THE HISTORY OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AND THE NORMALIZATION OF UNIVERSAL MALE CONSCRIPTION IN SOUTH KOREAN SOCIETY

BY

YOUNGOH JUNG

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Universal Male Conscription in South Korean Society

By Youngoh Jung

Master of Arts
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Toronto
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Abstract

This thesis traces the history of Conscientious Objection and draft evasion from the introduction of the Universal Male Conscription system in 1949 to the end of the authoritarian dictatorship period in 1993. I especially focus on the persecution and stigmatization of religious Conscientious Objector groups such as the South Korean Jehovah’s Witnesses and the Seventh-day Adventists. The negative labeling of these Conscientious Objectors as social deviants is part of an initiative led by the South Korean state to solidify Universal Male Conscription as a social norm. This process was supported by the implementation of a national surveillance system as well as the intensification of a nation-wide crackdown on draft evasion, which was viewed indifferently from Conscientious Objection. Thus, this project reveals the ostracization of Conscientious Objection as well as the normalization of Universal Male Conscription as an interconnected issue that came to be perpetuated throughout South Korean History.
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Introduction

In 2003, a Buddhist pacifist was imprisoned in the state penitentiary for the violation of the South Korean Conscription Law as he denounced all forms of violence and refused to be conscripted as a Conscientious Objector.\(^1\) His cellmates, after learning about the cause of his incarceration, berated him by calling him a phony who sells his religion to avoid conscription.\(^2\) This Conscientious Objector stated that one of his cellmates, who was actually imprisoned for fraud, did not treat him as a human being; and this man was an elder of the Yŏūido Full Gospel Church, the biggest Christian church in Korea with the largest Pentecostal Christian congregation in the world.\(^3\) Even at the prison setting, this Conscientious Objector was automatically placed at the hierarchal bottom as a criminal scorned by other criminals; looked down upon and labeled as a fraud, by a church elder sent to the same jail cell for fraud.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the United Nations Human Rights Commission defines a Conscientious Objector (CO) as “an individual who has claimed the right to refuse to perform military service on the grounds of freedom of thought, conscience, and/or religion.”\(^4\) COs can be separated into many different categories. Absolutist/universalistic COs oppose all forms of war and conscription while Selective COs oppose selective types of

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\(^1\) Kang In Ch’ŏl, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ūksŏng” [South Korean Society and Conscientious Objection: History and Characteristics], Chonggyomunhwayŏn’gu 7(2005)110. The conscription law enacted in August 1949 states that all men are required to serve in the Republic of Korea armed forces. Even though the length of service, state-sanctioned alternative services, laws on reserve services have been changed and added over the years; however, the mandatory nature of Universal Male Conscription have remained the same.

\(^2\) Kang In Hwa, "Han’guksahoewii pyŏngyŏkkŏbu undongul t’ong hae pon namsŏngsŏng yŏn’gu" [Study of Masculinity through the Conscientious Objection Movement of South Korean Society], Master’s Thesis, Ewha Womans University, 2007, 48.

\(^3\) Ibid.

warfare such as use of Weapons of Mass Destruction like chemical/biological/nuclear weaponry.\(^5\) Noncombatant COs accept war and conscription but refuse the use of arms or to participate in combat situations; and Alternativist COs refuse to be conscripted to serve in the military, but accepts different forms of services that benefits the nation such as social services.\(^6\) Finally, in-service COs experience a process of “crystallization of conscience” while serving in the military and refuse to continue one’s duties as a conscript.\(^7\)

The two major CO groups in Korean history are the Korean Seventh-day Adventists (SDAs) and the Jehovah’s Witnesses (JWs). The SDAs were noncombatant COs as they willfully served as conscripts but refused to hold weapons and participate in the training/act of harming/killing other human beings. After much persecution and stigmatization during the regime of Pak Chŏng Hŭi (1961-1979), they officially removed Conscientious Objection from their Church doctrine in 1976. The JWs are somewhere between absolutist COs and alternativist COs. They refuse to be conscripted by the state to serve in the military as they are opposed to the act of killing, but are willing to accept alternative forms of service if these forms comply with their personal understanding of biblical principles. The Jehovah’s Witnesses have been Conscientious Objectors since 1939 when they refused to be drafted into the Japanese military. They have been consistently punished by the dictatorial regimes with imprisonments lasting up to more than 7 years, torture, death and the Church members were labeled as social deviants.

As of December 2010, there were 965 COs imprisoned in South Korea; these included Jehovah’s Witnesses, pacifists, Buddhists, and sexual minorities.\(^8\) Up until the early 2000s, the

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5 Kang, “han'guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkōbu: yŏnggawa t'ŏksŏng”, 105-106.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Im Chae Sŏng, “Chingbyŏngje hyŏngsŏnggwajŏngul t'ong haesŏ pon yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbuui yŏksa” [The History of Conscientious Objection through the Conscription Formation Process], *Sahoewa yŏksa* 88(2010) 413.
public opinion was that only “religious fanatics” and “cultish individuals” belonging to the Jehovah’s Witness Church refused to be drafted. Conscientious Objection became a public issue when a Buddhist pacifist named Oh Tae Yang became the first CO without an affiliated religious group. Oh’s refusal of military service triggered the emergence of the Conscientious Objection Movement in 2001. Even the Korean term for Conscientious Objector, yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbuja, has only recently surfaced since the start of this debate. Draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors were universally called pyŏngyŏk kip’ija or “conscription escapee”, with “kip’i” or “to escape” emphasizing an act of cowardice without distinctions made between draft evasion and Conscientious Objection. Kip’ija (escapee) was replaced with the more neutral geobuja (rejector) only after the emergence of the Conscientious Objection Movement.

Numerous public discussions in the media led by liberal newspaper Hankyoreh, pacifist groups, and NGOs kick started the Conscientious Objection Movement in 2001. The Conscientious Objection Movement in South Korea calls for the decriminalization of all former and present COs as well as the implementation of additional alternative services that do not involve performing an act of violence. The movement also resists and confronts the universal mentality that accepts military service as a “sacred duty” to “defend the nation with one’s life on the line.” State persecution and oppression of COs have been presented as a part of the growing “minority rights” discourse produced and opened up to the public during the early 2000s, which included such issues as sexual minority rights and the rights of foreign undocumented workers.

Imprisonment of COs also has been criticized as a human rights violation by internal and

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9 Kang In Ch’ŏl, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ ŭksŏng”, 132. When Hankyoreh published an article titled “Ch’ama ch’onggŭl t’ul suga ᄂpsŏyo” (I couldn’t bear to pick up a gun) by Sin Yun Tong Uk on February 2001, more than 7000 opinion pieces filled the public forums of various related media sources in two months.

10 Kang In Hwa, "Han’guksahoewi pyŏngyŏkkŏbu undonggŭl t’ong hae pon namsŏngsŏng yŏn’gu", 3.

11 Kang In Ch’ŏl, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ ŭksŏng”, 132.
external organizations such as HWRF (Human Rights Without Frontiers International), World Without War, and the UNHRC (United Nations Human Rights Committee). However, these groups in solidarity with and part of the Conscientious Objection Movement only present COs as minor victims, fixing them as “exceptional” identities who South Korean society has to become tolerant of and provide a system of alternative services as a consequence of their existence. They argue their stance by presenting the historical narrative of state oppression and religious prosecution of the COs to achieve their goals of decriminalization and introduction of non-military alternatives services. This is very much valid, however, the histories they trace only serves to undermine the oppressive nature of the authoritarian regimes and the same oppression serves to define the stigmatization of Conscientious Objection, from the negative labeling to the long lasting silences of the Conscientious Objectors. This approach fails to take into account the complex sociocultural history of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection as well as the normalization process of Universal Male Conscription; instead, this multilayered issue is posed as a generic minority rights issue.

This thesis aims to trace the history of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection from the introduction of Universal Male Conscription and the outbreak the Korean War until the end of the militarized regimes in 1993. Much of the historical narrative will be supported and analyzed by using Foucauldian approaches to disciplinary mechanisms such as normalization, surveillance, and delinquency. Foucault’s concepts of these disciplinary mechanisms will be utilized to examine the normalization process of Universal Male Conscription and the severe crackdown of draft evasion/Conscientious Objection that paralleled the introduction and implementation of surveillance mechanisms during the Pak Chŏng Hŭi regime (1961-1979).
The number of draft evaders from 1951 to 1959 was more than 1.3 million with a yearly average of around 150,000. There were around 300,000 draft evaders in 1953 and 250,000 in 1958, revealing that the rate of draft evasion was rampant both during and after the war. Conscientious Objectors did exist during this period, however, their numbers were minimal and they were inadequately dealt with by the government. While they were treated no differently from draft evaders, the inconsistent punitive measures of Conscientious Objectors ranged from prison terms to physical violence. Some COs who refused to handle arms after being conscripted were granted alternative duties while others were beaten and tortured. Nevertheless, Conscientious Objectors began to be negatively portrayed by the media as social deviants. Tracing the history of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection in this period will reveal the problems and deficiencies faced by the Syngman Rhee regime as well as the inadequate handling of the situation by the government.

The failures of the Rhee regime in controlling the numbers of draft evaders was utilized by Pak Chŏng Hŭi in legitimatizing and justifying his authoritarian and militarized regime, which successfully decimated the numbers of draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors. During the 1970s, the numbers of draft evaders and COs were reduced yearly, from 34,004 in 1970 to a mere 12 in 1978; a significant feat given that only two decades before in 1958, there were 247,259 draft evaders/COs in South Korea. This drastic reduction resulted from an intensified national surveillance system and the normalization of Universal Male Conscription as a mandatory and equalized duty. Conscientious Objectors were criminalized and punished severely with some COs’ prison sentences lasting more than 7 years. The severity of the punitive measures was justified by the media that consistently stigmatized and labeled Conscientious Objectors as deviants and criminals who refused to follow social norms.
It is the power of normalization as well as the introduction and intensification of national surveillance that impacted the ostracization of Conscientious Objectors. Universal Male Conscription and anti-draft evasion mentality came to be perpetuated throughout South Korean history as social norms that were considered righteous and moral. These norms still exists today and is the main battleground of the Conscientious Objection Movement, a fact overlooked by and given little attention to by the discourses of the Conscientious Objection Movement. Thus, this project views the history of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection not as an account of struggle, anguish, and hardship; but as a historical narrative that reveals the lasting social impact of the implementation of normalization as well as the intensification of state surveillance.

This first chapter will trace the history of mandatory conscription and the subsequent introduction of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection that occurred during the Korean War. Using the notions of governmentality and population discussed by Michel Foucault in *Security, Territory, Population* (2004), I will discuss the “naturalness” of population and how its inner working with the state allows the functionality of governmentality. This was an issue that was inadequately dealt with during the Syngman Rhee regime. The Rhee regime provided weak alternatives to outdated forms of demographics and a nonexistent national surveillance system by “persuading” draft evaders to come forth and surrender to the authorities. This was also the beginning of a state led and defined “moralization” campaigns that coincided with the labeling of draft evaders as social deviants. Social response to the Seventh-day Adventists and the Jehovah’s Witnesses as well as the different punitive measures implemented by the state will also be discussed in this chapter.

