

# **Students! Stay Away from Politics**

South Korean Student Movement in *The Korea Times* in 1971–1975

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### Abstract

My master's thesis focuses on the image of the South Korean student movement in the newspaper *The Korea Times* during the authoritarian years 1971–1975. *The Korea Times* was privately owned English language newspaper with an intellectual and cosmopolitan audience. For decades the influential South Korean student movement opposed the authoritarian rule and the students rallied for democracy, intellectual autonomy, and rights for all people. Therefore, my analysis focuses on how the dissidence of the student movement was portrayed to an intellectual Korean and foreign audience of *The Korea Times* in an authoritarian state where the newspaper industry was highly censored.

I use content analysis as the main method alongside with context analysis, the comparison of the source and source criticism. The analysis is based on 500 articles from *The Korea Times* which are analysed with quantitative and qualitative approaches throughout the thesis. I have approached the material with the questions of whose voice was the most prominent in *The Korea Times* and whether and how the paper commented on the student movement.

Overall, *The Korea Times'* reporting on the student movement changed depending on the politics, the activities of the movement and changes towards the newspaper industry. The paper did not take an obvious stance in the conflict and it followed newspaper standards of supplying the readers with different approaches to news stories. During the Yushin Constitution, the paper leaned towards the authoritarian propaganda, but it was able to publish other relevant narratives regarding the student movement. For the most part, *The Korea Times* considered the students as young intellectuals who should focus more on academics rather than in politics.

**Key words:** South Korea, the student movement, The Korea Times, newspapers, content analysis, the 1970s, authoritarianism, intellectuals, Yushin Constitution, dissidents, protest movements

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## 1 Introduction

The question is the extent to which students are allowed to participate' in society. Their social activities can be justifiable to a certain degree. Yet here must be a limit to them. For their primary goal during school days is none other than academic cultivation. Under no circumstances can they neglect too much this particular goal.<sup>1</sup>

This quote from *The Korea Times*' editorial from March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1971, summarizes well how the newspaper approached the influential South Korean student movement in the 1970s. During the decade, South Korea was experiencing major societal and political changes under the rule of Park Chung-hee<sup>2</sup> and the university students experienced major changes in their academic and social responsibilities which the English language newspaper *The Korea Times* closely followed.

In my thesis I examine how *The Korea Times* (1950–present) reported on the student movement in the years 1971–1975. My research starts in the early 1970s when South Korea was slowly but surely entering the authoritarian and dictatorial years of President Park Chung-hee and I examine the reporting on the student movement until the final suppression in 1975. The student movement represents change in the South Korean society and protests movements are a major political force in the country. South Korea democratized in the late 1980s, but the roots of the movement reach far earlier to the previous decades. Therefore, *The Korea Times* acts as a mirror to the 1970s society and tells us how the movement was reported during the decade. *The Korea Times*' status and past makes it biased, it was internationally, academically, and intellectually oriented paper for the cosmopolitan Korean and foreign audiences.

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<sup>1</sup> New Students. *The Korea Times* 4.3.1971.

<sup>2</sup> Multiple different romanization systems exists for Korean language and names. I use the recommended romanization system for names by the National Institution of Korean Language. In this system the order is surname followed by two-part fist names divided by a hyphen. However, some Korean names have traditional and set spelling forms like the name Syngman Rhee. The cited scholars' names are presented in the exact way presented in the research publication. Electronic material.

## 1.1 Student Movement History, South Korea, and Research Tradition

The South Korean society, culture, and politics in the 1970s were greatly influenced by the tumultuous events of the previous decades. The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century changed the country drastically and some narratives of the 1970s can be difficult to comprehend without knowledge on the origins of South Korea. The Korea peninsula was under the rule of dynastic kingdom of Chosŏn (1392–1910<sup>3</sup>) and the kingdom was governed by the intellectual elite called yangban. The dynasty was highly influenced by ancient Chinese philosophies and beliefs: Buddhism and Confucianism.<sup>4</sup> Confucianism has especially had a great effect on the Korean society but it is more of a guiding philosophy and ethical guide by status rather than a religion. According to cultural sociologist Geir Helgesen, in the South Korean context Confucianism can also be considered as a political ideology. Confucianism teaches that the universe is kept in balance through good morality by virtuous and rightful behaviour. This is actualized by hierarchical orders between people and by filial piety which means to respect to one's parents and ancestors.<sup>5</sup>

The Chosŏn dynasty ended when Japan forcibly annexed Korea in 1910. Korea became Japan's colony, and the colonial era greatly affected Koreans' identities because of the cultural and political suppression. Koreans were culturally assimilated and by the end of World War II the population was torn apart all over East Asia. The colonial era and its effects are still debated; because Korea did develop significantly during the colonial era meaning that simultaneously the colonial years united and divided the Korean people. Koreans fought the Japanese rule and the March First Independence Movement in 1919 defines the history of resistance movements in Korean when half a million Koreans demonstrated against the colonial rule and 39 intellectuals forged an independence declaration. The movement was suppressed, however Japan loosened control on the Korea society in the 1920s and consequently political and ideological factions of the left and right were established. Japan's colonial days ended with the WWII and Korea was left as a mutilated country with a maelstrom of old and new classes,

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<sup>3</sup> The Chosŏn dynasty officially ended in 1897 but it was followed by the Korean Empire which only differentiated in name. Therefore, it is considered that the Chosŏn dynasty lasted until 1910.

<sup>4</sup> The history of Chosŏn dynasty is rich and vast. Historians like Cumings 2005 (1997) and Eckert et. al. (1990) have published books about ancient history of Korea and the Chosŏn dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> The five important hierarchies are: ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger and friend-friend. Helgesen 1998, 105. *National Geographic Encyclopedia* "Confucianism", electronic material; Helgesen 1998, 105.

scattered political groups and division between those who had worked alongside with the oppressor and those who had fought against it.<sup>6</sup>

After the Japanese left Korea, a political power vacuum ensued, and it was soon filled with Cold War agendas from the United States and Soviet Union. The indigenous Korean government was ignored by the superpowers and the country was divided by Americans on the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel which had no historical significance as a border. Korea was placed under a protectorate until 1948 after which it was supposed to be united through joint elections. This however never happened because in the north the Soviet Union organized a communist government with Kim Il-sung as the leader. As a total contrast in the south, Americans set up the United States Military Government In Korea with anti-communist and democratic ideals.<sup>7</sup> The occupation ended in 1948 leaving behind two states<sup>8</sup> on the peninsula with opposing ideologies.<sup>9</sup>

South Korea became a police state ruled by the old elite of landlords and capitalists and Syngman Rhee, a devout anti-communist and a draconian leader, became the president. North Korea developed into a communist state and the colonial era guerrilla fighters established its core. During 1945–1950, practitioners of the opposing ideologies were harassed in both states and the ideological war and border fights in 1948–1950 escalated into the Korean War in 1950. The Korean War (1950–1953) was a devastating and destructive war, the border barely changed, and the war was a humanitarian disaster: an estimated 1.3 million people were killed, executed, wounded, kidnapped, or missing in the south alone. North Korea lost another 1.5 million civilians and military personnel in the war.<sup>10</sup> The war was a generational trauma and it left a legacy of fear and distrust between the two Koreas.<sup>11</sup>

President Syngman Rhee managed to hold the presidency throughout the 1950s and under his tenure autocratic tendencies strengthened in South Korea when Rhee controlled the country through nationwide police surveillance, frauds and the National Security Law. President Rhee

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<sup>6</sup> Eckert et. al. 1990, 254, 260, 276–279, 288, 315–316, 319–320, 322, 327, 329; Cumings 2005 (1997), 148, 155, 175, 177.

<sup>7</sup> The Americans refused to give Korea to Koreans in their frantic need to create an anticommunist state. South Korea was the harbinger of the US anticommunist policy as later in countries like Greece, Indochina, Iran, Guatemala, Cuba and Nicaragua the US defended any group declared as anticommunist. Cumings 2005 (1997), 200.

<sup>8</sup> Republic of Korea in the south and Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north.

<sup>9</sup> Eckert et. al. 1990, 329, 337; Cumings 2005 (1997), 185–186, 188.

<sup>10</sup> Infrastructure, industrial capacity and housing was also lost. Eckert et. al. 1990, 345.

<sup>11</sup> Eckert et. al 1990, 344–346, 348; Cumings 2005 (1997), 224, 238. For more information look Bruce Cumings books on the Korean War based on the United States Military archives.

was difficult to control and even the United States was not able to handle him. By a political system South Korea was a democracy, however the Rhee government was able to bend laws and ban the criticism of his rule and as a result South Korea in reality did not function democratically. Dissatisfaction against Rhee's rule erupted in spring of 1960 after presidential elections. On April 19<sup>th</sup> 30 000 university and high school students held demonstrations and President Rhee had to resign. A short-lived democratic government was organized until in 1961 when General Park Chung-hee overthrew the civilian government in his bloodless May 16th coup d'état.<sup>12</sup>

Park Chung-hee's rule (1961–1979) is often divided into three different eras with different styles of ruling. The years 1961–1963 were the military government era when the society was constricted and censored.<sup>13</sup> During this era, anti-communism and industrial development were emphasized as state policy.<sup>14</sup> General Park suspended over 4000 politicians and established the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) to control the country domestically and to interfere with international politics.<sup>15</sup> The military government was heavily criticized for the excessive actions against civilian freedoms, but the situation calmed down in 1963 when General Park organized the promised democratic presidential elections where he ran as a civilian and won the popular vote thus becoming the president.<sup>16</sup> Years between 1963 and 1971 are considered the soft authoritarian era when the Park government exercised authoritarian tendencies but in principle the country operated as a democratic system.<sup>17</sup> The authoritarian actions garnered criticism and the dissidence grew especially when South Korea started normalization talks with the previous oppressor Japan in 1964.<sup>18</sup>

Although President Park faced resistance, he was still a popular leader because during his rule South Korean economy grew rapidly. The economy was already partially built on the chaebol companies and the Park government strengthened the relationship even more in their strides for industrial progress.<sup>19</sup> South Korea industrialized quickly, and the success was built on the heavy

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<sup>12</sup> Eckert et. al. 1990, 348–356; Cumings 2005 (1997), 342–352.

<sup>13</sup> Chang 2015, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Lee 2011, 29.

<sup>15</sup> Eckert et. al 1990, 362; Lee 2011, 83; Kim & Sorensen 2011, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 150.

<sup>17</sup> Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 145.

<sup>18</sup> The Normalization Treaty talks with Japan were considered humiliating by many and against national interests. The protest against the normalization talks were the biggest protest event in the 1960s. Lee 2011, 30; Chang 2015, 50.

<sup>19</sup> Chaebols are Korean mega conglomerates centered around powerful families. The chaebols' influence started already in the 1940s and they have an immense effect on the national economy due to their political affiliations and international relations. Chaebols enjoy special treatment from the government in the form of alleviations.

chemical industry and export-led industry. On average the GDP grew 8.5 per cent yearly and the top-down industrialization was known as the “Miracle of the Han River” and it was admired by many leaders of the region like Deng Xiao Ping.<sup>20</sup> The economic success brought popularity to the Park government and especially the social classes of the rich, middle class of small medium-business owners and white-collar workers supported President Park. Even intellectuals were ready to tolerate and support him while gaining affluence themselves.<sup>21</sup> The prize was paid in the comfort of the working class. The workers, often woman, laboured in hazardous and unhealthy conditions due to the negligence of factory owners and managers. The horrible working conditions created dissidence and the workers often protested against the government in the 1970s.<sup>22</sup>

Dissident movements have a significant history and political effect in South Korea. Sociologist Paul Chang clarifies that the civil society is such an influential political force in South Korea that it has been dubbed as the “fifth branch” of government. Some influential protests movements before the 1970s were the Tonghak Uprising in 1894, the March First Independence Movement in 1919 and the April 19<sup>th</sup> student uprising in 1960. All of these protests are the foundation of the student movement spirit in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>23</sup> In the 1960s, the student movement started to form when South Korean society developed quickly and more idealistic and socially aware students graduated from high school and universities. They were aware of global politics, and they understood that South Korea was rapidly changing causing them to take action and participate in political affairs.<sup>24</sup> The students were motivated to rebel against Park’s authoritarian regime because they felt that historical autonomy had been taken away from them and it was their moral duty to establish a democratic civilian led state.<sup>25</sup> The student movement was hard to control and especially during the normalization talks of 1964, the protests were quelled only by the states usage of martial law and violent suppression tactics.<sup>26</sup>

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Some of the biggest chaebol companies are Samsung, Hyundai and LG. Cumings 2005 (1997), 205; Kurki & Park-Kang 2020, 175.

<sup>20</sup> Kim & Sorensen 2011, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Eckert et. al. 2011, 367.

<sup>22</sup> Lee 2011, 218–219.

<sup>23</sup> Chang 2015, 195.

<sup>24</sup> Lee 2011, 2–5.

<sup>25</sup> Lee 2011, 32.

<sup>26</sup> Lee 2011, 30; Chang 2015, 50.



Additionally, the student movement was so influential that even President Park tried to exploit movement and its democratic ideals.<sup>27</sup>

However, not all students participated in the movement and the students were not a unified group. In general, students who were able to attend universities and graduate were part of a privileged class with a bright future ahead of them because only those with enough money could afford higher education. Of course, the students who were devoted activists faced difficulties, but they were still part of the intellectual class who would occupy high positions in government offices and in big companies. Therefore, the students who participated in the student movement simultaneously enjoyed the benefits of the economic progress. However, the dual sides of the students' lives were not necessarily conflicting. The students felt they had duties to both their parents economically and to the country ideologically.<sup>28</sup>

The history of South Korea and the student movement have extensively researched in the fields of history, politics, sociology, and economics. My thesis is based on academic literature conducted in English, either originally written in English or translated from other languages. The Korean language research literature which would be extremely beneficial for my thesis is absent due to my inadequate proficiency of the language, however most of the literature I use is based on Korean language sources and the writers have extensive knowledge about the country and many of them are from South Korea. South Korea has a close relationship with the United States and therefore many of the scholars originate from the United States or the studies I use were conducted in American universities. In the US, the field of Korean studies is built on long tradition under pioneer researchers and their students. For example, James B. Palais is one of the pioneers and his students include Bruce Cumings, Carter J. Eckert, Michael Robinson and Clark W. Sorensen. Bruce Cumings has examined the Korean War and modern Korean history and his book *Korea's Place in the Sun* (1997) is one of the comprehensive books written about Korean history in English. Carter J. Eckert, and Michael Robinson alongside with Ki-baik Lee, Young Ick Lew and Edward W. Wagner in the book *Korea Old and New* (1990) compiled the Korean history comprehensively from the start until the 1990s.

The United States' and South Korea's relationship is a multilateral partnership and historian Greg Brazinsky's book *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making*

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<sup>27</sup> The student movement was influential and Park Chung-hee himself even tried to exploit the movement to a degree. President Park tried to consolidate the rightfulness of his military coup arguing that the coup followed the spirit of the 1960 April 19<sup>th</sup> student uprising which symbolized the fight for democratic ideals. Chang 2015, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Lee 2011, 18–19.

*of a Democracy* (2007) explores how the American forces influenced South Korean politics. In the 2000s an increasing amount of Korean academic research has been published when Koreans abroad have started to enter the Korean Studies as a field and some studies concluded in South Korea are published in English. For example, translated research of Park Tae-Gyun's book *An Ally and Empire: Two Myths of South Korea-United States Relations, 1945–1980* (2012) explores the relationship between the United States and South Korea from a Korean scholastic point of view.

The political history of South Korea has interested scholars because the country developed rapidly in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but according to professor Namhee Lee, the Park Chung-hee era and the student movement did not interest historians because they consider the era too ambiguous to research as enough time has not passed since the 1970s.<sup>29</sup> The absence of historical studies has been filled by scholars of economics, politics, and social studies. In the book *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era, 1961–1979* (2011) political scientist Young Jak Kim argues that there are two camps in academia about examining the Park Chung-hee era. The other side focuses on the modernization and economic development and the other side stresses the Park regime's politics in relation to authoritarianism and democracy.<sup>30</sup> Lee expands on this and stresses that the Park Chung-hee era has been polarized between the two camps and rarely the two narratives are included in a single work.<sup>31</sup>

The student movement contributed to the democratization of South Korea in the 1980s and it has been a keen interest of protest and sociology scholars especially in the 2000s. Namhee Lee in her book *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (2011) has studied the grass root movements, students, and the identity formation of South Korean common people and how all these aspects affected the democratization movement. Sociologist Paul Chang has studied the history of protest movements and the identities of protest participants in his book *Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democracy Movement, 1970–1979* (2015). He has also participated in *South Korea's Democracy Movement (1970–1993): Stanford Korea Democracy Project* (2007) with Gi-Wook Shin, Paul Y. Chang, Jung-eun Lee and Sookyoung Kim. The Stanford Korea Democracy Project compiled the historical data of protest events and concluded the data into a textual analysis of all dissident groups that were part of the democratization movement. Political scientist Park

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<sup>29</sup> Lee 2009, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Kim 2011b, 95

<sup>31</sup> Lee 2009, 5.

Myung Lim has studied the role of intellectuals in the Park era society in his text *The Chayea* in the book *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (2011).

The research tradition on the media history of South Korea is numerous in Korean language, however studies in English are rare. In the article *Modernization, globalization, and the powerful state: The Korean Media* (2000) media researchers Park Myung-Jin, Chang-Nam Kim and Sohn Byong-Woo clarify that in South Korea media research has a long scholastic history and the media has been studied since the 1960s.<sup>32</sup> The academic studies I use are written in English but most of the texts use Korean language sources. The research used in my thesis often focus more on the democratization process and how the media industry changed during the transformation from an authoritarian state to a democratic state.

One of the most important studies on the Korean media in English is written by Youm Kyo Ho, a media and law scholar from Iowa State University. His book *Press Law in South Korea* (1996) examines the legal aspects and changes of media industry in South Korea and his work is also cited often by other scholars. Another influential media history book *Media and Democratic Transition in South Korea* (2012) is written by a media researcher Kwak Ki-Sung. Cho Joan E, Lee Jae Seung and Song B.K have studied the media under the Park regime in their article *Media Exposure and Regime Support under Competitive Authoritarianism: Evidence from South Korea* (2017). Paul Chang has also studied the role of journalists in the democracy movement of the 1970s in his book *Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democracy Movement, 1970–1979* (2015). Very specific information on the newspaper industry in South Korea is hard to find but sociologists Oh In Hwan and George Won released an article *Journalism in Korea: a Short History of the Korean Press* in 1976 in which they examined the South Korean newspaper history.<sup>33</sup>

## 1.2 Research Questions, *The Korea Times* and the Korean Media

In my thesis, I examine how the authoritarian politics of the Park Chung-hee regime clashed with the student movement through the reporting of *The Korea Times* in the years 1971–1975. *The Korea Times* had to balance its coverage on the student movement according to its

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<sup>32</sup> Park & Kim & Sohn 2000, 111.

<sup>33</sup> Both of the scholars were Ph.D level researchers with affiliations to University of Hawaii and Oh at the time was working for Yonsei University in Seoul. The article examines relevant press events until the year 1973.

audience, societal expectations, and the government's demands. How did *The Korea Times* report about the student movement during the ever-changing political situation and whose opinion was the strongest in the paper? What kind of image was conveyed about the students and how was the student movement presented in the paper? *The Korea Times* held a special position as an independent English language newspaper and its readers and writers included foreigners which affected the politics of the paper. Therefore, how did *The Korea Times* comment on the student movement as an English language newspaper targeted at foreigners and was it able to position itself into the conversation even when the societal pressure coaxed it not to? With these questions, I examine *The Korea Times* as a historical source and as a mirror to the student movement in the 1970s.

All the information about *The Korea Times* is based on the content found in the newspaper and there is no academic research conducted on *The Korea Times* in English nor Korean.<sup>34</sup> The information concerning the paper is mainly gathered from *The Korea Times*' own anniversary publications and from *The Korea Times*' website. Therefore, the information presented here should be regarded with criticism because the newspaper most likely would not have published negative information on itself. South Korean media industry has been studied by the academia and conclusions made on *The Korea Times* can be supported through these studies.

*The Korea Times*<sup>35</sup> in the early 1970s was the only independent English language newspaper in South Korea. Although, the newspaper held a unique position, compared with the Korean language newspapers, the same censorship laws of the Park regime applied to it. *The Korea Times*, similar to the other papers, was connected politically and culturally to the media sphere of the era. The news media was changing in the 1970s when the economic changes started to affect society causing the newspaper industry to soar while stricter media laws were implemented by the authoritarian regime.

From the perspective of media freedom and democratic freedoms, South Korea did not achieve press freedom until the 1990s after the 1987 democratization.<sup>36</sup> However, the industry had freer years occasionally and in the 1970s the newspaper industry was fairly competent. Newspapers appeared at the peninsula during the Chosŏn dynasty but during the Japanese colonial era the

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<sup>34</sup> The paper has been used as a news source in academic texts but there are no studies on the paper itself as far as I know.

<sup>35</sup> There were two publications named *The Korea Times* before Dr. Helen Kim's *The Korea Times*. English language newspaper had also been published before and English language additions to Korean newspaper appeared already in the early 1900s. For example, see Youm (1996) *Press Law in South Korea*.

<sup>36</sup> du Mars 2013, 190–191.

industry was almost non-existent without a few exceptions.<sup>37</sup> The United States' occupation changed the situation when the US started to improve South Korea's media industry as part of their nation building process and the newspaper industry grew significantly. From the 1940s to the 1960s, the United States sponsored individuals and organizations which supported democratic press ideals resulting in highly American-influenced press practices.<sup>38</sup>

*The Korea Times* was established amidst of the raging Korean War on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1950. Dr. Helen Kim<sup>39</sup> established the newspaper to inform other countries and foreigners in Korea on the course of the war in English language. *The Korea Time's* beginning set the tone of the paper: the first writers were literature professors from the prestigious Ewha Womans University and colleagues of Dr. Helen Kim. The writers were intellectuals and cosmopolitans serving in high positions at intellectual institutions. *The Korea Times* survived the war and as the official information outlet of the government its circulation exceeded 8000 copies daily by the end of the war. In 1954, *The Korea Times* became affiliated with Korean language newspaper *Hankook Ilbo* (Daily in Korean) and the papers became sister papers under the lead of Chang Key-young who had previously established the newspaper *Chosun Ilbo*.<sup>40</sup>

*The Korea Times* and *Hankook Ilbo* had very close relationship. It is unclear whether *The Korea Times* was a direct translation of *Hankook Ilbo* but it seems only some articles were direct translations. In the 1950s and 1960s the newspapers at least shared the newsroom and foreign correspondents. Until January 1969 the editorials in *The Korea Times* were direct translations from *Hankook Ilbo*.<sup>41</sup> Even though *The Korea Times* was a specialized and targeted newspaper to a smaller audience, the close relationship and similar policies with *Hankook Ilbo* allow me to make broader contextual conclusions on *The Korea Times* when the same ideas were present in *Hankook Ilbo*. Additionally, both papers were affiliated with other publications of the same company.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> There were few exceptions in the 1920s like establishing the *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper, but the paper was highly censored. Youm 1996, 9.

