holds to this day.(pg 177)

It is not irrelevant to note that an early opponent of epinoia is St. Irenaeus who, it appears, had much to do with the transmission and final shape of the Apostle’s Creed. Thus, on the film during the third movement, in the mind of a young Korean Christian woman, we replay a religious argument that rent the early Church – fought, again, on the basis of implied ontology within doctrine.

44/ See www.citypopulation.de/World.html

45/ I actually saw such a couple walk very slowly through a crowded subway car, exactly as they are described here – I could not help but think, passingly, of Pozzo and Lucky – and I noticed how their presence strongly contested people’s understanding of the environment. It is of a passing interest in this section of the commentary to note that “sitting” is what practitioner’s frequently call their practice of meditation.

46/ While I was in Seoul, Kee Kook-seo and I visited Shaman Lee, who demonstrated to us some of her dancing and drumming patterns. However, Kook-seo is somewhat wary of Shaman choreography as used in modern performances for spectators, rather than as movement reflecting the extraordinary subjective experience of the mudang during a true healing ceremony.

47/ When President George W. Bush suggests that, in the war on terror (sic), a country is either with the U.S. or against it, it appears to be an obvious and logically coherent

sentence: it is, however, a rhetorical way to lose sight of all that reality which is not at the extremes, it is a technique of polarization. There is a relation between the law of the excluded middle and fundamentalist thought; it is rife within the work of Leo Strauss, and always, I think, to the detriment of his thought. In Strauss's hands, and I mean this with no irony or exaggeration, it is history itself which is 'polarized' out of existence. See this phenomenon explored both in relation to him and others in David N. Myers' *Resisting History*, Princeton University Press, 2003.

48/ Many make the mistake of thinking that the existence of the mind means that there is only mind, in fact, the discipline of studying the mind can lead to the annulling of false idealist/materialist dichotomies, not the victory of one over the other. It leads, and is meant to lead, to 'more' reality, not less. I think my understanding of this similar to that of early Ch'an Buddhism, but it does put me at serious odds with primary exponents of Seon Buddhism in Korea today, for example Master Daehaeng. I am not bothered by that, and neither is she. Interesting, in this conversation, would be a closer study of such initiatives as Ro Young-chan's work, "*A Search for a Dialogue Between the Confucian 'Sincerity' and the Christian 'Reality': A Study of the Neo-Confucian Thought of Lee Yulgok and the Theology of Heinrich Ott*". a Phd Thesis of 1982 at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

49/ In terms of the number dead, see *Burying The Lancet Report* by Nicolas J. S. Davies, (<http://zmagazine.zmag.org/Feb2006/davies0206.html>), *Z Magazine* February 2006 Issue,

After excluding any possible statistical anomalies, [an international team of epidemiologists, headed by Les Roberts of Johns Hopkins School of Public Health] estimated that at least 98,000 Iraqi civilians had died in the previous 18 months as a direct result of the invasion and occupation of their country. They also found that violence had become the leading cause of death in Iraq during that period. Their most significant finding was that the vast majority (79 percent) of violent deaths were caused by "coalition" forces using "helicopter gunships, rockets or other forms of aerial weaponry," and that almost half (48 percent) of these were children, with a median age of 8..... and further, "Roberts wrote, in

a letter to the Independent, "Please understand how extremely conservative we were: we did a survey estimating that 285,000 people have died due to the first 18 months of invasion and occupation and we reported it as at least 100,000.... Allowing for 16 months of the air war and other deaths since the completion of the survey, we have to estimate that somewhere between 185,000 and 700,000 people have died as a direct result of the war. Coalition forces have killed anywhere from 70,000 to 500,000 of them, including 30,000 to 275,000 children under the age of 15.

In terms of international illegality, see *US as Belligerent Occupant: Iraq and the Laws of War* by Francis A. Boyle, December 22, 2005, *Counterpunch*.

<http://www.counterpunch.org/boyle12222005.html>

On 19 March 2003 President Bush Jr. commenced his criminal war against Iraq by ordering a so-called decapitation strike against the President of Iraq in violation of a 48-hour ultimatum he had given publicly to the Iraqi President and his sons to leave the country. This duplicitous behaviour violated the customary international laws of war set forth in the 1907 Hague Convention on the Opening of Hostilities to which the United States is still a contracting party, as evidenced by paragraphs 20, 21, 22, and 23 of U.S. Army Field Manual 27-10 (1956). Furthermore, President Bush Jr.'s attempt to assassinate the President of Iraq was an international crime in its own right. Of course the Bush Jr. administration's war of aggression against Iraq constituted a Crime against Peace as defined by the Nuremberg Charter (1945), the Nuremberg Judgment (1946), and the Nuremberg Principles (1950) as well as by paragraph 498 of U.S. Army Field Manual 27-10 (1956)

Note the provenance of the actual term Shock and Awe, as pointed out by Richard Drayton in the On-line Guardian, December 28, 2005, entitled *Shock, Awe and Hobbes have backfired on America's Neocons*:

Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance - a key strategic document published in 1996 - aimed to understand how to destroy the "will to resist before, during and after battle". For Harlan Ullman of the National Defence University, its main author, the perfect example was the atom bomb at Hiroshima. But with or without such a weapon, one could create an illusion of unending strength and ruthlessness. Or one could deprive an enemy of the ability to communicate, observe and interact - a macro version of the sensory deprivation used on individuals - so as to create a "feeling of impotence". And one must always inflict brutal

reprisals against those who resist. An alternative was the "decay and default" model, whereby a nation's will to resist collapsed through the "imposition of social breakdown".

All of this came to be applied in Iraq in 2003, and not merely in the March bombardment called "shock and awe". It has been usual to explain the chaos and looting in Baghdad, the destruction of infrastructure, ministries, museums and the national library and archives, as caused by a failure of Rumsfeld's planning. But the evidence is this was at least in part a mask for the destruction of the collective memory and modern state of a key Arab nation, and the manufacture of disorder to create a hunger for the occupier's supervision. As the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported in May 2003, US troops broke the locks of museums, ministries and universities and told looters: "Go in Ali Baba, it's all yours!"

For the American imperial strategists invested deeply in the belief that through spreading terror they could take power. Neoconservatives such as Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and the recently indicted Lewis "Scooter" Libby, learned from Leo Strauss that a strong and wise minority of humans had to rule over the weak majority through deception and fear, rather than persuasion or compromise. They read Le Bon and Freud on the relationship of crowds to authority. But most of all they loved Hobbes's Leviathan. While Hobbes saw authority as free men's chosen solution to the imperfections of anarchy, his 21st century heirs seek to create the fear that led to submission. And technology would make it possible and beautiful.

50/ There is a lot of information about this available. Craig Murray, who was fired as British Ambassador to Uzbekistan for his stand against torture, runs an interesting blog. www.craigmurray.co.uk that covers the relevant issues from a British perspective. Available on it, for instance, is this quote about Faik Bakir, (http://www.craigmurray.co.uk/archives/2006/03/the_time_for_ac_1.html#more), the director of the Baghdad morgue who,

had to flee the country after revealing that more than 7,000 people had been killed, often after torture, by officers of the US-supervised interior ministry.

For an American perspective, www.tomdispatch.com is a decent place to start, as it links extensively. I suggest the introductory comments leading to the article by Dahr Jamail called *Tracing the Trail of Torture: Embedding Torture as Policy from Guantanamo to Iraq* at www.tomdispatch.com/index.mhtml?emx=x&pid=65894

⁵¹ It is worthwhile to read the following quotes located at the Iraq Resource Information Site at <http://www.geocities.com/Iraqinfo/index.html?page=/Iraqinfo/sanctions/sanctions.html>

Even the most conservative, independent estimates hold economic sanctions responsible for a public health catastrophe of epic proportions. The World Health Organization believes at least 5,000 children under the age of 5 die each month from lack of access to food, medicine and clean water. Malnutrition, disease, poverty and premature death now ravage a once relatively prosperous society whose public health system was the envy of the Middle East. I went to Iraq in September 1997 to oversee the U.N.'s "oil for food" program. I quickly realized that this humanitarian program was a Band-Aid for a U.N. sanctions regime that was quite literally killing people. Feeling the moral credibility of the U.N. was being undermined, and not wishing to be complicit in what I felt was a criminal violation of human rights, I resigned after 13 months. -- *Denis Halliday, former humanitarian aid coordinator for Iraq (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 12, 1999)*

You kill people without blood or organs flying around, without angering American public opinion. People are dying silently in their beds. If 5,000 children are dying each month, this means 60,000 a year. Over eight years, we have half a million children. This is equivalent to two or three Hiroshimas. -*Ashraf Bayoumi, former head of the World Food Programme Observation Unit, in charge of monitoring food distribution in Iraq (Al-Ahram Weekly, 24 December 1998).*

Malnutrition was not a public health problem in Iraq prior to the embargo. Its extent became apparent during 1991 and the prevalence has increased greatly since then: 18% in 1991 to 31% in 1996 of [children] under five with chronic malnutrition (stunting); 9% to 26% with underweight malnutrition; 3% to 11% with wasting (acute malnutrition), an increase in over 200%. By 1997, it was estimated about one million children under five were [chronically] malnourished. --*Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Iraq, UNICEF Report, 30 April 1998, pg. 23 and 63.*

52/ In terms of economic privatization, see *Profile: Focusing on Iraq's economic liberation*, National Public Radio, Morning Edition: June 27, 2003 as found on the US Labor Against War Website, <http://www.uslaboragainstar.org/article.php?id=1882>.

In terms of voiding contracts, see Asia Times, *US: New master of Iraqi oil ceremonies* by Christopher Fitz and Macabe Keliher at http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/EE24Ak01.html, and also PINR at http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=32&language_id=1

In terms of canceling the proposed oil bourse, see the worthwhile article by William Clark entitled *Petrodollar Warfare: Dollars, Euros and the Upcoming Iranian Oil Bourse* on the Energy Bulletin website on 3 Aug 2005, www.energybulletin.net/7707.html

53/ As for the armed forces, if a compliant Iraqi government could stand on its own then the drawdown of American soldiers would have occurred. As to the 'civil war' it's presence or absence has been announced regularly since the invasion in 2003, although more so recently. The causal relationship between the American presence and the 'civil war' is much less explored, and the glaring historical precedents of American military presence and 'civil war' are never broached. The only writer I am aware of who has probed certain glaring similarities between post-occupation Korea and post-Sadam Iraq in terms of the inevitability (or not) of civil war is Cumings in *Axis of Evil*.