*Origins of Conscription and Draft Evasion during the Korean War: 1949~1953*

The first Conscription Law was enacted on August 6, 1949 just before the majority of American troops, except for the military advisory group, were recalled back to the United States and bases across the pacific. However, an official census had to take place before a national conscription system could be implemented as the new Republic of Korean (ROK) government did not have a full grasp on its population. A full national census took place after the census inquiry rule and the population movement investigation order were enacted in September and December of 1949. Before the law came into full effect on February 1950, the military heavily relied on volunteers recruited to the National Defense Force through the Temporary Conscription...
Measure Order enacted on January 1949. The National Defense Force was the first militia force of the ROK Army that was formed to serve as reserve troops once military conscription was in functioning order. A new conscription division of the army spearheaded the recruitment process by installing recruitment headquarters in every major city and province. 2,000 able bodied young men were recruited nationwide after the first physical examination took place in January 1950. However, on March 1950, the U.S. military advisory group imposed a limit on ROK military strength to 100,000 troops and the conscription division as well as the recruitment headquarters was disbanded only a couple months before the outbreak of the Korean War.

Without an official conscription administration, the ROK military forces were in disarray when the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950. After martial law was declared on July 8th, able bodied young men and boys were forcefully drafted until the Conscription Law was enacted on May 1951. It was this moment when conscription as “sacred duty of national defense” became the lasting and unappeasable call of the state along with the normalization of individual sacrifice for the survival and betterment of the state. However, by the end of the war, conscription was widely perceived by the public as a “poor man’s draft” as corruption in the military hierarchy “burdened the poorer disproportionately and was relatively easy to avoid for the sons of the rich and influential.” Members of the ruling class and public officials were

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12 Kim Tong Ch’un, “Han’gugŭi pundan’gukka hyŏngsŏnggwa simin’gwŏn” [The Formation of South Korea as a Divided Nation and Citizenship], Kyŏngjewa Sahoé 70(2006)181.
14 Ibid.
either placed on the rearlines as military police or given official conscription exemptions which were justified by the government as “postponement” for “rightful placement”.\textsuperscript{16}

H.K. Shin in his memoir \textit{Remembering Korea 1950 A Boy Soldier’s Story}, recounts his experience during the training period in the Military Police (MP), a much sought out position at the rear, away from the frontlines, mostly filled with educated sons of the upper class. Shin was able to enlist miraculously through the good graces of the recruitment officer who was from the same city and his high marks from school. Boys were brought in by parents who were wealthy businessmen or high ranking officials in private and government cars and also visited with large amounts of food impossible to obtain anywhere else. Shin has stated, “It was difficult to grasp, in the midst of all the uncertainties of war, that there were people with so much power and wealth.”\textsuperscript{17} Mostly educated young men with influential parents were recruited to become MPs, while many men and boys were “shanghaied” from the streets, a fate he escaped by running away before being carted off to the frontlines via train.\textsuperscript{18} Conscription corruption was rampant as lack of connections or inability to bribe one’s way out of the system usually meant being sent to the frontlines or suffering abuses. The \textit{Kungmin} Defense Force Incident” in the winter of 1950 solidified this negative view on conscription.* When the government implemented the “\textit{Kungmin} Defense Force Installation Order”, 680,350 able bodies males were conscripted and as they marched to the city of Chinju, around 120,000 conscripts either froze to death or died of

\textsuperscript{16} Park Noja, “Militarism and Anti-militarism in South Korea,” 5.
\textsuperscript{17} H.K. Shin, \textit{Remembering Korea 1950 A Boy Soldier’s Story}, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001) 78.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 65.

*\textit{Kungmin} is defined by the Korean World Encyclopedia as “A permanent member of a nation whose duty is to obey the sovereignty of the nation-state. \textit{Kungmin} is a a concept developed to counter \textit{Inmin}, which opposes the national order of the state. \textit{Kungmin} serves as the legal concept of citizenship in a modern nation-state, differing from the cultural, natural concept of \textit{Minjok} that places emphasis on blood ties.” It can be understood as “citizen” with a heavy cold-war geopolitical trait that emphasizes membership, allegiance, and obedience to the state.
hunger. It was later discovered that high ranking officers smuggled and embezzled supplies and large amounts of national funds meant to pay the conscripts. According to the statistics provided by the Military Manpower Administration (MMA), the numbers of draft evaders recorded during wartime were uncontrollably rampant. There were 175,931 in 1951; 182,166 in 1952; and an all time high 294,979 in 1953.

To an ordinary citizen, defending the nation by being conscripted meant that a sudden and unjust death from fighting, weather conditions, and poor military treatment was a high possibility. Thus, draft evasion became an obvious choice for a majority of the draftees since it was a “crime” they could easily get away with, especially during wartime. The number of draft evaders dropped during the postwar period in the 1950s; however, before the military coup lead by Pak Chŏng Hŭi, the yearly average was over 100,000. The rampant numbers of draft evaders was due to inadequate identification of the population as well as the constant relocation and lack of permanent residency caused by the War. Before wartime, military records and the family registrar were inseparable and used to be kept in one’s legal domicile. After the outbreak of the war, the residential area management system was implemented to maintain each resident’s military record and family registrar in one location; however, because of constant relocation, there were numerous cases where only military records remained without proof of residency.

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19 Kim, “han’gugŭi pundan’gukka hyŏngsŏnggwa simin’gwŏn,” 182.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
This was a major problem for the Military Manpower Administration (MMA) as some individuals had multiple, false, and non-existent military records.24

In *Security, Territory, Population* (2007); Michel Foucault defines governmentality as “the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target…”25 To Foucault, the relationship between governmentality and population was vital as population is essentially a productive force that must be “effectively trained, divided up, distributed, and fixed by disciplinary mechanisms” by the state.26 For a government to be effective, it must respect the “naturalness” of population. This “naturalness” is signified by a series of variables that include the climate, material surroundings, circulation of wealth, and laws.27 Population also has “its own laws of transformation and movements...Population is transformed, grows, declines, and moves around.”28 The naturalness of population, “this thickness with internal mechanisms...will be the reality that the state will have to be responsible for.”29 This includes the development of practices that deals with these natural phenomena such as the problems of demography and “everything that brings to light the state’s new function of responsibility for the population in its naturalness.”30 Thus, the form of governmentality prescribed for the state will be to “respect these natural processes, take them into account, get them to work, or to work with them” and the “natural phenomena will have to

be framed in such way that they do not veer off course, or in such a way that clumsy, arbitrary, and blind intervention does not make them veer off course.”

The Syngman Rhee regime (1948-1960) failed to effectively deal with the problems that resulted from the “naturalness” of population. The demographic mechanisms developed during the pre-Korean War period were rendered inadequate by the mass destruction of property and livelihood, death, missing persons, and most importantly relocations caused by the Korean War. The ineffective disciplinary supervision resulting from a lack of a national surveillance system and an outdated form of demographics was the main cause of numerous social problems which of course included draft evasion. The relationship between the state and population “cannot simply be one of obedience or the refusal of obedience, of obedience or revolt. If one says to a population ‘do this,’ there is not only no guarantee that it will do it but also there is quite simply no guarantee that it can do it.” The uncontrollable numbers of draft evaders reveal this fact as well as the inadequate attempts by the state to halt draft evasion explained in the next section. This would change during Pak Chŏng Hŭi’s authoritarian dictatorship. Even though the relations between the state and population were caused by pure coercion, acceptance and unquestioned obedience of the state implemented reforms were normalized as necessary and positive changes beneficial to the populace. The question of “I can” or “I cannot” have been universally replaced by “I will” during the dictatorial period of Pak.

**Post-Korean War Attempts to Halt Draft Evasion**

Draft evasion was extremely difficult to control due to a lack of government surveillance systems as well as the public mistrust of the Rhee regime caused by classism and corruption.

From the early 1950s, numerous newspaper articles emphasized the state’s attempt to “persuade” draft evaders to turn themselves in to the authorities during given “amnesty periods” and reassured them they will not be imprisoned.33 One article emphasized that the purpose of the “amnesty periods” were “not to imprison but, re-gather conscripts” and surrendering draft evaders “will not be placed in jail cells, and given instructions and cautioned at the police station auditorium. They will also be allowed visitors and distribution of food.”34 These persuasion methods were aimed at rooting out draft evasion in the universities. In June of 1958, statistics revealed that 50% of draft evaders were university graduates and one prosecutor claimed that university has become a “nest for draft evaders.”35

At the same time draft evaders were negatively perceived as unpatriotic social deviants. Those who were caught draft evading were stigmatized by the press as their addresses and full names were released along with detailed accounts of their crimes. One newspaper article exposed a draft evader as a criminal who committed rape after disguising himself as a MP Officer.36 The article emphasized the culprit’s identity as a draft evader, differentiating him from a standard criminal. Another article revealed a young man named Kim Yang Soo who “dressed as a woman and worked as a bar hostess and a housemaid to evade the draft” (figure 1).37 This article is one of the first published newspaper articles in Korea that deals with non-normative sexual behavior

34 “Pyŏngyŏk kip’ija chamnunde” [Catching a draft evader], Chosŏn ilbo, 5 April 1954.
35 “Taehagŭn chingsojip kip’iso anida” [Universities are not hideouts for draft evaders], Chosŏn ilbo, 24 June 1954. “Panŭn chinggip kip’i, taehak chorŏpsaengdŭl” [Half of university graduates are draft evaders], Chosŏn ilbo, 12 June 1958.
36 “Pyŏngyŏkkip’ijaga hŏnbyŏng kajang k’o haengp’ae” [Draft evader disguises oneself as Military Police, commits violent crime], Chosŏn ilbo, 15 Jan. 1953.
37 “Ch’ŏngnyŏni yŏjanghago singmosari, pyŏngyŏkkip’i pangbŏpto kajigaji,” [Young man cross-dresses and works as housemaid to avoid draft], Chosŏn ilbo, 9 Oct. 1956.
such as cross-dressing and performance of opposite gender roles. What is more interesting is the labeling of Kim as a draft evader, not a cross-dressing sexual deviant who works as a bar hostess and a housemaid. This article also presents a picture of Kim wearing a wig and a hanbok (Korean traditional dress), a common dress code for bar hostesses, with the title emphasizing this action as one of “various methods of draft evasion” (pyŏngyŏkkīp’ipangbŏto kajigaji). Here, kajigaji, which directly translates to “various”, has a negative connotation that is used to describe unethical acts such as schemes or excuses. This article methodically presents Kim’s cross-dressing as a “pathetic attempt” at draft evasion as well as an act of social and sexual deviancy. The press, while normalizing conscription as a moral duty, stigmatized draft evasion by packaging it with deviant behavior and criminal acts perceived as anti-societal (pansahoejŏk) and labeled the culprits as anti-national citizens (pigungmin). 

Figure 1: Photo of Kim Yang Soo from the Chosŏn ilbo article “Pyŏngyŏkkīp’ijaga hŏnbyŏng kajang k’o haengp’ae” [Draft evader disguises oneself as Military Police, commits violent crime], 9 Oct. 1956.

Im Chae Sŏng, "Chingbyŏngje hyŏngsŏngwajŏnggul t’ong haesŏ pon yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbuŭi yŏksa" [The History of Conscientious Objection through the Conscription Formation Process], Sahoewa yŏksa 88(2010) 399.
The Rhee regime called upon the “morality” of the draft evaders to have a righteous mindset and attitude to “repent” for their mistakes. Recruiting Center Commandant Han Tae Hyŏng stated that conscription is “equality for all men, rich and poor, disregarding power and wealth” and they should “claim back their honor” by repenting and surrendering to the authorities.  