<sup>38</sup> Brazinsky 2007, 50–58.

<sup>39</sup> Dr. Helen Kim (1899–1970) was the first Korean woman to receive a doctoral degree and the first woman university president in Korea at Ewha Womans University. She is recognized for her work on women's rights and furthering their education. Yun Suh-Young 2011, Helen Kim: Mother of The Korea Times. Electronic material.

<sup>40</sup> Nam 1970, 10–11; Times history, *The Korea Times*, electronic material.

<sup>41</sup> In January 1969 the editorial note on the second page of the paper changed from: "Editorials of The Korea Times, unless otherwise specified, are translated from the Hankook Ilbo." to "Editorials of The Korea Times and its sister paper, the Hankook Ilbo, reflect identical policy." Masthead Second Page. *The Korea Times* 5.1.1969; Masthead Second Page. *The Korea Times* 7.1.1969.

<sup>42</sup> Other papers published under the Hankook Ilbo Group in the 1970s were *The Hankook Ilbo*, *The Seoul Kyungje* (Business Daily), *The Sonyon Hankook* (Children's Daily), *The Chugan Hankook* (Weekly), *Chugan Yosong*

After Park Chung-hee's military coup, the press restrictions tightened considerably in the 1960s. During the military government years, Park "purified" the robust newspaper industry that had grown to a problematic level during the civilian government of 1960. During the purification hundreds of journalists were arrested and purged. The rampant yellow journalism was harming the public but the Park government also used the purge to silence critical journalists.<sup>43</sup> During the soft authoritarianism era of the 1960s, President Park tried to control the press, but journalists and other civilian groups were able to resist major changes like the Press Ethics Commission Law in 1964.<sup>44</sup> The Park regime was able to gain control over the media industry through other ways such as the National Security Law and the Anti Communist Law. Together with restrictive laws Park used the KCIA to control the press by establishing a special division to control media in 1964. The KCIA agents were stationed at central offices of major newspaper to monitor their activities daily.<sup>45</sup> Although, the newspaper industry became restricted and censored under the Park regime in the 1960s and 1970s, the economic advances increased the demand for newspapers and the industry grew.<sup>46</sup>

The Park regime controlled the press by offering perks to journalists who were inclined to oversee journalistic ethics. Journalism in South Korea was a prestigious occupation and the position in major news companies were very sought after and often preferred university degrees from the applicants.<sup>47</sup> To incite the journalists to work for the government, Park's government offered career journalists positions in ministries as informants, or they were offered the position of minister of culture and information, and usually the ex-journalists worked in the position.<sup>48</sup> *The Korea Times* could not avoid political ties. The chief president of the Hankook Ilbo Group Chang Key-young was a career business owner and a politician. During the 1960s and 1970s he was part of national politics and in 1971 and 1973 elections he was elected from the roster of the Park Chung-hee's major party to the National Assembly. Many of *The Korea Times* staff

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(Weekly for Women) and *The Ilgan Sports* (Sports Daily). Information from Overseas subscription Rates ad in *The Korea Times* 11.2.1973.

<sup>43</sup> The South Korean newspaper industry went rogue in 1960 when press laws were relaxed. The industry became robust, and the people complained about the yellow newspapers. Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 149.

<sup>44</sup> During 1964 Park tried to implement a Press Ethics Committee and a Press Ethics Law to make sure that the content in the media was qualified. The industry rejected the proposal as there already was a civilian run institution for keeping up with press ethics. Kwak 2012, 9–10.

<sup>45</sup> Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 150.

<sup>46</sup> du Mars 2013, 197.

<sup>47</sup> Chang 2015, 117. Journalism was taught in South Korean universities but often a degree in humanities qualified for journalist positions. Oh & Won 1976, 46–48. *The Korea Times* sought after young people under 30-years old with good knowledge on humanities and good conduct of English. The Times Recruiting New Editorial Staff, *The Korea Times*, 18.7.1976.

<sup>48</sup> Park & Kim & Sohn 2000, 114.

naturally moved to high positions in bureaucracies and diplomatic positions.<sup>49</sup> This was not surprising because the staff of *The Korea Times* were required to have a good understanding on humanities and they had to be proficient in English.<sup>50</sup>

The incentives offered by the government were effective in persuading journalists to self-censor, but some journalists and newspapers resisted the censorship of the authoritarian regime. Newspapers like *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Kyunghyang*, *Maeil* and *Chosun Ilbo* objected government actions in the 1960s, but they were suppressed by the government through blocking advertisement deals and forcibly selling the newspaper to pro-government owners.<sup>51</sup> *The Korea Times* also had conflicts with the authoritarian governments and already in the 1950s the paper was forced into financial trouble by the Rhee regime because of political criticism.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, in 1962 Chang Key-young with three senior members of *Hankook Ilbo* were taken into custody by the KCIA because of a critical article. The military junta declared the criticism unfounded, and they arrested Chang and the editors while *The Korea Times* was pressured into “voluntary” suspension of publication for three days.<sup>53</sup>

Information on South Korean newspapers’ newsrooms and their circulation is scarce. According to sociologists Oh In Hwan and George Won, South Korean newspaper companies were very reluctant to publish information about their circulation. However, the authoritarian government in the 1960s wanted to track information sources and radios in the country. Oh and Won in their article clarify that the total number of all newspapers sold daily in 1969 was 2.5 million copies. In comparison, in 1969 the home delivered circulation of *Hankook Ilbo* was approximately 280 000 copies making it the second largest newspaper in the capitol area.<sup>54</sup> Circulation of *The Korea Times* is hard to find and the only relevant circulation total is from 1964 when the home delivered circulation hit 10 000 copies mark.<sup>55</sup> The newspaper industry was growing rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s and I expect that *The Korea Times* circulation grew together with the greater trends in the 1970s. The possible circulation is also affected by the overseas subscriptions because starting from 1962 *The Korea Times* offered overseas subscriptions to the regions of South Asia, North and South America, Australia, Europe and

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<sup>49</sup> Yun 1980.

<sup>50</sup> The Times Recruiting New Staff Members. *The Korea Times* 18.9.1970; The Times Recruiting New Editorial Staff, *The Korea Times*, 18.7.1976.

<sup>51</sup> Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 150–151.

<sup>52</sup> The Times History, *The Korea Times* website. Electronic material.

<sup>53</sup> Nam 1970.

<sup>54</sup> Oh & Won 1976, 28 Index: footnote 35.

<sup>55</sup> Nam Jong-ho 1.1.1970, Born in War, The Korea Times Still Grows. *The Korea Times*, pages 10–11.

Middle East.<sup>56</sup> *The Korea Times* published 28 pages per week. During the 1960s and 1970s the number of pages published per week was limited due to paper shortage. On average Korean newspapers published 36 pages a week and Monday publications were not allowed in the late 1960s. Therefore, *The Korea Times* as a daily four-paged newspaper did not differ greatly from other newspapers.<sup>57</sup>

The audience of *The Korea Times* can be described as intellectual. As an English language newspaper, its main purpose was to reach foreign readers but in the 1970s 80% of their readers were Koreans who wanted to learn English. The mastering of the English language was beneficial to South Koreans due to the United States presence in the country.<sup>58</sup> In 1970, *The Korea Times* conducted a survey on their own readers and according to the survey most readers of *The Korea Times* were highly educated and around 40% of the readers were students. Of the foreigners, Americans were the largest group, but other nationalities included Chinese, British and Germans.<sup>59</sup> There is no conclusive data how many foreigners resided in South Korea in the 1970s.

However, approximately 40 000 American soldiers were stationed in the country but the Americans that read *The Korea Times* most likely were non-military people as the soldiers lived in army camps isolated from the society.<sup>60</sup> American civilians were a prominent group in South Korea and the data regarding them is also uncertain. The United States organized a development program called the Peace Corps and the volunteers of the Peace Corps were sent to developing countries to aid locals. In South Korea between 1966–1981 more than 2000 American youths worked for the program.<sup>61</sup> *The Korea Times* acted as a platform to connect the Koreans and foreigners to make life easier for the foreigners while catering domestic news to locals who wanted to learn English. The paper had its own guides for people looking for hotels, restaurants and other everyday help which indicates that the audience of *The Korea Times* had purchasing power which was confirmed in their survey as well.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The overseas subscriptions were offered for the other affiliated papers as well. Nam Jong-ho 1.1.1970, Born in War, The Korea Times Still Grows. *The Korea Times*, pages 10–11.

<sup>57</sup> Koh 1969, 47.

<sup>58</sup> Paik 2018, 125–126. Electronic material.

<sup>59</sup> The Times Readers Intellectuals, Enjoy Features, Unbiased' News. *The Korea Times*. 27.12.1970.

<sup>60</sup> Uk 2020, 967.

<sup>61</sup> Linda Vorhis James: What a beautiful journey!: Celebrating the 50th anniversary of Peace Corps Korea. *Peace Corps website* 22.11.2016.

<sup>62</sup> The Times Readers Intellectuals, Enjoy Features, Unbiased' News. *The Korea Times*. 27.12.1970.



However, one underlying issue appears while studying South Korean media and using western research on the South Korean media sphere. In general, according to Park, Kim and Sohn western models and theories have long been accepted as the ideal theories but since the 1980s there has been continuous debate among Korean media scholars on whether the concepts and theories developed in the West are applicable as they are to Korean media and culture. Alas, the scholars are yet to come to satisfactory alternatives to apply for the Korean realities.<sup>63</sup> It is important to note this fact when studying South Korean media, but it is not the most affecting theoretical aspect of my research because I examine *The Korea Times* from a historical perspective rather than from media theory perspective.

### 1.3 Methods and Newspapers as a Historical Source

In my thesis, I examine how the South Korean student movement was reported in *The Korea Times* during 1971–1975. I chose this time frame because the student movement was very active in the early 1970s and when *The Korea Times* was able to report about the movement with different nuances depending on the year. The time frame finishes in 1975 when the reporting of the student movement ceased after the movement was suppressed in the spring of 1975. Articles on the student movement appeared again only in 1979 after the assassination of President Park<sup>64</sup> and the then renewed student movement was already in a new phase. Therefore, the articles from 1979 onwards are not relevant to my study. The years 1971–1975 represent the active years of the student movement in the 1970s and the phenomenon is adequately reported in *The Korea Times*. I left out the year 1970 from my research as there was not enough usable material in *The Korea Times*.

The articles I use in my thesis are sourced from the ProQuest Historical Newspaper database. *The Korea Times* is available for years 1956–2016 as scanned files with optical character recognition (OCR) software applied to the texts. For my research, I used word searches “student demonstration” and “student protest” for years 1970–1980 and from the results I narrowed the timeline to 1971–1975. The word search is unpredictable because the OCR software struggles with recognizing small, broken, and unclear words in the text.<sup>65</sup> For *The Korea Times*, the OCR has often misinterpreted some words and most importantly names. I corrected all the obvious

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<sup>63</sup> Park & Kim & Sohn 2000, 111, 121.

<sup>64</sup> Kwak 2012, 15.

<sup>65</sup> Schrag 2021, 132.

mistakes in direct quotations to ease the reading of my work.<sup>66</sup> It is also very probable that my word search did not find all relevant articles. Likewise, the student movement and its effects were probably discussed in *The Korea Times* without mentioning the words “student”, “protest” and “demonstration”. The focus of my study is therefore on the occasions when the student movement was discussed directly in *The Korea Times* and not on the whole nuanced suppressed press situation when newspapers often included hidden commentary and narratives in their news coverage.<sup>67</sup> Regardless, the number of articles I use is still high and the data of this thesis should present *The Korea Times*’ attitude towards the student movement adequately.

*The Korea Times* discussed the student movement in various texts during 1971–1975. According to communication researcher Kevin Williams newspapers in general incorporate different kind of agendas which are displayed through different article types. News analysis texts, editorials and non-informative texts are the basis of newspapers.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, Jyrki Pietilä emphasizes that usually different article types in newspapers divide into different genres of text.<sup>69</sup> *The Korea Times* equivalently functions like other newspapers and the student movement and the protests were discussed in different article types. The number of articles published about the student movement fluctuated greatly depending on the year. The everchanging political situation impacted *The Korea Times*’ reporting and to demonstrate the change I have compiled a graph on how many articles were published which year and what type of articles were included. The total number of articles is 500.

Year	News	Editorial	Column	Other	Yearly Total
1971	194	14	12	23	243
1972	7	2	2	0	11
1973	44	1	1	1	47
1974	95	2	3	8	108
1975	70	6	5	10	91
Article Type Total	410	25	23	70	
All Articles Total	500				

Article data on *The Korea Times* 1971–1975

<sup>66</sup> The OCR makes a lot of easily fixable mistakes, for example often word campus was interpreted as pampus in the files. I have fixed these kinds of small mistakes; however, I have left significant mistakes be and I did not fix names as I cannot make correct guesses on what the original names would have been. The ProQuest database did not include files on *The Korea Times*’ original pages, only pages with OCR.

<sup>67</sup> Nam 1978, 115–117.

<sup>68</sup> Williams 2009, 10–11.

<sup>69</sup> Pietilä 2012, 595.

As seen on the graph, the student movement was mostly referenced in the news articles which were neutral articles on current events. The articles that I consider as news articles are either small or large articles where the student movement was the only topic and there was no commentary from the newspaper or other parties. Large articles that included many political stories with student movement being one of them are also counted in the news articles category. Sizes of the articles range anywhere from a couple of sentences to one third of a page. Often the news articles were shorter articles or inclusions in the larger front page news articles. Other than the news articles, the student movement was discussed in editorials and different columns. The editorials are the most significant when analyzing *The Korea Times*' own opinions and the approximate length of editorials was 500 words. *The Korea Times* published regular columns like "Student Corner" and "Thoughts of The Times" and in the column section I have also included some less regular columns. The "other" section consists of everything else: interviews, specific analyses, letters to the editor, summaries etc. The different article type's regularity in *The Korea Times* varies by the year which will be explored in the later chapters.

The graph above shows that the number of articles published each year changes drastically after 1972. The decrease of articles demonstrates how the activity of student movement differed depending on the year and how the restrictions of the press impacted *The Korea Times*' reporting. For example, the number of editorials show whether *The Korea Times* directly commented on the student movement even when the movement was active and when their actions were newsworthy. The 500 articles demonstrate how the student movement was reported but to understand *The Korea Times* and its stance as a newspaper I include other articles outside of the primary articles to widen the context of the paper. Articles discussing the state of the newspaper industry and current political decisions explain *The Korea Times*' stance and history better.<sup>70</sup>

To analyze the material, I will be using content analysis along with other methods such as context analysis, the comparison of material and source criticism. According to researchers Jouni Tuomi and Anneli Sarajärvi content analysis can be used as a single method or as a theoretical framework and it is used in the most academic fields. Content analysis is a type of textual analysis which works effectively on unstructured source materials that require sorting and artificial limits. Tuomi and Sarajärvi divide the method into two parts: content

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<sup>70</sup> In the bibliography all the articles taken from the years 1971–1975 will be mentioned under the source material and other articles outside of that time range are marked individually.

decomposition and content analysis. Content decomposition is the quantitative part of the research which I have conducted and demonstrated in the graph above. The quantitative data is also part of the qualitative analysis in the upcoming chapters and I use the quantitative data to emphasize the results found with the qualitative analysis. In order to conduct conclusions on the material, different qualitative methods are needed.<sup>71</sup> The additional methods I use are traditional methods used in historical studies: context analysis, the comparison of the material and source criticism. The context analysis is needed to explain the historical context surrounding *The Korea Times* and the method eases conducting conclusions about the paper. The comparison of the material demonstrates how the source material changed throughout the years and the change *The Korea Times* experienced. Source criticism is one of the most vital aspects of studying history and *The Korea Times* needs to be approached with criticism: the newspaper was made by humans, and it cannot be regarded as factually truthful narrator of the past.

Newspapers work as institutions, and they are unique because there is never a single authority behind them. Media historian James Curran explains that historians have interpreted the press as an agency of social reforms, a force for diversion and as a watchdog for governments and that the press acts in different ways depending on the societal and cultural contexts in which it operates.<sup>72</sup> Historian Stephen Vella in his 2009 book chapter 'Newspapers' elaborates on this more and according to him, newspapers are simultaneously open and closed systems of communication. Simultaneously, newspapers are available for anyone to read while they operate from either centralized state organs or private enterprises with secretive inner operations.<sup>73</sup> Newspapers offer information on the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the past and critical reading of newspapers can reveal much of the previous eras. According to Vella, newspapers as a historical source uncover the events that the contemporary readers were made aware of, and they also reveal to historians what the reporters and editors thought about their own society and the world around them.<sup>74</sup>

Although newspapers were an important information source to the people in the past it does not mean that the information in the newspaper was objective or even truthful. Journalists wrote the pieces in newspapers but often they themselves did not witness the actual events. According

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<sup>71</sup> Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 103, 117–119. The summary on content analysis is based on the Finnish tradition and not on the American tradition.

<sup>72</sup> Curran 1978, 51–52.

<sup>73</sup> Vella 2009, 194.

<sup>74</sup> Vella 2009, 192.

to discourse analyst Teun A. van Dijk, journalists gather information through agency wires, eyewitness reports, interviews, press releases, reports, statements, meetings, and other forms of discourse.<sup>75</sup> Before the news piece gets published it has travelled through the multiple people of whom some were in the powerful position of deciding whether the piece was newsworthy. Therefore, news articles are processed through the machinery of selection and careful consideration before publishing in the hands of writers, editors, and owners.<sup>76</sup>

Furthermore, the content in the news is affected by the fact that newspapers are businesses with monetary interests which influence the narratives published in the newspapers. The priorities and interests of the wealthy and powerful inevitably influence the mainstream newspapers although according to Vella, even in police states the news cannot be completely controlled. Constrictions on the news however result in limited discussions and debates in the newspapers even in democratic societies. Therefore, historians can study how newspapers worked as human made institutions with material and ideological interests while conforming to the broader society and its power structures. Archives that provide detailed records on the internal hierarchies and decision-making processes of newspapers rarely exist.<sup>77</sup> In these cases, Vella guides historians to conduct textual analysis on the content because the text reveals the values and goals of the newspaper.<sup>78</sup>

Moreover, newspapers operate differently in controlled societies. According to Curran, in authoritarian societies the primary purpose of the newspapers is “to support and advance the policies of the government in power; and to service the state”.<sup>79</sup> By Curran’s the definition of authoritarian, South Korea belongs to this category of “authoritarian state” during the years 1971–1975. The state exercised control over the press through media censorship and at the same time financial interests guided how *The Korea Times* reported on the student movement. As mentioned before, western media theories are not applicable as they are to the East Asian context. However, *The Korea Times* was guided by and affected by the common institutional practices of the western media. Besides, the South Korean press was highly influenced by the American press practices thus making *The Korea Times* more acceptable source to be analyzed with western media theories.

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<sup>75</sup> van Dijk 1988, 179.

<sup>76</sup> Fowler 1991, 13.

<sup>77</sup> This also affects my thesis.

<sup>78</sup> Vella 2009, 193, 194, 198.

<sup>79</sup> Curran 1978, 52.

## 2 1971: The Many Voices of the Student Movement in *The Korea Times*

### 2.1 For Democracy! Supporting Voices in *The Korea Times*

The 1970s in South Korea was a very different decade compared with the soft-authoritarian era of the 1960s. In 1972, the repressive Yushin Constitution was implemented and the civil society was extremely controlled until Park Chung-hee's death in 1979. However, the year 1971 still reflected the practices and freer ideas of the 1960s. The student movement never ceased its activities in the late 1960s, but its activities lessened and consequently so did the reporting.<sup>80</sup> 1971 was a catalyst year for the student movement because of many political changes and instances which prompted the students to return to protesting in a greater scale. The political events that received a lot of attention in the press were the declaration of press freedom, the university drill hour dispute and the presidential elections during the late spring of 1971. In the autumn, the implementation of the garrison decree<sup>81</sup> and presidential measures shook the nation prompting the press to be more careful with their publications. All these instances were reported in *The Korea Times* with commentary from different parties delivering a broad picture of the instances and the student movement.

In this chapter, I analyze the year 1971 from two different viewpoints: those who supported the student movement and those who were against it. Newspapers in general often include multiple opinions and voices to explain and explore news in comprehensive manner.<sup>82</sup> *The Korea Times* did this as well and the student movement was explored from many different viewpoints and different voices were found in the paper in 1971. Both supportive and reprimanding tones are represented in *The Korea Times* throughout the year, but the supportive texts were mostly published in the spring and the voices against the movement were more prominent in the autumn. Some political changes such as the presidential elections at the end of spring affected the thematic division of the articles during the year. Still, both supportive and reprimanding articles appeared in the paper throughout the whole year. In Chapter 2.1, I explore the supportive voices and how the students were represented and who wrote about the student movement. As a contrast in Chapter 2.2, I explore the articles which display opposing opinions

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<sup>80</sup> Lee 2011, 32.

<sup>81</sup> In the South Korean context garrison decree meant that the army was stationed in usually civilian dominated locations. Often this meant that the military occupied universities to control the student movement. Generally, see "garrison", *Cambridge Dictionary* electronic material.

<sup>82</sup> Williams 2009, 10–11.

of the student movement and the articles that stayed neutral on the matter. *The Korea Times'* editorials are included in this neutral category for their stance of third viewpoint of not supporting but also not opposing the student movement.

Most articles of my study are included in this chapter, 243 in total, and the division of articles can be checked from the article data table on page 18. There are two reasons that explain why there were more articles released in 1971 than in the later years. The press was legally less restricted in 1971 allowing *The Korea Times* to publish more articles on the student movement and furthermore the student movement was overall more active in 1971 than for example, in 1972, resulting in more numerous reported instances. The combination of these two facts led to a situation in which there were more articles, and more opinionated articles, that balanced the newspaper's reporting in 1971. These articles allow me to explore *The Korea Times* as a more balanced newspaper compared with the later years of the examined period. The major article type for this year is the news which in general dominated the paper. However, a good number of other types of articles were present in *The Korea Times* giving the paper depth of professional journalism.

From here on, the situation of the South Korean press and the press freedom movement is explained through *The Korea Times'* content and research literature. In 1971 *The Korea Times'* position in the society was changing and the position of the press and journalists was challenged by the student movement in the spring. Restrictions on newspapers and the media industry tightened in the late 1960s which affected the reporting on the student movement and other renounced social topics.<sup>83</sup> According to Cho et al. the “dark age” of the South Korean press started in 1968 when many journalists of the *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper were arrested under the Anti-Communist Law. The government also imposed word choices on the Korean language press to control the image projected about the government. In the interviews of Korean journalists conducted by Paul Chang it was expressed that word choices in the press like “student demonstration” became “school situation”.<sup>84</sup> Discourse analyst van Dijk confirms that lexical choices in media display hidden opinions and ideologies. He explains that words like “terrorists” instead of “freedom fighter” and “riots” instead of “resistance” are traditional examples of how tactical opinions can be found in the press.<sup>85</sup> In this matter, *The Korea Times* avoided some restrictions because of the English language. Words such as “demonstration”,

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<sup>83</sup> Cho, Lee & Song 2017, 151.