As for building prisons see *US seeks funds to build prisons in Iraq* by Sue Fleming http://news.yahoo.com/s/nm/20060301/ts_nm/iraq_rebuilding_dc_1,

The U.S. State Department is winding down its \$20 billion reconstruction program in Iraq and the only new rebuilding money in its latest budget request is for prisons, officials said on Tuesday.

54/ For the American context on Americans, see the case of Jose Padilla (<http://www.chargepadilla.org/>), for the American context and internationals, see the

plentiful information on Guantanamo, Abu Ghraib, Bagram, etc. For the U.K. context follow the cases of the Tipton Three, the British acceptance of waterboarding, etc. all fairly well laid out at <http://www.blairwatch.co.uk/>. For the Canadian context, follow the cases of the four men mentioned in this Globe and Mail article posted online on January 3, 2006,

Abdullah Almalki, a Syrian-born Ottawa businessman who was arrested at the Damascus airport in May, 2002, and held for two years.

Muayyed Nureddin, an Iraqi-born geologist and former Islamic school principal, who was arrested passing through Syria on Dec. 12, 2003, as he was returning to Canada from a two-month visit with his family in Kirkuk. He was held in prison for a month.

Ahmad El Maati, a Kuwaiti-born Toronto truck driver who once served with an anti-Soviet militia in Afghanistan and had taken flying lessons in Canada. He was arrested in Damascus in November, 2001, and held for two years in Syria and later Egypt.

Mr. El Maati's first brush with the law occurred earlier in 2001 when U.S. border guards found what they thought was a suspicious map of government facilities in Ottawa in his truck. The map was later used in his interrogations. A Globe and Mail investigation in September determined the "terrorist map" was in fact a handout site map given to visitors to help them find their way around a federal government campus.

The three men say they were brutally tortured and that their interrogators had information about them that could only have come from Canadian sources.

Amnesty International says there are striking parallels between these three cases and that of Maher Arar, an Ottawa software engineer who was arrested in New York and deported by U.S. authorities to Syria in 2002, where he was tortured as a terrorist suspect. None of the four Canadian men have ever been charged in any jurisdiction.

Of more than passing interest, relevant to the Arrar case, is the reason given for the legality of the US to hide its breaking of international law in the case of renditions. As Nat Hentoff, March 13th, 2006, in the Village Voice quotes Judge Trager. www.villagevoice.com/news/0611%2Chentoff%2C72497%2C6.html ,

One need not have much imagination to contemplate the negative effect on our relations with Canada if discovery were to proceed in this case, and were it to turn out that certain high Canadian officials had, despite public denials, acquiesced in Arar's removal to Syria.

55/ See footnote number 16. As well, to catch a glimpse of how this is playing out in the Shipbuilding industry, see *The US Navy: Made in China*, By Paul Craig Roberts, July 25, 2005 at www.counterpunch.com,

The outsourcing mania has hit the Pentagon, and China will soon be supplying the ships for the US Navy. The Pentagon, seeking lowest cost, is pushing defense contractors to outsource offshore for more materials, components and systems.

This means the end of US shipbuilding capability. Component suppliers to American shipbuilding are already skeletal thin, with most components only having sole suppliers. For example, *Manufacturing & Technology News* (July 8) reports that 80% of the components for the Virginia Class submarine come from sole sources.

With not enough US Navy ships being built to support even an industry of sole suppliers, Asia is fast becoming the only source for US Navy ships.

While President Bush spends \$300 billion recruiting and training terrorists for bin Laden in Iraq, US Navy ship procurement has fallen 33% since 2001.

Meanwhile China is on a rip. China is now the third largest shipbuilder after South Korea and Japan. In five years China's submarine fleet will be twice the size of America's. In 10 years China's navy will be larger than the American fleet.

This is amazing performance for a country that as recently as 1989 had essentially no shipbuilding industry.

This year the US is producing 6 ships, one-tenth of South Korea's output. In 2006 the US is scheduled to produce only 4 ships, because China has outbid us for the steel. The US "superpower" can no longer afford to compete against China for essential materials.

Cynthia Brown, president of the American Shipbuilding Association says that "the manufacture of entire components and

systems will migrate to China in the next several years under current Department of Defense policy with respect to outsourcing."

For the record, I think Roberts analysis on this issue dead wrong. I think the military Keynesian approach, which disappearance he appears to lament, has been a critical failure for the American economy, in particular, the shipbuilding industry. The collapse of American shipbuilding is partially due to military contracts consistently offering sweetheart deals and generous guaranteed return on investment; the result, all major shipbuilding companies are owned by two military-industrial complexes, they focus now exclusively on military ships, none compete well on the international market. While Asian industries re-tooled, American industries grew fat on Pentagon budgets. The average wage in the Japanese shipbuilding industry, the world's second largest, is close to the equivalent of \$US 50 an hour: the issue can't be reduced to labour costs alone.

See, too, *The Pentagon's China Hypocrisy* by Brian Cloughley

<http://www.counterpunch.org/cloughley07232005.html>

However, the single best reflection of American international analysis was written by George Kennan, *The State Department Policy Planning Staff, Study Number 23*, published in 1948,

We have about 50% of the world's wealth, but only 6.3% of its population.... In this situation, we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity.

... To do so, we will have to dispense with all sentimentality and day-dreaming; and our attention will have to be concentrated everywhere on our immediate national objectives. ... We should cease to talk about vague and ... unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better.

The lineage from this to the neoconservative strategy and rationales six decades later is evident: all motivations by others are framed as "envy and resentment", all claims to

human rights are understood to be “vague and unreal” and all American action is to be guided by “straight power concepts”. The full text is available at http://www.j-bradford-delong.net/movable_type/archives/000567.html.

56/ See Nelson's *The Archaeology of Korea*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1993. (also annotated) for the reference to the temples outside.

For the relation of the Kut to folk dance, and the relation of the white sleeves to the Shaman, the following quote from the East Asian Studies Centre of Indiana University is germane, http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/resources/korea_slides/dance_and_music/7-1.htm

Shamanism made a great contribution to traditional dance through the kut, the Shamanistic exorcism ceremony. In fact, some people believe the kut is the source of all Korean folk dance. The Fan Dance is a popularization of the Shaman's solo dance Salp'uri, one of Korea's oldest dances, is also derived from Shamanistic ceremonies. Salp'uri refers to the rapid pace of the dance as well as the Shamanistic rite to exorcise evil and welcome good. The dancer flourishes a length of white silk as she flexes and relaxes her body at intervals. Salp'uri embodies the Oriental philosophy of "universal energy".

57/ This was explained to me in person by Nathan during our collaboration. He is the editor of *Contemporary Directions: Korean Folk Music Engaging the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (California, 2001) and the author of *P'ungmul: South Korean Drumming and Dance* (Chicago, 2006).

Annotated Bibliography

Barnes, Gina. *State Formation in Korea: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*. Curzon Press, Richmond, 2001.

This is a specialist's book focused on grouping the archaeological data which is used to discuss the early State formation of Korea. It also compares that information with written sources, mainly Chinese, as it carefully composes maps of similar social organizations, potential migrations, influences and trade.

It is useful to share a quote from her preface: "The Korean peninsula is today divided into two: North and South Korea, which most Koreans take as an unnatural state of affairs. They look to the example of Germany to reunify themselves as a common geographic and political unit. However, history is quite revealing in showing us that the peninsula has never been one integrated unit of the type envisioned by its modern inhabitants. Partly this is due to the varying environmental and climatic attributes, which endow the north with a cold winter and limit the production of rice as a major crop, while the south has warmer weather and a different forest composition. These differences have encouraged subsistence and social systems from 1500 BC onwards.... Thus, throughout history, the Korean peninsula has hosted multiple states - often organized in a north/south split, although the border marking the divide between northern and southern states was not stable but was drawn across the mid-peninsula at different places in different eras."

Bridges, Brian. *Korea After The Crash: The Politics of Economic, Recovery*. Routledge, London and New York, 2001.

Bridges explains the remarkable economic growth of South Korea during the second half of the twentieth century as resulting from "a firm commitment to development; a strong partnership between government and business; a well

educated, disciplined and industrious workforce; a positive, though to a certain extent selective, integration with the global economy; and an ability to learn from Japan.” (See Gills, 1999, for a complementary perspective with a focus more on the cost than the achievement.)

On the causes of the Asian financial crises of 1997, which struck Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia and Philippines so forcefully, Bridges suggests “three broad strands of analysis,” meaning the macro-economic weaknesses and imbalances within the Asian economies, external speculative attacks by investors and the psychological domino effect, and finally, institutional deficiencies in the way the economies and the crises were handled.

It is interesting to note that the financial crises set the context for the first peaceful transfer of power in the modern history of South Korea (and, not incidentally, the first time there was a national leader not from the Kyongsang region.) The populist leader Kim Dae-jung, once an imprisoned and exiled oppositional figure, superseded Kim Young-sam.

Bridges rapidly brushes in the history of the economic development of South Korea since the Korean War, focusing on the development of the *chaebols* (which resemble the Japanese *zaibatsu* in their degree of family ownership and control) as instruments of economic development. He recognizes that their growth was deliberately encouraged through the suppression of trade union activity, the protection of domestic markets, favourable credit policies, and a general governmental co-ordination of fiscal, industrial and social policies with the needs of the emerging manufacturing hubs.

When the 1997 crises emerged, the five largest *chaebols* (Hyundai, LG, Samsung, Daewoo and SK) accounted for a third of Korea’s total economic activity. The top 30 *chaebols* accounting for over a half.