Repentance, reclaiming honor, causing inconvenience to neighbors, and letting down fellow citizens were some of the “moral” reasons stated by government officials. In April 1955, the Minister of National Defense called upon university student draft evaders to turn themselves in to set an example for the underclassmen because draft evasion can have a detrimental effect on the school’s reputation. One newspaper article in March 1956 stated that draft evaders should all surrender to authorities because increased state surveillance through street searches and checkpoints would be “undemocratic” and may cause inconvenience for the public. 

Initiating searches on the street, bus stations, and even coffee shops because of only a couple draft evaders cause inconvenience for the whole citizenry; no, all young men become targets of search, which cannot happen in a constitutional state. Also having checkpoints at bus stations is problematic and time-consuming for those who travel to different provinces…taking these issues into consideration, the decision has been made not to perform street searches or set up checkpoints for draft evaders.

The emphasis on equality and democratic values, as well as addressing the problems of conscription corruption in congress reveals the Rhee regime’s attempt to discard the negative social views of conscription corruption as well as the unequal class based treatment of conscripts developed during wartime. “Public morality” was also shaped and defined by the state to persuade draft evaders to surrender with “good will” in an attempt to slow down the

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39 “Kip’ijdurün chasuhara, hanbyŏngsa sahoegwandam” [Draft evaders should surrender, Commandant Han talks openly to society], Chosŏn ilbo, 8 June 1953.
40 “Chajin ŭngsohara!” [Enlist Voluntarily!], Chosŏn ilbo, 10 April 1955.
42 “Chingbyŏng, chingjippujŏng tŭrŏ oje kukhoesŏ taejŏngbu chilmun chŏnjŏn’gae” [Discussion in congress about conscription, conscription corruption], Donga ilbo, 26 October 1952.
uncontrollable numbers of draft evaders. It also successfully camouflaged the state’s blatant inability to halt conscription evasion by presenting post-war ROK as a modern democratic nation that respects the rights of its citizens.

_Emergence of Conscientious Objectors in South Korea_

It was also during the post-Korean War period that Conscientious Objectors (COs) began to be negatively portrayed by the press as they were imprisoned for either refusing to be conscripted or refusing to handle arms after conscription. During the Korean War there were 7 Seventh-day Adventist Conscientious Objectors (SDA COs) who refused to handle arms after being forcefully conscripted into both North Korean and South Korean military forces (5 North and 2 South). The SDA COs in the North Korean forces were either transferred to the “physically handicapped unit” or as requested, assigned to non-combatant units. The two SDA COs in South Korea, Pak Chae Sik and Kim In Yong, were both forcefully conscripted to the Marines and Army. They were tortured and beaten severally when they refused to handle arms; Pak was hospitalized and Kim was rescued by a US Army advisor. There were also two Jehovah’s Witness Conscientious Objectors (JW COs) during the war, Pak Chong Sik in South Korea and No Pyŏng Il in the North. When Pak refused to be conscripted in 1953, he was tortured and sent to basic training, where he fasted for 3 days. He was sent back to the Military Police and later tried and convicted for violating the Conscription Law, being the first JW CO in

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43 Kang, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’uksŏng”, 111. I Ch’ang Su, Kim Pong Rak, Pak Yong Rak, Ch’oe Sun Yong, and Kim Kyŏng Mok were SDA COs in the North Korean Military in 1950. Pak Chae Sik and Kim In Yong refused to handle arms after being conscripted to South Korean forces in 1950 and 1952.
44 Ibid.
45 Kang, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’uksŏng”, 112.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
South Korea to serve a prison sentence for the declaration of Conscientious Objection.\textsuperscript{48} No, after refusing to be conscripted, was released after suffering a mock execution where he was tied up and blindfolded as soldiers shot over his head.\textsuperscript{49}

These two religious groups began to attract media attention due to their constant refusal of conscription or handling of weapons. While the media portrayed draft evasion as morally wrong and a selfish act caused by fear, status, and loopholes in the system, the COs were publically resilient to conscription.\textsuperscript{50} To the government this was an immense threat to the post-war social and cultural rebuilding process as the state called upon the duty of citizens to provoke guilt among draft evaders so they would surrender to the authorities. The COs justified their actions with ethics taught by religious doctrines which went completely against the morality and righteousness promoted by the state. The act of draft evasion was perceived even by the draft evaders as a shameful act, however, the COs argued that their “refusal” not “evasion” was either based on teaching of biblical scriptures (Jehovah’s Witnesses) or church doctrine and regulations (Seventh-day Adventists).\textsuperscript{51} Conscientious Objection was indistinguishable from draft evasion from the South Korean government’s perspective. Their willingness to disobey the state, which

\textsuperscript{48} Kang, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŏksŏng”, 113.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50} "Chingjip kip’ihadŏn ch’ŏngnyŏn kwao nwiuch’igo chasal" [Draft evader regrets mistake then kills himself], Chosŏn ilbo, 21 Jan. 1952. "Muryŏ 5 man 5 ch’ŏn, kip’ijangjŏng chajinsin’go" [55,000 draft evading young men turn themselves in], Chosŏn ilbo, 11 Mar. 1954. One draft evader wrote on his will before his suicide that he was “ashamed to be a member of society” and the fact that 50,000 draft evaders surrendered to the authorities in 1956 reveal that the call for “morality” and retaining “honor” was an important part of South Korean society.

resulted from their conscience shaped by religious beliefs and conviction, was perceived as another excuse in committing a widely committed crime in which the authorities began focusing on after the Korean War. The COs along with draft evaders who refused to surrender to the authorities were negatively labeled by the media as “anti-citizens”, “traitors”, and “worse than ppalgaengi (communist).”

The lack of distinction between Conscientious Objector and a draft evader is rooted in the formation of the ROK military and the introduction of conscription. Universal Male Conscription was introduced by the first Conscription Law enacted in 1949, with no mention of Conscientious Objection as the government was preoccupied with other demographic issues such as the implementation census. Comparing the situation of ROK with West Germany reveals a clear insight of the relationship between Universal Male Conscription and Conscientious Objection. As remilitarization and rebuilding of a military in West Germany became inevitable in the Cold War context, “the right of West German citizens to refuse military service was a measure against the resurgence of Nazism or militarism.”

Conscientious Objection also symbolized the new democratic armed forces in Germany and the 20,000 COs executed during the Nazi period authenticated the validity of their consciousness. However, in Korean society, “there was virtually no historical precedent for the legitimization of Conscientious Objection” and the self-governed ROK military became a symbol of the independent state after decades of colonization.

*Ppalgaengi or “red scum” is a derogatory term used in South Korea for communists, especially North Koreans.

52 Im Chae Song, “Chingbyŏngje hyŏngsŏnggwajŏngul t’ong haesŏ pon yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbuŭi yŏksa” [The History of Conscientious Objection through the Conscription Formation Process], Sahoewa yŏksa 88(2010) 399.

53 Mun, Soo-Hyun, Sŏdok esŏ yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏk kŏbu e taehan nonŭi” [The Debate over Conscientious Objection in West Germany], Yeoksua wa munwha 17 (2009), 106-133.

54 Mun, “An Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in South Korea,” 252, 255.
and the temporary occupation by the USAMGIK (United States Army Military Government in Korea).\textsuperscript{55}

The negative perception of Conscientious Objectors as well as their indistinction from draft evaders also arose from the fact that judicial acceptance or rejection of “conscience” regarding state matter was not clearly determined in the constitution. Freedom of conscience was guaranteed in Article 12 of the first South Korean Constitution enacted in 1948: “All citizens shall enjoy freedom of conscience. No state religion shall be recognized and church and state shall be separated.”\textsuperscript{56} However, there was much debate over the meaning of “conscience” as the term was simply cut and pasted from foreign constitutions. The expert adviser to this constitutional article, Gwon Seungyul, stated that conscience defines “good will” (\textit{yangsim}) not “ill will” (\textit{aksim}), which is “the highest form of a human being’s activity, the exercise of conscience, which means doing what I think is right according to my own will.”\textsuperscript{57} The founders of the constitution debated to differentiate freedom of conscience from freedom of thought and concluded that “conscience” was different from “thought” (\textit{sasang}) and “ideology”, which were synonymous with “socialism”.\textsuperscript{58} By analyzing the stenographic records of the National Assembly plenary sessions that took place in 1948, scholar Mun Soo-Hyun concludes that the founders of the Constitution “had no clear notion of freedom of conscience” and “did not recognize the political connotations of political conscience” as it was simply “written into the Constitution with no serious consideration because many foreign constitutions had already guaranteed it.”\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{55} Mun, “An Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in South Korea,” 252, 255.
\textsuperscript{56} Mun, “The Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in South Korea,” 247-248.
\textsuperscript{57} Mun, “The Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in South Korea,” 248.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 248.
\textsuperscript{59} Mun, “The Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in South Korea,” 249.
When Conscientious Objectors began to attract media attention, their freedom of conscience was heavily criticized. A Chosŏn ilbo article published in 1957 titled “National Consciousness and Religious Consciousness” was highly critical of the freedom of conscience written in the constitution if it is understood as unlimited freedom of religion that defied national and familial duties. The article went on to criticize religious groups such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses who believe in unrealistic events such as Armageddon and miracle healings and the article concluded by stating, “For religion to develop normally, national consciousness and religious consciousness must coincide and respected equally.” This article suggested that the freedom of conscience granted by the constitution was invalid if the religious group takes advantage of it by defying the state. COs were presented as no different from draft evaders by the media and were labeled as social deviants, precisely as “religious fanatics” whose beliefs were unrealistic and nonsensical. It also did not help that no persecuted CO during this time acted out for individual freedom of conscience. All COs during this period were either Jehovah’s Witnesses (JWs) or Seventh-day Adventists (SDAs) who acted on behalf of church doctrines or biblical teachings. Thus, it was easier for the state to label these religious groups as “fanatics” and social deviants who must be punished for their “anti-state” actions. This article showed that religious conscience that supersedes national conscience began to be negatively portrayed as “immoral”. On the contrary, the prioritization of national conscience by the citizenry is distinguished as “moral”. Thus, we begin to see how the media distinguished the difference

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60 “Kukkajŏk ŭisikkwa chonggyoŭisik” [National Consciousness and Religious Consciousness], Chosŏn ilbo, 12 Nov. 1957.
61 Ibid.
62 “Hoengseoul suseol” [Talking nonsense], Donga ilbo, 5 Dec. 1958. "Damdang p’ansa taenohada" [Judge becomes furious], Chosŏn ilbo, 30 April 1959. In the latter article, the judge calls the defendant, a Jehovah’s Witness CO, a “fanatic” who needed to learn his lesson.
between a “good” citizen who prioritizes national duties and a “bad” citizen who puts emphasis on religious ideals labeled by the press as “fanatical” and “anti-national”.