<sup>84</sup> Cho, Lee & Song 2017, 151; Chang 2015, 115

<sup>85</sup> van Dijk 1988, 177.

“protest” and “rally” were constant in the paper when describing student demonstrations both domestically and abroad. Staff writer Kim Myong-sik confirmed this in the 1990 anniversary article in which he states that in the authoritarian era *The Korea Times* “was relatively free from interference over minor details, but the over-sensitivity of the government towards the international image of the military-led administration often kept the paper in serious trouble”.<sup>86</sup>

Furthermore, in the spring of 1971 the student movement aimed for the activation of journalist to fight for press freedom. Students started to campaign for press freedom because coverage on the protests was lacking. On April 9<sup>th</sup> *The Korea Times* reported about the protest of the Korea University students and in the article, the paper included quoted shouts of the students: “Protect the freedom of the university. Journalists, criticize yourselves for ignoring the people’s right to know.”<sup>87</sup> Already in March students from the Seoul National University (SNU) had staged a dramaturgical protest where they mourned the “death” of the press. Other papers responded to the students’ demands and on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April *Dong-A Ilbo* published The Declaration to Protect the Freedom of the Press. The declaration was important preset for the future declarations of press freedom in the later years. Other newspapers followed suit, however there were no notions of similar proclamations in *The Korea Times*.<sup>88</sup>

Although *The Korea Times* did not comment on the *Dong-A Ilbo* declaration in April, it did confirm that reporters of the sister paper *Hankook Ilbo* had participated in the supporting of the declaration.<sup>89</sup> While *The Korea Times* did not comment on the press freedom matter directly, it still published translated opinions of other Korean language newspapers in the section Local Press Comments. I think that the Local Press Comments section most likely consisted of shortened and translated editorials from other Korean newspaper because of similar emphasis on commentary like in *The Korea Times*’ editorials and the lack of reference on the text’s writers. For example, regarding the press freedom *The Korea Times* included an article from *Shin-A Ilbo* in the Local Press Comments where *Shin-A Ilbo* commented that: “...we appreciate the pointblank criticism of students during their rallies, urging the press to play more positive role in guiding public opinion.”<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Kim Myong-sik: Korea Times Links Nation to Global Community. *The Korea Times* 1.11.1990.

<sup>87</sup> Students Stage Rallies. *The Korea Times* 9.4.1971.

<sup>88</sup> Chang 2015, 118.

<sup>89</sup> Scribes Resolve To Protect Freedom. *The Korea Times* 24.4.1971.

<sup>90</sup> Student Protests. *Shin-A Ilbo* in Local Press Comments. *The Korea Times* 15.4.1971



Even though *The Korea Times* did not directly comment on the students' demands or the *Dong-A Ilbo* declaration, it did publish an editorial about the role of newspapers on April 7<sup>th</sup>, the Korean newspaper day. The editorial dodges around the press freedom topic but it becomes clear that *The Korea Times* was aware of the ongoing protest situation. In the editorial, the paper commented:

We cannot carry all news on our limited pages of newsprint. News item selection also depends on outside interference as well as the judgment of the reporter himself. If an event is newsworthy, the press will always respond, it is certain. The Korean press today repents of its shortcomings and the failure to live up to the public's expectations. Justice calls for courage, conscientiousness and action. To realize our goals we are again reminded of unity, tolerance and united purpose.<sup>91</sup>

Even if *The Korea Times* did not comment on the students' demands or the *Dong-A Ilbo* declaration, the paper still covered the press freedom instance from multiple viewpoints. The students' voices were quoted and texts from other newspapers were used to demonstrate broader understanding about the situation the newspaper industry in South Korea was experiencing.

In addition to the press freedom issues, the students wanted to address other social concerns. The main concerns of the student movement were rooted in the past but the events of the late 1970 sparked the movement to expand in a larger scale in 1971. In 1970, Chon Tae-il, a 23-year-old textile worker, committed suicide by setting himself on fire in protest to the poor working conditions of the South Korean workers. According to historian Hwasook Nam, South Korean scholars and activists have acknowledged Chun's death as the spark that ignited the organized labor movement and the worker-intellectual alliance. Chun's suicide gave rise to an unparalleled response by the media at the time. Also, the students and the progressive Christian community quickly responded to the incident.<sup>92</sup> The labor movement was highly influential in the 1970s alongside the students and it was equally suppressed as well.<sup>93</sup>

One of the most often discussed topics in *The Korea Times* during 1971 was the military drill-hour dispute. Mandatory drill hour quota for male university students was a relic from the Rhee era in the 1950s and the students could not graduate without completing the hour quota. In January 1971, the government wanted to "discipline" students on campus and they increased the hours to 711. The increase went into effect in the spring and students were even more angered when the military reservists training the students were replaced with active-duty

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<sup>91</sup> Newspaper Day. *The Korea Times*. 7.4.1971.

<sup>92</sup> Nam 2019, 167–168.

<sup>93</sup> Brazinsky 2007, 224–225.

officers.<sup>94</sup> The drill-hour dispute lasted all along 1971 as a part of greater debate but especially in the spring many of the news on the students focused on the drill hour dispute. Sub-headings and headlines like “Anti-Drill Rallies SNU Colleges Suspend Classes”<sup>95</sup> and “Students Rally Against Drill”<sup>96</sup> and other similar titles often appeared in *The Korea Times*.

I have reviewed the atmosphere of the South Korean press and examined the reasons why the protests intensified in 1971, I continue to ask what kind of news *The Korea Times* published about the students’ activities. The articles that included students’ views or opinions of people who supported or sympathized with the movement were often in the form of either news or columns. *The Korea Times* displayed other Korean language newspaper’s opinions and support of the student movement in the Local Press Comments section similar to the press freedom movement case. The newspaper frequently quoted people who were involved in the news events. Regarding the students, *The Korea Times* often interviewed leaders of student groups and organizations, published students demands to the government, or quoted students’ slogans used in the rallies to display the students’ opinions. The universities that appeared in *The Korea Times* are the prestigious big three universities: Korea University, Seoul National University and Yonsei University aka “SKY” universities.<sup>97</sup> In the 1970s, the students from the SKY universities were on the front line of the demonstrations and they led the student networks that reached out for the whole nation. Because of this, they had a considerable impact on the demonstrations. According to Chang, especially the SNU had a central role in the student movement in the 1960s and in 1971 as well. The student leaders at SNU coordinated the national network by contacting students at other SNU colleges and then at Yonsei and Korea University. They constituted a nationwide, networked core group which enabled the extension of the movement from Seoul to other provinces.<sup>98</sup>

The students drafted multipoint demands directed at the government which were then published in the local media. *The Korea Times* published these demands and in this way the students were able to express their opinions in the paper. For example, on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1971, the president of Yonsei University, on behalf of the students, delivered a five-point declaration regarding the campus drill-hours to ministries. The declaration demanded these actions:

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<sup>94</sup> Chang 2015, 55–58.

<sup>95</sup> Anti-Drill Rallies SNU Colleges Suspend Classes. *The Korea Times* 14.4.1971.

<sup>96</sup> Students Rally Against Drill. *The Korea Times* 3.4.1971.

<sup>97</sup> Kurki & Park-Kang 2020, 177.

<sup>98</sup> Chang 2015, 69.

- To shorten the annual two week combat training to one week.
- To shorten three hours of military training to two hours a week.
- To replace active duty officers as military drill instructors with reservist enlisted men.
- To put the first emphasis on lectures rather than the current practice-oriented military training.
- To release students who are at present held by police, and stop surveillance of students.<sup>99</sup>

In June 1971, *The Korea Times* reported on similar demands by the students of SNU University.<sup>100</sup> This type of demands and proclamations were a popular form of protesting in the 1970s. Like in the press freedom movement in the spring of 1971, journalists were one of the groups that preferred the declaration style protesting alongside with Christian organizations. The declarations and demands needed to have organized groups and the students had learned in the 1960s that successful movements were organized and impactful. In 1971, they learned how to unite the movement in the current political atmosphere which later aided them in the protests of 1974–1975.<sup>101</sup>

Furthermore, students' opinions were also reported as quoted slogans which they had yelled or expressed otherwise during protests. According to Chang, students prepared for the demonstrations inside the campuses where they made posters and placards featuring democracy-related slogans. Alongside with shouting, students sang movement songs when they left the campus area and afterwards they often clashed with the riot police.<sup>102</sup> The police and students frequently confronted in a violent manner and on multiple occasions *The Korea Times* reported that one of the students' tactics of resistance was to throw rocks at the police.<sup>103</sup> Some protest slogans quoted by *The Korea Times* were "Is the unjust election modernization of our country?"<sup>104</sup>, "What of the illegal detention of our friends? The campus wails sadly."<sup>105</sup>, "Let's save tear gas bombs and achieve a self-sufficient economy"<sup>106</sup> and "Are modern riot police the modernization of our country?"<sup>107</sup> The slogans were a good way to display the students'

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<sup>99</sup> 5-Point Demand. *The Korea Times* 18.4.1971.

<sup>100</sup> 'Contrary to Academicism' SNU Students Snub New Campus Drill. *The Korea Times* 27.6.1971.

<sup>101</sup> Chang 2015, 151.

<sup>102</sup> Chang 2015, 151.

<sup>103</sup> For example, see: Students and Soldiers. *The Korea Times* 13.10.1971.

<sup>104</sup> Students Pledge To Protect Campus. *The Korea Times* 20.5.1971.

<sup>105</sup> Students Pledge To Protect Campus. *The Korea Times* 20.5.1971.

<sup>106</sup> 3000 Students Continue Demonstrations. *The Korea Times* 17.4.1971.

<sup>107</sup> 3000 Students Continue Demonstrations. *The Korea Times* 17.4.1971.

opinions while the newspaper itself did not comment on the matter. Shin et al. elaborate that the newspapers in the 1970s South Korea were not the most reliable sources on protest events but it seems *The Korea Times* was able to include some direct opinions from the protest events.<sup>108</sup> The credibility of the paper can be questioned but when compared with the research work of Paul Chang and Namhee Lee, the information presented about the students' demands match with *The Korea Times*' reporting.

In addition to the news, *The Korea Times* had a dedicated column for students' texts called Student Corner. The column was published on Sundays and it was established in 1968 to serve as "a forum for ideas of thinking students in view of the ever-increasing number of collegian readers".<sup>109</sup> The column lasted until 1978.<sup>110</sup> In the column, students sometimes commented on the student movement expressing their own opinion on it and the names, majors and universities of the writers were always mentioned. On two occasions in the autumn of 1971, a student wrote to the Student Corner regarding the student movement. On September 26<sup>th</sup>, engineering student Kim Jong-shin from the Seoul National University wrote that the students should indeed be absorbed in study but considering the current conditions it is impossible. He wrote:

In Korean society, where its fundamental systems has often been in great danger because of poverty, disease, illiteracy and poor leadership, student movements involving demonstrations, social services, and enlightenment movements are inevitable.<sup>111</sup>

Another more outright opinion of the Student Corner was written by business student Chung Chang-wook from Korea University. On November 7<sup>th</sup>, he wrote about soldiers' intrusion into the Korea University campus and how the soldiers treated the students poorly. He wrote:

It was really like a battleground. We were treated just like prisoners of war. They caught whomever they found by rushing out all the buildings on campus, including students studying in the library. Once they caught students, they unmercifully kicked and beat them. There were many severely injured students because of this excessive force. It was unbelievably terrible. One wishes that it was just a nightmare, hoping that such persecution on campus could not have occurred in a supposedly democratic country.<sup>112</sup>

Their texts are the most direct and expressive out of all the Student Corners discussing the topic. Considering that Chang outspokenly described the situation and how the students were treated,

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<sup>108</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 7.

<sup>109</sup> Thinking Students!. *The Korea Times* 8.9.1968.

<sup>110</sup> Yun, 1980.

<sup>111</sup> Kim Jong-shin. Student Movements in Student Corner. *The Korea Times*. 26.9.1971.

<sup>112</sup> Chung Chang-wook. October 15 in Student Corner. *The Korea Times* 7.9.1971.

it is possible that he was an activist who was targeted in the campus intrusion. The creation of Student Corner shows that *The Korea Times* wanted to include collegians as a part of the newspaper and to explore their opinions to an extent. However, the writers were individuals with individual opinions and therefore the Student Corner columns did not necessarily represent all students. The column was also curated by *The Korea Times*, meaning that the texts were chosen by the paper to represent the situation.

Having established that the students' voices were included in *The Korea Times*, next I will examine the articles of the non-students who supported the movement. The paper included articles by other people and organizations like newspapers that supported or at least understood the student movements' motives and aims. Judging by the authors' names, most of the columns were written by Koreans, but some foreigners commented on the matter as well which I explore in the upcoming section. The Koreans who wrote to *The Korea Times* were often linked with education, and they possessed a good conduct of the English language as were required to write for *The Korea Times*. As mentioned in the introduction, the readers of *The Korea Times* were members of the intellectual class and majority of them were highly educated and possessed material wealth. The writers' descriptions reveal that the columnists of *The Korea Times* were highly educated and worked in good professions.<sup>113</sup>

In her book *Cold War Cosmopolitanism Period Style in 1950s Korean Cinema* (2020) cultural historian Christina Klein describes how a cosmopolitan social class influenced by the U.S and Western values started to establish itself from the 1950s onwards. The Cold War pushed South Koreans to look beyond their national borders and to understand themselves as connected to other people in the West and Asia. According to Klein, cosmopolitanism in South Korea appeared through style, material properties and political and social ideas.<sup>114</sup> The close ties with the other countries are displayed in *The Korea Times* as the paper reported in 1980 that the staff of the paper travelled overseas for news coverage and almost all reporters at the news desk were given chances to travel overseas.<sup>115</sup>

One of the supporting voices of the student movement was published in *The Korea Times'* column "Thoughts of the Times". The column was started in 1964 by managing editor Lee Kyoo-hyun who wanted to adopt the American style personal journalism and community

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<sup>113</sup> The Times Readers Intellectuals, Enjoy Features, Unbiased' News. *The Korea Times*. 27.12.1970.

<sup>114</sup> Klein 2020, 5–7.

<sup>115</sup> Yun Yeo-chun: The Times Vigorously Entering 4<sup>th</sup> Decade. *The Korea Times* 1.11.1980, 10–13.

newsgathering by creating a daily essay column. Thoughts of the Times featured contributions from people of all ages from Korea and abroad, the contributors included housewives, scholars, diplomats, physicians, missionaries, businesspeople and journalists.<sup>116</sup>

On July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1971, Park A-chung commented on the student movement in The Thoughts of The Times. He was a German language teacher in high school and his reasoning for the students' motives was that the student movement was a natural reaction to the problems the youth faced caused by societal structures. He commented on the student movement:

One of the most exciting trends in education during the past decade has been the extension of the students' influence on our society, so called "Student Power." Ours is "the most tumultuous century in history," says one historian. Most college students in our country are not radical activists, as the others, but there are many who sufficiently conscious of conditions in our society.<sup>117</sup>

His column is one of the articles in *The Korea Times* that tried to look for a more comprehensive meaning for the students' protests and dissidence. In his column, he does not deny that there is unrest and a difficult time due to the students protesting but unlike in many other articles in *The Times* he does not blame it on all the students as a group. In his article, he actually says that in his opinion the issue is "the generation gap" between the students protesting and the adult society which does not listen to the students and take their social issues seriously.<sup>118</sup>

In addition to individuals, some Korean language newspapers also showed their support to the movement in 1971. *The Korea Times* itself took a sort of third-party position in their editorials but the articles published under the Local Press Comments section show that *The Korea Times* published more commentary heavy articles as well. On June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1971, *Dong-A Ilbo* commented on the forceful closing of the universities in June and that they do not support the governments choice:

We can say student movements in our country have been so far healthy in nature compared with those of Western countries. Korean students emphasize nationalism, academic freedom and guarantee of fair elections, just like the older generation, while European students deny the establishments to the extent of nihilism.<sup>119</sup>

Later the same year *Dong-A Ilbo* went as far to criticize the Park's authoritarian government when they implemented a garrison decree to control the protests. *Dong-A Ilbo* wrote that it

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<sup>116</sup> The Times History, *The Korea Times* website. Electronic material.

<sup>117</sup> Park A-chung. Thoughts of The Times. *The Korea Times* 28.7.1971.

<sup>118</sup> Park A-chung. Thoughts of The Times. *The Korea Times* 28.7.1971.

<sup>119</sup> Student Expulsion. Local Press Comments. *The Korea Times* 3.6.1971.

would be more sufficient to investigate the corruption in the society rather than punish students who fight against it.<sup>120</sup> It is notable that the *Dong-A Ilbo* published such a text but equally important is that *The Korea Times* picked the piece and displayed it in its pages. *The Korea Times* operated in this manner in 1971. The strongest opinions were left for other relevant parties to express and *The Korea Times* stayed on the sidelines. All in all, in 1971 *The Korea Times* frequently displayed positive or supportive commentary on the student movement and they did publish the students' own opinions exhibited at the protests or in other forms. *The Korea Times* took a stand to portray this side of the movement which was affecting the whole society. In the next section, I explore the opinions resisting the student movement and articles including direct orders and information from the government and opinions of ordinary citizens who did not support the movement.

## 2.2 Is There a Third Point of View? Disapproving Voices and Neutrality

In the previous section, I explored the supporting voices but most of the articles in *The Korea Times* fall to the neutral category and a fair number of disapproving articles were published in 1971. *The Korea Times* included opinions from various interest groups and in 1971 disapproving voices were exhibited mainly in news articles and some columns. Naturally in an authoritarian state, one of the disapproving groups was the government which opposed the students' protests. Articles discussing the opinions of the government were often in news format and the news articles sometimes included quotations from relevant politicians like the education minister or President Park Chung-hee. When examining *The Korea Times* reports about the opinions of the government it is relevant to keep in mind that the Park era and Park government does not represent only President Park Chung-hee himself but the atmosphere of the era according to scholar Nak-Chung Paik.<sup>121</sup>

The political stakes were high-level in 1971 and understanding political shifts from the previous years help to comprehend the political context of South Korea. In 1971, presidential elections were held in the late spring attracting the nation's attention. The students had protested repeatedly in the spring, but they halted the demonstrations for the elections. The students were afraid the elections would not be conducted fairly, and they wanted to oversee the election

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<sup>120</sup> Student Activism. Local Press Comments. *The Korea Times* 17.10.1971.

<sup>121</sup> Paik 2011, 85.

process.<sup>122</sup> President Park had amended the constitution in 1969 to allow three terms in the office instead of two. He had narrowly won the presidential elections in 1963 and 1967 causing him to interfere in the 1971 elections. In the 1960s, there was no law prohibiting opposition politicians running for president, and they were able to contest the presidential position. President Park won the 1971 elections barely as he won only by 2 per cent over the popular opposition politician Kim Dae-jung. The elections were therefore very important to President Park and his government, and to secure the elections opposition politicians and activists were subjected to harassment and violent attacks.<sup>123</sup>

President Park's opinions on the students protesting the military drill hours during the elections period were published in *The Korea Times*. On April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1971, *The Korea Times* published an article on Park's presidential campaign rally in Suwon, a city near Seoul. In the article written by Kim Doo-keun, President Park commented on drill-hour dispute, North Korean espionage agents and campaign promises. On the student matter, he commented that "I advise students not to be agitated or stage demonstrations against the military drill but to return to study" and later he added that in order to deal with the communist maneuvers "Our youths and students should endure personal hardships an troublesome drill for the cause of national defense."<sup>124</sup> Writer Kim added that Park said the actions of the students would not be tolerated before two major elections, the presidential and parliamentary elections.<sup>125</sup> *The Korea Times* article shows how impactful the student movement was because it was affecting even the presidential elections. Opposition politicians also commented on the student movement and showed their support to the movement during 1971.<sup>126</sup>

After the presidential elections, the student movement calmed down for the summer but the breaking point in suppression came in the fall of 1971. The government started to take more drastic measures to suppress the movement and the tipping point came after the military was sent to the Korea University and students activists were violently attacked.<sup>127</sup> The incident was reported in *The Korea Times* and it initiated discussion on campus and education freedom.<sup>128</sup> The October campus intrusion was commented heavily on the front page news and local

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<sup>122</sup> Chang 2015, 55.

<sup>123</sup> Kwak 2012, 11; Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 149.

<sup>124</sup> Kim Doo-keun. Gov't to Rectify Faults In Drill Program: Park. *The Korea Times* 21.4.1971.

<sup>125</sup> Kim Doo-keun. Gov't to Rectify Faults In Drill Program: Park. *The Korea Times* 21.4.1971.

<sup>126</sup> For example: NDP Demands Student Release. *The Korea Times* 20.5.1971; Lift Garrison Decree, Free Students: NDP. *The Korea Times* 17.10.1971.

<sup>127</sup> Chang 2015, 64.

<sup>128</sup> Social Problems. *The Korea Times* 8.10.1971.



newspapers commented on it.<sup>129</sup> The intrusion was condemned by the Korea University dean and citizens who wrote to the paper and *The Korea Times* followed the story closely. On October 12<sup>th</sup> *The Korea Times* reported that the Defense Minister Yu had said there was intention in the ministry to prosecute “the masterminds of the Capital Garrison Command personnel’s intrusion into the Korea University”.<sup>130</sup> The situation for universities and students however worsened as in mid-October the garrison decree was instated.<sup>131</sup>

The Park administration was not able to stop the student movement and the protests against government corruption and for education freedom. Therefore, they implemented the garrison decree with other control mechanisms. According to Paul Chang and sociologist Alex S. Vitale, in an authoritarian state like South Korea, in the 1970s regime stability played an important role in police responses to protest activities.<sup>132</sup> The Park administration saw the demonstrations as a threat to the regime because in the early 1970s Park administration was undergoing issues with North Korea.<sup>133</sup> Hence, the state used KCIA to control the student demonstrations. The function of KCIA was to prolong Park Chung-hee’s regime and it was known as “Korea above Korea” because of its influence. It was designated to control the country domestically and abroad against communist threats and its power to investigate was nearly limitless. One of the key purposes of KCIA was to monitor dissident and student groups and the agency was ingenious in turning idealistic pro-democracy students into a group of radical revolutionaries.<sup>134</sup>

While most of the state’s repression tactics were never reported, some of them surfaced in *The Korea Times* and were part of the public discussion in 1971. However, in the news coverage was dominated by the governments’ narrative. Some repression tactics reported in *The Korea Times* were the closing of universities, forced compulsory conscription draft of male students, shutdown of student circles and the expulsions of students.<sup>135</sup> In October *The Korea Times* reported that the director of the Office of Conscription did not consider the forced military

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<sup>129</sup> For example, see Campus Raid. Kyunghyang Shinmun in Press Comments. *The Korea Times* 10.10.1971 and Campus Intrusion. Dong-A Ilbo in Press Comments. *The Korea Times* 12.10.1971.

<sup>130</sup> Gov’t to Prosecute Campus Intruders. *The Korea Times* 12.10.1971.

<sup>131</sup> Chang 2015, 33.

<sup>132</sup> Chang & Vitale 2013, 37.