During the Asian financial crises, a capital inflow of 76 billion dollars in the region reversed during one year into a capital outflow of 36 billion dollars. A wave of devaluations, near and actual bankruptcies (including major and minor *chaebols*) and a rapid increase of unemployment resulted. About 1.78 million people were unemployed in South Korea, or 8.6 % of the labour force, only a quarter of whom received any compensation.

A precipitating factor, at least in Korea, was the increasingly high percentage of short term foreign debt, which left the country vulnerable to overseas investor panic. The roll-over rates of short term debt held by foreigners dropped abruptly from 87% to 32%.

An underlying factor was the worsening trade balance caused, at least partially, by rising competition among the Asian nations themselves.

The bailout for South Korea, with the IMF as the leading lender, was the largest ever organized for a nation, passing the 58 billion mark. (The bailout for Mexico, the next largest, was 50 billion.)

IMF negotiators, as usual, insisted on trade liberalization accompanied by tight money policies as terms of the agreement (a summary of the IMF stand-by arrangement is a useful appendix at the end of the book). The Kim government, responding to the pressure, liberalized foreign investment to an extent unknown in Korea's history. This led, inevitably, to anti-foreign reactions among the hard hit Korean populace, many of whom believed the origin of the crises to be a hostile act by foreign capital, and who saw the proposed solution as an abandonment of Korean economic sovereignty.

As Bridges presents it, "Traditional thoughts of Korean resistance to the outside, even of xenophobia, are deeply embedded in the Korean psyche."

The government also initiated a serious restructuring of the financial and manufacturing sectors of the Korean economy. This led to an even greater role of the Korean government within the economy as the government leveraged its ability to maintain the solvency of the indebted companies. At the end of the crises period, by midyear of 2000, the Korean government had become the largest shareholder in the financial sector, having controlling interest in ten commercial banks, eight insurance firms and two investment banks.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Korean restructuring is the phenomenon of the “Big Deals”, wherein the *chaebols* committed to swapping business assets, debts and market positions. These ‘arrangements’ were determined for, among others, the semi-conductor, petrochemical, aircraft parts, oil refining and automotive industries. During this process, the Kim government consistently sought more radical solutions than those initially offered by the leading corporations, aggressively pushing for the consolidation or liquidation of affiliates and subsidiaries, and the creation of more streamlined monopolies or duopolies.

As of the publishing of the book, these initiatives had mixed results, but indicate a very determined attempt to better rationalize the Korean economy and to rebalance the relative powers of government to industry. As Bridges quotes Peter Gourevitch’s apt comment, “Economic theory can tell us a lot about policy alternatives, but unless our economics contains an understanding of power it will not tell us enough to understand the choices actually made.”

(At the start of the crises Korea had four independent car manufacturers, all Chaebol owned. I have been tracking their fate in the popular press. Daewoo was the only major chaebol allowed to fail. Its prize automotive pieces have been picked up by General Motors with a Chinese company as a minority investor. On December 23, 2003, the Globe and Mail reported that the Chinese state owned conglomerate National Bluestar had announced a direct investment of one billion dollars into Korea’s Ssangyong Motor Company - a single commitment larger than the entire Chinese international investment of the preceding year. Kia, of

course, has been merged with Hyundai, Korea's strongest international competitor in the automotive industry.)

Bridges believes that the strength of the Korean unions is more apparent than real and that they lack a strong formal position within Korean society. He points out, in defence of this argument, that the union participation rates of 13% is very low compared to the west, and is substantially lower than those of Taiwan (50%) and Japan (25%).

I don't think he intends to deny, however, that what the organized labour movement lacks in numbers it makes up in militancy, or that it is an important factor in the country's political life. One of the Kim government's public relations disasters during this period was initiated by the confession of an official stating that the government "had encouraged a labour union strike as a way to break the influence of radical unions."

Bridges notes predictions that one of the effects of the crises would be to increase interest in East Asian as opposed to Pacific wide regionalism. Support for this argument is present in the calls for an Asian Monetary Fund (which has not been implemented), and a general cooling of relations of Asian countries to APEC, which is largely perceived as being run primarily for Western interests and which was of no practical assistance during the financial meltdown.

Bridges suggests that the ASEAN +3 grouping will increasingly play the role of co-ordinating Asian economic policies without the intervention of western interests, although he may be overstating the case.

Bridges very effectively captures the on-going political turmoil of the Korean government. Issues of governance and democratic organization are at play in contemporary Korea, and it is relevant that the South Korean constitution has been modified or amended nine times in the country's rather short history.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of this small book is how adroitly Bridges summarizes the on-going tensions surrounding North Korea. He points out that both countries created highly centralized systems after the war, that “both succeeded in transforming a backward country ravaged by war into predominantly industrial ones.”

The current agricultural distress of North Korea which began during the 90s, the country’s concurrent political isolation after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the western turn of China coupled with North Korea’s dwindling access to oil, are all interrelated factors which lie behind the more public controversy over ‘weapons of mass destruction’.

The sunshine policy implemented by the Kim government resulted in an historic warming of relations between the two Koreas and led to an historic summit between the leaders in Pyongyang. This was followed by visits between divided families and a series of investments by Hyundai within the ‘tourist’ sector of the North Korean economy. In fact, there is a certain amount of speculation, at least in the South, as to how the *chaebols* can play a role in the restructuring of the North Korean economy.

Written during the last years of the Clinton government, the book does help explain the contorted policies of the Bush administration *vis a vis* the North, although it is clear that the author did not expect the turn of events we have seen. Bridges leaves the narrative when relations between the US and North Korea were improving. Although there were no formal diplomatic ties between the countries, Bridges estimates that through various channels North Korea was actually the greatest Asian beneficiary of direct American aid. (It seems there is much in the story of North Korea that is still very far from the perspectives and reporting of the mass media.)

South Korea, a member since 1996 of the OECD - the rich man’s club of inter-governmental economic affiliations - has been consciously strengthening its

international role. It has participated in peace-keeping efforts in Angola, Western Sahara, Georgia, Kashmir and East Timor (and now, against popular opinion, in Iraq).

Conner, Linda, and Geoffrey Samuel, eds. *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies*. Bergin and Garvey, Westport, Ct., 2001.

The chapters in this book are revisions of papers presented by invited anthropologists to a conference in 1996. Original research from Korea, Malaysia, India, Indonesia, China and Tibet is included.

Linda Connor notes in her introduction that ‘healing’ refers to therapeutic practices embedded in local social relations, and as such is a term belonging to a different discursive framework than ‘health’, which is generally defined as a biomedical state with the absence of disease. She notes that the studies “emphasize the ways in which the state legitimizes and transforms certain healing systems, and thus how institutional power relations shape healing in local contexts, but never totally define it.”

Of particular interest is Laurel Kendall’s contribution, “The Cultural Politics of ‘Superstition’ in the Korean Shaman World: Modernity Constructs Its Other.” She describes three inter-related phenomenon: how the shamanic ritual, the *kut*, has moved from an official status as a shameful, superstitious remnant of a premodern age to now being honoured as part of a vital national tradition; how that movement has vitiated the previous practical meaning of the *kut* as a healing process between shaman and client, transforming it into public performances of a strictly folkloric nature; and the revival of private ceremonies of *kuts* in contemporary Korea, not as a surrogate to the practice of modern medicine, but as a response to “all manner of problems - medical, financial and social - symptomatic of a household’s troubled relations with its ancestors and gods.”

Kendall notes the vigorous desire among Korean progressive intellectuals early in the twentieth century to reform Buddhism along modern lines. These progressives thought the shamans (*mudangs*) were deluding the people and supporting the retention of irrational beliefs and practices. She notes, too, that the Confucian world view, while not denying the existence of the spirits, asserted that there were more proper rituals within which to honour them. The Christian influence, which since the 1890's had been associated with the founding and support of western style schools and hospitals, was also inhospitable to shamanic practice.

Kendall briefly outlines policies of repression (including the arrest of shamans and the destruction of shrines) undertaken prior to the twentieth century, continued during the Japanese occupation, and since the end of the Second World War, most notably during the 1970's under Park Chung-hee. However, during the 1980's, within the spirit of a nationalist recuperation of a specifically Korean history, the Ministry of Culture designated three shamanic rituals as "Intangible National Treasures", and "carefully selected shamans" (Human Cultural Treasures) were appointed to perform them. During the 1990's, evidencing selective memory, it was specifically the Japanese suppression of shamanic practice which was used to "enhance the nationalist luster of shamanic revivals."

The official support of a folkloric representation of shamanism can be seen as a continuation of a consistent struggle against a more authentic shamanism and the animism it presupposes by honouring and appropriating the historical significance of the ritual within a dominant nationalist discourse. However, far from the tourist gaze shamanic practice continues, altering its customs to make room for working clients with limited hours, as well as offering the sanctity of small apartment shrines distanced from the clients' homes and neighbours.

The chapter "Tradition and Change in Malay Healing" by Carole Laderman is also of particular interest. Though not set in Korea, the detailed representation of shamanic practice forces one to acknowledge its affinity to the role-playing of western theatre. She tells how "Patients suffering from Wind Sickness, for

example, are placed in trance and encouraged to act out portions of their personality denied in everyday life and, in so doing, release the unexpressed Winds that have caused their suffering.” In other words, the client was given a safe and uncritical space in which to take on and express different characters representing parts of their own personalities. The very action of this is perceived as ‘healing’. She claims that “The bulk of most Shaman’s practices, in fact, is treatment of the Inner Winds rather than merely exorcism of disembodied spirits.”

It is not a large leap to suggest that the healing process for the *mudang* is located within the catharsis (if I can borrow that word) of changing subjectivities.

Gardner, Daniel K. *Zhu Xi’s Reading of the Analects: Canon, Commentary, and the Classical Tradition*. Columbia University Press, New York, 2003

The introduction notes that that the Five Classics of early Confucianism (The Book of Changes, the Book of History, the Book of Poetry, the Book of Rites and the Spring and Autumn Annals) had been displaced, during the Song Dynasty, as the writings thought to best embody the teaching of Confucius, by the Four Books (the Greater Learning, the Analects, Mencius and the Mean). (Note that the Greater Learning and the Mean are actually two chapters taken from the Book of Rites)

This radical change is ascribed to the influence of Zhu Xi (also known as Chu Hsi), who is the generally regarded as the founder of Neo-Confucianism. (Note, however, that Neo-Confucianism was first a Western term that has been both contested and accepted by Chinese scholars.)