The lack of distinction between draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors is also evident from the terminology used for draft evasion, conscription refusal, and Conscientious Objection. Terms such as *chingjip kŏbu* (conscription refusal), *pyŏngyŏk kip’i* (draft evasion), and *chipch’ong kŏbu* (refusal to handle arms) were used to describe the actions of draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors and there was no separate terminology for Conscientious Objection. All Conscientious Objectors were clumped together with draft evaders and called *pyŏngyŏk kip’ija* (draft evader) with or *kip’ija* “escapee” having a negative connotation used to describe someone who commits a cowardly act. Only individuals who did not complete their conscription duties yet were separated as *pyŏngyŏk mip’ilja*; everyone else were labeled alongside the *kip’ijas*. The term, “Conscientious Objection”, has been used in the press, but only to describe COs in foreign countries where Conscientious Objection is legal. However, the negative labeling of *kip’ija* was consistently used. One article described French COs as “*sŏnŭiŭi pyŏngyŏkkhip’ija*” (well-intentioned escapees) while another article about the pope blessing COs termed them “*yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkhip’ija*” (Conscientious Escapees).63

**Early Punitive Measures for the SDA and JW COs**

The experiences of the JW and SDA COs differed once they were in custody. Because the SDA members refused to obey orders and handle arms after conscription, they were tried in the military courts as acts of mutiny and disobedience while JW COs were tried in the civilian

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63 "Sŏnŭiŭi pyŏngyŏkkhip’i, pulssŏ pŏbŭro pogo" [Well intentioned draft evasion, protected by law in France], Chosŏn ilbo, 22 June 1962. "Todŏkchŏk sŏngwŏnŭl...yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkhip’ija" [Give ethical support...to Conscientious draft evaders], Chosŏn ilbo, 8 Oct. 1965.
courts for violation of the National Security Law and the Conscription Law.\textsuperscript{64} Because the judicial system was ill prepared to deal with Conscientious Objectors, the punishment methods and the length of the prison sentences were different and inconsistent. The late 1950s was a period of trial-and-error for the ROK judicial system. As the civilian and military courts began to deal with Conscientious Objectors, the inconsistency was a process of determining practicable punitive measures.

The first SDA COs in South Korea were punished with physical violence and torture, only the fortunate few were allowed to fill in at non-combatant units at the discretion of their superior officers. These SDA COs stated that God allowed them to meet merciful military leaders after hearing their prayers.\textsuperscript{65} For the SDA COs in the early postwar period, it was the superior officer’s decision whether the disobedient conscript would be tortured and beaten or transferred to a noncombatant unit. The punishment for mutiny and disobedience in the military courts also was the cause of this inconsistency as it varied from short imprisonment to execution.\textsuperscript{66} Historian Han Hong Gu best summarizes this situation:

Because there was no administrative standard in dealing with those who disobeyed orders by refusing to handle arms, it was up to which commanders you met, from the platoon to the regiment. Some commanders had empathy and transferred them to noncombatant units, while most endured murderous beatings to ‘make a person’ out of them. They were also forced into barrels of frozen water during wintertime or were threatened with execution for mutiny. There were numerous COs who were medically discharged because of injuries inflicted upon them.\textsuperscript{67}

In July 1956, 10 SDA COs were sentenced to three years imprisonment for refusing to handle arms, but were released on probation in October and two months later, the court handed

\textsuperscript{64} Mun, Soo-Hyun, “An Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in Korea,” 258
\textsuperscript{65} Mun, Soo-Hyun, “An Analysis of the Debate over Conscientious Objection in Korea,” 259.
\textsuperscript{66} Kang, “han’guksahoe a yangsimjokpyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŏksŏng”, 112.
\textsuperscript{67} Han Hongu, “Inmin’gundo mujakchŏng ch’ŏbŏl an haetta” [Even the North Korean Army did not punish blindly], Han’gyŏre 21, 2 Jan. 2003.
down a 6 year prison term to another SDA CO who was released 6 months later. The reason SDA COs were able to secure early releases was because of the SDA Church leadership’s ties to the government. The SDA Church was established by American missionaries after liberation from Japan and had close connections with the U.S Military in Korea. Using this “special status” as an advantage, the SDA Church leadership was able to build strong ties with the top officials of the ROK government, actively participating in government petition movements and achieving minor political influence. This relationship had a positive impact on the SDA COs’ stance. In 1957, Minister of Defense Kim Yong U issued Special Order 2288 (kuk pang ch’ong je 2288), which allowed the SDA conscripts to be handed noncombatant roles such as medics where the use of weapons was unnecessary. This order was met with much negative responses from the press. One Han’guk ilbo article, titled “Is Church Doctrine more important than Constitutional Law?”, criticized the request of noncombatant service as an act of seeking privilege and stated that if a clash of ideals between the state and religion occurs, the state must be given priorities. Two newspaper articles were also published on the same week from Seoul sinmun titled “Outrageous! Petition for refusal to handle arms” and “Pick up guns for freedom of religion-outrageous insurrection of Seventh-day Adventists” that heavily criticized the SDAs for their request that was surprisingly approved by the state. Special Order 2288 lessened the physical violence and opened up opportunities for many SDA conscripts, however, unit commanders still

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68 Kang, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng”, 114.
69 Ibid.
70 Im Chae Sŏng, “Chingbyŏngje hyŏngsŏnggwajŏngul t’ong haesŏ pon yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbuŭi yŏksa,” 400.
71 “Kyoriga hŏnbŏppoda chungyohan’ga?” [Is Church Doctrine more important than Constitutional Law?], Han’guk Ilbo, 8 March 1957.
allowed physical punishment of the SDA COs until 1958 when all conscripted COs were uniformly punished by the military courts with a 6 month to 1 year sentence.\textsuperscript{73}

The Jehovah’s Witnesses were consistently punished in the civilian courts for the violation of the Conscription Law enacted in 1949, which sentenced a draft evader to less than 3 years; this law was later revised in 1957 with a 1 year to 3 year sentence.\textsuperscript{74} The only time JW COs were punished differently was when Korea was under Japanese colonial rule in 1939. The first Korean Conscientious Objectors were two young Jehovah’s Witnesses who were arrested for refusing to be conscripted in Manchuria. In June 1939, 38 Jehovah’s Witnesses, nearly all of the members in Korea, were arrested for conscription rejection and 5 of them died in prison.\textsuperscript{75} This incident called the deungdaesa case, is recorded in the History of Korean Independent Movement published by the National Institute of Korean History as one of the anti-Japanese movements.\textsuperscript{76} Pak Chong Sik, the first JW CO in the ROK who was beaten and tortured for refusing conscription by the military during the Korean War; was also handed down the maximum 3 year sentence for violating the Conscription Law. Given that the National Security Law authorized the military power over the civilian courts during wartime, Pak could have been executed for mutiny.

Because Jehovah’s Witnesses were tried in civilian courts, they were more prone to criticisms from the public as the media consistently portrayed them negatively as social deviants and anti-state criminals. For example, one newspaper article titled “Judge in charge infuriated”, praised the judge for sentencing a JW CO to 2 years imprisonment, one year longer than the

\textsuperscript{73}Im, “Han’guksahoe yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbue taehan kukkawa chonggyoŭi taeŭng,” 401.
\textsuperscript{75}Willy Fautre, “For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience”, 60.
\textsuperscript{76}Ibid.
sentence the prosecutor had demanded because the defendant, referred by the judge as a “deluded fanatic” (mangsange sarojabinnūn kwangsinja), “needed more time to reflect upon his actions”. 77 The article concluded with the statement, “The result of the case was a welcoming display of justice.”78 Another article presented the JW COs’ behavior as stubbornly persistent and anti-national by quoting the comments made by the JWs such as “I don’t want to abide by ROK laws” and “ROK laws are wrong”.79 It was easier for the media to engage civilian court cases of draft evasion than military court cases where refusal to handle arms was clumped together with disobedience and mutiny. Even though the SDA COs’ refusal to handle arms was portrayed negatively by the media, the “right of individuals to request noncombatant roles” was accepted to some degree.80 The SDA Church was allowed to train young men with CPR and other emergency medical procedures and on March 1957, 80 SDA conscripts were transferred to the Third Army Hospital in Pusan.81

During this period, the press denounced Conscientious Objection as an act of seeking privileges as well as a rejection of the nation-state. The Special Act 2288 granted by the Defense Minister to benefit the SDAs was perceive as undemocratic and unequal. The rejection of all forms of military service by the Jehovah’s Witnesses was considered an anti-national act and they began to be labeled as social deviants. The media also began to distinguish the difference between “morality” and “immorality” as Conscientious Objection was presented as an “immoral” act that denies “moral” national duties.

77 “Damdang p’ansa taenohada” [Judge becomes furious], Chosŏn ilbo, 30 April 1959.
78 Ibid.
79 “Tto chipch’ongūl kŏbü, yŏhowaũi se kyoin” [Refuse to handle arms again, three Jehovah’s Witnesses], Chosŏn ilbo, 30 April 1959.
80 Kang In Ch’ŏl, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng”, 123.
81 Ibid.
Conclusion

From the formation of the ROK military and the implementation of Universal Male Conscription until the military coup led by Pak Chŏng Hŭi on May 16th 1960, we can see how the state and the media began to deal with draft evasion and Conscientious Objection. The high number of draft evaders, the inability of the state to crack down on draft evasion, and the inconsistent methods of punishments were all part of the post Korean War rebuilding process. The state used the labeling of draft evaders as social deviants and anti state criminals as an example of a “bad” citizen; while the “good” citizen was exemplified as having a sense of morality and duty to the nation. Draft evaders had the chance to “regain their honor” and surrendering to the authorities during amnesty periods. Conscientious Objectors on the other hand, were vilified as the worst of the draft evaders who were selfish and immoral religious fanatics. Even before the transformation of the Republic of Korea as a garrison state under the military dictatorship of Pak, Conscientious Objectors began to be categorized as social delinquents. It was during the Pak regime that mechanisms of discipline were implemented to normalize Universal Male Conscription and a massive crackdown on draft evasion further stigmatized and criminalized Conscientious Objectors.
2. The Authoritarian Dictatorship of the Pak Chŏng Hŭi Regime and the National suppression of Draft Evasion and Conscientious Objection

In this chapter, I will explore how Universal Male Conscripti
don became normalized in Korean society under the authoritarian regime of Pak Chŏng Hŭi (1961-1979). His methods of National Reconstruction, specifically Administrative Democracy, implemented disciplinary mechanisms discussed by Michel Foucault. These included the production of “docile bodies” and equalization that established certain social norms, such as conscription completion. These norms were also internalized by hegemonic masculinity, which Universal Male Conscription is a part of, and gendered hierarchy that differentiated each citizen’s duties. Thus, with conscription normalized as an “equalized” mandatory service, a massive nation-wide crackdown on draft evasion and Conscientious Objection was justified by the state. Anti-draft evasion laws implemented punitive measures such as lengthy prison terms and hefty fines, but what was more important was the state manipulated public internalization of an anti-draft evasion mentality established by the media that viewed draft evaders as social deviants and delinquents.