<sup>133</sup> Chubb 2014, 54–55.

<sup>134</sup> Lee 2011, 83; Chang 2015, 33.

<sup>135</sup> Student Publications To Be Checked: Gov’t. *The Korea Times* 14.10.1971; Circles, Campus Drill Gov’t Orders Colleges To Report on Students. *The Korea Times* 15.10.1971; 10 Universities Closed, Get Harsh Instructions. 16.10.1971; Anti-Drill Students To Face Draft: Chon. *The Korea Times* 20.10.1971.

drafts of students as reprisal for their disobedience and the action was simply enforcement of the Military Service Law.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned tactics, the government implemented garrison decree in October 1971 to control the students. The garrison decree was the most drastic measure used to suppress the students and it worked because after it there were no major protest events until 1973.<sup>137</sup> The implementation of the garrison decree shocked the nation because it was last used against the massive protests opposing the 1964 normalization talks with Japan. The garrison decree showed how the Park government needed to suppress the students.<sup>138</sup> The garrison decree order garnered a lot of publication space in *The Korea Times* and it was discussed for the remaining year. Day after the garrison decree was executed, on October 16<sup>th</sup> the whole front page was filled with news concerning the decree.<sup>139</sup> News on military troops entering the university grounds and expulsion of students were right on the front page partnered with Park's nine-point instructions for campuses. *The Korea Times* summarized the nine-point instructions as follows:

The nine-point instruction said that all students who led violations of academic order should be expelled from the campus. Any student, it said, who masterminded illegal demonstrations, denounced the government, staged a sit-in strike, boycotted attendance at school or obstructed attendance of classes will be discharged from school. [--] Except for academic research purposes, all intra-campus circles will be disbanded and all student organizations abolished, the instructions said.<sup>140</sup>

The garrison decree resulted in arrest of almost 2000 students and the military established semi-permanent quarters near universities so that soldier could promptly confront students resulting in violent conflicts.<sup>141</sup>

As mentioned before, there was also the neutral viewpoint to the student movement in *The Korea Times* in 1971. The follow-up style of hard news articles on the actions of the students covers a large pool of my material. However, they do not provide a great amount of useful content to analyze. The neutral and small news articles mostly informed on the number of students rallying, what time they left the campus and whether they clashed with police.<sup>142</sup> The

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<sup>136</sup> Anti-Drill Students To Face Draft: Chon. *The Korea Times* 20.10.1971.

<sup>137</sup> Chang 2015, 64–68.

<sup>138</sup> Lee 2011, 31.

<sup>139</sup> *The Korea Times* 16.10.1971.

<sup>140</sup> Expel All Delinquent Students. *The Korea Times* 16.10.1971.

<sup>141</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 92.

<sup>142</sup> See for example 10 Students Injured In Clash. *The Korea Times* 21.5.1971.

news articles updating on the students also included information on the legal proceeding of expulsions and arrests of students.<sup>143</sup> These smaller articles are more important for my analysis later when the press restrictions toughened. Therefore, in this chapter I will focus on the neutral editorials of *The Korea Times*. I consider the editorials of *The Korea Times* neutral because they opted for a third point of view. Also, when comparing the editorials of *The Korea Times* with the editorials from other Korean newspapers in Chapter 2.1, *The Korea Times* does not express equally strong opinions as the other papers' editorials.

Historian Zachary Schrag emphasizes that when examining editorials, one should be especially critical. Even though the editorials are refreshing to read in comparison to the factual reporting they might represent one editor's opinions or be an effort to attract readers by outrageous opinions.<sup>144</sup> However, in the case of *The Korea Times* and South Korea newspapers in general the more pressing matters were the censorship and controls on the media affecting the editorials. Cho et al. in their article reveal how already in the late 1960s critical information or criticism ceased to exist in South Korean Press.<sup>145</sup> In *The Korea Times* the lack of criticism is expressed through neutral reporting and emphasis on the third option of not supporting either students nor the government. Instead, the comments regarding the student demonstrations emphasized the importance of education. *The Korea Times* barely mentioned specific politicians in their editorials and Park Chung-hee was mainly referred in the news articles.

Political scientist Elisabeth Ann Stein in her article on mainstream media during dictatorship in Brazil in the 1970s and 1980s, emphasizes how the freedom of the press varies within authoritarian regimes.<sup>146</sup> In 1971, the Park regime became stricter with the students and increased their control over the society. In the first half of the year, the regime even tried to appease the students by replacing the education minister and decreasing the drill hours without success consequently resulting in the garrison decree.<sup>147</sup> Therefore, the editorials in 1971 were divided into two categories. The late spring and early summer editorials focused on finding a peaceful solution and academic duty and the autumn editorials displayed more reprimanding tones. On May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1971, *The Korea Times* viewed the students as a special group in the

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<sup>143</sup> See for example Under Election Law Prosecution Indicts 7 SNU Students. *The Korea Times*. 20.5.1971.

<sup>144</sup> Schrag 2021, 134.

<sup>145</sup> Cho & Lee & Song 2017, 146.

<sup>146</sup> Stein 2016, 103.

<sup>147</sup> Chang 2015, 62.

society. The editorial portrayed them as growing intellectuals with a unique societal status and stressed that they should not be considered ordinary citizens. In the editorial, it said:

Our primary concern is how adult society should deal with collegians, who represent the highest future intellectual group [--] whose daily academic pursuits cannot be suspended, unless there is a most convincing reason for it. [--] We do not think the students were necessarily right in their behavior. Yet, the school authorities could have persuaded them before by doing their best. Without doing this, the government authorities are now taking “rigid” action against students, which we can hardly understand.<sup>148</sup>

Later in June, *The Korea Times* editorial stressed that students should not be faulted and saw the actions of the government as unacceptable. At the same time in the editorial, *The Korea Times* requested the students to behave and respect social order since they are adults. However, later in the text, they minimize the autonomy of students by stating that the students are easily persuaded by university personnel. The paper commented:

Things go from bad to worse when the authorities deal with student affairs from a “hostile stand,” as many students claim these days. [--] Yet, their motivations for massive resistance against adult society are in most cases genuine and innocent, and they can be persuaded by professors and other faculty members within the campus.<sup>149</sup>

The two editorials are contradicting in their opinions on the students. It seems that the paper was trying to achieve some sort of harmony in the commentary. Youm mentions that due to Confucian tendencies in Korean society, the press turned to following the set governmental restrictions and due to the Confucian philosophy people were in general inclined to follow their leaders and to never question authorities.<sup>150</sup> 1971 was still reminiscent of the freer 1960s which is apparent in *The Korea Times* editorials. However, the editorials also reflect how *The Korea Times* was more inclined to focus on the student’s societal position rather than the demonstrations and political issues introduced by the students.

The tone of *The Korea Times* changed when the garrison decree was implemented. The atmosphere started to become restrictive which was reflected in the press. According to Shin et al., already in early 1971 the Park regime started pressuring senior editors and supervisors to threaten reporters who covered the student demonstrations or criticized the presidential elections. Censoring and especially self-censoring developed into a greater issue and a negative

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<sup>148</sup> Punishment of Students. *The Korea Times* 22.5.1971.

<sup>149</sup> Student Dialogue. *The Korea Times* 8.6.1971.

<sup>150</sup> Youm 1996, 27.

atmosphere and favoritism ensued in the industry.<sup>151</sup> Agreeing with Shin et al., Oh and Won explain the pressures of the journalists in the 1970s. Oh and Won in their study asked journalists whether they should bear the burden of heroism and risk their jobs when they had families to support. 73 per cent of the Seoul interviewees answered that they should not risk themselves. The difficulties in the industry resulted in 70 reporters resigning themselves from mass media organizations at Seoul already in the first half of 1971.<sup>152</sup>

Later in the autumn, *The Korea Times* editorials changed into praising the military and branding the activist students as radicals. They still upheld the narrative that the students were special and that they were the nation's future. However, the paper strengthened their stance and the students' actions were blamed on the professors, opposition politicians and some journalists.<sup>153</sup> On October 13<sup>th</sup> *The Korea Times* commented on the matter that:

...we firmly believe that a formidable organization like the military cannot be and will never be disturbed by this type of minor incident. Students are the source of national hope for the future, and their campuses and also the national territory where the campuses exist are protected by the group called the military. [--] It has been really disheartening to see the current student activities continue to involve street demonstrations, rock-throwing confrontations with police, hunger sit-ins and on-campus rallies.<sup>154</sup>

Later in the month *The Korea Times* changed to the narrative that there were different groups of students. That was correct, since not all students supported the movement. The change in *The Korea Times* is nevertheless evident because earlier in the year when referring to the students the paper had not considered it necessary to divide the students into different groups. The editorial requested understanding for young students who could self-reflect on their erroneous participation in the demonstrations. The demonstrations are pinned on "delinquent students" and "minority of radicals".<sup>155</sup> The shift in tone is apparent as these attributes did not appear in *The Korea Times* frequently at the beginning of 1971 and especially not in the editorials.

Students and the student movement was discussed a few times in the column 'Thoughts of the Times' and sometimes the texts were followed by counter answers in the Letters to the Editor.

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<sup>151</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 41.

<sup>152</sup> According to Oh and Won there were 3107 print media journalists in South Korea in 1971. Oh & Won 1976, 39, 42, 44.

<sup>153</sup> Campus Normalization. *The Korea Times* 20.10.1971.

<sup>154</sup> Students and Soldiers. *The Korea Times* 13.10.1971.

<sup>155</sup> Campus Normalization. *The Korea Times* 20.10.1971.

The public opinion towards the demonstrations is not widely explored in the research literature but the Park government enjoyed support from the society. Lee emphasizes that after the early 1960s demonstrations the public viewed the student movement as an idealistic and temporary outburst which would cease when students gained more maturity and responsibilities.<sup>156</sup> Sunhyuk Kim elaborates on the matter and explains that in the 1960s and 1970s as long as the minimal democratic institutions and the economy were not under threat other civil society sectors did not have incentives to join the anti-government demonstrations. Thus, the dissidents and the students were on their own with the anti-government movement.<sup>157</sup>

Neutral sentiments were found in *The Korea Times*. On October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1971, Chon Young-rok wrote a text called Campus Chaos to the Letters to the Editor. Chon wrote that the students should not be punished simply for having opinions but that the government should take firm actions to dissipate the student demonstrations. Chon wrote that “It is the current trend that the young generation distrusts, resists and even denies the traditional dignity established and inherited by the existing society.”. Chon wrote that as long laws were not broken the student should have educational freedom and that the students protest instinctively but they did not cause harm.<sup>158</sup> The opinion is quite neutral in a sense that the writer thinks that it is natural for students to protest but it should not cause harm to the public. Similar neutrality can be found in the Thoughts of the Times column written by Chin In-sook, an English language professor in the Konguk University. Chin comments that the university is a highly complicated community and some chaos was always present within the institution, especially when transitions of power were conducted in the society. Chin reminds the readers that the silent majority exists at the universities and that “The activists make so much noise that it is hard to hear the moderate majority.”.<sup>159</sup>

Besides the local Korean writers, foreigners sometimes commented on the current topics and controversial issues in the pages of *The Korea Times*. The student movement was noted a few times in the writings of Americans residing in Seoul. Both quoted writers were affiliated with Seoul’s higher education institutions but not much more is known about the writers. In general, the civilian life of the Americans in South Korea is not properly studied, and instead the focus has been on the political and economic relationship between the United States and South Korea.

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<sup>156</sup> Lee 2011, 27.

<sup>157</sup> Kim 2007, 53.

<sup>158</sup> Chon Young-rok. Campus Chaos in Letters to the Editor. *The Korea Times* 23.10.1971.

<sup>159</sup> Chin In-sook. Thoughts of The Times. *The Korea Times* 22.10.1971.

The civilian perspectives are therefore quite unknown but in the book *Peace Corps Volunteers and the Making of Korean Studies in the United States* (2020) many of the scholarly writers recap their own experiences in South Korea which I use as a reference point.

*The Korea Times* published two articles written by Americans regarding the student movement. The articles were critical of the movement and compared with the commentary of the Peace Corps volunteers the opinions were quite harsh. On April 25<sup>th</sup> Walter G. Hopkins, personnel in a university in Seoul, described the students as foolish and he berated the situation in the Thoughts of the Times. He wrote that:

As the crowds gathered to watch the "young bucks" vs. the police, the police clearly emerged as the victor in the game of show down. Worst of all, the students were completely' shutout in the categories of tactics, rationality, and showmanship.<sup>160</sup>

Hopkins' opinion was that the students protested without rationale and even when the government interfered with the campus life it was not sufficient reason for the students to oppose major political events like the presidential elections. Majority of the text is written with similar tone and Hopkins expressed no sympathy towards the students. However, at the last lines of the column he concludes that perhaps the students were protesting because they were not allowed to participate in politics and therefore, the demonstrations were similar to a political habit. By political habit, Hopkins referenced the long history of student demonstrations and how the demonstrations were students' first choice of action to influence politics.<sup>161</sup>

Another article about the student movement was written by Norman Thorpe, a post-graduate student in Seoul National University. On May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1971, he commented on the student movement, and he especially focused on the United States supplied protest suppression gear. He argued that the students should not blame the United States for supplying the tear-gas and pepper fog to South Korean police and instead they should focus the blame on the local police using the gear against the students. He still justified the need for the 1960 demonstrations in South Korea but argued that the current demonstrations lacked reason. Thorpe wrote that the tear gas and pepper fog were in fact very humane suppression tactics against protestors. As a worse option he offered the use of guns.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Walter G. Hopkins. Thoughts of the Times. *The Korea Times* 25.4.1971.

<sup>161</sup> Walter G. Hopkins. Thoughts of the Times. *The Korea Times* 25.4.1971.

<sup>162</sup> Norman Thorpe. Thoughts of the Times. *The Korea Times* 28.5.1971.

Comparing the texts with the memories and actions of the Peace Corps volunteers they were quite different. For example, Korean Studies scholar Edward Baker recalls his experiences with the movement in the late 1960s and how the Americans responded to them. In the 1960s and early 1970s some riot gear of the South Korean police had USAID emblems. In 1969, Baker and other 60 Americans petitioned against the usage of the US emblem markings in police trucks and appealed the US embassy to officially oppose Park Chung-hee's constitutional amendments. The embassy stated that they would not interfere in domestic matters.<sup>163</sup> The indifference to the South Korean student movement in the texts of Hopkins and Thorpe is therefore rather surprising. The United States government tried to interfere in the human rights issues in South Korea in the 1970s especially during the Yushin Constitution. In the 1970s, the South Korean dissident intellectuals were enchanted with the American ideals and they saw the United States as an ally and supporter of the democratization movement. However, anti-Americanism was also present in the society because the United States supported the authoritarian regime. Anti-Americanism was more intense in the 1980s and since in the 1970s the Park regime considered the criticism towards the United States as pro-communist.<sup>164</sup>

Regarding this matter, the selection of the columnists in *The Korea Times* is unexpected. It is possible that the texts by Americans who criticized the United States were not preferred in the publication of *The Korea Times* due to pro-American sentiments. Additionally, maybe the Americans who supported the student movement did not want to or did not dare to write about the movement in the fear of losing their professional and social positions in the South Korean society. Norman's and Hopkins' disregard towards the student movement's goals does not seem to match with the general American consensus on the matter. The outright support of the protest suppression tactics also was against the American ideals of human rights.

To summarize this chapter, *The Korea Times* best to its abilities attempted to deliver a comprehensive take on the student demonstrations and the movement in 1971. The paper aimed to balance the opinions and display multiple viewpoints on the matter. The press experienced pressures resulting in censorship and self-censorship, but *The Korea Times* had a stance through the inclusion and omission of articles. People outside of the news desk commented on matters more freely in the columns and the borrowed texts from other newspapers were more opinionated than the editorials of *The Korea Times*. The paper focused on the neutral view when

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<sup>163</sup> Baker 2021, 36–37.

<sup>164</sup> Lee 2011, 115, 120.



commenting about the students, and they stressed that consensus was the desirable outcome. The publications of *The Korea Times* show that the press was in a difficult position in 1971 and balancing acts were necessary for survival. However, there still was room for movement and different opinions in the press which allowed different voices to be heard. This changed very quickly in 1972 when the Yushin Constitution was implemented, and a new era started in South Korea.

### 3 1972–1975: Students Struggle in the Yushin State

#### 3.1 Press Freedom, Yushin and the Revival of the Movement in 1973

In this chapter, I analyse *The Korea Times*' reporting on the student movement during the years 1972–1975. The chapter is divided into three subsections and the first one focuses on the years 1972 and 1973. In the introduction, I included a data table that exhibits that in 1972 and 1973 considerably fewer articles were published in comparison with the other years. In total the two years include only 58 relevant articles and the most of them were published in 1973 and the analysis is focused on the year 1973.<sup>165</sup> The drop from 1971 is noticeable but there is a variety of reasons for that which I will explore in this Chapter 3.1. The political context for South Korea and *The Korea Times* changed in 1972 with the Yushin Constitution which also brought changes to media laws that affected *The Korea Times* and the press in general. In the upcoming subchapters 3.2 and 3.3 the focus will be on the years 1974 and 1975. Within the chapters, I explore the final outbreak of the student movement, demonstrations in the winter of 1974 and spring of 1975, and how these protests were connected to the anti-communist discourse of *The Korea Times*. I will additionally explore intellectuals' participation in the narrative, the end of the movement and what came after for the students.

In order to understand the political context of the years 1972–1975 it is crucial to comprehend the importance of the Yushin Constitution.<sup>166</sup> In October 1972 the Park regime instituted the Yushin Constitution and according to Namhee Lee the new constitution made President Park a dictator. Youm described that the authoritarianism increased to the level of the wartime colonial days and Lee also stresses that the democratization movement in the 1970s was heavily based on hatred towards the Yushin state. The nation was terrorized into silence with martial law, censorship and limitations on the press and broadcasting and thus the new constitution was easy to implement. With passing of the Yushin Constitution, the limit on presidential terms was eradicated, and the president gained the power to appoint all judges, members of the constitutional committee and 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the electoral college in charge of selecting the president. President Park also gained the power to execute any emergency measures under the guise of national security, which he did nine times during his last years of rule.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Since the article pool is lesser than in previous year, I have included articles outside the original search to broaden the opinions expressed in *The Korea Times*.

<sup>166</sup> Also known as Revitalization Constitution.

<sup>167</sup> Youm 1996, 55; Lee 2011, 34–36.

The Park regime claimed that new constitution was the first step towards political reformation and the eventual reunification of the two Koreas.<sup>168</sup> The Yushin Constitution was also used to promote Park's "koreanized democracy", a term coined by the Park regime in the 1960s. Koreanized democracy was an ideological counter to western ideals with emphasis on national security and President Park argued that koreanized democracy was a more natural state of democracy for Koreans.<sup>169</sup> Koreanized democracy appeared in *The Korea Times* after the Yushin Constitution was announced and, in the editorial, "New Constitution" on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1972, *The Korea Times* commented that:

All in all, the nation foresees a big leap in the new order and system to be created by the new Constitution, while bringing about a working and productive climate based on an indigenous democracy.<sup>170</sup>

Indigenous democracy was promoted by the Park administration and criticism towards the Yushin Constitution was prohibited totally in 1974. The press was not able to criticize the constitution and therefore the comment made by *The Korea Times* cannot be taken as legitimate opinion of the paper due to the restricted political situation in 1972.<sup>171</sup> The Yushin Constitution was the final nail in the coffin of South Korean participation-based politics as the new constitution restricted the press into silence. However, the change was gradual and not imminent and before 1975 there were acts of resistance in the press and amongst the students.

Additionally, the Park regime restricted laws affecting media during 1972–1975. The decrease on press freedoms consequently caused an uproar in the press and many journalists protested the changes. Next, I will explain the changes of the media field in the years 1972–1975 to clarify how the media changed. It is more concise to explain the events in a chronological order rather than including small details in between the actual analysis of *The Korea Times*. There were two major changes in the media sphere that affected newspaper reporting. The less notable change was the new press card system put effect in 1973. Within the new system journalists had to be included in exclusive journalist clubs occupying government institutions. The press cards were issued by the government to individual journalists and the justification of the system was to eliminate "pseudo" journalists and to enhance the public's trust in "real" journalists. The press cards are not often mentioned in the research literature but Oh & Won and Youm claim

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<sup>168</sup> Lee 2011, 34; Kwak 2012, 11.

<sup>169</sup> Kim 2004, 69, 89.

<sup>170</sup> New Constitution. *The Korea Times* 23.11.1972.

<sup>171</sup> Lee 2011, 35.

journalists were working under government control since the system did not allow journalists to participate in press activities without joining the press club.<sup>172</sup>

In 1973, revisions were made to the Media Law which caused resistance in the press. Revisions of the law granted the Park regime an ultimate control over the press: they were able to control the production and dissemination of news, censor undesirable material before and after publication, and control all content in radio and television.<sup>173</sup> The newspaper *Dong-A Ilbo* led the press freedom resistance movement and the paper's workers organized rallies and issued declarations supported by other media companies' workers. Consequently, two important acts transpired in 1973–1974: first, newspapers started to organize and labor unions were established.<sup>174</sup> *The Korea Times*' sister paper *Hankook Ilbo* was the second newspaper to establish a labor union, indicating that *The Korea Times*' staff was likely included as well.<sup>175</sup>

Secondly, 180 *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters initiated the Declaration of Action for Press Freedom in October 1974.<sup>176</sup> In retaliation the government pulled advertisement from the paper resulting in 90 per cent of adverts lost by 1975. The public supported *Dong-A Ilbo* and many personally called to the paper and encouraged the journalist to continue the fight for responsible journalistic practices. Others bought advert space in the paper and consequently the paper's subscription increased by 200 000 during 1974–1975. Therefore, the readers were not passive regarding press politics and at opportunity the public supported the newspapers. In the end, the financial hardships forced *Dong-A Ilbo* to dismiss 133 reporters to appease the government.<sup>177</sup>

*Hankook Ilbo* and *The Korea Times* had their own part in the movement for press freedom. *Hankook Ilbo* published their own freedom of the press declaration in 1973<sup>178</sup> and although *The Korea Times* did not directly comment on the movement, the paper did publish critical articles from *Dong-A Ilbo*.<sup>179</sup> Simultaneously with the press freedom movement, the publishing

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<sup>172</sup> Oh & Won 1976, 21; Youm 1994, 117.

<sup>173</sup> President Park further consolidated his power by merging several newspapers and he pressured the Korean Newspaper Association to stop young reporters partaking in politics. Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 41; Chang 2015, 119.

<sup>174</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 43.

<sup>175</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 43.

<sup>176</sup> The purpose of the declaration was to eliminate government interference with newspaper and broadcasting, reject government officials' entrances to media building and to stop the unlawful arrests of media personnel. Chang 2015, 119–124.

<sup>177</sup> Youm 1996 58–59; Park & Kim & Sohn 2000, 119; Chang 2015, 119–124.

<sup>178</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 43.