Interestingly, in earlier traditions, prior to the Song Dynasty, the Analects were considered as Confucius’s own commentary on the canonical Five Classics, “texts of the ancient sages, each of which Confucius was believed to have had a hand in editing, writing or transmitting”.

In other words, a commentary (the Analects) gained the status of a canonical text largely through the influence of a much later interlinear commentary (Zhu Xi's).

This book, then, is composed of three levels of commentary, each representing an important philosophical tradition: the first is the Ur-text ascribed to Confucius, but thought to be gathered and compiled by his disciples during the Han dynasty (206 BCE - 220 CE); the second is that ascribed to He Han (Collected Explanations of the Analects, 248 CE); and the third is by Zhu Xi (Collected Commentaries on the Analects).

It is worthy of note that in the cases of both He Han and Zhu Xi, their commentaries actually represent a gathering of the commentaries of diverse thinkers. In both cases, the influence of the edited and unified commentaries endured strongly for about a millennium. The tradition of He Han (who has a fascinating personal biography: regarded both as brilliant and debauched, he wrote seminal commentaries on moral philosophy; his mother was a concubine; he may have married his half-sister; and he was eventually executed) is associated with "intellectual pluralism" and his commentary was the dominant reading until replaced, a millennium later, by the rigorous metaphysical reading by Zhu Xi, which itself dominated the teaching of Confucian thought until 1905 in China, and in 1910 in Korea when it was ended by the Japanese occupation.

I find it fascinating, too, that He Han's tradition is rooted within an accommodation of Confucianism with Taoist thought, while Zhu Xi's commentaries are very much a response to the Chan Buddhism then largely in favour.

(I suggest that we are in the time when a Confucian response to Christian thought and western positivism is forming. It will be written both by Christians and non-Christians steeped in Confucian philosophical traditions. It will contain a critique of German Idealism and place Marxism in a particularly Chinese context. It is, I

imagine, happening now, and it is hard to think of a more important philosophical engagement in the world today.)

This book, then, is an entry point into both the substance of the Confucian heritage and the means of its historical transformations.

Gills, Dong-Sook Shin. *Rural Women and Triple Exploitation in Korean Development*. McMillan Press: London, St.Martin's Press, New York, 1999.

The first level of exploitation to which the title of the book refers, and to which most of the analysis is directed, is the underdevelopment of agriculture, including the distortion of its labour structure, due to a history of authoritarian policies supporting Korean industrialization.

As Gills puts it, "the underdevelopment of Korean agriculture is structurally conditioned by national policy in the context of the regional and the world economic system."

She believes this policy was initiated during the Japanese occupation, and offers as evidence the forced destruction of the Korean textile tradition to make room for an industrialized textile industry, the fact that between 1925 and 1940 a million and a half farmers were pushed out of agriculture to become urban day labourers, and the spread of women's economic activities from those of reproduction into those of public production.

She summarizes, "the characteristics of the introduction of capitalism are specific to the Korean economy as a Japanese colony."

She argues that the process continued relentlessly after the war and, in its most radical form, under a series of authoritarian governments starting with Park Chung-Hee in the 1960s. Policy-makers consciously predicated the growth of the

Korean economy on its ability to serve Japanese and American capitalist interests as a low-wage manufacturing centre.

Since low wages were seen as the essential prerequisite in driving this policy, the government imposed a low-price policy for agricultural products - in particular, the staple rice - to help maintain low labour costs.

These prices, Gill contends, were consistently below the price of production, a fact only possible due to the subsistence and family-run nature of Korean agricultural production that continues to operate outside the logic of capitalist economic activity. She notes that even after a half century of industrialization, the average farm size in Korea is only 2.7 hectares, as contrasted to 302 in Canada.

The resulting structural poverty of agricultural communities directly led to the massive out-migration of people seeking work in the cities, a phenomenon essential to the renewal and maintenance of the large pool of cheap labour preferred by industrialization. Korea's rural population fell from 80% of the total in the early 1960s to less than 10% today. It has been shown that the poorest households migrated first, and usually as families.

Gill also notes that the Korean government, loath to open national markets to competing industrial goods, has consistently liberalized agricultural imports, which is one of the reasons why Korea is the world's second largest importer of US agricultural product (Japan is the first). This trade policy contrasts with the vigorous protection of their own agricultural sectors during the same period by both Europe and the US.

The abandonment of the agricultural sector to world prices has, from the governments perspective, three virtues: it maintains low food prices and hence lower labour costs, it appeases foreign pressures for more 'openness' within the economy, and it provides cheaper raw materials for the *chaebols* engaged in industrial food processing.

Other policies, too, put the farmers in an adverse system of exchange within the domestic economy, keeping revenues low and expenses high. An example is the chemical fertilizer industry, the promotion of which has been one of the main policies of the government since 1972. The domestic price of the fertilizer had, at one point, risen to two and a half times that of the exportation price, effectively transferring the deficit of international trade to an already suffering agricultural sector.

And then there are the non-economic costs. Trying to get the highest possible yield out of their small plots, Korean farmers use 24 times the amount of chemical per land unit than in Canada. According to a 1985 report, an astonishing 82% of the total population of Korean farmers were poisoned by pesticides and a third required treatment or recuperation.

Gill's portrait is particularly devastating as it captures the process of agricultural modernization. She tells of government programs making credit available for the purchase of over-priced and shoddily made farm machinery. Since there were no reasonably priced replacement parts available, the program's net result was not increased productivity, but rather the increased indebtedness of farmers saddled with idle equipment. The financial benefits, in fact, accrued to the industrial sector.

The extreme duress in the agricultural communities (a push factor) and the simultaneous rise of urban industrialization (a pull factor), has led to a migration which has devastated the traditional fabric of Korean rural society. Gill presents startling demographics of farming communities where younger workers are invisible. The resulting acute labour shortage, accompanied by the lack of cash to pay seasonal agricultural workers, and the continuing subsistence and family nature of the farm enterprises, have all converged to lead peasant women, and more often than not aging peasant women, to become the major 'new' source of farm labour, through a radical expansion of their historical roles.

This leads Gill directly to her two remaining forms of exploitation of the rural women of Korea: the expanding exploitation of their labour in low paid agricultural work, and the female exclusivity in domestic work.

Gill then uses the historical evidence of the changing nature of gender roles in social labour during the industrialization of Korea to construct a fruitful and well-considered definition of *patriarchal relations*.

She argues that the radical feminist assertion - patriarchy is a social relation transcending the modes of production - is ahistorical and seriously flawed. She also insists that there are class relations between women that can't be ignored. But neither does she believe, as Marxist feminists argue, that gender asymmetry is derivative of capitalist class relations. Gill prefers the primacy of historical causality over essentialist readings, whether gender-based or class-based.

To assist in the development of her definition she leans upon the cultural materialism of anthropologist Marvin Harris. His system recognizes a long-term primacy of materialist factors while allowing for great diversity and flexibility within the evolution of specific cultural traditions.

Gill, using her example as a specific case, substantiates her theoretical statement: "Elements of pre-existing patriarchal relations which are functionally compatible with newly dominant social relations may be retained, however the ways in which these are redeployed often are very different. Likewise, elements from pre-existing patriarchal relations that are not functionally compatible with the most dominant social relations are negated, as they are not instrumental to any material objective."

This is an exemplary book, using historical and contemporary information to clarify the cost of the 'Miracle on the Han'. As she summarizes, "surplus generated in the agricultural sector has been systematically drained to capitalize and subsidize export industry in the process of national capital accumulation."

Simultaneously, she makes a forceful case for better integrating gender and economic analysis by using cultural materialism as a framework.

When Gill points out the dwindling hours of sleep common to peasant women, she captures the convergence of both national economic policy and patriarchal relations in the most telling of ways.

Il Pai, Hyung. *Constructing “Korean” Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories*. Harvard University Asia Centre, Cambridge, MA., 2000.

This book is a fascinating assault on current practices within Korean archaeology. It claims that data is being wrongly interpreted as part of a dominant and pervasive cultural/political climate that favours Korean nationalist causes and interpretations. It further claims that Korean researchers have bent too far to serve their self-interests by favouring historical narratives comfortable to the authoritarian regimes of contemporary Korea.

The book attempts to structure the evidence of what is actually known (rather than what can be surmised) about pre-historic ‘Korea’. It deconstructs the emergence of popular misconceptions of Korean history, including that of the ‘founding’ role of the mythical Tan’gun as father of the Korean race.

The writer fruitfully focuses on the role and intent of the Japanese development of Korean archaeology through the first half of the twentieth century, which she claims reflects a complex mix of both scientific and racist impulses. She also evaluates the response to that work by Korean archaeologists who have, in turn, approached the information with their own ideological, and racist, bias. The book compels one to closely observe how history, including pre-history, is written to serve a nationalistic impulse.

This book openly challenges Korean assumptions of racial purity and pre-historic national unity, and insists that the field of archaeology re-orient its picture to what is actually known of Korean origins.

Kim, Elaine H., and Chungmoo Choi; eds. *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism*. Routledge, London, 1997.

Chungmoo Choi and Elaine Kim point out in their introduction to this important collection of (very unequal) essays that the book is “inextricably connected to problems of the capitalistic world system and the military hegemony that underpins it.”

They point out that during the Japanese Occupation (1910-1945) Korean feminism was entwined with the cause of national liberation. Led by gentry women, but including a large number of courtesans, the New Women’s movement was “short-lived, and supplanted by the largely Christian church-based nationalist women’s movement and by socialist women’s organized activities... The socialist women’s movement, especially the women’s labour movement, reached its peak in the late 1920s and into the 1930s and continued even into the Korean War. By the early 1950s, however, socialism had been brutally suppressed by the US-backed South Korean government, and the Left had been all but obliterated in South Korea. The national partition and the terrors of the ideological war surrounding it created a long hiatus in the development of Korean feminism that lasted until the 1980’s.”