This chapter will also discuss the resistance of Conscientious Objectors and the successful and unsuccessful negotiations that took place between them and the state. During the Pak regime, the number of draft evaders decreased dramatically and the two religious Conscientious Objection groups of South Korea, the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Jehovah’s Witnesses, were persecuted and stigmatized by the state and the media. This caused much turmoil among the church leadership as the lengthy prison sentences and public denouement brought the leadership of both churches to the negotiation table. This process of resistance and negotiation was part of the state enforced normalization and moralization of Universal Male Conscription. While the SDA Church successfully negotiated with the state by
removing Conscientious Objection from their church doctrine, the JWs continued to resist. The JWs were closely monitored by the state and were marked as delinquents while their members were threatened at their church, homes, and workplaces. Male members were apprehended at Church gatherings and forcefully conscripted. In the military and military prisons, JW COs were mentally and physically tortured and even killed.

*Moral Restoration and National Reconstruction Implemented by the Pak Regime*

On May 16th 1961, then Major General Pak Chŏng Hŭi led a military coup to render powerless the dysfunctional Second Republic that succeeded the Syngman Rhee regime. As historian Hyung A Kim has stated, “He [Pak] saw his mission as that of finding a solution to the prevailing socio-political and economic chaos, and ultimately removing the Communist threat from North Korea.”82 Immediately after Pak assumed power, the “sacred duty” of national defense against Communist North Korea became the priority of national reconstruction as a “national campaign against draft evasion” occurred simultaneously with a “large-scale indoctrination campaign aimed at winning ideological hegemony for the ‘national defense state’”.83 However, in 1960 and 1961, the percentage of draft evaders were at a high 35% and 27% respectively as the nation was in political turmoil with the April Revolution and the installation of Pak’s new military regime was under construction.84 These percentages, calculated by a ratio of prospective conscripts who have received their draft orders to draft evaders/Conscientious Objectors, were consistently lower than the percentage during the Rhee era and have constantly

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83 Park Noja, “Militarism and Anti-Militarism in South Korea,” 6.
dropped since 1961. The successful May 16th coup marked the beginning of a massive nationwide crackdown on draft evasion as well as the first steps towards a national goal set by Pak to reach a “100% Conscription Rate.”

Conscription to Pak was a key component in consolidating his power. Universal Male Conscription not only established ROK as a garrison state that could sufficiently defend against North Korea, it also refashioned the perception of conscription from a “poor man’s draft” to an equalized duty. Pak claimed that his “revolutionary tasks” were to “eliminate corruption and eradicate other social evils… [and to] inculcate [a] fresh and wholesome moral and mental attitude among the people.” Preventing conscription corruption and draft evasion was part of Pak’s larger picture of re-inventing Korean tradition to drive his militarized and authoritative period of modernization. Eric Hobsbawm describes “invented tradition” as a “set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.” This is also a process that parallels modernization, in which old traditions and their institutional carriers must be revised, adapted, or be eliminated. Thus, it occurs more frequently when “a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which ‘old’ tradition had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable.”

Pak’s blueprint for his “re-invention” of Korean tradition is carefully recorded in his book Our Nation’s Path (1962). Pak criticized and discredited the failures of the Yi Dynasty that

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85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Im Chae Sŏng, “Han’guksahoe yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbue taehan kukkanwa chonggyoŭi taeŭng,” 403.
88 Hyung A Kim, 70.
90 Ibid.
led to Japanese colonization as well as the failures of the Rhee regime. According to Pak, the social structures of the Yi dynasty led to factionalism, classicism, and preservation of the privileged through unchallenged corruption. Utilizing the threat of North Korea, Pak emphasized the necessity for a “national awakening” and “human revolution” to take place. Development of a new national consciousness would put an end to “privileged consciousness”, which included wealth consciousness, rank consciousness, academic snobbery, family complex, and partisan factionalism.  

Only when individuals are able to undergo “human revolution” and develop their own consciousness and ego, was democracy possible.

Where there are no individuals with established egos and where there is only blind obedience and feudal caste relationships, the people will once again become the slave of privilege consciousness, vassalism, and kowtowism. Where there is no established ego but only father-son, master-slave and adult-child relationships, there can be no equality, and no human right.

Pak set himself up as a guide to oversee this human revolution and legitimatized the coup as a valiant attempt to set the stepping stones for “true democracy”. He called this process “Administrative Democracy,” in which democracy must meet the social and political reality of ROK, and “grow from the bottom, the people, and develop among a people cleansed of past bad habits.”

One of Pak’s main goals of National Reconstruction was ending corruption and developing standards of moral consciousness that met the standards of the national agenda and national reconstruction. His first step was economic rehabilitation and development as Pak stated that “the whole economy was afflicted by inexperience, inefficiency and wasteful management” and “only by curing the abnormal economic structure could we lay the foundation for decent

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91 Pak Chŏng Hŭi, Our Nation’s Path (Seoul: Hollym Corporation, 1962)6.
92 Pak, Our Nation’s Path, 28-29.
93 Pak, Our Nation’s Path, 209.
living standards." He put much emphasis on establishing economic equality “to eliminate poverty and hunger from this land” and called for active participation in the government’s economic development plans that would express “one’s consciousness of the common destiny of the nation and his economic patriotism.” The National Construction Service Program and the first Five Year Economic Development Plan were some of his first actions taken as president to “achieve economic reconstruction and an industrial revolution so as to extend relief to the unemployed workers, increase national incomes and to assure the minimum economic livelihood of individuals.” Pak pointed out how corruption had plagued the previous regime and he had no choice but to proceed with the revolution to “weed out corruption, strengthen the autonomous ability of the people, and establish social justice.” Corruption was rampant, from economic corruption where former politicians and businessmen evaded taxes and misused state properties to the problem of draft evasion and conscription corruption. Ending corruption and privilege consciousness as well as developing a sense of morality that paralleled national consciousness would ensure social and economic equality. Remedying this situation would only further benefit Pak’s legitimacy as well as set up a foundation for ROK’s transformation into a garrison state and a surveillance state fully under his control.

_Early Stages of the Pak Regime and the Changing Perceptions of Conscription Duties_

The first of many important changes took place in 1962 with the revision of the Conscription Law, which resulted in the reestablishment of a new Military Manpower

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95 Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 21~23.
96 Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 25.
97 Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 208.
98 Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 226.
Administration (MMA). While the previous MMA was administered jointly by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defense with conscription overseen by the civilian administration; the enactment of the new Conscription Law placed the National Defense Minister as the director of the new MMA and conscription was exclusively handled by the military administration.

Provincial MMA directors were also put in place to assist with conscription in different regions and were given jurisdiction over the civilian administration as well as the police force. With Pak’s military regime fully in control with the implementation of new reforms, the military administration system slowly began to overtake civilian administrations.

Starting from 1961, new laws were implemented to make draft evasion extremely difficult and costly. The new military regime also targeted different groups of draft evaders separately and consistently throughout the early 1960s. On June 20th 1961 the “Special Measure for Individuals with Incomplete Conscription Duties” was implemented to remove from office all public officials who have not completed their conscription duties. The Defense Ministry, with full control over conscription measures, enacted Defense Ministry Order No. 84 which restricted foreign travel for conscription-age males to 1 year, and foreign study to 4 years for undergraduate level and 3 years for graduate level. Of the approximately 6,000 travelers and students, 231 did not return by the deadline date in April 1970 (many were granted extensions) and their guarantors and families were penalized under the Conscription Law No. 93. The names of the 231 Haeoe pyŏngyŏk mip’ilja (Individuals Overseas with Incomplete Conscription) were released by the press and the families and guarantors were punished in various ways: if they

99 Sin Pyŏng Sik, "Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsaenghwalgwa kunsajuŭi", 156.
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
103 Park Noja, “Militarism and Anti-Militarism in South Korea”, 6.
104 Park, “Militarism and Anti-Militarism in South Korea”, 6. “Haeoe mip’ilja myŏngdan’gonggae” [Revealing the Identities of ordered conscripts who have not returned from overseas], Chosŏn ilbo, 9 April 1970.
owned private enterprises, they were barred from receiving bank loans; if they were public officials, they were dismissed; and all were fined up to 100 million Won.\(^\text{105}\)

The sudden aggressive crackdown of draft evaders, especially those of the privileged class was the Pak regime’s way of publicizing military service as an equally mandatory and “sacred duty of each individual citizen.”\(^\text{106}\) The newspapers that presented the educated elites as representatives of “national strength” to justify early discharges and rear duties during the Korean War criticized the same group as draft evading anti-democratic citizens.\(^\text{107}\) Many articles blamed the Rhee regime for failing to root out draft evasion and allowing draft evaders to work in public offices. One *Chosôn ilbo* article stated that draft evading public officials have committed an “illegal and immoral act” by not only evading the draft, but hypocritically becoming public officials whose status requires them to be “exemplary citizens”.\(^\text{108}\)

Criminalizing the draft evaders of the privileged class was a way of regaining the trust of the disenfranchised who viewed the “sacred duty” of national defense as a discriminatory “poor man’s draft”. Another article titled “Finished with guilty lifestyle, bright expressions during surrender period” states, “A student in uniform carrying a backpack, another well-dressed like a gentleman, and another dressed in shabby clothes. Young men of different social strata decide to

\(^{105}\) “Haeoe mip’ilja myǒngdan’gonggae” [Revealing the Identities of ordered conscripts who have not returned from overseas], *Chosôn ilbo*, 9 April 1970. "Ch’in’gwŏnjado kongjik haeim" [Guarantors to be dismissed from public offices], *Chosôn ilbo*, 18 April 1970.

\(^{106}\) Pak Chŏng Hŭi, “Let Us Have the Courage to Fight the Enemy, Risking Our Lives,” ed. Sin Pŏm Sik, *Major Speeches by Korea’s Park Chung Hee*, (Seoul: HollyM Corporation, 1970)230. The term “sacred duty” has been used to describe conscription numerous in newspapers articles and speeches by Pak.


\(^{108}\) “Oksŏgi karyŏj'yŏya hal pyǒngyŏk mip’ilja” [Those with Incomplete Conscription Must Distinguish Good from Bad], *Chosôn ilbo*, 22 June 1961.
put behind their previous guilty lifestyle, all of them with bright expression on their faces.”

The classless basis of a draft evader’s “guilty lifestyle” as well as the opportunity for “all” to amend their mistakes were emphasized in this article to support the Pak regime’s new agenda on conscription. Just as before in the 1950s, “morality” defined by the state to portray accomplishment of national duties as “good will” comes into the picture to justify the righteousness of conscription and nullify the immorality of draft evasion. However, they are methodically presented as indiscriminative and classless to fit into the military junta’s normalization of conscription as “universally equal”.