<sup>179</sup> In January of 1974, *The Korea Times* published an opinion piece in which *Dong-A Ilbo* criticized the government for not respecting the public opinion. Press Policy by Dong-A Ilbo in Press Comments. *The Korea Times* 6.1.1974.

company of *Hankook Ilbo* and *The Korea Times* had a change of leadership. The president publisher Chang Key-young became a member in the National Assembly in the roster of the ruling party in 1973 and his son Chang Kang-jae inherited the position of president publisher.<sup>180</sup> *The Korea Times* was now more linked to party politics, but the paper was not an exception to the norm. Many politicians were part of the newspaper business for the status and betterment of the public image which greatly displeased reporters according to Oh and Won.<sup>181</sup>

Although *Hankook Ilbo* and *The Korea Times* were politically linked the sister papers did not cease from writing controversial articles. For example, on October 1974 KCIA questioned and detained the new publisher Chang Kang-jae and two *Hankook Ilbo* editors because of critical news published by *Hankook Ilbo*. As retaliation 150 *Hankook Ilbo* reporters passed a resolution of press freedom according to *The Korea Times*.<sup>182</sup> In 1973, *The Korea Times* had their own troubles with KCIA. A journal called *Index on Censorship* reported how an American freelance writer Bernard Wideman was questioned, allegedly beaten and then expelled from South Korea by the KCIA in July 1973 over an article he wrote for *The Korea Times*. In the article, he criticized the actions of the South Korean government which was not allowed under the Yushin system.<sup>183</sup> *The Korea Times*' international aspect is present in the paper, but the Wideman case proves that the foreign participation in the paper thrived as long as critical stance to Park regime's politics was omitted.

In conclusion, the media sphere in South Korea changed significantly during the years 1972–1975. The new revised media law and control mechanics resulted in uniformity in the press that mainly reported from the viewpoint of the government. *Dong-A Ilbo*'s fight for press freedom proved the people wanted responsible press practices, but the fight was unsuccessful in a dictatorial country. All this affected how *The Korea Times* was able to function as a newspaper and these factors have to be taken in consideration when my analysis moves on to the paper and the years 1972–1975.

Now after explaining the changes on the constitutional and media level I move onto the analysis of *The Korea Times* in the years 1972–1973. The newspaper did not publish many articles and only a few of them were relevant and valuable in content. In total there were 58 articles of which most were news, but the data includes some editorials and one Student Corner column.

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<sup>180</sup> Yun 1980.

<sup>181</sup> Oh & Won 1976, 36.

<sup>182</sup> Scribes Denounce Pressure on Press. *The Korea Times* 26.10.1974.

<sup>183</sup> Index 1973, vii.

The lack of articles is explained by two factors. First, the garrison decree in 1971 and the actions taken by the government forced students underground. According to Paul Chang 1889 students were arrested, seven student governments were disbanded, eight universities were closed indefinitely, and the government begun a smear campaign against student protests by accusing the student leaders of engaging with communism. The movement activated again in October 1973, a year after the Yushin Constitution was implemented.<sup>184</sup> Therefore before October 1973 there were not many protest events to report about.

The second factor for lack of articles was the suppression of press when the protests started again in October 1973. According to media scholar Sunwoo Nam it took six days for the South Korean newspapers to even mention the demonstrations and arrests. The new wave of protests broke out and continued daily and eventually the press insisted on reporting the protests, however the stories were published under small headlines and without pictures.<sup>185</sup> This phenomenon was also present in *The Korea Times* in 1973 because the news articles were mainly small follow-up articles covering the locations of demonstrations, the participating universities, the number of students, possible clashes with the police and arrests, charges and releases from jail.<sup>186</sup> In 1971 when similar update articles were published the articles sometimes included the slogans and opinions of students but in 1973 these kinds of additions to the news were absent.

The reporting about the student movement in 1973 was a somewhat disorganized in *The Korea Times* because of quick political changes in the country. The newspaper reported on the different approaches to the student movement, and it seems that 1973 overall was an adjustment period to the new constitutional order. *The Korea Times* published articles on the opinions of politicians, both from the leading party and opposition. The articles often featured commentary from education minister, prime minister, and home vice minister whose opinions on the topic mattered the most. The ministers' comments were often critical and unrelenting towards the movement. For example, in November 1973 *The Korea Times* published an article where the prime minister Kim Jong-pil commented on the student demonstrations:

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<sup>184</sup> There were even more different tactics used against the students like ceasing the publication of student journals and forced conscriptions to the army. Chang 2015, 64–68.

<sup>185</sup> Nam 1978, 117.

<sup>186</sup> For example, see: 23 Students of SNU Held Over Rallies. *The Korea Times* 9.10.1973; SNU Students - Rally; 3Yonsei Men Freed. *The Korea Times* 9.11.1973; Students Stage Glass Boycott. *The Korea Times* 18.11.1973; Ewha Students Clash With Police. *The Korea Times* 29.11.1973; 97 SNU Students Get Punishment For Rallies. *The Korea Times* 12.10.1973; Benevolent Action Asked For Students. *The Korea Times* 31.10.1973; 4 SNU Students Freed From Jail. *The Korea Times* 31.10.1973.

Prime Minister Kim Jong-pil yesterday warned against students' interference with political affairs and said the government would punish extremists. [--] the premier said that students could raise issues but they could not settle them. And their excessive participation in "reality" led to the confusion of society, the prime minister asserted. [--] the government will hold the students responsible for, who committed wrongs in violation of laws on the principle of "punish one to warn hundreds."<sup>187</sup>

This type of commentary was prominent in *The Korea Times* in 1973. The student movement's effects were discussed as a national security threat and the students would be punished. Similar articles with emphasis on minister's comments were frequent with headlines like "Police Allowed To Enter Campus Unmasked: Chung"<sup>188</sup>, "Min: Surveillance On Campus Halted"<sup>189</sup> and "Minister Vows Freedom On Campus"<sup>190</sup>. These articles were significant in the year 1973 because they exhibit strong opinions on the student matter.

Like I stated before, *The Korea Times* additionally published comments from opposition politicians as well. Although the opposition party politicians were marginalized and restricted in the 1970s, they still enjoyed prestige and social status and were able to comment on the student matter. Many of them came from prestigious families and their connections and material resources protected them to an extent according to Chang and Vitale.<sup>191</sup> For example, in October 1973, the opposition party New Democratic Party questioned ministers on the student arrests. The representatives were concerned for the students, and they commented "The arrested students have virtually been denied meeting even with lawyers, and this will be protested in the meeting with the ministers...".<sup>192</sup> The opposition supported the students and it was easier for *The Korea Times* to publish comments from prestigious politicians rather than the students. It is important to note that politicians who threatened the government rule were violently subdued and the KCIA was used to eliminate threats. For example, in the summer of 1973 popular opposition politician Kim Dae-jung was kidnapped from Japan by the KCIA and almost assassinated.<sup>193</sup> The kidnapping was one of the main catalysts for the student protests in 1973.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Students Told To Keep Away From Politics. *The Korea Times* 7.11.1973.

<sup>188</sup> Police Allowed To Enter Campus Unmasked: Chung. *The Korea Times* 14.10.1973.

<sup>189</sup> Min: Surveillance On Campus Halted. *The Korea Times* 22.11.1973.

<sup>190</sup> Minister Vows Freedom On Campus. *The Korea Times* 9.12.1973.

<sup>191</sup> Vitale & Chang 2013, 30.

<sup>192</sup> NDP to Query Kim on Students. *The Korea Times* 21.10.1973.

<sup>193</sup> Kim's kidnapping was prevented through diplomatic pressure from the United States. According to Chung the kidnapping enforced the common perception among South Koreans that the KCIA would be used to silence dissidents. The outrage was widespread, but the press and public stayed silent. Chung 2014, 1141.

<sup>194</sup> Chubb 2014, 66.

Another significant narrative started to appear in *The Korea Times* in 1973: anti-communism in connection with the student demonstrations. The anti-communist politics and mentality will be explored more in depth later on when it became more prominent in *The Korea Times* in 1974 and 1975. Nonetheless, I present an example on how the agenda started to show already in 1973. In late November, Prime Minister Kim commented on the current emergency measures prompted by the constant threats from North Korean communists and how the measures were connected to students. *The Korea Times* reported that Kim said: "...anti-government or unlawful acts by students would eventually result in national turbulence, and unpreparedness in confrontation with the north Korean Communists."<sup>195</sup> When questioned by the opposition party on whether the Yushin Constitution was applied to restrain students and journalists he replied that "...Reforms projects are aimed at creating up a firm national system to win confrontation with the north Korean Communists..."<sup>196</sup> This was the approximate starting point in *The Korea Times* when the student situation started to appear side by side with the anti-communist agenda. Once taking in consideration the fact that the students' own opinions were almost reduced to null, these kinds of comments paint a very different picture of the movement than before.

The timeline on political decisions regarding the students in 1973 is quite disorganized if one only considers *The Korea Times*' articles. The demonstrations became a daily occurrence in the autumn and the government answered with force, however in late 1973 the Park regime decided to release some detained students which became major news as it was unexpected from the government. *The Korea Times* published an analysis article on the matter where the paper speculated if the relaxation of the policies was an indication of the government's will to grant autonomous rule to leading social forces.<sup>197</sup> The move was unexpected but Stein in her article claims that sometimes dictators tolerated public protests because the coverage on political mobilization provided information about public opinions.<sup>198</sup> This could have very well been the motivation behind the releases of students because after a short period, the Park administration enforced the restrictions again.<sup>199</sup>

*The Korea Times*' articles demonstrate that the government's wish to assess public opinion became possible when the students were released. In December 1973 *The Korea Times*

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<sup>195</sup> Kim: No Plan to Lift Emergency State With North Hostile. *The Korea Times* 25.11.1973.

<sup>196</sup> Kim: No Plan to Lift Emergency State With North Hostile. *The Korea Times* 25.11.1973.

<sup>197</sup> Bang Tai-yungr "Gov't Seeks Harmony With Public Opinion". *The Korea Times* 9.12.1973.

<sup>198</sup> Stein 2016, 108.

<sup>199</sup> Lee 2011, 35, 173.



published a citizens' reactions article about the release of the detained students. In the article ordinary citizens were interviewed and the professions of the interviewees included merchants, a novelist, a professor, and a lawyer. Most of them welcomed the decision to extend clemency for students but many stressed that similar issues should be prevented beforehand. For instance, one of the merchants said that: "...the government should continue listening to students. But it is likewise important for the government to understand the silent wrath of people who are not students and take measure before they express it...".<sup>200</sup> The citizen's comments were in line with how Namhee Lee describes the public's general attitude towards the student demonstrations. Before 1975 the student movement was mainly constricted inside campuses and the only requirement for participation was a sense of justice and youthful enthusiasm. The society considered the demonstrations a natural phenomenon within the youth, akin to a required course in humanities.<sup>201</sup>

*The Korea Times* decision of including the opinions of public could have had a few functions in the paper. One being that the public's opinions were not directly the opinion of the paper itself and because the interviewees did not directly oppose the government the article was on grey area. *The Korea Times'* reader pool included a great number of students and intellectual readers so the citizens' opinions article could have been a way to show support to the student readers. The message of the article was that the public was aware of the situation and that some of them sided with the students' opinions. Sunwoo Nam in his article explains that during the Yushin years when the newspapers were not allowed to comment on controversial stories the paper chose to publish stories related to the topic instead. For example, if you could not write about students or you had to downplay the stories, the newspapers would publish stories about successful student demonstrations in other countries. If KCIA could not be mentioned, the paper would instead publish stories about Russian secret police.<sup>202</sup> This example demonstrates how the newspapers could in-between the lines deliver commentary to their readers. When *The Korea Times* published the public opinions that outright acknowledged the student movement it was an important portrayal of support to the student readers.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Citizens' Reaction: Student Clemency -Proper, Natural. *The Korea Times* 8.12.1973.

<sup>201</sup> Lee 2011, 172.

<sup>202</sup> Nam 1978, 115–117.

<sup>203</sup> Of course, the in-between the lines commentary and messaging in the paper makes my work more difficult as I only analyze materials that directly discusses the South Korean student situation. However, it is still important to note that *The Korea Times* had other ways to convey their message to the public when the press was censored.

Most of the articles in *The Korea Times* were news articles and the student protests were referenced in passing in one editorial in 1973. One Student Corner article was released and in the column Lee Yoon-Shik, a political science student at the Hankuk University, addressed the government's actions directly. His column was published on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1973, where he reflected on how the demonstrations had affected life at the university. He explained that normal students' lives were completely changed because of the disorder and the temporary closings of universities had halted their studies. Lee wrote that:

I wish the authorities concerned would substitute for coercive control, which may be unjust, a more persuasive and agreeable attitude, make special arrangements to guarantee academic freedom so that we can devote ourselves to learning, [--] university students ought to take into practical consideration the problems with which our country is confronted and have national pride as an elite...<sup>204</sup>

Lee's opinions probably represented a group of students who did not participate in the movement but who paid the everyday price for it. The comment is important within *The Korea Times* in 1973 when there was lack of commentary in the paper. The text was chosen by the editorial team, and I believe that a big factor in choosing Lee's text might have been the neutral tone of the article. Again, similarly to the citizens' commentary article, Lee did not take sides in the situation. The column is also important because it is the only article with commentary from the students at all in 1973.

In summary, the South Korean society in 1972–1973 transformed from an authoritarian state with remnants of democracy to a dictatorial state through the Yushin Constitution. The two years were a period of adjustment for the society and for *The Korea Times*. The change from 1971 is noticeable but the change was slow. The movement was dormant in 1972 which explains the void of news, but the newspaper also was slow to react to the situation in 1973. The narrative in the paper was dominated by ministers and politicians and the students' voices were not present in the paper. *The Korea Times*' reporting included only the hard data on the demonstrations or commentary from politicians who were not active participants of the movement. Only in few instances the paper published articles that were outside this norm. The situation was however ongoing, and the height of the movement was approaching.

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<sup>204</sup> Lee Yoon-shik "Constructive Manner" in Student Corner. *The Korea Times* 2.12.1973.

### 3.2 Anti-communism in South Korea and *The Korea Times*

In the subchapters 3.2 and 3.3 I examine how *The Korea Times* reported on the student movement during the Yushin Constitution in the years 1974–1975. Demonstrations against the Park regime and the new constitution continued from the late 1973 until May 1975 and the greatest outbreaks occurred in the winter of 1974 and spring of 1975. I will explore both 1974 and 1975 simultaneously with different emphasises in the subchapters. In the subchapter 3.2, I focus on anti-communism, its history and impact in South Korea and how the belief was used against the student movement. The students were labelled as pro-Communist and the most influential act of state aggression against students was the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students (NFDYS) case in 1974. I analyse how the case was presented in *The Korea Times*. Additionally, I will shortly explore the impact of South Korean Christians on the student and democracy movement because the group had a remarkable effect on the whole movement. The press and *The Korea Times* struggled with press freedom during the Yushin Constitution which was explained in the previous subchapter and therefore the analysis from now on focuses on what *The Korea Times* was able to report. Did the journalists and editorial staff have room for new approaches and how did the paper cope with the political climate?

During the years 1974–1975 *The Korea Times* published 199 articles on students. Of those 165 were news articles. The other articles were editorials, interviews, news analysis and columns like the Student Corner.<sup>205</sup> *The Korea Times*' reporting style changed slightly during these years and the main difference was that the news articles were more precise about the sources and whose comments were added in the articles. For example, in the news articles where *The Korea Times* included the interviews of politicians there is clear difference between the questions and answers.<sup>206</sup> In 1974–1975 many articles were published about the changing laws and emergency decrees and whenever *The Korea Times* published the translated announcements the editorial staff added notes regarding the origin of the information.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> In addition, *The Korea Times* published few articles on historical consciousness regarding the student movement in 1974 but the perspective disappeared when the anti-Communist narrative took over. For articles on historical consciousness see for example, Chong, Un-bung: Historical Consciousness Student Moves Analyzed. *The Korea Times* 6.1.1974.

<sup>206</sup> For example: Chong, Un-bung. Major Education Policy Minister Vows Freedom For Campus Activities. *The Korea Times* 3.2.1974.

<sup>207</sup> Death Penalty Stipulated For Violators. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1974; School Normality Sought. *The Korea Times* 7.4.1974; Outlawed Youth Organization: Background Relations, Masterminds' Plot Bared. *The Korea Times* 26.4.1974; Charges of Anti-Gov't Acts. *The Korea Times* 29.5.1975; 7-Point Measure. *The Korea Times* 9.4.1975.

In 1974–1975 new restrictive measures were introduced in addition to the already existing ones.<sup>208</sup> The new Presidential Emergency Decrees did not need approval from the National Assembly and President Park personally used them to control students and dissidents. During 1974–1975 he issued nine decrees and the era from 1974 until Park’s death in 1979 is known as the Era of Emergency Decrees according to researchers Lee, Chang and Shin et al.<sup>209</sup> On January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1974, The Emergency Decrees One and Two were issued and the decrees illegalized criticizing the Yushin Constitution with a threat of a 15-year prison terms for those who opposed. Decree Number Four (April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1974) forbid political students’ organizations and participation in the organization NFDYS, Decree Number Seven (April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1975) closed the Korea University and granted the military access to occupy campuses, and at last Decree Number Nine (May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1975) prohibited any kind of anti-government activity.<sup>210</sup> The decrees repressed the society and to the actions of students. *The Korea Times* reported the decrees as news, but the paper also translated the new laws into English and listed the new rules point by point to the readers.<sup>211</sup>

As previously stated in chapter 3.1, anti-communism started to appear in *The Korea Times* with the student movement starting in 1973 and the phenomenon increased more and more in 1974 and 1975. Especially during the NFYDS case the anti-communist propaganda and usage of the ideology reached new levels. Anti-communism was a strong national belief rooted in geopolitical threats from North Korea however, the extent of political suppression in the 1970s by the Park regime was not warranted.<sup>212</sup> Nonetheless, the Park regime was able to use the anti-communist ideology against the student movement due to its long time ideological effect on South Korea.

Anti-communism in South Korea is rooted to the establishment and the division of the Korean peninsula and the consequent war in the 1950s. Communists and North Korea became the ultimate “other” to South Koreans and after 1945 Communist were thought to be the “impure

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<sup>208</sup> National Security Law, Anti-Communist Law and the Yushin Constitution.

<sup>209</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 88, 89; Lee 2011, 35; Chang 2015, 35. Some of the degrees lasted until 1979 but some of them like Decreed One and Four were withdrawn already in 1974. Chubb 2014, 67.

<sup>210</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 25, 86, 88, 89; Lee 2011, 35, 100. There were other Emergency Decrees, but they are not mentioned in most English language literature as the ones mentioned above were much more influential. Lee mentions that the Decree Number Three provided tax exemptions for low-income people to stabilize citizens lives. Lee 2011, 35.

<sup>211</sup> For example, see Death Penalty Stipulated For Violators. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1974; 7-Point Measure. *The Korea Times* 9.4.1975.

<sup>212</sup> Chubb 2014, 61.

element” and “anti-national”.<sup>213</sup> In addition, the United States required strong anti-communist sentiments from South Korea and the Cold War solidified the ideology as politically necessary.<sup>214</sup> The Rhee and Park governments’ political frameworks were based on discourses on anti-communism. According to Chubb, anti-communism became a matter of moral exigency and it was normalized and internalized to the everyday life of citizens during Yushin Constitution.<sup>215</sup> Therefore, the strong national emphasis on anti-communism allowed the Park regime to use the ideology as an effective weapon against the students during the Yushin Constitution.

The anti-communist repression of the dissidents and leftists during the Park era was similar to the Latin American military in the 1960s according to political scientist Yunjog Kim. The authoritarian regimes mobilized anti-leftist campaigns, suppressed civil society and discouraged public participation.<sup>216</sup> The relationship with North Korea and anti-communism was wholly used by the Park regime to control the domestic political affairs. The Yushin Constitution was installed after disappointing talks with North Korea in 1972 and President Park was able to use the momentum to solidify his legitimacy as a leader. National security became even more emphasized than before and instances such as the discovery of North Korean tunnels in 1975 and the assassination of the First Lady in 1974 strengthened the Park regime’s agenda of increasing anti-communist ideology.<sup>217</sup> However, some of the anti-communist overkills by the government faced backlash with the dissident groups. For example, the dissidents criticized the government for abducting and attempting to assassinate opposition politician Kim Dae-jung in 1973.<sup>218</sup>

Anti-communism infiltrated the articles of *The Korea Times*. For example, on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1974, the paper published an article including President Park’s commentary on allowing political debates at campuses. The paper wrote that “Park cautioned that schools must not be the target of Communists’ infiltration or asylums for them or places penetrated by anti-

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<sup>213</sup> Lee 2011, 74, 76, 78.

<sup>214</sup> Kim 2016, 89.

<sup>215</sup> South Korea’s normalization of anti-communism appeared as propaganda banners on North Korean spies on the main streets, students learned anti-Communist ethics and even outfits suitable to withhold the northern attack were designed. Chubb 2014, 63, 64. Anti-Communist education was added to the school curriculums in the early 1960s and consequently the youth in the 1970s were integrated into the system starting from childhood. Lee 2011, 85.

<sup>216</sup> Kim 2016, 91.

<sup>217</sup> Kim 2012, 463–464. South and North Korea participated in peaceful Red Cross talks in 1972 concerning the unification of the countries. Chubb 2014, 60.

<sup>218</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 90, 91; Chubb 2014, 66, 67.

government forces.”<sup>219</sup> Therefore, matters such as political debates among students were connected to anti-communism. Even when students were not exhibiting communist tendencies any political action by them could have been taken as communist and therefore exploitable by North Korea. *The Korea Times* also published a similar article in April 1975 and in the article President Park commented that it would be a waste of national power if the students indulge in “senseless activities”. *The Korea Times* article continued:

Referring to student movements, the President warned it would lead only to waste, not cultivation of national power if student run out of campuses and cause confusions on the streets. “They should engage only in study to become leaders of the nation in future he stressed. Park continued that the so-called “revolutionary strategy” of the international Communists is to drag through negotiations make inroads into the opponent side weaken the opposite government and then overthrow it by forces.”<sup>220</sup>

This example shows how the narrative on students and their activities were directed towards conversations on national security and the difficult situation with North Korea.

The anti-communist ideology was not only expressed by the government but by the dissident groups as well. According to Lee, students and dissident groups occasionally publicly denounced actions and North Korea’s attempts to influence the South. Differentiating themselves from the pro-communist label was necessary because the reputation invalidated the democracy movement and robbed it of its “pure” and “nationalist” causes. The National Security Law and Anti-Communist Law also risked people’s lives and the movement benefitted from including anti-communist narratives in their mission.<sup>221</sup> The public displays of students protesting for anti-communism sometimes appeared in *The Korea Times* although not in notable numbers. Students often opposed political actions taken by North Korea and Japan. For example, in August 1974 students from Kyonghee and Hanyang universities denounced North Korea by demonstrating at campuses.<sup>222</sup>

Combined with the overall branding of the student movement as communist, the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students (NFDYS) became the prime example of disobedience towards the government during the spring and summer of 1974. The students became villains and puppets controlled by the North Korean state and the narrative appeared

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<sup>219</sup> Student Debate Allowed But Demonstration Out. *The Korea Times* 19.1.1974.