They also note that Park Chung-Hee, the strongman military dictator who so marked Korean economic development, was attempting to “emulate the militaristic industrial capitalism of both Meiji and Showa Japan.” They point out that Park had been an “officer in the Imperial Japanese Army in Manchuria, the unit that participated in suppressing the Korean independence fighters.”

They conclude their introduction by stating that “Feminism and nationalism are the antonymic offspring of modernity.”

Chungmoo Choi’s essay, “Nationalism and Construction of Gender in Korea,” details the historical derivation of the term ‘homecoming women’ (a term used to denote promiscuous women, or whores). Young Korean women “were initially sent to Qing China in the mid-seventeenth century as tribute items for Qing’s suzerainty over Korea. Some of the mostly lower class women were returned home after their usefulness was exhausted and their youth withered. The returned women were stigmatized as defiled women and labelled as promiscuous.” She goes on to note that: “In a similar context, upper-class women often carried a small dagger as a part of their attire as a reminder for them to take their own lives, if and when their bodies were violated by men other than their husbands.”

She notes that this ideology, “while exempting men of their self-appointed responsibility to defend the nation... safeguards masculine authority at the expense of women’s lives.”

Choi supports bell hook’s argument “that colonized males adopt the stance of the colonizer as a way of recuperating their masculinity,” thus leaving the women doubly colonized. Choi also believes that “the West has constructed the Orient and the non-West as a feminine or primitive Other to define the West as a center of masculine civilization.”

Choi notes that “a striking number of South Korean works of fiction, films, protest theatre performances, and even military textbooks thematize this gendered and sexualized international relationship. The image of postcolonial South Korea envisaged in these works is often a raped woman or prostitute who struggles to survive under colonial rule. This presupposes the helpless impotence of Korean males.” She refers, in particular, to *The Wings* by Yi Sang, published in 1936, and *The Land*, by Nam Chong-hyon in 1965.

Choi uses the opening ceremonies of the 1988 Olympic Games held in Seoul to present the continuation of the ideology of male-centered nationalism. (These ceremonies were largely conceptualized by Yi O-ryong, a writer, literary critic and publisher, who was later named the first Minister of Korea's Cultural Ministry newly formed in 1990.) The ceremonies began with the torch being carried in by Son Ki-jong who had won a gold medal during the 1936 Olympics as a colonized 'citizen' of Japan. The Korean newspapers of the time carried the story but had whited out the Japanese flag on his uniform. In retaliation, the Japanese colonial government had forced the newspapers to shut down. This emotional moment was followed by a "narrativization of mythical Korea cast in the performative act of a shamanic ritual," which in turn was followed by a chaotic dance drama of many masks of international provenance. Choi claims this "ritual chaos was enacted to introduce a new chapter of history or the birth of a new militant state." A single boy in utter quiet rolled a wheel diagonally across the field announcing, according to Choi, a "new karma, a new history initiated by a male child, [which] fully blossomed as hundreds of boys demonstrated Taekwondo, breaking bricks in disciplined fashion."

Turning to the very popular film *Sopyonje*, Choi suggests that "these nostalgic devices work, not because the past is seen as utopian, but because it offers Korean spectators the place of safety, Heimat... what nostalgia seeks is the absence that generates the mechanism of desire. It is the desire for desire that lies in the ontological homelessness in an industrial world where the past appears to offer a sense of home and security." She further argues: "The capitalistic development that deprived a nation of its voice and devastated its land in the name of nationalism is mirrored in the father's deprivation of his daughter's sight and in his violation of her body for the perfection of national art."

Against this, Choi claims that the protest play *Sorigut Agu* (ritual cry of Agu), offers a critique of trans-national capitalism, and she notes that the protest theatre adopted the carnivalesque mask-dance-drama of the pre-colonial period. ("In the

street theatre version, the Buddhist monk of the traditional story is replaced by a Japanese businessman, and the two shamanesses are replaced by a college woman and a factory girl.”) However, even among “oppositional cultural activists”, Choi finds evidence of an ambiguous relation to women, as they “suspect the women of prostitution and collaboration.” She uses the writing of the nationally recognized poet Sin Tong-yop as her example.

Choi reminds us that Imperial Japan’s Mobilization Act sent tens of thousands of young Korean girls as ‘voluntary laborers’ to Japan and other parts of Asia: “Soon, the mobilization of girls extended to the sexual slavery for the Japanese imperial soldiers at the war fronts” (military comfort women). But even in post-Japanese times, Choi notes that young school-aged women were sent to line the streets to celebrate and ‘comfort’ the Korean soldiers being sent to Vietnam. These young men were part of the Blue Dragons or Fierce Tigers, and were being paid the equivalent of \$40 a month.

Choi sums her argument powerfully: “At the same time, since the focus of the decolonialization effort is to recuperate an infantilized and emasculated nation, any power that may threaten male authority is suspected of undermining the national struggle... The postcolonial Korean discourse of nationalism, compounded by the Confucian patriarchal ideology of chastity demands self-censorship from women not only because of the danger of real rape but because of the suspicion of conspiracy against the already disempowered Korean men.”

In “Begetting the Nation”, Seungsook Moon contends that, “The Korean state as a major agent of industrialization since the early 1960s has tried to utilize nationalism as a way to legitimize repression and exploitation of the populace... The effectiveness of state nationalism depends upon the collective memory of Japanese colonization and the Korean war, as well as on popular recognition of neo-colonial aspects of the American military and strategic dominance on Korea and Korea’s technological and economic dependence upon the United states and Japan.”

Attempting to define an historical context for this discourse, Moon suggests that Park Chung-hee, following upon Syngman Rhee's reliance upon anti-communism and anti-Japanism, "resorted to the turn-of-the-century nationalist principle of *tongdo sogi*," which is a meeting "of the morality of the East with the technology of the West". This, she claims, "was the hallmark of the elite nationalism that emphasized social reforms toward the end of the Choson Dynasty (1392 - 1910)". She argues that this proves Park was conscious from the beginning of his rule of a perceived need to counteract Western liberalism during the process of rapid modernization. This, of course, leaves the question hanging - what were the long-term goals of the "modernization"?

The answer that has emerged, Moon suggests, is the theme of "self-reliant defence", which has supported a militaristic narrative with "androcentric themes". As she puts it: "The nationalist discourse on history tends to highlight numerous invasions of Korea and patriotic struggles. This approach to Korean history represents the nation created by Tan'gun being defended by men, especially by 'righteous warriors' (the *hwarang*, the "flower of male youth", originally an young aristocratic male from the Kingdom of Silla who practiced ancestor worship, nature worship, poetry, and martial arts... later transformed into a band of elite warriors... the group of subordinates were called *nangdo*.)"

It is within this context that the limitations of individual rights, and in particular women's rights, are defended: they are limited so that the collective rights might be advanced within the struggle for 'self-reliant defence'. Similarly, social 'harmony' can only be maintained if all play their assigned roles, as defined by Confucian precedent.

Elaine Kim's "Men's Talk: A Korean American View of South Korean Constructions of Women, Gender and Masculinity," is based on a wide range of interviews with both males and females from different class backgrounds conducted during 1987 and 1988.

Her work evidences variation among classes, but can, nonetheless, be summarized by the generally accepted opinion that, “social power was indistinguishable from ‘masculinity’, and since women were excluded ‘by nature’ from masculinity, their proximity to social power was determined by their relationships to powerful men.” These opinions are not only held by men, but by women as well.

Hyunah Yang’s “Re-membering the Korean Military Comfort Women: Nationalism, Sexuality and Silencing,” is a short but powerful article which substantiates the ideological framework of Choi and Moon with a specific historical example.

In 1992 a Korean daily newspaper reported that schoolgirls aged 12 to 14 were drafted into the *Chongsindae* in 1944 by their Japanese teachers (“through persuasion, deception, and by even threatening the children’s parents”) under the orders of the school principal acting to fulfil the requirements of the Japanese colonial government (a program the Japanese government denied until that year).

Yang notes the Korean anger to this ‘news’, but notes the fact that the pertinent records were in Korean hands for fifty years and that relevant Japanese government documents were easy to access.

By skilfully analyzing how the news item broke and its popular reception, and by comparing this reception to the actual words and desires of the ‘Comfort Women’, Yang draws a portrait of a society intent on forgetting the complicity of Korean institutions in the *Chongsindae*, while placing at the centre of the discourse the hurt pride of the Korean nation in a context of its national discourse vis-à-vis Japanese colonialism. The actual crimes and the sexism that allowed them remain unquestioned.

Katherine Moon, in a major article entitled “Prostitute Bodies and Gendered States in U.S. - Korea Relations,” seeks “to strengthen and refine feminist critiques of military prostitution as a matter of international politics... how and

why governments use women and gendered ideology as instruments of foreign policy; how specific uses of women's sexual labour and gendered ideology affect women's lives; and whether participation as instruments of foreign policy politicize the women involved."

Moon discusses the Camptown Purification Movement (1971 - 1976) a joint American-Korean program aimed to address racial tension between Korean prostitutes and African-American soldiers, to lessen the high rates of venereal disease among the American soldiers, and to limit black-marketing.

The timing of this program, Moon suggests, was directly related to the war in Vietnam: "The Korean troop contribution to Vietnam strengthened the Korean government's ability to resist or downplay the demands and complaints of the USFK authorities regarding camptown issues. U.S. Officials... admitted that as long as Korean troops were needed in Vietnam, the U.S. could not push its interests in cleaning up the camptowns. It was with the reduction of R.O.K. troops from Vietnam in the early 1970s that the U.S. officials in Korea were able to gain the upper hand on camptown issues."

In fact, given the Nixon doctrine of troop withdrawal from Eastern Asia, including Korea, the camptown clean-up was perceived by the Korean government as a way of maintaining America's commitment to Korean defence and, of course, maintaining foreign currency spending.

The Korean government organized "Etiquette and Good Conduct Lectures" for the prostitutes, and these lectures began with introductory remarks asserting that all who catered to the U.S. soldiers were patriots, "nationalists working to increase the foreign exchange earnings of our country." As Moon points out, however, it was personal economic necessity which led the women into prostitution: "they did not view their sex work as necessary or important for the security of Korea."