The new regime’s attempt to root out conscription corruption and draft evasion was portrayed by the media as having a positive impact on society. Many businesses, both private and public, willingly abided by the Special Measure for Individuals with Incomplete Conscription Duties and dismissed as well as refused to hire, all who have not completed their conscription duties. However, this was problematic for numerous men who were unable to complete their conscription duties. Even though the Special Measure was revised on October 1st to only prevent job placement for draft evaders, most job placements were reserved for those who have completed their conscription duties. It became widely accepted in society to prioritize job placement for men who have completed their conscription duties. However, at the same time this stigmatized all men who had incomplete military records both willingly and unwillingly. For example, one newspaper article claimed that Mr. K, a college graduate who scored high marks on his employment examination was unable to find employment because he

110 “P’ut’aejŏp pannŭn pyŏngyŏngmip’ilja” [Treated unfairly, those who have not completed their conscription duty], Chosŏn ilbo, 16 Oct 1962.
failed his physical examination due to “lack of physical fitness”. 111 According to this article, many bachelorettes and their parents were unwilling to consider men who have not completed their conscription duties. The article also stated that there were around 80,000 men waiting to be conscripted and they were unfairly labeled as individuals who had not completed their conscription duties. 112 The MMA responded by stating that they do not have the authority to protect the rights of employment for the individuals who have not completed military service and only the employers have the right to choose the eligibility of employment. 113 According to the MMA this was “an unfortunate situation developed from post-revolution attempt to weed out conscription corruption by removing from office individuals with inadequate military records.” 114

The fact that businesses went beyond the special measure by making conscription completion part of recruitment eligibility reveals that conscription became a necessity and priority for Korean men to obtain their socioeconomic status. These examples reveal the creation of social impetuses to normalize conscription completion and the consequences of the failure to abide by and complete, willingly or unwillingly, Universal Male Conscription. While the previous regime avoided cracking down on draft evasion through random searches and checkpoints as it “violated democratic rights”, the military junta prioritized the normalization of conscription completion over individual rights and special circumstances. By presenting draft evasion as remnants of corruption and classism as well as the failures of the past regimes, the Pak regime legitimatized its rule and at the same time solidified conscription as a universal and

111 “Kŭnŭljin in’gwŏnbyŏngyŏngmip’ilja” [Shaded rights of those who have not completed their conscription duties], Chosŏn ilbo, 12 July 1963. Medical exemption as completion of conscription duties for physically and mentally incapable individuals was introduced later during the Pak regime along with many other alternative methods of conscription completion.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid
114 Ibid.
equalized duty. Along with conscription as a necessity for men to function socially and the severe punishments that were implemented gradually, draft evasion was drastically reduced and Universal Male Conscription began to be accepted as a social norm.

**Militarism, Hegemonic Masculinity, Gender Hierarchy, and Universal Male Conscription**

The normalization of Universal Male Conscription was also constructed by the production of hegemonic masculinity by the militarized regime of Pak. R.W. Connell, one of the preeminent scholars and critics of the social construction of masculinity, defines hegemonic masculinity as “the form of masculinity that is most domineering and considered to be ideal among the various norms of masculinities during a specific time, which functions as the basic element to sustain the structure of power and privilege in the nation, society, and organization.”

To fully understand the inner workings of hegemonic masculinity in the South Korean context, the supporting role of military masculinity plays a vital role in producing and normalizing hegemonic masculinity in South Korean society. Cynthia Enloe has stated, “It is the masculinity of the combat soldier among all soldiers that functions as the criteria for defining the norms of masculinity of one’s society regarding hegemonic and military (or militarized) masculinity.” During the Pak era, militarized masculinity was developed and produced alongside hegemonic masculinity to supplement each other. Militarized masculinity developed by South Korean militarism “shaped the modern national identity into its hegemonic form” and serving in the military became the “key to obtain true identity of citizenship and hegemonic masculinity in Korean society.”

Men were constantly exposed to “the cult of tough and

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aggressive masculinity” and serving in the military with this mindset was heavily propagandized by the nation as the male citizen’s duty to protect their nation from the threats posed by North Korea.\textsuperscript{118} This promotion of “masculinist nationalist militarism further appealed to working-class young men, whose vulnerable masculinity could always use more reinforcement.”\textsuperscript{119} The working-class young men struggled with unemployment as well as lack of education and were the ones who viewed conscription as a forced unprivileged service as discussed in the previous chapter. Masculinist rhetoric promoted conscripts as \textit{chintcha sanai} (real men) and conscription duty as a mandatory duty of a man with famous slogans such as, \textit{“Namjanŭn saram kusil haryŏmyŏn kundae kattawaya handa”} (a man has to serve in the military to behave as a person should).\textsuperscript{120} Thus, promotion of masculinity along with the redefinition of conscription as an “equalized duty” set the foundation of the state led normalization of Universal Male Conscription.

South Korean participation in the Vietnam War is one of the main examples of the successful production of hegemonic masculinity using militarism as more than 300,000 soldiers were sent from 1965 to 1973.\textsuperscript{121} Pak called for the soldiers to “demonstrate the bravery of Korean manhood to the world” and the South Korean participation in Vietnam would signify Korea’s emergence as a “sovereign, mature adult nation”.\textsuperscript{122} The South Korean participation not only served to “masculinize” the nation by sending combatants to “fight for democracy”, it also strengthened ties with the U.S economically. South Korea dispatched its troops in exchange for “a pledge by the U.S to modernize the South Korean military, purchase war supplies produced in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Moon, \textit{Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea}, 49.
\item Moon, \textit{Militarized Modernity}, 49~53.
\item Moon, 26.
\item Jin-Kyung Lee, \textit{Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea}, 42.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
South Korea, and offer new loans”; in a sense, South Korean support for U.S militarism “jumpstarted South Korean industrialization in its beginning stages.” Thus, the production of hegemonic masculinity as part of militarism and authoritarian developmentalism during the Pak regime “reveals the domestic inner working of state propagandized masculinity on its socioeconomic, industrial, and cultural development” which included the intertwining of the industrializing economy with military service.

One of the lasting impacts of the production of hegemonic masculinity during the Pak era was the normalization of gender hierarchy where “men’s status and their abilities were considered the priority within a local context of militarization and compressed industrialization.” Masculinization immediately impacted this new social order as husbands were granted authority of the household. Man’s identity as a provider was clearly codified in family laws enforced between the 1960s and 1990s. These laws specified that a man as the head of the household was required to support family members and in return, the husband/father was entitled to exercise authority over family members. “The role of family provider as an element of hegemonic masculinity is the material basis of men’s authority as fathers and husbands” and this masculinized practice parallels the normative construction of women as dependent housewives. The domesticating programs of the Ministry of Labor clearly exemplify this gender hierarchy. While men were given technical training for skilled labor, women workers attended domesticating programs that was composed of “sex education for

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125 Moon, *Militarized Modernity*, 82.
127 Ibid.
128 Moon, “Gender, Militarization, and Universal Male Conscription in South Korea”, 96.
population control, feminine etiquette, and basic skills for home management and child reading.” The modernizing state was heavily involved in the construction of gendered citizens where women were ultimately expected to be reproductive and domestic beings fulfilling the roles of wife and mother.130

Universal Male Conscript in South Korea also solidified dominant notions and practices of feminization and masculinity as military service began to be treated as a source of merit through the extra point system.131 This system was introduced under the Military Relief Recipient Employment Act of 1961, which allowed former conscripts to be guaranteed extra points in their employment tests or interviews; former conscripts received 5 percent of full marks and one family member of each disabled or deceased soldier received 10 percent extra.132 What is more important is “the symbolic currency of the system as the expedient marker of the state’s recognition of the hardship of military service” as the state and its male citizens exchange military service for privileged access to the labor market.133 The Universal Male Conscription system was also vital in constructing “normal” “adult” masculinity as “military service serves to change young conscripted soldiers into responsible men who can support their families and cooperate in organized civil society”.134 Universal Male Conscription as an all important, male-exclusive system of national and socioeconomic livelihood is stated by former Army Chief of Staff To Il Kyu in 1997:

Through military service they learn about esprit de corps, and cultivate a strong body and mind. Military service also provides them with a good opportunity to learn abstinence,

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129 Moon, Militarized Modernity, 76.
130 Ibid.
131 Moon, “Gender, Militarization, and Universal Male Conscription,” 90~95.
132 Moon, Militarized Modernity, 40.
133 Moon, Militarized Modernity, 41.
temperance, and self-mastery, as well as cultivating such values as filial piety, friendship, sacrifice, and service. Therefore, I believe that these moral values and physical strength obtained through military service have become the very source of ‘the miracle of Han river’. Hence, we commonly hear that a Korean man becomes a person after he serves in the military…Recollection of military service must be a unique joy that only Korean men can entertain.135

Thus, the production of hegemonic masculinity thorough militarism and authoritarian developmentalism, successfully solidified the normalization of Universal Male Conscription in South Korean society from every direction. The perception of Universal Male Conscription has shifted from a corrupted “poor man’s draft” to a “sacred” and “equal” duty of national defense which would grant men socioeconomic privileges as well as solidify their superior social status over women. Men only had to follow the newly established norm and the failure of this would result in an extremely negative domino effect because Men’s superior position in employment and the dominant position in the family both required completion of military service as prerequisite. Men who have not completed conscription duties would mean they would lack financial contribution in the household, which is considered the single most important family responsibility of a man.136 The failure to provide family support would result in the loss of respect, authority, self esteem, and their masculinity.137 The normalization of men’s status determined by the inter-working system of militarization (Universal Male Conscription as sub-unit) and hegemonic masculinity (gendered hierarchization as sub-unit) can be clearly used to explain the happenings of the article from the previous section. Mr. K’s lack of physical strength, the embodiment of masculinity, resulted in him failing to be conscripted and his consequent failure at job obtainment. Even though he scored high marks in his employment test, it was the all important completion of conscription that caused his rejection. This along with bachelorettes

136 Moon, Militarized Modernity, 86.
137 Ibid.
and their parents not accepting men who have not completed conscription suggested that conscription became a rite of passage for men that would prove their readiness to participate in society and become the family provider and kajang (master of the house).

**Disciplining Society and Normalizing “Equalization”**

In his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1995), Michel Foucault defines discipline as “a multiplicity of often minor processes, of different origin and scattered location, which overlap, repeat, or imitate one another, support one another, distinguish themselves from one another according to their domain of application, converge and gradually produce the blueprint of a general method.”\(^{138}\) The function of Administrative Democracy by the Pak regime was “to assure that discipline reigns over society as a whole” by training each individual citizen as “docile bodies” who would conform to social norms administrated by the state.\(^{139}\) Thus, if we apply the Foucauldian concept of discipline to the foundations of Pak’s militarized state, Administrative Democracy was the “blue print” that was normalized as a “general method” of his dictatorial rule. Administrative Democracy originated from western forms of democracy but according to Pak, it was poorly utilized by the Rhee regime, exposed inequality and corruption, and revealed the ineffectiveness of democracy’s direct application to South Korea.\(^ {140}\) He also stated that Administrative Democracy was a variant of “western” democracy improvised “to lay a solid foundation for rebuilding true democracy”.\(^ {141}\) Pak believed that the “democracy we aim to build in this revolutionary period should be the one that meets social and political reality, and not the unworkable West European democracy.”\(^ {142}\) Thus,

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\(^{139}\) Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 216.

\(^{140}\) Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 207

\(^{141}\) Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 208

\(^{142}\) Pak, *Our Nation’s Path*, 208
Administrative Democracy was a form of political anatomy that was “adopted in response to particular needs”, in this case it was to legitimize Pak’s rule and at the same time fully control the socioeconomic development of South Korea.\footnote{143} Pak claimed that the Korean people were “not ready” for a full fledged democracy and needed to “develop our own appreciation of the value of democracy and train ourselves in it.”\footnote{144} Pak justified the necessity for Administrative Democracy also by reiterating the failures of the Rhee regime and that time was needed for proper separation and change to take place.