<sup>220</sup> Cho Byung-pil. Park: Students' Rally Waste of Nat'l Power. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1975.

<sup>221</sup> Lee 2011, 106, 107.

<sup>222</sup> In the articles it is also mentioned that additional 400 000 citizens rallied to denounce Kim Il-sung. Condemn Japan Stand. *The Korea Times* 28.8.1974.

and was reinforced in *The Korea Times*. In total there were 18 articles between April and August 1974 that discussed the case in *The Korea Times*. The NFDYS case was significant because the Park regime declared Emergency Measure No. Four to repress the organization. The situation started in the spring 1974 when students demonstrated against the Yushin Constitution in large numbers. The government retaliated with the fourth decree and in the press NFDYS became an anti-state organization planning to overthrow the government. In reality, the NFDYS acted as an umbrella organization for dissident groups aiming for democracy. It consisted of student activists, Christian student activists, religious leaders, alumnus, dissident elders and leaders, politicians, writers, and other scholars who were mobilized through personal and regional connections and university circles.<sup>223</sup>

The NFDYS was covered in *The Korea Times* starting from the announcement of the Fourth Emergency Decree on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1974. *The Korea Times*' information on the case was based entirely on the government's information and on April 4<sup>th</sup> the paper published a large front-page article on the new emergency decree and on the NFDYS. The English translation of the decree was published on the front-page.<sup>224</sup> The articles mainly focused on the declaration of NFDYS as an anti-state force and claims that the whole organization was a North Korean guise to overthrow the South Korean government.<sup>225</sup> On April 7<sup>th</sup> *The Korea Times* published a summary article based on the information given by the relevant authorities. In the article the paper explains what was occurring and why instances from previous year mattered. The paper wrote that:

...the measures do not purport at all to punish the innocent majority of students who were once sympathetic with the Communist elements unintentionally deceived by their seduction and agitation. It is clear that subject to the strict punishment providing for up to the death penalty is only an underground Communist organization called the "National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students."<sup>226</sup>

The emphasis on the quote is strongly on the communist elements and the communist seduction of the students. The article strongly differentiates normal students from the students participating in the NFDYS to emphasize the communist elements of the organization.

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<sup>223</sup> Lee 2011, 170.

<sup>224</sup> Emergency Measure Issued To Uproot Subversive Acts By Youth-Student Circles. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1974; Death Penalty Stipulated For Violators. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1974.

<sup>225</sup> Emergency Measure Issued To Uproot Subversive Acts By Youth-Student Circles. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1974.

<sup>226</sup> Presidential Measures School Normality Sought. *The Korea Times* 7.4.1974

The same summary piece also included some slogans the students had allegedly used during the demonstrations during the spring of 1974. The article offers a rare chance to examine what the students were advocating for, but the contents of the article cannot be considered reliable due to bias in *The Korea Times*. According to the article, the students of NFDYS had distributed propaganda leaflets with similarities to the North Korean propaganda. According to *The Korea Times*, the leaflets included harsh words like: "Let's sprinkle our hot blood at (organization) fronts" and "Working masses, arise!" and "Suppressed masses, arise!" and "Arise! Intellectuals, journalists and religious men."<sup>227</sup> In the article NFDYS's students were clearly branded as communists and this was the first time student demonstrations were linked to North Korean espionage agent activities by the government.<sup>228</sup> However, Lee emphasizes that NFDYS was neither a Leninist vanguard organization nor an organization based on any clear interests or principles.<sup>229</sup> The summarization piece was the only article in *The Korea Times* that even remotely touched on what the students were advocating.

*The Korea Times* commented on NFDYS case in its editorial in late May 1974. The editorial focuses on horror pictures of violent revolution by the North Korea and communization of South Korea by force. The narrative fulfilled the state's required anti-communism propaganda requirements.<sup>230</sup> Then the paper moved on to the NFDYS case. *The Korea Times* wrote that the organization was a part of the communist scheme to plot against the free and democratic South Korea.<sup>231</sup> Although the NFDYS was clearly attached to the greater narrative of students being tools for communists, *The Korea Times* still managed to hold on to their long-time narrative of students as innocent and misguided youth. The paper wrote:

We are extremely concerned about the possibility that the North Korea-manipulated elements will try to seduce those innocent youths, in campuses for their subversive purposes, taking advantage of the strong sense of justice at their stage of life. [--] Our growing generation is hereby reminded of their primary task of academic pursuit on campuses, among other things.<sup>232</sup>

Similar to the previous years, the dominating message in *The Korea Times* was the worry for the students' rights to partake in the academics. Like before *The Korea Times* wrote that the students were unable to decide what was best for them and they were easily "seduced" into

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<sup>227</sup> Presidential Measures School Normality Sought. *The Korea Times* 7.4.1974.

<sup>228</sup> Lee 2011, 69.

<sup>229</sup> Lee 2011, 174.

<sup>230</sup> Kwak 2012, 7.

<sup>231</sup> Stern Warning. *The Korea Times* 29.5.1974.

<sup>232</sup> Stern Warning. *The Korea Times* 29.5.1974.



protesting. Simultaneously, the paper shifts the blame off the students to the North Korean communists creating an image of the students as immature youth unable of rational thinking. At the same time, this narrative of misguided youth saves the students from the blame of their actions but also it diminishes the aims of the democracy movement. Overall, the editorial is a good example of performative anti-communism required from the media. However, the notion on students as innocent youth gives the editorial some depth and it shows the paper's own priorities.

The articles of summer of 1974 mostly discussed the arrests and legal proceeding of the main perpetrators of NFDYS. Especially the seven death sentences dominated the narrative in July.<sup>233</sup> In the end a total of 1034 dissidents were arrested in the NFDYS incident and 235 of them were imprisoned and 14 were given death sentences.<sup>234</sup> The situation also touched on international sectors of the society because some of the indicted were Japanese. Consequently, anti-Japanese discussions appeared and strengthened in *The Korea Times* because the assassination of the first lady in August 1974 was also connected to Japanese-based Korean communists.<sup>235</sup> The reporting on the NFDYS lessened towards the autumn of 1974 and the articles mostly focused on the legalities of NFDYS and the fourth emergency decree.<sup>236</sup>

The last relevant articles on the NFDYS were published in late August when the Park regime pulled back the Emergency Decree Number One and Four and the NFDYS' legal cases were finalized.<sup>237</sup> *The Korea Times* reported on August 24<sup>th</sup> that President Park had commented on the matter. President Park regretted the people's misunderstanding on the emergency measures purposes. He explained that the decrees were not meant to oppress people and he claimed that the citizens were unable to understand the threat of Communist scheme.<sup>238</sup> According to Lee, the NFDYS case was representative of Park regime's framing of student protests as a large scale organized attempt at overtaking the government and the heavy sentences on the students acted as a warning to the public on the danger of opposition.<sup>239</sup> Additionally, *The Korea Times* published another article which discussed the opinions of the citizens on the lifting of measures

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<sup>233</sup> For example: Planned Uprising Death Penalty Asked For 7 NFDYS Members. *The Korea Times* 11.7.1974; 'Youth Federation' Case 7 Given Death 8 Life Terms. *The Korea Times* 12.7.1974.

<sup>234</sup> Chubb 2014, 68. *The Korea Times* reported on only seven death sentences.

<sup>235</sup> Court-Martial Tries 34 in NFDYS Plot. *The Korea Times* 16.6.1974.

<sup>236</sup> Article examples on *The Korea Times* reporting about the legalities: 'Youth Federation' Case 7 Given Death 8 Life Terms. *The Korea Times* 12.7.1974; NFDYS Case, Decree Violation Yun Po-sun, 3 Others On Trial for Aiding Plot. *The Korea Times* 17.7.1974.

<sup>237</sup> Chubb 2014, 67. Lifted After 228 Days Courts-Martial To Finish Job. *The Korea Times* 24.8.1974.

<sup>238</sup> Lifted After 228 Days Courts-Martial To Finish Job. *The Korea Times* 24.8.1974.

<sup>239</sup> Lee 2011, 174.

and the NFDYS. The article was similar to the 1973 citizens' reactions article. Few business owners and workers expressed that it was fortunate that the measures were lifted due to the psychological burden caused by the measure. Some interviewed students were still worried about the fates of the arrested students.<sup>240</sup> Overall the NFDYS case was a prominent part of the 1974 student movement narratives. However, the state dominated the narrative by labeling the students as national danger. The discussion left little space for other opinions and *The Korea Times* was only able to support the students by minimizing their abilities to make adult decisions.

An important part of the South Korean student and the democratization movement in the 1970s was the participation of the Christian community. Activities by Christians were referenced in *The Korea Times* in passing during the years 1971–1975<sup>241</sup> and in 1974–1975 there were some remarks of Christians participating in the NDFYS.<sup>242</sup> For example, in August 1974 *The Korea Times* reported that some of the arrested were Christians.<sup>243</sup> Christians were a politicized group in the 1970s South Korea for their participation in the democracy movement and their advocacy of welfare politics. They also advocated for human rights and represented South Korean human rights issues to larger international Christian communities. Christians were important to the student movement because they offered students a possibility to broadcast their message to the international human rights circles. Religious leaders also enjoyed prestigious status, and their protesting was harder to contest because their protests were in the form of religious prayer meetings or proclamations.<sup>244</sup> Christians were still prosecuted for their actions against the state. For example, in 1978 44.5 percent of political prisoners in South Korea were church leaders. In comparison, 35.2 percent of political prisoners were college students.<sup>245</sup>

The reporting on the Christian activities in connection to the student movement was passive in *The Korea Times*.<sup>246</sup> The articles often included how many Christians participated, when the events happened, whether the participating Christians were students and what type of protest

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<sup>240</sup> What About Students Held?' Citizens Welcome Lifting of Decrees. *The Korea Times* 24.8.1974.

<sup>241</sup> Christians Stage Rally Against Corruption. *The Korea Times* 9.10.1971; 30 Christian Students Hold Prayer Meet. *The Korea Times* 19.10.1971; Collegians Stage Rally; 64 Investigated. *The Korea Times* 28.11.1973; Christian Youths Hold Rally. *The Korea Times* 20.12.1973.

<sup>242</sup> Lee 2011, 197.

<sup>243</sup> Lifted After 228 Days Courts-Martial To Finish Job. *The Korea Times* 24.8.1974.

<sup>244</sup> Brazinsky 2007, 224, 225; Chang & Vitale 2013, 30; Chang 2015, 79, 87, 98–99, 101.

<sup>245</sup> Dong 1987, 239. Origin of the data according to Dong: World Council of Churches: *Human Rights in the Republic of South Korea*, Geneva 1981.

<sup>246</sup> Here I can only comment on the articles that came up in my research in connection to the students. Christians protesting could have been discussed as a separate case in *The Korea Times*.

they held. For example, *The Korea Times* informed when Christians held a protest mass or prayer meeting.<sup>247</sup> *The Korea Times* also reported the arrests of important Christian leaders. For example, on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1974, *The Korea Times* wrote about a foreign Methodist missionary who was ousted from South Korea by the government because he had a leading role in dissident activities.<sup>248</sup> The Christian participation was strongest during the 1970s and their importance grew especially after the crackdown on students in 1975.<sup>249</sup>

In conclusion, the anti-communist narrative appeared strongly in the pages of *The Korea Times* in 1974. Especially during the Emergency Decrees One and Four the country was under harsh censorship and *The Korea Times* lacked depth in their stories from January to August in 1974. However, *The Korea Times* was able to hold on to their long-term opinion of students as innocent and misguided youth. The narrative started to appear already in 1971 and the editorial and articles with editorial input from 1974 are in support with the articles from 1971. Nevertheless, the commentary on the student demonstrations and the movement was inadequate and the paper only focused on the government provided information. Reports on the student movement and especially the NFDYS, are a good example on lack of quality coverage during the Emergency Decree Number One and Four. The students had no voice or opinions and even the death sentences did not spark wider discussions in the paper.

### 3.3 Last Moments of the Student Movement: Intellectuals and the End

After the withdrawal of Emergency Decrees One and Four, *The Korea Times*' reporting changed to a freer direction in the late 1974 and early 1975. Relaxation of the laws allowed more voices and stories surface again in *The Korea Times* and the articles were more in line with articles from 1971 and 1973. The regular reports on the student demonstrations returned to the paper and *The Korea Times* followed important protest events closely. My research focuses on the students who were the most influential protest group, but the democracy movement was influenced by other participants such Christian, journalists, workers, and intellectuals who impacted the scale of the dissident movement during the Yushin years.<sup>250</sup> Especially in 1975 this aspect of the movement became apparent in *The Korea Times* when the

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<sup>247</sup> Determined Move Made. *The Korea Times* 15.12.1974; Aug. 15 Plot Rocks Nation. *The Korea Times* 24.12.1974; Christians Hold Prayer for Press. *The Korea Times* 21.3.1975.

<sup>248</sup> Determined Move Made. *The Korea Times* 15.12.1974.

<sup>249</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 34

<sup>250</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 19.

stories of intellectuals were published more than before. Therefore, most of this Chapter 3.3 focuses on the articles that included the student movement and the stories of intellectuals partaking in the student movement narrative. Later in the subchapter I examine how the student movement ended in the 1970s and how the reporting was replaced with articles about the state implemented military program for students. Lastly, I will examine the last Student Corners of 1975 that contemplated the campus situation.

When tensions in the press and society decreased, *The Korea Times* was able to publish more informative articles regarding the student movement. The anti-communist narrative almost completely disappeared after August 1974.<sup>251</sup> Instead, *The Korea Times* returned to their neutral follow-up type articles that focused on the different student protest instances. The update articles were again the most often appearing article type and the articles included information on which university's students participated, how many students participated in the protests and how the particular university reacted.<sup>252</sup> Many of the articles were also updates on closing and reopening of the universities.<sup>253</sup> Although most of the news articles were neutral follow-up articles, as a new addition *The Korea Times* published articles about intellectuals in relation to the student movement. The participation of intellectuals increased in 1975 and in *The Korea Times*, it was apparent through reports on the ousting of the Yonsei University president and interviews of university personnel.

In previous chapters, I have included the importance and participation of intellectuals in the dissident movement, however before late 1974 they did not often appear in *The Korea Times* as a participating subject of the student movement. Intellectuals never were an ideologically unified group: some of them supported the ruling regime while some joined the dissident movement according to political scientist Byung-Kook Kim.<sup>254</sup> Myung-Lim Park clarifies that the dissident intellectuals, the *chayea*, became more united after Emergency Decree Number

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<sup>251</sup> Some references to North Korea in relation to the students still appeared in the paper. For example: Pyang Abets Student Revolt Against Seoul. *The Korea Times* 12.10.1974.

<sup>252</sup> Campuses Demand Release. *The Korea Times* 11.10.1974; Gov't Warns 6 Univs Over Student Protests. *The Korea Times* 29.10.1974; 40 Students Stage Rally On Street. *The Korea Times* 30.10.1974; 2,500 Students Stage Rallies In 3 Cities. *The Korea Times* 8.11.1974; 90 Students Go On Fast Against Yushin. *The Korea Times* 17.11.1974; 4,000 Ewha Girls Demand Release. *The Korea Times* 20.11.1974; 300 SNU Students Hold Free Press Rally. *The Korea Times* 15.3.1975; Yonsei Students Demand Gov't to Scrap Ultimatum. *The Korea Times* 16.3.1975; 7,000 Students Rally On Three Campuses. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1975.

<sup>253</sup> Korea Univ. Suspends Classes. *The Korea Times* 12.10.1974; 2 Universities Suspend Classes in Demonstrations. *The Korea Times* 15.10.1974; Closed-Up Univs. Total 18 in Unrest. *The Korea Times* 18.10.1974; Campus Rallies Classes Suspended Again. *The Korea Times* 1.11.1974; SNU to Suspend Class Indefinitely. *The Korea Times* 8.4.1975.

<sup>254</sup> Kim 2011a, 22.

Four and consequently the dissident intellectual leaders — Christians activists, opposition politicians, Buddhists, journalists, professors, writers, judges and feminist leaders— united against the Yushin state.<sup>255</sup> Therefore, in 1975 more activity surrounding intellectuals were reported and considering that the audiences of *The Korea Times* were intellectually oriented, the paper had all the interests to write about the intellectuals if they could. For example, *The Korea Times* published a Student Corner article “Ivory Tower” on late March 1975 written by a chemical engineering student Hong Chul-woong. In the article Hong muses about the state of collegians position in the society and how they should perceive the contaminated society while staying in the ivory tower.<sup>256</sup>

*The Korea Times* was able to report on the student movement more freely in 1974 and 1975 but how did the paper present the movement during this time? Besides the Yonsei case, which I will analyze later, the paper was able to mention the aims of the movement multiple times. The in-depth analysis or opinions from the students were absent but *The Korea Times* reported the different motives of the movement. Students aimed to abolish of the Yushin constitution and restore genuine democracy. Namhee Lee stresses that the whole democratization movement in the 1970s was highly motivated by hatred towards the Yushin Constitution. For students and citizens, the era presented fear, absurdity, and distrust amongst each other as numerous people served prison time for “distorting facts” and “spreading false rumors”. The Yushin era was also a time of fascist culture that restricted everything from hair and clothing to entertainment on television.<sup>257</sup> For example, on November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1974, *The Korea Times* reported that 1000 students at Hankuk University violently demonstrated at the campus demanding the withdrawal of the Yushin Constitution.<sup>258</sup> Many similar articles were released on students’ motives to abolish the Yushin system.<sup>259</sup>

The students also protested for press freedom, freedom of learning and ending the surveillance of campuses. However, the reoccurring topic in late 1974 was the students demands for the state to release students who were imprisoned under the first and fourth Emergency Decrees.<sup>260</sup> For

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<sup>255</sup> Park 2011, 392–393.

<sup>256</sup> Hong Chul-woong Ivory Tower in Student Corner. *The Korea Times* 23.3.1975.

<sup>257</sup> Lee 2011, 35, 36, 151.

<sup>258</sup> Cops, Students Clash in Rally. *The Korea Times* 5.11.1974.

<sup>259</sup> For example: 40 Students Stage Rally On Street. *The Korea Times* 30.10.1974.; 2,500 Students Stage Rallies In 3 Cities. *The Korea Times* 8.11.1974; Gov’t Warns 6 Univs Over Student Protests. *The Korea Times* 29.10.1974; Gov’t Warns Korea U. Over Demonstrations. *The Korea Times* 1.4.1975.

<sup>260</sup> For example: Students Send Park Petition For Pardon. *The Korea Times* 6.10.1974; Students Ask Park For Release. *The Korea Times* 9.11.1974; 300 SNU Students Hold Free Press Rally. *The Korea Times* 15.3.1975.

example, on November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1974, *The Korea Times* reported that 4000 Ewha Womans University students had demanded the release of students and clergymen. The students from Ewha also urged intellectuals to awaken to reality.<sup>261</sup> Some students were released in early 1975 and consequently a greater discussion started on whether the released students would be reinstated with student status.<sup>262</sup> *The Korea Times* reporting on the students' motives lacked depth, however the articles about the ruling politicians commenting on the movement were much more descriptive.

In late 1974 and the spring of 1975, *The Korea Times* occasionally published interviews and comments from relevant politicians like the education minister.<sup>263</sup> For example, on October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1974, *The Korea Times* reported that Education Minister Yoo Kee-chun had commented that "The first mission of students is studying. If they neglect their first mission to demand other things, student activities are by no means rational".<sup>264</sup> Later the paper published an article on President Park commenting on the students matter in early April 1975. *The Korea Times* wrote that:

...the President warned it would lead only to waste, not cultivation of national power if student run out of campuses and cause confusions on the streets. "They should engage only in study to become leaders of the nation in future he stressed..."<sup>265</sup>

When compared to the articles on students' motives, the politicians got more column space for their comments and actual citations and opinions were included in the articles. Both of the above statements were in line with the government's previous opinions about the movement although the anti-communist propaganda was not the main focus anymore. Political scientist Wonmo Dong argues that the Park government accused that small number of militant students and misguided politicking professors distracted the "uncontaminated" students away from academic endeavors.<sup>266</sup>

However, the students were not alone in their cause because the Yushin Constitution was heavily criticized by opposition politicians. For example, on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1974, *The Korea Times* published an article in which opposition politician Han Yong-su argued against the

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<sup>261</sup> 4,000 Ewha Girls Demand Release. *The Korea Times* 20.11.1974.

<sup>262</sup> For example: Yonsei Students Demand Ministry Repeal Warning. *The Korea Times* 15.3.1975.

<sup>263</sup> For example: Campus Surveillance Lifted. *The Korea Times* 12.10.1974; "May Close Campus" Gov't Warns Univ. Proxies On Current Student Moves. *The Korea Times* 15.10.1974.

<sup>264</sup> Colleges Warned To Observe Rule On Class Days. *The Korea Times* 31.10.1974.

<sup>265</sup> Cho Byung-pil. Park: Students' Rally Waste of Nat'l Power. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1975.

<sup>266</sup> Dong 1987, 234.

Yushin Constitution commenting “that the government’s policy not to allow discussion of the revision of the Yushin (Revitalizing Reforms) Constitution has “caused various disorders and campus unrest.”.<sup>267</sup> Similarly, later on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1974, representative and president of NDP, Kim Young-sam demanded that the government releases arrested politicians, religious leaders, intellectuals and students at the earliest possible date.<sup>268</sup> There were only a few of these news articles of opposition politicians fighting for students’ rights but the publication of these articles were important because before during Emergency Decree No. One criticism of the Yushin Constitution was banned entirely in the press.

In 1975 influential section of the student movement was explored in *The Korea Times*: the participation of the university community. Good examples are the Yonsei University’s president’s dismissal case and the Korea University demonstrations that prompted the Park regime to instate Emergency Decree No. Seven which allowed military troops to access campuses.<sup>269</sup> Before 1975, the universities did not take a stand behalf of the students in the pages of *The Korea Times* apart from occasional article on closing universities or punishing the students. However, in 1975 Yonsei University’s president Park Tae-sun publicly opposed the Education Ministry and the university reinstated the positions of 14 students and two professors.<sup>270</sup> Myung-Lim Park explains that the mistreatment of professors in combination with the Decree No. Nine transformed the mistreated scholars into martyrs of the human rights on university campuses which gave the intelligentsia moral power over the public and many of the intelligentsia and progressive thinkers publicly spoke out against the government.<sup>271</sup>

The Yonsei University case appeared 14 times in *The Korea Times* between 14<sup>th</sup> March to April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1975. In summary, in March 1975 Yonsei University disobeyed government orders not to reinstate dissident students and professors into the universities. The Education Ministry did not allow reinstatements without pardons, but Yonsei University president Park Tae-sun disobeyed. According to *The Korea Times* his reason was that the university was entitled to educational and humanitarian decisions and the reinstatement was necessary for campus peace and national unity.<sup>272</sup> As a consequence, the education minister threatened to fire Park Tae-sun which

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<sup>267</sup> End Surveillance Of Kim Dae-jung'. *The Korea Times* 19.10.1974.

<sup>268</sup> Opposition Plans To Stage Sit-In In House Today. *The Korea Times* 5.12.1974.

<sup>269</sup> Lee 2011, 35.