The government's public policy, which used "sexual relationships as instruments of foreign policy", was generally accepted and understood in "a culture that expected and legitimated women's self-sacrifice for family and country."

Moon also analyses the series of public demonstrations led by the Korean prostitutes during the early 1970s which objected, among other things, to attempts by the American forces to stop soldiers using their services, and from an attempt by the American servicemen to standardize prices for particular sexual services (five dollars for a short time), They also protested the on-going murder and desecration of Korean prostitutes and deeply resented the accused American soldiers impunity from Korean law.

The agency and tactical organization of the Korean prostitutes are clearly demonstrated in the essay, as are the counter-efforts of the R.O.K. and the American forces to control and regulate them.

"Yanggongju as an Allegory of the Nation: The Representation of Working-Class Women in Popular and Radical Texts," written by Hyun Sook Kim - the term *Yanggongju* refers to Korean women who engage in sexual labour for foreign soldiers - attempts to show how a Korean feminist ideology that assumes nationalist views betrays the living experience of Korean women.

She compares popular writing - *Silver Stallion* by Ahn Jung-hyo and *Days and Dreams* by Kang Sok-kyong - to the portrayal of Korean military prostitutes in 'radical' texts which she defines as leftist, nationalist and anti-colonial - *Yankee Go Home!*, *Make Us Sad No More!* and *To the Sons of Colonialism*)

Using the murder of Yun Kum-i as a factual pivot - Yun was found dead with a bottle stuck into her vagina, an umbrella stuck into her rectum, matches pushed into her mouth and detergent powder spread all over her body, the killer being American soldier Kenneth Marckle - Kim concludes that the narratives of both feminist and non-feminist nationalists claim that "... the crime is U.S.

imperialism. There is no mention of how Korean patriarchy, class inequality, and the state's economic policies have contributed to the recolonization and marginalization of sex workers... In short, discussions of working-class sex workers in radical texts do not counter or contest their representations in popular texts.”

At the end, the essayist returns to the case of Kim Yon-ja, a sex worker and organizer who found spiritual sustenance - and a way to leave the trade - through her Christianity, and notes that her personal testimonies are actively suppressed by Korean middle class feminist activists. She also captures the related bitterness of Kim Yon-ja, “Kim states that she cannot control her rage when the women of Kijich'on are judged from the perspective of anti-Americanism and labelled as ‘pitiful’ or ‘wretched’. In her view, when we inscribe the American military as ‘evil’ and *Yanggongju* as objects of pity, we only cover up the roots of the problem.”

Kolko, Gabriel, and Joyce Kolko. *The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1954*. Harper & Row, New York, 1972.

This book confronts the reader with the unnecessary futility and utter devastation of the Korean War, and places its primary cause not within an expanding and belligerent communism directed by the Soviet Union, but within the context of an American government predisposed to suppress any nationalist independence movement with left wing aspirations as a threat to its own interests.

The Kolkos thus place the Korean occupation and war within a continuum of American policy throughout South-East Asia, including the Philippines and China, and leading straight to Viet Nam. They argue with vigour against the position that such military confrontations were “necessary” for “freedom and democracy” in a context determined by the Cold War. Given the fact that similar

American policies were in place prior to the formation of the Soviet Union, and continue after its collapse, the passing of time only strengthens their case.

Their central thesis, however surprising and debatable, deserves serious consideration: The Kolkos argue that the Korean War, as the Vietnamese War later (and I would add the Iraqi war now), actually attest more to the limits of American power than to any far-reaching hegemonic success.

Li, Xiaobing, Allan Millett, and Bin Yu, eds. *Mao's Generals Remember Korea*. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 2001.

This book is a series of translated essays written by individual Chinese generals summarizing their direct involvement in the prosecution of the Korean War. Issues including the decision of the Chinese army to intervene, the subsequent mobilization, the logistical challenge, the purchase of arms, and the truce negotiations, are all considered by those who played an actual and leading role in the historical events.

These essays maintain a power to jar one from the complacency of historical distance. They casually mention such issues as the use of biological and chemical weapons used by the American forces during the Korean war, including napalm.

For those informed about the Vietnamese response to the American prosecution of the war in Vietnam, certain recurring motifs are unavoidable, not the least important being the search for ways to fight a wealthier and more technologically advanced enemy which, dominant in the air and on the water, relies primarily on bombing.

The Chinese communists, largely supported by rural peasants, had hardly consolidated their power after the devastating civil war with the Kuomintang - and certainly Chinese society had not healed its wounds - before the party embarked on a direct military confrontation with the Americans who had, quite

dramatically in Japan, proven themselves willing to use nuclear weapons on unarmed population centres. The Chinese generals, as these essays demonstrate, were keenly aware of the immense challenges they faced.

The over-all impact in reading the book now (one can only regret that these particular sources have taken almost three generations before being published in English), resides in the disquieting realization that one is confronting a pattern that, as yet, has not run its course. The premonition that the political integrity of Korea might once again lead to a direct confrontation of American and Chinese interests also hangs in the air.

In the excellent introduction, entitled “What China learned from its ‘forgotten war’ in Korea”, the outline of the reviving ghost of the Korean war is portrayed as follows, “A more relevant and perhaps more pressing issue of this ‘forgotten war’ in Korea for both China and other powers relates to the unification of the two Koreas, much anticipated by the West... In any case, Washington has made clear its intention to continue the US military presence in a unified Korea and possibly [throughout] the entire peninsula, even if the target for such a presence will have disappeared.”

That comment implies two things: Koreans will not be allowed to unify and determine their own future by themselves, and that the true target for the remaining American forces will be elsewhere, and one can only surmise that it will be China itself.

Liu, Shu-Hsein. *Essentials of Contemporary Neo-Confucian Philosophy*. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 2003.

Liu proposes a “three epoch” classification of the Confucian tradition: the Classical, the Neo-Confucian, which he prefers to call the Sung-Ming Neo-Confucian, developed to meet the challenge of Buddhism and Neo-Taoism and a

school that should not be identified as Neo-Confucian (he suggests) that starts roughly in 1700 BCE with Yen Yuan and Tai Chen in the Ch'ing dynasty.

He also postulates, and the bulk of the book is dedicated to explicating, a Contemporary Neo-Confucianism starting in 1919. It is this which grips me: for it is clear that Confucian philosophers are incorporating both Marx and Kant within their own tradition, and that the mainland Chinese government is actively and currently supporting a public rebirth of Confucian thought and synthesis.

It is clear that Liu does not see Christianity as a philosophical force. In this he is simply wrong, and his understanding of Christianity, or that of it which is in the text, is weak. Although there are many cited references in the index to Buddhism, Taoism, and even to Marx and Heidegger, there is no reference to Christianity. In fact, Liu does mention Christian at least once in the text, calling the Christian God a transcendental God with nothing immanent about it, thereby, by excising Jesus as God, reflecting an interpretation of Christianity that is fatally flawed.

Korean Confucianism will, I think, in certain respects, be more robust in the long run, due to its absorption of Christian values - however, this will depend on how long Korean intellectual traditions can maintain a momentum distinct from the Chinese (probably a surprisingly long time) and how this intellectual tradition can be put into practice in a sovereign Korea (more difficult to envision.)

It is interesting that Liu talks of his youthful choice between Buddhism, which his father preferred, and Confucianism. It is truly fascinating to think critically about his statement on page 31, "Besides, the spheres of religion and morality are different; there is still the need to find religious liberation from the bondage of the mind in the body by returning to Buddhist tradition."

Such a statement runs counter to the monotheistic traditions at their very core, exhibits a somewhat self-serving philosophical 'arrangement' between the

Confucian and Buddhist traditions by consigning the latter's tradition solely to a resolution of the mind-body duality. Truly, Liu is the voice of new orthodoxy

Nelson, Sarah Milledge. *The Archaeology of Korea*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993.

The first line of Nelson's preface states "the book has been written in the hope of placing Korea on the map of world archaeology, from which it has been conspicuously absent." She then proceeds to survey Korean prehistory from its earliest Palaeolithic settlers, perhaps half a million years ago, to the relatively recent date of AD 668, when the Korean peninsula was unified - she believes for the first time - during the United Silla period.

She notes that Korean anthropological interpretations are dependent on "ancient documents, ... traditions, ...nationalistic pride, anthropological concepts." She seeks to "balance the viewpoints ... based on the best evidence currently available."

She notes that all of modern Korea, North and South, is populated with Koreans, distinct in culture and language from any other group, and that throughout the whole peninsula there are no acknowledged minorities or remnant populations. Korea is remarkably homogenous. (This is not true of Korea's neighbours, not of Japan, the Ainu being the obvious counter-example, certainly not of China, nor Mongolia, nor Russia. This fact, too, forces us to more carefully appreciate and consider the recent trend of migrant labour from the Asian subcontinent moving into highly industrialized South Korea.)

To my surprise, the Korean language does not grade by dialects into any other known language, and the dialect differences throughout the whole peninsula are minor. It is thought that the Korean and Japanese language split from a common Altaic stem approximately 4000 years ago. The Korean and Chinese languages

are entirely different, although Korean vocabulary includes a great number of loan words from the Chinese.

For our purposes it is interesting to note that Nelson also regards Shamanism, “dominated by the female *mudang*”, as a “basic trait of the traditional culture.”

She also notes that Korea has not been expansionist for over a millennium, in fact, its historical record is that of being repeatedly invaded from all sides. In such an homogenous and embattled society, the ancestor of one is presumed to be the ancestor of all. Given, too, the cultural importance of ancestors in Confucian thought, the formation of the Korean people as distinct from their neighbours is perceived as “an important local concern”. (This background is pertinent, I believe, to the sense of historical inevitability that surrounds Korean unification.)

She affirms the (now commonplace) view that much of what is common to Japan and Korea is of Korean origin, or of Chinese origin mediated by the particularities of Korea. She is careful to note in her argument that a united Korean polity is a rather late occurrence, that the same is true of Japan, and that while the Shang state of China existed in a unified polity in 2000 BC, it was considerably less expansive than the China of today.