The general public should break as early as possible from past evils, be emancipated from ignorance, and improve their political sophistication so as to properly decide their own fate…we cannot expect all these accumulated evils of the past to be effaced overnight by merely holding a ‘democratic’ election…In other words, the state should help each person develop his character and sense of responsibility.\footnote{145} This period of “necessary training” is also mentioned by Foucault when he discusses the adequate time needed to internalize discipline. The enforced discipline is an “order defined by natural and observable processes: the duration of an apprenticeship, the time taken to perform an exercise, the level of aptitude refers to a regularity that is also a rule.”\footnote{146}

The purpose of the disciplinary training needed for the South Korean citizenry was for them to become “docile bodies”. On discussing his plans for economic restoration and development, Pak stated that “the whole economy was afflicted by inexperience, inefficiency, and wasteful management” and the massive unemployment rate was a pure “waste of human
economic resources.” Each individual citizen had to be conditioned and trained as “docile bodies” to participate in national development and restoration. Foucault defines this process as:

A policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behavior. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it… It defined how one may have a hold over others’ bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the tech, the speed, and the efficiency that one determines. This construction of “docile bodies” was also initiated by the production of hegemonic masculinity and the normalization of gender hierarchy. Men and women were trained to abide by and perform under the gendered order hierarchized by the state. Men served as conscripted soldiers then family providers and head of households while women were mobilized as productive housewives and “wise mothers who can cook a delicious and nutritious lunch while saving rice to contribute to building the modern industrial economy.” Thus, the production of hegemonic masculinity and gendered hierarchy serves to create subjected and practiced individuals or “docile” bodies that “increase the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility)” which are turned into an “aptitude” or an increased “capacity” as well as “a relation of strict subjection.”

The Pak regime also implemented a language of equality in his implementation of economic development and justification of the Universal Male Conscription system. This phenomenon parallels Foucault’s discussion on the rise of the bourgeoisie as the dominant class in the eighteenth century. For the bourgeoisie, the egalitarian juridical framework as well as the language of rationality and equality was necessary to gain support to overthrow the aristocratic and monarchial society. However, it was the “development and generalization of disciplinary

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147 Pak, Our Nation’s Path, 225. Pak, To Build a Nation, 105.
148 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 138.
149 Moon, Militarized Modernity, 69.
150 Foucault Discipline and Punish, 138.
mechanisms” that “provide[d] at the base, a guarantee of the submission of forces and bodies” and constituted the “dark side” of these processes.\textsuperscript{151} The “Enlightenment”, which discovered the liberties, also invented the discipline that served as an “infra-law” disguised as “methods of training that enable individuals to become integrated into these general demands.”\textsuperscript{152} The Pak regime utilized the language of equality to legitimize his rule and to gain support by clamping down on widespread inequality and corruption through Administrative Democracy, his “blueprint” of discipline. The citizenry was going to be trained to become “docile bodies” and abide by a newly formed social norm defined by the production of hegemonic masculinity and gendered hierarchy. By establishing social norms through equalization, discipline is able to “characterize, classify, specialize” and be distributed around a norm; it also “hierarchized individuals in relation to one another and, if necessary, disqualify and invalidate.”\textsuperscript{153} This disciplinary process played an integral part in the normalization of Universal Male Conscriptation and the subsequent nation-wide crackdown on draft evasion and Conscientious Objection.

\textbf{Crackdown of Draft Evasion and Conscientious Objection}

The punishment for draft evasion and Conscientious Objection would become much harsher than before. The maximum sentence of the Conscientious Objectors who refused to handle arms increased from 1 year to 2 years in 1962 with the enactment of the Military Criminal Act; then to 3 years maximum in 1966; and finally from 3 years to 10 years maximum in 1973 with the enactment of the Special Act on the Punishment of Violation of Military Service Act (Military Law No. 2445).\textsuperscript{154} However, throughout the 1960s before the Military Law 2445 was

\textsuperscript{151} Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish}, 222.
\textsuperscript{152} Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish}, 222.
\textsuperscript{153} Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish}, 223.
enacted, COs were inconsistently punished with longer sentences. In 1961, the years served by noncombatant COs varied from 2 years to 6 years; in 1962, from 6 months to 3 years; and in 1963, the years varied from 6 months to over 7 years. The massive gap between the basic 2 years maximum sentences (1 year in 1961) and longer terms can be explained by the implementation of *chŭngbok ch’ŏbŏl* (repetitive punishments) and *kajung ch’ŏbŏl* (additional punishments). While some COs were dishonorably discharged after serving their first sentence of less than 2 years (3 years from 1966), some were forced back to basic training where they would refuse to handle arms and be tried and imprisoned up to 4 times. In 1966, dishonorable discharge after the violation of the Military Criminal Act was removed and all convicted COs served two or more sentences. This repetitive process of being sent to basic training after serving the first prison term where the CO would again refuse to handle arms and be tried, convicted, and imprisoned was *chŭngbok ch’ŏbŏl*. *Kajung ch’ŏbŏl* on the other hand, determined the length of one’s prison sentence in accordance with the severity of the CO’s mutiny, which was decided by how many times the defendant have disobeyed his superior’s orders. Also, when tried for a second or a third violation of the Military Criminal Act, the COs received longer sentences than the previous one they just served. When the SDA Church protested these forms of punishments, the Supreme Court responded by stating:

> The severity of *hangmyŏngjoe* (mutiny) is determined by the number of orders to handle arms the defendant has disobeyed. The cause of disobedience as the refusal to handle arms being identical with multiple defendants does not mean that one single method of punishment should be established and carried out.

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156 Kang In Ch’ŏl, “*han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng*”, 117-118
157 Im Chae Sŏng, “*Chingbyŏngje hyŏngsŏnggwajŏngül t’ong haesŏ pon yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbuŭi yŏksa*,” 404.
158 Kang In Ch’ŏl, “*han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng*”, 118.
These forms of punishment continued for 30 years until July 1994. It was the SDA COs who were victimized by the repetitive and additional punishments throughout the 1960s. During this time, the JW COs were tried in civilian courts and served 1 year maximum sentences for violating the Conscription Law. This would change in the 1970s when they would be forcefully conscripted and go through the same process of repetitive/additional punitive measures endured by the SDA COs.

The media also continued to portray COs negatively during the 1960s in harsher tones. One article claimed that rejection of military service because of religious reasons was “committing an unforgivable error.”159 Another article revealed a situation where siblings attacked their father when he demanded the son, a Jehovah’s Witness, to be conscripted.160 The son stabbed his father’s head with a kitchen knife and was arrested for attempted murder.161 The article flat out rejected the rights of the COs and branded them as anti-state criminals. The attempted murder case also justifies the negative labeling of COs as anti-societal deviants who disregard family for religious reasons. Disobeying parents and causing disharmony among family was another example of the media negatively labeling the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ actions as non-normative. To Pak, a harmonious family was “the basic foundation of a democratic society which precedes political and economic activity…neither a cooperative and democratic welfare state nor a sound democratic society can be expected, unless there is happy family life and affection between parents and children.”162 The Pak regime also heavily emphasized the Confucian ideals of ch’ung (loyalty) and hyo (filial piety) to tie together the notion of family with

159 “Chingyŏk illyŏn kuhyŏng” [One year sentence demanded], Chosŏn ilbo, 24 Oct. 1963.
160 “Kundae kara kkujitcha, abŏji chiptan’okhaeng” [Father assaulted after scolding son to be conscripted], Chosŏn ilbo, 17 Jan. 1969.
161 Ibid.
162 Pak, Our Nation’s Path, 238.
the nation. Koreans learned “home, society, and nation” as categories that expanded outward-from the smaller family, to the larger society, and finally to the all-encompassing nation. Disharmony in the family would result in disobedience of social and national order. The familial and national ideals ch’ung and hyo was constantly reiterated in workplaces and schools through patriotic assemblies, morning assemblies, and military drill assemblies (figure 2).

Figure 2: Pak Kŭn Hye, the current president of South Korea and the daughter of Pak Chŏng Hŭi, giving a speech about the importance of ch’ung and hyo at Chang ch’ung stadium in 1979.

Pak also stated in 1963 that the freedom of religion as a universally democratic concept cannot “be allowed to abuse their privileges for the sake of politics, or to subvert democracy, or to promote communism.” Rejection of conscription as an equal duty was a direct attack on Pak’s Administrative Democracy, in which ROK society must follow his guidance to root out

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164 Hong Sŏng T'ae "Chumindŭngnokchedowa ch’ongjejŏk kamsisahoe" [The Social Security System and Total Surveillance Society], Minjusahoe chŏngch’ægyŏn’gu 9(2006)267. Figure 2 from Chŏng In Yong, “Che 2 saemaŭrundong’ Pak Kŭn Hye chŏngbusŏ puhwal halkka”[Will the Pak Kŭn Hye regime resurrect the second New Village Movement], Kyŏnhyang sinmun, 15 June 2013.
165 Pak Chŏng Hŭi, Our Nation’s Path, 243.
corruption and injustice. Thus, Conscientious Objection was presented as an illegal act as well as a form of injustice that must be dealt “under the principle of ‘punishing one to set an example for the multitude.’” While in the past the public was persuaded to prioritize national matters, this has become a given by the 1960s, making a clear way for official criminalization through multiple anti-draft evasion laws enacted during the 1970s. The first step towards this was the official denouncement of Conscientious Objection by the state in July 1969. Regarding Conscientious Objection, the Supreme Court ruled that “the Conscientious Objection of Christians to military service does not belong to the freedom of conscience protected by Act 17 of the old Constitution of Korea.” Thus by the 1970s, the Pak regime was ready to fully clamp down on Conscientious Objection. Conscientious Objectors became indistinguishable from draft evaders; moreover, they were presented as anti-national criminals and social deviants.

The Debate over the Doctrine of Conscientious Objection in the SDA Church

The harsh punitive measures implemented by the Pak regime affected the Seventh-day Adventist Church heavily during the 1960s as the leaders debated over whether they should dismantle their doctrinal practice of Conscientious Objection. From 1965 to 1972, the Church leadership was split between Reverend Kim I Yŏl, who moved against Conscientious Objection; and the leaders supported by the American SDA leadership who wanted to continue their refusal of handling arms. Kim proclaimed in 1965 that “people can accept or refuse to carry a gun according to the light given by God…we cannot decide who is more pious based solely on our current attitude toward military service.” Kim was opposed by traditional leaders who used

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166 Pak Chŏng Hŭi, *Our Nation’s Path*, 211
167 Willy Fautre ed., *For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience*, 51
their connection with government officials to invite the director of the Military Service Department in the General Assembly of the Seventh-day Adventist from the U.S. to visit the Korean Defense Minister to proclaim SDAs’ strong conviction regarding Conscientious Objection.\textsuperscript{170} The official stance of the South Korean SDA Church was continuing the refusal of handling weapons and only accepting noncombatant roles in 1966.\textsuperscript{171} It was 1971 when the Church accepted all forms of military service with Reverend Kim emerging as the top leader of the South Korean SDA Church.\textsuperscript{172}

The turmoil at the top of the SDA Church leadership and the debate to keep or discard Conscientious Objection as church doctrine began after the beginning of the military regime in 1961, when young SDA members began to their religious affiliation when they were conscripted. By 1963, majority of conscripted SDAs accepted firearms training.\textsuperscript{173} However, Conscientious Objection through refusal of handling arms was compromised as early as 1957 by the SDAs who were medics. Even though the SDAs were successfully conscripted as would be medics, they still had to receive preliminary military training for 8 weeks before they were officially trained to become medics at the military medical training center.\textsuperscript{174} Handling of weaponry was a necessity as firing exercises with live ammunition and carrying rifles for parades and ceremonies were unavoidable requirements.\textsuperscript{175} Thus, the 80 SDA medics sent to Pusan military hospital in 1957 and the 85 SDA medics on duty in 1960 all completed training by handling arms, rendering Conscientious Objection by refusal of handling arms pointless.\textsuperscript{176} After much debate, the SDA Church leadership decided to keep Conscientious Objection through refusal of handling weapons

\textsuperscript{170} Mun, “An Analysis over the Debate of Conscientious Objection in Korea,” 254
\textsuperscript{171} Kang In Ch’ŏl, "han’guksaehoea yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t‘üksŏng", 126.
\textsuperscript{172} Kang, 126 and Mun, 254.
\textsuperscript{173} Kang, 125.
\textsuperscript{174} Kang, 123.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{176} Mun, “An Analysis over the Debate of Conscientious Objection in Korea,” 260.
as church doctrine in 1966, which was promptly reversed in 1971. However, the official proclamation of standing by Church doctrines in 1966 had no effect on its members who were being conscripted as they continued to accept handling of arms since the early 1960s. It was 1964~1965 when Conscientious Objection among the SDA Church membership unofficially and realistically collapsed.  