<sup>270</sup> Ministry Warns Yonsei Against ‘Reinstatement’. *The Korea Times* 14.3.1975.

<sup>271</sup> Park 2011, 395, 396.

<sup>272</sup> Ministry Warns Yonsei Against ‘Reinstatement’. *The Korea Times* 14.3.1975.

sparked the Yonsei students to protest.<sup>273</sup> Yonsei students rallied to keep Park in position and their protests motivated greater demonstrations on behalf of arrested students in SNU and Korea University.<sup>274</sup>

Park Tae-sun's disobedience is a unique case in the pages of *The Korea Times* because it is the only dissident scholar story presented in the paper. Although Park Tae-sun conceded and resigned eventually, the case shows that the students were not fighting an isolated fight as it often appears in *The Korea Times'* reporting.<sup>275</sup> The newspaper had not reported such incidents before, which begs the question: why the Yonsei case? Maybe the outright disobedience of the government was significant enough that *The Korea Times* considered it necessary to report. In comparison, the demonstrations at the Korea University were less reported although the government instated the seventh Emergency Decree just to close Korea University.<sup>276</sup>

The Yonsei University case also brings up the question of what the role universities had in the student movement as institutions. The intelligentsia and therefore the university leaders were not united in their views of the student movement. The "yellow" professors backed up the government and "political professors" were publicly threatened to be expelled by the state.<sup>277</sup> The universities as an institution were under constant threats of forceful closing if they did not control the students. This was a difficult task and even the government had to use military resources to quell the protests.<sup>278</sup> *The Korea Times* also noticed the disparity between the universities in the column Sidelights in December 1974. In the column, the newspaper stated: "'Quiet universities," whose students refrain from anti-government demonstrations, may expect more financial support from the government than "noisy ones" involved in the campus turmoils."<sup>279</sup>

Additionally, *The Korea Times'* focus on the intellectuals and universities is evident from a series of interviews they published on Sundays in March 1975.<sup>280</sup> The paper interviewed

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<sup>273</sup> Yonsei Students Demand Ministry Repeal Warning. *The Korea Times* 15.3.1975; Students Of Yonsei Ask Reinstatement. *The Korea Times* 22.3.1975; Yonsei Univ. Students Rally Continues. *The Korea Times* 5.4.1975.

<sup>274</sup> 7,000 Students Rally On Three Campuses. *The Korea Times* 4.4.1975. Only these universities appeared in *The Korea Times* regarding this topic but most likely there were more universities participating.

<sup>275</sup> Yonsei Accepts Prexy Ouster. *The Korea Times* 11.4.1975.

<sup>276</sup> Shin & Chang & Lee & Kim 2007, 25.

<sup>277</sup> Dong 1987, 234; Lee 2011, 44.

<sup>278</sup> Dong 1987, 234; Lee 2011, 225

<sup>279</sup> Sidelights. *The Korea Times* 21.12.1974.

<sup>280</sup> Park Chang-seok: Kyung Hee Vows to Raise Morale. *The Korea Times* 16.3.1975; Cha Tae-shik: Meet the Dean Students Should Ignore Outside Elements: Song. *The Korea Times* 23.3.1975; Chong Bong-wook: Meet the Prexy Study More Stressed Than Political Acts. *The Korea Times* 30.3.1975.



important personnel from Seoul's influential universities on the current topics of student protests and education policies. The timing of these interviews was significant since at the same time the Yonsei case was ongoing, and the interviews were published right before the announcement of Emergency Decree No. Seven. The interviews reflect the fact that *The Korea Times* was under surveillance because none of the interviewees directly opposed the government, however some interviewees' social status impacted how openly they could comment on the situation. As mentioned before the intellectual class in South Korea was not a unified group but all of them enjoyed a high status in society benefitting from the old Confucian tradition of venerated scholars.<sup>281</sup> The dissident scholars believed democracy was rooted in Korean traditions equally with authoritarianism and to eliminate dissent was the antithesis to modernization. In contrast, the intellectuals who reconciled with the Park's Yushin regime found many opportunities in academia and politics.<sup>282</sup>

The interviewees had diverse backgrounds: Choue Young-seek was university president at Kyung Hee University, Song Wook was a poet, and a dean of the College of Humanities at Seoul National University and Dr. Solemn Park was president of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and the ex-minister of social affairs in the Syngman Rhee administration in the 1950s.<sup>283</sup> The interviews are united by the fact that president Choue, professor Song and Dr. Park all disapproved the student demonstrations, but they had different reasons for their disapproval. President Choue was satisfied that Kyung Hee's students had not been arrested, and he stressed students should refrain from political interactions, and instead they should focus on upkeeping campus peace.<sup>284</sup> In comparison, Professors Song stressed that the students should focus on studies which is their "ultimate mission", but he thought that conflict between students and state is unavoidable as long as politics exist.<sup>285</sup>

Dr. Solemn Park's interview was the most opinionated and I think the reason for it was his extremely high social position in the South Korean society. The then 73-year-old had served as

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<sup>281</sup> Chang & Vitale 2013, 30.

<sup>282</sup> Brazinsky 2007, 197.

<sup>283</sup> Park Chang-seok: Kyung Hee Vows to Raise Morale. *The Korea Times* 16.3.1975; Cha Tae-shlk: Meet the Dean Students Should Ignore Outside Elements: Song. *The Korea Times* 23.3.1975; Chong Bong-wook: Meet the Prexy Study More Stressed Than Political Acts. *The Korea Times* 30.3.1975.

<sup>284</sup> Park Chang-seok: Kyung Hee Vows to Raise Morale. *The Korea Times* 16.3.1975.

<sup>285</sup> Cha Tae-shlk: Meet the Dean Students Should Ignore Outside Elements: Song. *The Korea Times* 23.3.1975

social affairs minister and was a respected scholar who often appeared in *The Korea Times*.<sup>286</sup>

Dr. Park did not approve of the demonstrations, but he said that:

“Who will study hard when he sees the professional knowledge he obtained in college helpless before political power?” “Nobody will be absorbed in studying if he sees some people earn money in corrupt ways and people who were retarded students in college become wealthy,”...<sup>287</sup>

His comments indicate that he was very aware of the social issues in the authoritarian state that urged the students to protest. However, his disdain for the student protests is obvious which is not surprising because the autocratic Syngman Rhee government had its own struggles with protesting students.<sup>288</sup> Additionally, Dr. Park advised students to stay out of politics and to focus on their studies because in his opinion four years was not enough to learn their majors anyway. It is evident from Dr. Park’s interview that he did not approve the student protests, but his interview included the most concise understanding of why the students protested. He was the only interviewee who criticized the government’s education policies, and he expressed annoyance towards the education policy changes by the ministry adding that the universities were displeased.<sup>289</sup> I believe Dr. Park’s criticism of the changing education policies was publishable in *The Korea Times* because of his past as social affairs minister.

The interviews with President Choue, Professors Song and Dr. Park were an interesting addition from *The Korea Times*. Maybe *The Korea Times* had evolved as a newspaper and wanted to present more in-depth commentary on the student movement within the frameworks given by the authoritarian state. The additional narrative of the interviews is important, and it actually strengthens *The Korea Times*’ own opinions. Over the years *The Korea Times* stressed that students should be only studying and not protesting. At the same time, the paper did not completely condemn the students’ reasons for the protests.<sup>290</sup> In conclusion, I think that the interviews demonstrate how *The Korea Times*’ opinions reflected how the intellectuals as a mass viewed the student movement. I think that the newspaper had to please all of its highly

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<sup>286</sup> By searching Solemn Park in the ProQuest archive on *The Korea Times*, I found multiple mentions of Dr. Solemn Park in the 1960s and 1970s especially.

<sup>287</sup> Chong Bong-wook: Meet the Prexy Study More Stressed Than Political Acts. *The Korea Times* 30.3.1975.

<sup>288</sup> Eckert & Lee & Lew & Robinson & Wagner 1990, 352-355.

<sup>289</sup> Chong Bong-wook: Meet the Prexy Study More Stressed Than Political Acts. *The Korea Times* 30.3.1975.

<sup>290</sup> Unless there was an active Emergency Decree or martial law.

educated audiences, both dissident intellectuals and the intellectuals who sided with the Park regime.<sup>291</sup>

Nevertheless, how did *The Korea Times* react to the student demonstrations before the movement was suppressed in their editorials? In two editorials, *The Korea Times* addressed the student situation and the paper continued to emphasize that both parties of the conflict should aim for societal harmony. On 31<sup>st</sup> December 1974, *The Korea Times* wrote that:

In light of past experience, the importance of dialogue can never be neglected. Strictly observed, the die-hard confrontations of the political parties and the commotions by student and religious groups are all attributable to the lack of “concession and mutual understandings through the frank and sincere dialogue.”<sup>292</sup>

In the editorial, *The Korea Times* wished that the dissidents and the government would cease the conflict because it would be the best course of actions for the whole society. Later in April 1975, the paper wrote about the ongoing student demonstrations and commented on the phenomenon in-depth. In summary, the editorial discussed restoring peace on campuses, the government’s education policies, the conflict on reinstating the previously arrested students and the demonstrations in general. *The Korea Times* was critical of the student movement, but the paper stood by the universities that refused to expel students arguing that the standards of higher education would suffer. *The Korea Times* addressed the student demonstration directly commenting:

So-called student power constitutes a major issue in contemporary society both in advanced and developing countries. Since university students are already grown-up citizens mostly, they are basically qualified to participate in real society. Yet, it is also true that they are no more than potential intellectuals and leaders of society tomorrow, [--] In this respect, there must be a limit to their participation in adult society, most understandably, despite the fact that their passion and sense of justice are highly evaluated.<sup>293</sup>

In the editorial *The Korea Times* returns to contemplating what is the students’ and youths’ role in the society. The students’ roles were balanced between the future leaders of society and the fact that their differing opinions restricted their participation in the adult society. The quote quite perfectly summarized the dilemma of students in South Korean society. They were

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<sup>291</sup> One more interview was published in July about the Sogang University’s new president Fr. Skillingstad who was a foreigner. He did comment on the demonstrations but as the Emergency Decree Nine had forced the society to comply with the Park administration, the new president only praised the students quiet support of the governments idea of unity under the external threat to South Korea. New Sogang Prexy: Students Quietly Support Consensus. *The Korea Times* 25.7.1975.

<sup>292</sup> Passing Year. *The Korea Times* 31.12.1974.

<sup>293</sup> Campus Turmoil. *The Korea Times* 17.4.1975.

regarded as the new leaders of tomorrow but their thoughts on justice, even when commended, were hindering their participation in the society. Being a student or an intellectual in the South Korean society was a double-edged sword in the 1970s: on the other hand, you were viewed to be part of the high elite with moral obligations similar to the Confucian scholars of the olden days but you could not stray too far from the common consensus on safety and properness. *The Korea Times*' balancing act on the students' role in the society were consistent during the years I have examined.

The student movement came to its end when the Park regime enacted the Emergency Decree No. Nine on 13<sup>th</sup> May 1975, and consequently *The Korea Times* soon ceased its reporting of the movement.<sup>294</sup> The last Emergency Decree was implemented to strengthen national security after the Fall of Saigon in late April 1975 and according to Lee, the decree was a declaration of war on South Koreans.<sup>295</sup> The new emergency decree prohibited any anti-government activities including the criticism of the constitution and the result was that activist students were driven underground, and progressive intellectuals were banished from the campuses.<sup>296</sup> Additionally, the reporting about the demonstrations and criticising, denying or distorting the constitution were banned to "safeguard national security and public order" according to Youm. Prison time served as a punishment and at least seven journalists were convicted after they privately shared broadsheets on arrested critics, students' demonstrations and workers' strikes.<sup>297</sup> The change was immediate in *The Korea Times*: frequent publications on the student demonstrations ceased almost immediately and only a few articles about students being indicted and colleges opening after military troops left campuses were published.<sup>298</sup> The discussions concerning the students shifted to commentary and news about the National Student Defence Corps (NSDC) and national security.

The Student Corps was a relic from the 1940s and the war era, and the organization was strikingly similar with the fascist Hitler Jugend. The NSDC was a compulsory government controlled national student organization which functioned as a paramilitary unit, and it was strongly tied to anti-communist education. The organization was created to protect South

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<sup>294</sup> *The Korea Times* translated the Emergency Decree No. Nine for its audience. President Steps For Emergency. *The Korea Times* 14.5.1975.

<sup>295</sup> Lee 2011, 35; Park 2011, 394.

<sup>296</sup> Lee 2011, 175; Park 2011, 395.

<sup>297</sup> Youm 1996, 57.

<sup>298</sup> For example: 38 Students Indicted Over Rallies. *The Korea Times* 14.5.1975; Troops Pulled Out of Campus. *The Korea Times* 14.5.1975; Yonsei Univ. Resumes Full Classes. *The Korea Times* 22.5.1975.

Korean democracy against North Korean influences.<sup>299</sup> The organization was demolished after the 1960 student demonstrations but in May 1975 Park regime decided to revive the NSDC to trigger a new Red Scare on campuses and to isolate student activists from the larger mass of students.<sup>300</sup> Activist students opposed the NSDC as they argued that the NSDC stifled their creativity and critical thinking which was a disservice to the nation when the campuses were turned into military camps and students into soldiers. However, the victory of North Vietnam and the widespread fear of communist invasion caused most students to hesitate against criticizing the government policy.<sup>301</sup>

The NDCS was discussed few times in *The Korea Times* and on two different occasions the paper commented on the matter. The Student Corps articles focused on the necessity of the organization, its history and how the organization actually worked.<sup>302</sup> When the program activated in May 1975, *The Korea Times*' opinion was that the Student Corps was a good concept as long as it did not distract students from their academic endeavours. The paper wrote in their editorial: "We hope that the projected student defense corps will be operated and managed in a well-rounded manner so that a fresh campus climate may be maintained for academic pursuits to a satisfactory degree."<sup>303</sup> Therefore, the newspaper did not yet fully support the program but it was not against it either especially when the male university students' compulsory military services were reduced after participation in the Student Corps.<sup>304</sup> *The Korea Times* commented on the matter later in the year again but this time the pro-government propaganda was highly present in the newspaper's editorial. In September 1975, after the inauguration ceremony of the Student Corps *The Korea Times* wrote that:

In them we saw the future able leaders of the nation who are now fully devoted to academic endeavors. In the phalanxes of the students, we searched for a symbolic image of the society we are living in. [--] We saw potential power in them to defeat any challenges by enemies. [--] Preparedness in peacetime for defence is an essential part of national security, and no one doubts its necessity. [--] And we can also see the prospect of democratic and peaceful reunification of the nation regardless of any irrational attempts by Pyongyang.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Lee 2011, 88, 89

<sup>300</sup> Lee 2011, 88; Park 2011, 394.

<sup>301</sup> Lee 2011, 89.

<sup>302</sup> For example: Student Defense Corps Due Next Semester. *The Korea Times* 21.5.1975; Student Defense Corps. *The Korea Times* 24.5.1975; Students to Take Part In Total Security. *The Korea Times* 25.5.1975.

<sup>303</sup> Student Defense Corps. *The Korea Times* 24.5.1975.

<sup>304</sup> Student Defense Corps. *The Korea Times* 24.5.1975.

<sup>305</sup> Student Defense Corps. *The Korea Times* 3.9.1975.

*The Korea Times* now focused only on the national security and the great defence efforts of the students in the face of war instead of importance of academics and learning which had been *The Korea Times*' most emphasized value. During the years 1971–1975 *The Korea Times* in its editorials worried about the future of the nation but now under the Emergency Decree No. Nine and the activated Student Corps the paper wrote that finally the students could be regarded as the leaders of the nation.

I will end my study on the last two Student Corner articles discussing the student movement from November 1975 because the column had acted as a unique reflection on the students' thoughts in the 1970s.<sup>306</sup> Both writers, an English literature freshman Lee Sung-rack and foreign trade junior Cho Tae-hyon, agreed that the campuses were now peaceful and that the students should focus on studying.<sup>307</sup> Lee thought that the students' radicalism had resulted in physical and academic sacrifices and that the students should rather prepare for the future instead of participating in present affairs.<sup>308</sup> Cho wrote that many students had realized how much time they lost due to the demonstrations and that since the communist threat was constant the students should focus on the security of the nation.<sup>309</sup> Both students' opinions were aligned with the status quo and in combination with *The Korea Times*' editorials, the Student Corner articles were the last example of how the student movement lost support in *The Korea Times*.

In conclusion, the years 1974 and 1975 were full of unpredictability regarding what *The Korea Times* was able to publish in accordance with the active laws. *The Korea Times* was able to figure out new ways to comment on the student movement and create different narratives. The extensive following of the Yonsei case, and the interviews of presidents and deans of Seoul's influential universities brought depth to the reporting and included the intellectuals meaningfully in the narrative. Prominent intellectuals were present in the paper which could have been a decisive move from *The Korea Times*' newsroom. The students and their voices in the paper never returned to the same level as in 1971 but the students were included in the newspaper in 1974–1975. The contrast between the articles of late 1947 and spring 1975 with the Student Corps articles show how the paper was malleable to the government's orders. The articles for the years 1974–1975 show that *The Korea Times* followed the restrictions set on the society, but it did not forget its highly educated audience and thus the paper focused on the

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<sup>306</sup> The column was discontinued in 1978 after 10 years of publishing. Yun, 1980.

<sup>307</sup> Lee Sung-rack: Student Movement. *The Korea Times* 26.11.1975; Cho Tae-hyon: Improved Campus Life. *The Korea Times* 28.11.1975.

<sup>308</sup> Lee Sung-rack: Student Movement. *The Korea Times* 26.11.1975.

<sup>309</sup> Cho Tae-hyon: Improved Campus Life. *The Korea Times* 28.11.1975.

greater intellectual commentary on the student movement. However, the student movement was followed like a series of actions instead of a long-time force in the society striving for democracy.

Although the student movement publicly ceased for the following years it did not completely end. The Christian community continued their work alongside with the hidden dissident movement until 1979 when the dissatisfaction of the Park regime increased again. In 1979 President Park's tenure ended in the hands of the KCIA agent and not the students or dissidents.<sup>310</sup> However, new dictatorship under Chun Doo-hwan forcefully took over in 1980 and South Korea democratized only seven years later in 1987 after the June Uprising.<sup>311</sup> The democratization of 1987 is rooted in the dissident movement of the 1960s and 1970s and the work of the students against the Yushin authoritarian system in the 1970s was rewarded.<sup>312</sup> The 1970s' dissident movement lives on and the civil society is still considered a major political force in the contemporary South Korean society.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Lee 2011, 175; Kwak 2012, 15; Chang 2015, 108, 202.

<sup>311</sup> Lee 2011, 45, 265. Kwak 2012, 15.

<sup>312</sup> Chang 2015, 205.

<sup>313</sup> Chang 2015, 195.

## 4 Conclusions

The student movement caused conflicting reactions in the South Korean society in the 1970s and the conflict was reflected in the pages of *The Korea Times*. In my thesis, I examined how *The Korea Times* reported the student movement during the years 1971–1975 and how the presentation of the movement depended on consideration towards journalistic restrictions and expectations of the paper's audience and the society. The English language set the paper apart from other South Korean newspapers, but the difference was not majorly affective. However, the language aspect immensely affected the audience question of my thesis. I used content analysis alongside with context analysis, the comparison of the material and source criticism to follow how *The Korea Times* changed. Of the 500 articles 410 were news articles and the rest were an assortment of editorials, columns, interviews, summaries, and press comments. Because the articles were dominated by the news, *The Korea Times*' reporting leaned more towards writing about what had happened in different sectors of the conflict rather than adding commentary onto the movement. However, the paper still published numerous analysable materials and every piece they published added on to the different narratives presented in the paper.

Overall, I argue that *The Korea Times*' reporting leaned towards the government-oriented narrative when the whole article quota is examined. The government-oriented narrative was displayed through either negative or reprimanding articles on the student movement, anti-communist propaganda in relation to the movement, the displays of interviews or opinions from the politicians of ruling party, or omission of important information regarding the student movement. *The Korea Times* was heavily influenced by the laws of the time, and therefore the stress on the government-oriented opinion reveals very little about the paper when it had no choice but to follow the press restrictions. Therefore, I find that in-depth articles like editorials and columns uncovered much more about *The Korea Times* than the neutral news articles and government-oriented reporting.

What was *The Korea Times*' own opinion on the student movement? In Chapter 2. *1971: The Many Voices of the Student Movement in The Korea Times*, I introduced the question if there was a third viewpoint. I think that *The Korea Times* managed to find the optimal way to comment on the student movement without ostracising anyone: it heavily relied on the intellectualism and importance of academia when writing about the student movement while always adapting to the political changes. *The Korea Times* stressed that the students would be



leaders of the nation: the intellectual class whose main role in the society was to study and not participate in politics. The worry of students participating in the political activities was probably based on the fact that it was not “smart” to participate in anti-state activities which threatened the whole intellectual class. *The Korea Times*’ opinions would probably be very different when examining eras when it was less risky to participate in dissident activities and more heroic like in the 1960 student uprising or later in the 1980s and 1990s when the country democratized after popular protests.

However, *The Korea Times* often wrote about the students being ineligible to participate in the adult society and politics. The students were often labelled as innocent and misguided youth who could not make decisions for themselves and therefore the student movement moral goals were minimized in *The Korea Times*’ texts, like the editorials. The contradictory of students being the nations’ future and also the misguided youth stemmed from the social conflicts of the 1970s South Korea. Simultaneously, the students were intellectuals, a living reflection of the Confucian ideals of scholars, but they were also young and therefore hierarchically lower than the state and their elders. This was especially reflected in *The Korea Times* when the paper focused more on including texts from intellectuals discussing the student movement, Thoughts of The Times in 1971 and interviews of respected elderly intellectuals in 1975, rather than on commentary from students.

*The Korea Times* in my opinion experienced a full circle during my study and the paper changed in phases. 1971 included most of my articles and the movement was discussed in-depth and with many sources including students, intellectuals, other newspapers like *Dong-A Ilbo* and even American writers. The newspaper industry was more functional in 1971 and therefore during 1971 there was more space for journalistic expression. I fully expected that after the implementation of the Yushin Constitution in 1972 there would be a massive drop in article quality, and I would mostly analyse the state-propaganda. However, with closer examination especially the years 1973–1975 offered a comprehensive assortment of articles. In 1973–1975, *The Korea Times* experienced many different phases of political control which was heavily reflected in the paper. There was the new rise of the student movement in 1973, the anti-communist narrative of the NFDYS in 1974 and then the restricted era of autumn 1974 to spring of 1975 when *The Korea Times* leaned into the intellectual aspects again. The spring of 1975 particularly strengthened and solidified my interpretation that the paper was intellectually oriented when *The Korea Times* reported the Yonsei case and included the university presidents’ interviews.