Considering the geomorphology of Korea, 70 percent of the land area is mountainous with steep slopes, although, unlike Japan, the mountains are not the result of volcanic activity. There are innumerable rivers in Korea, most of them short. All but one of the major rivers flows to the west or south, into the Yellow Sea.

The very earliest sites of Korean habitation indicate small groups of forest foragers. However, the appropriate dating of stone tools is somewhat complicated by European dating traditions being used in the context of East Asia. As well, Nelson points out that common assumptions of European band-level organizations have not been substantiated in Korea.

It is thought that these Palaeolithic people were replaced by a migration from the North who lived in Early Villages (6000 to 2000 BC), and were of a higher technological level. The origins of these earliest village dwellers are complicated by unanswered questions of trade, migration, and cultural influence.

Interesting side notes include the fact that antlers were used as hoes and perforated boar tusks as sickles. In addition, the small communities were adept at deep sea fishing, with clear evidence of catches including shark, tuna, seabream, cod and whale, although the physical remains of a boat have never been found.

It is thought that the earliest Korean shrines were not marked by buildings, but were clearings in the forest marked by bells and drums.

Beads of pottery, animal teeth, shell and jade have been found. (Note: the use of jade is a characteristic usually found in Manchuria, but seldom in early Korea.) There are only a very few "faint echoes" of long distance trade during this period.

The Megalithic period is dated from 2000 to 500 BC. Evidence of major changes include the appearance of dolmens (stone monuments, probably burial sites, found throughout the peninsula - the European term dolmen is used to translate the Korean words *koindol* and *chisokmyo*), polished stone tools, rice cultivation, significant changes in pottery styles and the local manufacture of bronze items, including mirrors.

She suggests that "a relatively consistent assemblage of artefacts in the megalithic period of Korea suggests a similar way of life for ordinary villagers throughout the peninsula."

Nelson concludes this period with the comment that, "Multiple influences impinged on megalithic Korea. A major new population influx may have come from the north, but precisely from where and with what stop-overs and for how long are the wrong questions. There is no evidence that a single ethnic group

swept into Korea with bronze/rice technology. It seems much more consonant with the evidence at hand to postulate that over the course of 2,000 years various groups entered the peninsula and found a niche in the mosaic of a developing complex society.”

The Tangun legend - the founding myth of Korea - is traditionally dated at the start of the Megalithic period. About this myth, she says, “The Tangun legend is sometimes regarded as history in Korea. The origin of the Korean calendric date (2333 BC) is said to be the same of Tangun, perhaps not coincidentally the same time as the legendary Chinese Emperor Yao. The story belongs to the tradition of culture heroes, including a miraculous birth. A common version of the story begins with a female bear and a tigress who lived together in a cave, both aspiring to become human. Hwan-in, the chief god, gave them mugwort and garlic to eat, and instructed them to stay in the dark and not see the sun for a hundred days. The tigress became restless and failed at the task, but the she-bear persevered and became human, married the son of Hwan-in, and bore a son named Tangun Wanggom. Perhaps the she-bear was the tale’s original hero. Tangun, the originator of millet cultivation (a gift from his deity father) set up a kingdom in Pyongyang and named the country Choson. He lived for a thousand years and became a spirit in Chonji, Heavenly Lake, in the crater of Paektusan. Although the legend doesn’t appear in writing until the eleventh century AD, it probably reaches back into antiquity.....it is clearly a legend of forest dwelling people, not step nomads; thus it seems to be indigenous to Korea (although it has been used to tie Korea’s ancient religion with that of the steppes).. Secondly, it seems to reflect distantly the circumpolar bear cult.”

Nelson notes that rice, not being native, was probably initially imported from China, and traces of the Japonica variety have been dated to about 1200 BC. Rice traces within China itself tentatively date as far back as 6500 BC.

After 400 BC “Iron technology, advanced ceramic technology and an above-ground houses style appeared in the Korean peninsula... heralding a new stage of social and political complexity.”

Although Nelson writes that the “archaeological evidence indicates that polities formed and fell apart several times before a permanent state-based organization was reached”, she suggests that “a stratified state-level society was in place in the Lelang region well before the Han conquest. Attempts to play down the organization and complexity of the native state appear to me to be misplaced.” Thus, the evidence suggests that an ordered Korean society was defeated by an organized Chinese society whose rulers brought their ways of burial with them. She concludes her summary of this period noting that, “In any case, the Korean peninsula was becoming increasingly tied to a much larger network, with China at its hub...”

300 AD to 668 AD is known as the Three Kingdom period in Korean history, referring to Koguryo, Paekche and Silla (a smaller polity called Kaya also functioned at this time). This period is conspicuous for the differences in the social stratification implied by the very different burial sites for the wealthy and the poor. As Nelson aptly puts it, “The ability to mobilize labor power to build great tumuli, the elaboration of craft specialists, the conspicuous consumption of goods made from precious materials, and the symbols of power and authority work together to indicate true states.”

It is thought that trade with China was extensive, and that Koguryo exported gold, silver, pearls, furs, ginseng, fabric and slaves - they were famous for their “beautiful women” - and imported weapons, silk clothing, headdresses, books and stationary. It is known that Buddhism was introduced early in the Three Kingdom period with monks arriving from northern China and that it spread quickly throughout the peninsula. It is also known that a University was established in AD 372, “to teach the Chinese language and the Confucian classics in order to train government officials on the Chinese model. The Chinese language and writing

system were used for official purposes, and historical records were compiled in the Chinese fashion. The extant inscribed monuments demonstrate the literacy of the elite.”

It is interesting to note that it is thought to be Korean scholars who introduced both the Confucian classics and Buddhism into Japan.

Direct Chinese control had disappeared and it is surmised that the internal confusions in China between the Han and Tang dynasties allowed the people of the Korean peninsula to develop independent of direct foreign rule, which time they wisely used to fight amongst themselves: “Koguryo, Paekche and Silla all began by absorbing their nearest neighbours, then gradually expanded by conquering more distant regions. Each new conquest brought more tribute, squeezed out of the farm families in the form of agricultural produce, woven cloth and corvée labour... the only insight into ordinary lives is afforded by the sumptuary laws themselves, which prohibited the display of wealth beyond one’s hereditary status, and a fragment of a census... Vast differences of social status are evident, but gender stratification is absent. The women of each rank are treated equally with the men. Another indication of gender equality can be teased out of the census, which records more women than men at all ages, showing that boys were not preferred over girls. I have argued elsewhere that the Silla kingdom, which allowed ruling queens, is an unusual example of an early state in which male dominance played no part.”

In terms of continuity between the Three Kingdoms Period and now, Nelson points out that, “We have seen that a number of basic Korean traits can be traced to various parts of the peninsula during the Three Kingdoms period. Koguryo wall murals depict clothing, hair styles, dwellings and even kitchens that were little changed into this century.”

The gold crowns are the best known of the Silla artefacts. They are made of “sheet gold with a circlet from which spring several uprights in the shape of

stylized trees and antlers, each ending in an aspen-leaf shape. Green *goguk* and gold spangles are profusely attached.” It is recognized that these crowns have associations, however dim, with shamanistic practice. It is conjectured that the predecessors of the Silla people included bird’s wings in their burial sights, and that intricate cut-out areas and wing-like projections on the crowns may be related to that tradition. She notes that “Bowls on pedestals called *dou*, arguably important in ritual and ceremony, first appeared at this stage, and can still be seen on the *mudang*’s altar.”

In AD 668, (with the help of the Tang dynasty in China) the Silla conquered most of the Korean peninsula, and “surely effected cultural homogeneity to whatever extent it was not previously present.”

Oliver, Robert T. *A History of the Korean People in Modern Times: 1800 to the Present*. Newark, University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto, 1993.

Oliver has a genuine interest in the particularities of Korean history and society. He is engaged in his story and impassioned by his interpretation. The whole, however, which intends to summarize modern Korean history efficiently and clearly, fails to convince.

His historical stance is rooted in a studied but subtle paternalism, which betrays him in the concluding chapters of the book where he seriously poses the question of whether or not the Korean people are ready for democracy. If he had spent more time analyzing the forces sustaining their autocratic governments, as well as exploring the consistent and well-documented suppression of the legitimacy of popular movements, he would not be asking the question in that form.

Frequently, there are point by point differences in how Oliver and Kolko perceive the significance of events, most notably in their respective presentations of the epochal years of 1945 to 1953. However, not only do Oliver’s positions

frequently suffer from a lack of verifiable argument rooted in historical sources (compared to the Kolko), but his perspective, as well as his presentation of facts, are too selective. While all would accept 1945 as the end of the Japanese occupation, one might not, as Oliver emphatically does, call it the close of colonialism. And while he argues vigorously that there was not a strong base for a nationally unified Korea at the fall of the Japanese, “..there was no effective nationalist base in the peninsula. Hatred for Japan was strong but such negativism did not provide a foundation for constructive action,” he doesn’t bother reporting on Syngman Rhee’s brutal policies to kill, disband and delegitimize the burgeoning farmers associations, trade unions, and communal organizations who joined in a common call for the immediate freedom and integrity of Korea.

Oliver consistently assumes that the intent of the strongman rulers of Korea, and the American foreign policy which sustained them, is rooted in the best interests of all Koreans, and if the effects of such policies are sometimes proven otherwise, he does not seriously question their intent. The economic progress of South Korea is seen as sufficient evidence to neutralize all doubts. However, this limits the value of his book by badly predisposing the evidence for the arguments taken up within it.

It is, at root, an unwillingness to seriously question the causes behind the political patterns of the twentieth century that limits the achievement of Oliver’s attempt at a specifically Korean narrative.

Osgood, Cornelius. *The Koreans and Their Culture*. The Ronald Press Company, New York, New York, 1951.

Written by an American anthropologist after the American liberation/occupation of Korea (1945), yet prior to the outbreak of the Korean War (a short postscript written after the initiation of the Korean war is added at the end of the text), this book intends to explain Korea to an interested and educated public. It also intends

to confirm the anthropological approach to foreign cultures as scientific, objective and, most importantly, as a practical tool for contemporary interpretation.