The students' voice was displayed in *The Korea Times*, but it was definitely not the dominant narrative in the paper and the students were more subject of debate rather than active participant in the texts of *The Korea Times*. Student Corner is the best portrayal of the students' voice and opinions, and the column did contribute to the discussion although most of the texts were very neutral or critical of the movement. Besides the texts of Kim Jong-shin and Chung Chang-wook in 1971, the column did not include strong opinions from students supporting the movement or from the dissident students themselves. Otherwise, students were discussed, and their voices were shown only in slogans and news articles. This deduction makes my study feel somewhat redundant as the students' own voices were not explored greatly, but I think that it also reveals how the topic was approached in *The Korea Times*. In *The Korea Times*, the students were a faraway participant in the societal conflict based on their dissidence but through the paper readers knew the other participants and commentators – politicians, intellectuals, and editors – better. This factor just proves well how South Korean newspapers are not the ideal sources to search for the essence and motives of the student movement and dissidents but to examine how the movement was considered vague in the societal discussions.

*The Korea Times*' status as an English language newspaper was present in my study but less than I had expected. The most obvious factor was the language itself; *The Korea Times* was able to express opinions differently linguistically compared with Korean language newspapers and thus the paper had possibilities to discuss the student movement more freely than Korean language newspapers. Because of the English language, *The Korea Times* audience reach was likely considerably less than Korean newspapers, but the paper reached more niche audiences domestically and abroad. However, when it came to the student movement, I think that *The Korea Times*' general opinion was in line with its sister paper *Hankook Ilbo*. In the research literature it was mentioned that *Hankook Ilbo* functioned within similar descriptions of the mainstream South Korean news media in the 1970s. Presumably *The Korea Times* functioned in a similar conduct to its sister paper.

Foreigners did have an influence on *The Korea Times* but in my study, I think that only the year 1971 presents the foreigners appropriately. In 1971, the paper explored the student movement more freely and the American commentators brought nuance to the situation implying that their opinions were also respected and necessary for the paper's audiences. During the Yushin years however this narrative disappeared from the paper and the only indication of the foreign audience regarding the student movement was the occasional translation of the emergency decrees. Unfortunately, the lack of foreign commentators is related to the actions of the

authoritarian state. It was dangerous to comment or criticize Park's government as a foreigner because you could be expelled from the country.

Considering all the above I think that *The Korea Times* positioned in the neutral area of the conversation in the larger political context. From my study I argue that the most guiding factor for *The Korea Times* was the intellectual audience. The articles and narratives were very academia minded and the audience of *The Korea Times*, Korean or foreign, most likely were interested in the matters that were important to them: what was the position of students and how it probably affected them. Especially *The Korea Times*' frequent reporting of whether universities were closed or opened and whether the military was present at the campuses affected the daily life of intellectuals.

*The Korea Times* delicately managed the student protest situation, and many sides of the conflict were present and while the paper did not comment heavily on the matter unless the laws and propaganda required it to. The propaganda was often apparent in *The Korea Times* especially in 1972–1975. For example, in the editorials nationalism was heavily emphasized. The intellectual class in South Korea was not unified and I think that *The Korea Times* catered to most participants of the class although the paper probably could be criticized for its lack of support for press freedom and students' rights. On the other hand, *The Korea Times* sister paper *Hankook Ilbo* was an active participant of the press freedom movement in the 1970s and consequently *Hankook Ilbo*'s progressiveness was probably enough of a public front for the publishing company meaning that *The Korea Times* as a paper did not necessarily need to comment on all conflict situations.

Nevertheless, how did *The Korea Times* work as a source for my study? When it comes to the student movement, the newspapers in South Korea are not the best sources to follow what happened and what the dissident movement advocated because of the censorship in the 1970s. However, my goal was to examine how *The Korea Times* functioned as a newspaper and how it conveyed the student movement to its audience and how it reflected the dissident movement in the 1970s. The 1970s were not necessarily the most ideal decade to study the suppressed press, however unlike I expected the years offered a lot more content than I previously thought. *The Korea Times* is an interesting fusion of Korean and western traditions and the paper developed throughout my research which was demonstrated through the increase of different article types. The paper was restricted by Korean newspaper industry's general difficulties like paper shortage resulting in shorter newspapers. This factor makes me wonder if *The Korea*

*Times* had explored the student movement, or any other news topics, in more expressive or lengthy manner if there simply had been more pages to print daily.

I think that *The Korea Times* would be more suitable for research on international movements that were present in South Korea as well. The student movement debate would have benefitted greatly if I had included articles on student movements from other countries and from the same time period, like the United States and Thailand. The comparison with South Korean student movement could display more nuances and expose more about how *The Korea Times* specifically wrote about the South Korean student movement. It would be especially interesting to examine if reporting on international student movements were censored in *The Korea Times* in the 1970s. The research literature is clear on the fact the South Korean student movement reporting was repressed but the literature did not discuss if the Park regime tried to censor any references to popular uprisings and student movements abroad. It was mentioned in the literature that journalists in South Korea wrote about corresponding phenomena in authoritarian states abroad and considering the international base of *The Korea Times*, additions of protest movements abroad could have been reported very frequently.

When considered the Korean studies as a field, I think that my study does not necessarily bring anything new to knowledge on the newspaper industry, however *The Korea Times* has not been studied as a newspaper. Subjecting *The Korea Times* under examination introduces the paper's ability to act as a historical source which has not been done before and I think that the paper was very adequate to examine under western media theories and the historical approach. The result of my study strengthens the already known studies on the South Korean student movement but this time the newspaper aspect has been added to the conversation. The research literature discussed the student movement and journalists' press freedom movement as sort of separate issues but in my study both of them have been united through *The Korea Times* in detail. The main takeaway from my study is that *The Korea Times* and South Korean press was under strong censorship and pressure in the 1970s but that did not mean that politically intense phenomenon like the student movement was completely ignored or even disregarded. The students had a voice in *The Korea Times* in 1971–1975, but it was quiet, unlike the movement.

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## Appendices

### Abstract in Finnish

Pro-gradu -tutkielma *Students! Stay Away from Politics – South Korean Student Movement in The Korea Times in 1971–1975* käsittelee eteläkorealaisen *The Korea Times*-sanomalehden välittämää kuvaa opiskelijaliikkeestä vuosina 1971–1975. Tutkielman pääpaino on *The Korea Timesin* opiskelijoista luomissa narratiiveissa, jotka reflektivat lehden pyrkimystä tasapainotella journalistisen vapauden ja autoritäärisen valtion sensuurin välillä 1970-luvun Etelä-Koreassa. *The Korea Times* oli korealaisille ja ulkomaalaisille lukijoille suunnattu englanninkielinen lehti, ja sen lukijakunta koostui pitkälti intellektuelli-sosiaaliluokasta.

1970-luvun alussa presidentti Park Chung-hee oli siirtymässä autoritäärisempään politiikkaan painottaen antikommunismia ja nationalismia. Vastaliikkeenä opiskelijat, ja pääasiallisesti yliopisto-opiskelijat, protestoivat kiristyviä lakeja ja korruptoitunutta hallintoa. Opiskelijoiden vaikutus yhteiskuntaan nousi merkittävästi vuoden 1960 protestien jälkeen ja 1970-luvulle saavuttaessa liike oli jo poliittisesti vaikutusvaltainen. Opiskelijat kuuluivat varalliseen ja arvostettuun ylempään sosiaaliluokkaan ja monet protestoivat opiskelijat elivät moraalisesti ristiriitaista elämää. Konfutselaisen perinteen mukaan opiskelijat kuuluivat intellektuelli-luokkaan, jonka pääasiallinen tehtävä oli ylläpitää moraalialia ja oikeudellisuutta, minkä 1970-luvun opiskelijat kokivat demokratian puolustamisena. Konfutselaisuus toisaalta myös painotti ikään perustuvaa hierarkiajärjestystä, minkä pohjalla nuoret opiskelijat olivat. Tämä konflikti opiskelijoiden asemasta Etelä-Korean yhteiskunnassa 1970-luvulla heijastui varsinkin intellektuelli-pohjaisiin kanaviin, kuten *The Korea Times* lehteen. Opiskelijaliike oli osa suurempaa toisinajattelijoiden liikettä, joka vastusti autoritääristä ja epädemokraattista politiikkaa. Opiskelijoiden ohella myös työläiset, oppositiopoliitikot, kristityt, journalistit ja muut intellektuellit kuten akateemikot, taitelijat ja feministit protestoivat autoritääristä politiikkaa.

*The Korea Times* perustettiin vuonna 1950 Korean sodan keskellä ja lehti suunnattiin alun perin ulkomaalaisille. Vuosien aikana lehden suosio lisääntyi englantia opettelevien korealaisten keskuudessa. *The Korea Times* oli *Hankook Ilbo* -lehden sisarlehti sekä osa suurempaa lehtikonsernia. Lehdet jakoivat osittain yhteistä toimitusta ja noudattivat samoja journalistisia suuntaviivoja. Arviot *The Korea Timesin* levikistä 1970-luvulla ovat epämääräisiä, mutta vuonna 1964 lehden levikki saavutti 10 000 painoksen rajan. Talouskasvun myötä kaikkien

sanomalehtien levikki laajeni ja *The Korea Times* oletettavasti seurasi trendiä. Lehti saavutti todennäköisesti enemmän lukijoita vuosina 1971–1975 kuin 1960-luvulla. *The Korea Times* tarjosi myös jakelua Etelä-Korean ulkopuolelle.

Etelä-Korean sanomalehtiä sensuroitiin rankasti 1970-luvulla. Lehtiä rajoittivat Antikommunistinen laki, Kansallisen Turvallisuuden laki sekä Parkin hallinnon ajoittain säätämät poikkeus- ja erikoislait. Korean tiedustelupalvelu KCIA:lla oli lehdistöä tarkkaileva osasto, joka puuttui kovakätisesti lehdistön toimintaan. Koreankielinen ja englanninkielinen lehdistö olivat siis suuren paineen alla ja *The Korea Timesia* kosketti sama sensuuri kuin muutakin lehdistöä. Englanninkielisyys vaikutti lehden toimintaan pitkälti vain sanavalintojen kautta, kun koreankielistä lehdistöä ohjeistettiin tarkemmin. Sanomalehdistö oli pääasiassa yksityisomistuksessa ja markkinavoimat sekä lehtikonsernien omistajien poliittiset intressit vaikuttivat lehdistöön, jossa harjoitettiin muutenkin vahvaa itsesensuuria.

Tutkielmassa analysoin, millaisen kuvan lehti antoi opiskelijoista. Kohdistin *The Korea Timesiin* monta kysymystä. Kenen ääni on lehdessä voimakkain ja ottaako lehti opiskelijaliikkeeseen kantaa? Kuinka lehti luovi alati muuttuvassa poliittisessa ilmapiirissä? Kuinka lehti tasapainotteli uutisointiaan lehdistösensuurin keskellä samalla huomioiden lukijoiden intressit? Kuinka englanninkieli vaikutti lehden asemaan? Vastatakseni näihin tutkimuskysymyksiin käytin apunani sisällönanalyysi-metodia. Sisällönanalyysissa yhdistellään määrällistä ja laadullista tutkimusta. Määrällisen osion toteutin kartoittamalla ja rajaamalla *The Korea Timesin* artikkelit vuosilta 1971–1975 relevantteihin 500 artikkeliin, jotka käsittelivät opiskelijaliikettä ja protesteja. Artikkelit löytyvät ProQuest Historical Newspapers tietokannasta, josta *The Korea Timesin* painokset löytyvät skannattuina. *The Korea Timesin* teksteihin on käytetty tekstinkorjausohjelmaa, joka on välillä tulkinnut sanoja väärin. Etsin tietokannasta oleellisia artikkeleita hakusanoilla ”student protest” ja ”student demonstration” ja valitsemani 500 artikkelia ovat ote hakutuloksista. Virhemarginaalin myötä osa artikkeleista on jäänyt löytymättä. Tutkielman määrällisyys pysyi mukana läpi koko tutkimuksen. Tutkielman laadullinen puoli toteutui kontekstianalyysin, vertailun ja lähdekritiikin avulla. Käsittelyluvuissa analysoin *The Korea Timesin* ilmaisua opiskelijoista ja vertailin, kuinka lehden suhtautuminen muuttui vuosien 1971–1975 aikana. Suhteutin löytöjäni tutkimuskirjallisuuteen.

Tutkielmaa varten käytin englanninkielistä tutkimuskirjallisuutta, joka vaikutti tutkimuksen tekemiseen. Koreankielisen tutkimuskirjallisuuden puute vaikuttaa konteksteihin ja tietoon,

joita gradussa esitän, mutta nykyään tutkimusaiheeseen liittyvää englanninkielistä kirjallisuutta on saatavilla. Englanninkielinen kirjallisuus Etelä-Korean mediahistoriasta on erittäin suppeaa, ja tässä työssä nojaudun muutaman perusteoksen varaan. Perinteistä länsimaalaista mediateoriaa ei voida sinällään soveltaa korealaiseen kontekstiin, mutta orgaanista Korea-keskeistä teoriaa ei ole pystytty kehittämään. Siksi tässä työssä sovellan länsimaalaisia mediateorioita historiantutkimuksen ohella.

Tutkielman käsittelyluvussa 2. *1971: The Many Voices of the Student Movement in The Korea Times* analysoin lehden uutisointia opiskelijoista vuonna 1971. Vuoden 1971 artikkelimäärä oli erittäin laaja, yhteensä 243 artikkelia ja siten kyseinen vuosi sisälsi melkein puolet koko työn artikkeleista. Vuoden 1971 artikkelit jakautuivat selkeästi kahteen eri kategoriaan: artikkeleihin, joissa tuettiin tai ymmärrettiin opiskelijaliikettä sekä artikkeleihin, joissa liikettä vastustettiin tai suhtauduttiin siihen neutraalisti. Alaluku 2.1 käsitteli positiivisia reaktioita ja kappaleen alkuun avasin Etelä-Korean lehdistön tilannetta 1970-luvun alussa ja kuinka vuosi 1971 vielä edusti ilmapiiriltään 1960-luvun vapaampaa henkeä. Vuonna 1971 opiskelijaliike oli liitettyä moniin vaikuttaviin poliittisiin tapahtumiin kuten Parkin voittamiin presidentinvaaleihin. Syksy 1971 edusti jo paljon tiukempaa aikaa ja opiskelijoita rajoittava poikkeuslaki säädettiin. Opiskelijoita tukevat artikkelit olivat usein uutisia, joissa uutisoitiin opiskelijoiden vaatimuksista hallitukselle, opiskelijoiden protestitapahtumista ja osassa uutisissa lainattiin opiskelijoiden sanomisia. *The Korea Timesilla* oli myös oma kolumni opiskelijoille nimeltään ”Student Corner”, johon opiskelijat saivat lähettää omia tekstejään. Muutamissa vuoden 1971 teksteissä opiskelijat kertoivat omakohtaisista kokemuksistaan protestien ja armeijan täyttämällä kampuksilla. Lehti myös julkaisi kolumnia ”The Thoughts of The Times”, johon muutamat intellektuellit kirjoittivat ja tukivat opiskelijoiden protesteja. Lehti julkaisi muitakin artikkelityyppejä, joissa osoitettiin tukea opiskelijoille.

Alaluvussa 2.1 käsittelemme negatiivisia ja neutraaleja suhtautumisia opiskelijaliikkeeseen sekä yhdysvaltalaisten vaikutusta *The Korea Timesin* lehtenä. *The Korea Timesin* pääkirjoituksissa lehden oma mielipide oli pitkälti neutraali suhteessa opiskelijoihin. Lehti päätyi painottamaan yhteiskunnallista harmoniaa ja toivoi opiskelijoiden keskittyvän opintoihinsa protestien ja aktivismin sijaan. Tämä narratiivi oli vahva erityisesti keväällä 1971, mutta 1971 hallituksen tiukentaessa lakeja, *The Korea Times* omaksui toruvamman suhtautumisen opiskelijoihin. Lehti kirjoitti opiskelijoiden olevan helposti vaikutuksen alaisia, mutta samanaikaisesti lehti korosti opiskelijoiden erityislaatuisuutta intellektuelleina. Negatiivinen uutisointi oli usein artikkeleita, joissa kerrottiin opiskelijoita rajoittavista toimenpiteistä. Negatiivisuus näkyi myös muutaman

yhdysvaltalaisen kirjoittajan kolumnissa, kun kolumnistit pitivät opiskelijoiden mellakointia turhanpäiväisenä. Toinen kolumnisteista kirjoitti, että eteläkorealaisten opiskelijoiden pitäisi olla tyytyväisiä, että poliisi käyttää vain pippurikaasua eikä esimerkiksi aseita heitä vastaan. Vertailin yhdysvaltalaisen kolumnistien tekstejä Peace Corps -järjestön vapaaehtoisten kokemuksille. Kokemukset erosivat huomattavasti humanitäärisesti. Kokonaisuudessaan vuosi 1971 oli hyvin tasapainoteltu vuosi, jolloin opiskelijaliikettä tarkasteltiin usealta näkökulmalta, mutta lehti päätyi tasapainottelemaan ja loppupeleissä myötäilemään hallituksen tahtoa syksyllä 1971.

Käsittelyluvussa 3. *1972–1975: Students Struggle in the Yushin State* käsittelin *The Korea Timesin* uutisointia vuosina 1972–1975. Alaluvussa 3.1 käsittelin vuosia 1972 ja 1973, jolloin artikkeleita opiskelijaliikkeestä julkaistiin hyvin vähän. Vuonna 1972 voimaan tullut Yushin-perustuslaki rajoitti Etelä-Korean yhteiskuntaa ja presidentti Parkista tuli diktaattori. Hän sai oikeudet valita valitsijamiehet, poisti rajan presidenttien kausista ja lehdistön sensuuri lisääntyi uudistetun medialain myötä. Sensuurin ja propagandan lisääminen suututti lehdistön ja luvussa käyn läpi vuosien 1972–1975 ajan jatkunutta journalistien protestiliikettä. *The Korea Times* ei ottanut kantaa protestiliikkeeseen suoraan, mutta sisarlehti *Hankook Ilbo* tuki aktiivisesti lehdistön vapautta. Alaluvun analyysi keskittyi pitkälti vuoden 1973 artikkeleihin, sillä vuonna 1972 artikkeleita julkaistiin hyvin vähän. Vähäinen syy artikkeleihin selittyi sillä, että vuonna 1971 tehdyt toimenpiteet ajoivat opiskelijat maan alle ja he jatkoivat protesteja vasta vuoden 1973 syksyllä. Vuosi 1973 oli pitkälti totuttelujakso *The Korea Timesille*: lehti julkaisi uutisartikkeleita opiskelijaprotesteista, poliitikkojen kommentteja ja uutena lisäyksenä kansalaisten mielipiteitä opiskelijoiden vankilastavapautumisiin talvella 1973. *The Korea Times* ei erityisesti kommentoinut pääkirjoituksissaan lisääntyviä protestitapahtumia.

Alaluvut 3.2 ja 3.3 käsittelivät vuosia 1974 ja 1975 eri painotuksilla. Luvussa 3.2 keskityin erityislakeihin ja antikommunismiin. Erityislait vaikuttivat opiskelijaliikkeeseen, kun muutama niistä säädettiin vain tukahduttamaan opiskelijoiden protestit. Tärkein teema varsinkin vuonna 1974 oli antikommunistinen propaganda *The Korea Timesissa*, joka näkyi varsinkin uutisoinnissa National Federation of Youth and Students -järjestöstä (NFDYS). NFDYS oli kattojärjestö opiskelijoille ja alumneille. NFDYS ei ollut kommunistinen järjestö, mutta Parkin hallitus leimasi järjestön kommunistiseksi voidakseen julistaa neljännen erityislain hillitäkseen opiskelijaprotesteja. Neljännen erityislain aikana *The Korea Times* julkaisi valtionlähteisiin tukeutuvia artikkeleja, joissa NFDYS:in väitettiin olevan osa Pohjois-Korean valloitusjuonta. Antikommunistisen propagandan ajanjaksona *The Korea Times* toimi osana

propagandakoneistoa. Luvun lopussa käsittelin myös kristittyjen osallisuutta ja vaikutusta opiskelijaliikkeeseen.

Alaluku 3.3 siirtyi käsittelemään protestitapahtumia syksyllä 1974 ja 1975, sekä liikkeen loppua keväällä 1975. *The Korea Times* rajoittavat erityislait vedettiin pois syksyllä 1974, ja lehden uutisointi vapautui hiukan. Alaluku 3.3:n teemaksi nousi intellektualismi, joka oli ollut myös hyvin vahva osa lehteä jo vuonna 1971. *The Korea Times* yleisesti uutisoi opiskelijoiden protesteista neutraaleissa uutisartikkeleissa ja lehti pystyi pitämään keskustelua yllä uudella tavalla: se seurasi erittäin tarkkaan Yonsei-yliopiston rehtorin erottamista ja myös julkaisi haastatteluja Soulin vaikutusvaltaisten yliopistojen rehtoreilta ja tiedekuntien johtajilta. Haastatteluissa käsiteltiin opiskelijaprotesteja ja vaikka kukaan haastatelluista ei tukenut opiskelijaliikettä, niissä kuitenkin ilmaistiin ymmärrystä opiskelijoita kohtaan. *The Korea Times* pitäytyi pitkäaikaisessa linjassaan. Opiskelijat kuuluivat heidän mielestään erityiseen ryhmään, intellektuelleihin marmoritornissa, mutta opiskelijat olivat liian nuoria tehdäkseen aikuisia päätöksiä ja osallistuakseen politiikkaan. Toukokuussa 1975 uutisointi liikkeestä loppui nopeasti, kun presidentti Park julisti yhdeksännen erikoislain, joka kielsi kaiken Yushin-perustuslain vastaisen uutisoinnin sekä kielsi hallituksen vastaisten liikkeiden olemassaolon. Opiskelijaliike ajettiin maan alle ja lehden narratiivi vaihtui uutisointiin fasistisen ja pakollisen opiskelija-armeijajoukon perustamisesta.

Lopullinen analyysini *The Korea Times*-lehden uutisoinnista oli, että lehti pyrki vuosi vuodelta korostamaan opiskelijoiden erityislaatuisuutta ja intellektuellia asemaa yhteiskunnassa. Lehti noudatti valtion asettamia rajoituksia ja pyrki tasapainottelemaan uutisoinnin kanssa alati muuttuvassa poliittisessa ilmapiirissä. Lehti pyrki miellyttämään lukijakuntaansa ja silloin kun lehti ei ollut vahvan sensuurin alaisena, se ei heilunut kumpaankaan suuntaan. Lehden englanninkielisyydellä ei ainakaan suhteessa opiskelijaliikkeeseen vaikuttanut olevan erityistä vaikutusta ja vertailtuna tutkimuskirjallisuuteen lehti vaikutti toimivan samalla lailla kuin koreankieliset lehdet. Loppuluvussa mainitsin, että *The Korea Timesin* sisällön analyysi saattaisi toimia paremmin, kun mukaan otetaan opiskelijaliike globaalina ilmiönä. *The Korea Times* toimi hyvin heijastuksena Etelä-Korean 1970-luvun yhteiskuntaan ja rajoitettuun lehdistöön, jossa opiskelijaliikkeen kaltaisesta ristiriitaisesta aiheesta ei uutisoitu tasapuolisesti, mutta siitä kuitenkin keskusteltiin *The Korea Timesin* sivuilla.