The first line of his introduction is clear about the superior position of western civilization and the growing pride of place of anthropology within it: "The study of human culture as an exacting technical procedure has been one of the most recent developments of the great rise of science which has distinguished western civilization during the past few hundred years."

Much of the early part of the book grows out of the writer's own research notes while living in a small and "typical" farming village on Kangwha Island in 1947, while later chapters are a synthesis of his readings about the formation of the Korean nation and of its cultural history. The last section, the shortest, dealing with modern Korea (circa 1900-1950), clearly reflects the writer's wish to explain the historical origins of the political division of Korea.

The early part of the book is the most convincing, and he has gathered a great deal of fairly detailed information about a small peasant community at the mid-century: its economic base, farming methods, division of labour, ownership of resources, communication within and between families, community rituals associated with birth, marriage and death, and the state of technology.

The book allows one a valuable glimpse of an agricultural, non-industrialized, non-mechanized, mid-twentieth century Korea just prior to its rapid and transfiguring modernization.

Schwarz, Urs. *American Strategy: A New Perspective : The Growth of Political-Military Thinking in the United States*. Doubleday & Company, Garden City, NY, 1966.

Published in 1966 during the period of rapid escalation during the Viet Nam war, and with a preface penned by Henry Kissinger, this modest (in size) book is valuable for the insight it helps give into the historical development and

acceptance of current American foreign policy as a synergy of political, industrial and military interests.

Schwarz applauds the tendency in American history away from the concept of a defensive or isolationist position, but wishes it to maintain its wariness of multilateral or trans-national limitations. He entirely endorses the idea of superior air power as a means of bombing civilian targets, and endorses Roosevelt's bombing of Japanese cities, as well as the dropping of atomic weapons under Truman. He is dismayed that nuclear weapons were not being used in Viet Nam, and claims the only reason they were not used in Korea was due to the facts that "the nuclear arm was then still in its infancy, and because the Korean War was a war of coalition, in which the voices of the allies counted as much as public opinion in the United States."

In brief, he supports Clausewitz' dictum that "war is diplomacy through other means", and believes it is a sign of "advanced thought" when the choice for war is integrated into industrial and diplomatic equations.

His telling of the "loss of China" (i.e. the fall of the Kuomintang) and of the reasons leading to the Korean War are historically superficial and, for that reason, troubling in a book of this nature.

Two-thirds of the way through the book he has argued himself into a position where he must accept state terror as a legitimate policy of the American government, as long as it can be claimed that such terror is a "deterrent".

What is most fascinating about this book, however, is the tone of self-congratulation within which this movement away from traditional limits on war and diplomacy is wrapped, and nowhere more so than in the Preface. Kissinger writes, "By the same token during periods of peace, Americans policy-makers have often acted as if international relations were like a gigantic debate in which victory went to the side presenting the most reasonable arguments. The

relationship of power and foreign policy was insufficiently recognized. This separation of power and policy had the result that military policy frequently took the form of simply amassing resources; while diplomacy tended to confuse legal formulae with substantive achievement.” We can only conclude that international agreements of mutual restraint, the Geneva conventions for example, which are nowhere referred to in these pages and which America has blatantly breached innumerable times since the publishing of this book, reside somewhere among these “legal formulae”.

Anxious to strip away old hypocrisies and eager to find an efficient, coherent modern stance, Schwarz embraces a world where power knows no limits other than its own hubris.

Thornton, William H. *Fire on the Rim: The Cultural Dynamics of East/West Power Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Md, 2002.

Written with urgency, erudition, skepticism and scorn, *Fire on The Rim* attempts to provoke a rethinking of the western outlook on Asian countries along the Pacific rim, in particular, Japan, South Korea, China and Taiwan.

Although he is clearly adept with its vocabulary and outlook, postmodernism is his first target. He claims it to be beneficial in as much as it limits modernist arrogance and draws attention to cultural difference, but that it is irresponsible when it insists on a total moral relativism, or dismisses all of western civilization as culturally specific and reactionary. He thinks postmodernism “is to the dark side of globalization what transcendentalism was to the horrors of early industrialization.”

He states that September 11 is a wake up call on the high cost of dodging real issues.

Thornton believes it important to realize that the Asian countries, China in particular, are not succeeding within international capitalism so that they can implement the west's (stated) cultural preferences for democracy and individual rights, but are competing within the capitalist framework to solidify and further their own position and values.

In other words, the neoliberal belief that economic development ensures western liberal institutions is wrong, and that basing trade and human rights policy on such an illusion is wilfully misguided. He is particularly disturbed by the delinking of human rights issues and trade with China. He claims that while economic development is a necessary condition for political development, it is certainly not a sufficient one.

Thornton recognizes that culture has "moral substance" - that is, all values are not determined by the economic structure - however, he effectively mocks the usual homilies surrounding Asian or Confucian values that supposedly offer a cultural predisposition to successful capitalism. He notes that the same values, since the crash of 1997, are sometimes presented as the very weaknesses of "crony capitalism", and also points out that capitalism has prospered in such non-Confucian Asian countries as Malaysia.

Thornton also believes that it is a myth that the hegemonic nature of global capitalism cannot be resisted, and he points to three phenomenon: the mobilization of oppositional populations within countries (he is careful to disentangle the rulers from the ruled, and places weight on the intra-national and trans-national alliances being formed within the anti-globalisation movement); the existence of traditional cultures which are 'difficult to swallow' (Islam is the example he gives); and the emergence in Korea of a post-modern, oppositional movement that "makes it a threat to repressive regimes throughout Asia and the developing world."

Thornton believes that the long oppositional traditions within Korean culture - rooted in the 35 year period of Japanese occupation, deepened in the war and the subsequent division of the country, and both toughened and galvanized during the period of authoritarian "modernization" - has led to a politicized and effective oppositional movement. He credits the democratization within Korea not to a natural evolution following the success of the modernist and authoritarian economic model associated with Park and his followers, but to the hard-won victories and mass mobilization of the opposition movements. The progressive opportunity he perceives resides within the tensions between different capitalisms. As he quotes Dirlik, "capitalism at its moment of victory over socialism finds itself wondering about different cultures of capitalism at odds with each other."

Thornton reminds us that Asia is an area where the United States has fought three times in the last fifty years with enemies it "scarcely understood", and that effective international co-operation depends on moral legitimacy. He points to Habermas as rightly defending tolerance and critical judgment against his post-modern detractors. This moral legitimacy has to be found in values both thin and thick - words that seem to replace universal and local for a post-modern context.

Thornton's eloquent plea is that the west not abandon, in the guise of post-modern relativism, those oppositional elements who are defending rights which the west once assumed to be "universal", but now assumes to be "native" only to itself, thus allowing western forces not only to ignore, but to actively undermine indigenous movements fighting for social justice and the defence of marginal peoples.

Wiegersma, Nan, and Joseph E Medley. *US Economic Development Policies towards the Pacific Rim: Successes and Failures of US Aid.* Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2000.

The authors, early in their introduction, succinctly state an essential and rarely made point (I say rarely made, but in fact I have never heard it before, although it

may be common knowledge among those who follow the subject): “Cold War policies essentially changed the conditions and complexion of foreign development aid by directing US aid to preserve, and even increase, inequality between nations and between socioeconomic classes within nations.”

They go on, “Previous to the Cold War, there was a long-term historical connection between the development of capitalist markets and liberal-democratic forms of government. Capitalism and political democracy developed side by side in Europe and North America and this same process was expected to occur in the ‘Third World’ with the defeat of colonialism. With the advent of the Cold War, however, foreign assistance spending, particularly military assistance, supported groups in power that opposed liberal-democratic processes and showed little respect for civil liberties. The governments of Taiwan and South Korea are a case in point.”

The authors respectfully, but firmly, dismiss the tendencies to see “Confucian ethic” as the key to the rapid industrialization of Korea and Taiwan: “Our approach stresses, instead, the conditions for successful development which are multifaceted and can be established in many varied locales with differing sociocultural contexts.” They note that both Taiwan and Korea were the prime global recipients of Japanese and American aid, to “establish commercial networks” in the case of Japan, and for “the containment of Communism”, in the case of the Americans. Also, both countries were given access to the developed domestic markets of Japan and the US, which distinctly contrasts to the aid and trade limitations followed as policy in Central and South America.

They further state, “Taiwan, South Korea and other East Asian ‘tigers’ owe their economic development much more to important institutional factors than to free-market capitalism.”

These factors are developed in Chapter 2 through 4, focusing on the intent of the initial policies of US Aid - which usefully contrasts the original and progressive

intent of 'New Deal' postwar aid to the 'Cold War' intent of aid supported by Truman and Eisenhower - through to an analysis of specific progressive policies in agricultural and industrial development.

This is followed by a chapter detailing the US intervention in Vietnam. It is both salutary to read that the tardy implementation of land reform policies in Vietnam by the American government, actions specifically aimed at winning the popular support of the peasants, were best implemented in those areas controlled by the National Liberation Front.

The authors note that Japan, "certainly the most notable success story of the second half of the twentieth century", pressed the World Bank to study East Asian development as an alternative to the orthodox model of Structural Adjustment Programs. As the authors ruefully note, "in the almost two decades since their enforcement, SAPs have produced no unqualified development success stories". It was thought that such a study would challenge the now infamous Washington Consensus with its reliance on tight money policies, reduced government spending on social services, privatization, and export promotion.

The ensuing published study of East Asian development (East Asian Miracle, 1994) clearly indicated "significant correlation of growth with income equality and the levels of health and education. The most striking association, however, is between growth and land equity." However, the World Bank's conclusions to the study controvert the findings within it, and opt for a laissez-faire ideology which ignores the "pervasive and effective state and foreign interventions" on the miracle economies.

In the final chapter, the authors focus on the lead-up and response to the "crash" of the Asian economies in 1997, the subsequent "bail-out" by the IMF, the loss of the independence of the Korean central bank and the re-orientation of industrial policies. They note the "fire-sale" of productive Korean industrial assets to transnational capital.

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