This is revealed by the non-existence of Conscientious Objectors who were students or graduates of the Samyuk University Theology Division in 1964. This school was operated by the SDA Church and also was the alma mater of the church’s religious leadership. Up until 1964, these students were major supporters and leaders of Conscientious Objection among the church membership. From 1969~1975 there were no SDA COs among the students and in 1974, the University began military training that included handling of firearms. 10 SDA COs appeared in 1976, 8 years after the last SDA CO was released from prison before the discarding of Conscientious Objection by the church, and they were heavily criticized by the SDA Church leadership.

The changes applied by the SDA Church leadership after the much debated debacle on Conscientious Objection does not comply with the decisions of many SDA conscripts made when they were ordered to handle arms for the first time during training. Their decisions to hide Church membership and proceed with firearms training coincided with the pressure implemented by the Pak regime and the intensified sociocultural stigmatization of COs. After allowing all forms of military service in 1971, the church completely severed its ties with Conscientious Objection in 1976 by criticizing their 10 COs and officially stating that “refusing to handle

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177 Kang In Ch’ŏl, "han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng", 127.  
178 Kang, 126.  
179 Kang In Ch’ŏl, "han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng", 127.  
180 Ibid.
weapons is an issue decided by individual conscience.\textsuperscript{181} However, “individual conscience” as the determining factor began to be carried out by the SDA medics who chose to complete preliminary training that included handling of firearms as early as 1957. For the prospective medics, acting in accordance with church doctrine would mean that all previous training as well as the possibility of becoming part of a noncombatant unit would be wasted. Also, the right to seek a noncombatant role was at the time somewhat accepted by the government as well as a very limited and much sought out position. Thus, we see how “individual conscience” is heavily influenced and reluctantly merged with “national conscience” through immense pressure implemented by the government.

The process of the SDAs becoming medics is also an unofficial agreement between the potential COs and the state. It is a negotiation process because the state provides alternatives to criminalization and social stigmatization by giving COs the choice to make “acceptable” compromises to their religious conscience; such as only handling weapons in preliminary training. The existence of these compromises as well as the increasing number of non-CO SDA conscripts, which included the future church leadership and former leaders of the SDAs’ Conscientious Objection, enabled the withdrawal of the church doctrine. The official timeline of the SDA Church’s removal of Conscientious Objection from their church doctrine successfully highlights state oppression, militarization, and religious prosecution. However, if we look closely at the “unofficial” events in which individual conscience accepted compromises against their church doctrine/religious conscience for personal benefits, we see a move from resistance to negotiation, then to compliance. The denouncement of Conscientious Objection in 1976 as well as the compliance to acceptable compromises by the SDA Church repudiates the narratives of

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
helplessness and victimization circulated by the proponents of the Conscientious Objection Movement. As a matter of fact, the Conscientious Objection of the SDA Church is rarely mentioned by the discourse presented by or in support of Conscientious Objection Movement; however, the religious prosecution and human rights violations inflicted upon the Jehovah’s Witnesses is widely cited and published. This narrative presents a one-sided “oppression of the minority” argument to justify the marginalized silence of the COs without probing all the complexities of their stigmatization. The SDA Church’s compromise and negotiation is only one part of a bigger history that explains perpetual influence of normalization imposed by the Pak regime.

**Persecution of the Jehovah’s Witnesses: Birth of the Delinquent**

After 1972, Jehovah’s Witnesses were the only Conscientious Objectors in South Korea during the period of authoritarian dictatorship that ended in 1993. And to complete Pak Chŏng Hŭi’s goal of “100% Conscription”, Jehovah’s Witnesses began to be forcefully conscripted into the military in 1974. The JW COs would no longer be eligible to be tried in civilian courts and they would have to endure the repetitive/additional punishments that the SDA COs had endured previously. However, the pressure on the Jehovah’s Witness and the direct action taken by the government were much more severe. MMA officials would wait near the gathering places of Jehovah’s Witnesses and forcefully drag away any young men of military service age. In March 1975, MMA agents raided all 19 Jehovah’s Witness Kingdom Halls and arrested/forcefully conscripted 63 men, including those who had served prison terms.

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182 All of the Han’gyŏre articles on Conscientious Objectors and the 251 pages of *For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience* published by HWRF do not mention the Conscientious Objection of the Seventh-Day Adventists. Their histories of Conscientious Objection of the pre 2000 period only discuss the Jehovah’s Witnesses.

183 Kang In Ch’ŭl, *han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng*, 120.

184 Willy Fautre ed., *For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience*, 52
The severity of the treatment towards JW COs can be exemplified by the case of Chŏng Ch'un Kuk, who spent 10 months in prison for refusing conscription in 1969, and was reconscrip\textendash;ted and sentenced to 3 years in 1974.\textsuperscript{186} Chŏng was forced back into the army in front of the prison upon release and was imprisoned for 4 more years and his prison terms added up to 7 years and 10 months.\textsuperscript{187} JW COs endured the same kajungch'ŏbol (additional punishments) inflicted upon the SDA COs, with the only difference being that the JW COs were punished for refusing to accept all forms of military training.\textsuperscript{188}

In the barracks and military prisons, the JW COs were constantly beaten, tortured, and starved. This was nothing new as SDA COs were also punished by these “quasi-legal” methods of attempted coercion; however, 3 JW COs died because of the severity of the physical punishments in 1975 and 1976.\textsuperscript{189} Kim Chong Sik was ordered to hold a gun, which he promptly refused. After refusing the same orders continuously, he was beaten, suffered water torture, and humiliated by being forced to remove his clothes and stand still with his arms open.\textsuperscript{190} He died on the way to a hospital after he had fainted. The cause of his death was severe brain hemorrhage and brain contusion.\textsuperscript{191} I Ch'un Kil was also humiliated, tortured, and beaten and his death was caused by a ruptured spleen as a result of being hit by a large wooden pole 14-15 times on the abdomen and back area.\textsuperscript{192} Chŏng Sang Bok endured similar physical punishments such as being

\textsuperscript{185} "Yŏhowaŭi chŭngin sindo 63myŏng kobal" [63 Jehovah's Witnesses charged], Chosŏn ilbo, 11 March 1975.
\textsuperscript{186} Willy Fautre ed., For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience, 51
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{188} Willy Fautre ed., 52.
\textsuperscript{189} Mun, “An Analysis over the Debate of Conscientious Objection in Korea,” 261, 263.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{192} Presidential Committee for the Investigation of Suspicious Deaths in the Military, Case No. 487 I Ch’un Kil, 29 Oct. 2008, 750.
beaten with a rifle stock on the chest area; his death was caused by a damaged lung and internal bleeding.¹⁹³

After the death of Kim Chong Sik, the Military needed to formulate a method to physically and mentally torture COs without killing them. This was when tokkŏt’ŭkch’ang (Special Solitary Cell) was devised by the Non San Military Police to specifically imprison Jehovah’s Witness COs.¹⁹⁴ Tokkŏt’ŭkch’ang was a small, closet sized cell where the prisoner could not sit or sleep. A red bulb lighted up and an alarm rang when a guard pushed a switch randomly and all prisoners imprisoned in these cells had to push a switch inside the cell to turn it off.¹⁹⁵ There were 6 cells adjacent to each other in an L-shaped fashion and if one of the prisoners pushed the switch late, all were beaten (figure 3).¹⁹⁶ Prisoners were only allowed to be out of their cell once a day to empty their feces buckets and were fed a third of the ordinary rations, in which they were only given 10 seconds to consume; if they could not finish, they were again beaten.¹⁹⁷ Tokkŏt’ŭkch’ang was discontinued in 1977, but more than 20 JW COs were imprisoned for 15 days to a month in these cells.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Figure 3 from Presidential Committee for the Investigation of Suspicious Deaths in the Military, Case No. 490 Kim Chong Sik, 29 Oct. 2008, 812.
¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 79.
¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 79.
In 1974, a coalition of the MMA, Public Prosecutor’s Office, and the Police Bureau formed the Illegal Military Affairs Prevention Committee (Pyŏngmusabŏm pangjidaech'aegu wŏnhoe). Even though this committee was created to prevent all forms of draft evasion; their main objectives were the surveillance, prosecution, and intimidation to force compliance from the Jehovah’s Witnesses. This Prevention Committee had official meetings or kandamhoe with the Jehovah’s Witness Church leadership in each different region. In these meetings, the Prevention Committee released corrective measures to punish all members who assist JW COs in any way. One corrective measure presented by the Kyŏngnam Province

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200 Republic of Korea, Military Manpower Administration, "Yŏhowaŭi chŭngin sindo taep’yojawaŭi kandamhoedŭng kip’ija yebangŭl wihan choch’i kyŏlgwa pago" [Report on the meetings with Jehovah’s Witness leadership conscription evasion prevention measures], National Archive and Research Services, Military Manpower Administration Report No. 66, 18 Feb. 1975, 105. Because JW COs were the only known religious group and the majority of convicted draft evaders, they were closely watched by the Committee. They kept records of the number of JW COs separately from the rest of the draft evaders who were grouped together as Kit’a or “others”.

Figure 3: The layout of the tokkŏt’ŭkch’ang adjacent to normal prison cells and a close up of a single cell.
Prevention Committee on October 1974 stated, “All representatives of the Kingdom Halls who assist Conscription Evaders or hide them from the authorities will be punished under the Military Conscription Law.”\(^{201}\) A JW woman was arrested for hiding a JW CO in December of that year and a man was arrested for refusing to receive his son’s conscription orders in 1975.\(^{202}\) The Prevention Committee also presented the Jehovah’s Witness representatives with \textit{yomang sahang} or “wishful requests”. The Kyŏngnam Province Prevention Committee listed four requests: 1) A full list of conscription obligators (men aged 18-40); 2) To encourage and persuade members who have received conscription orders to obey; 3) To persuade members that the completion of conscription duties comply to the church doctrines such as neighborly love, while the rejection of conscription duties is a severe misconduct that denies the nation; 4) To expel members who have not completed conscription duties and those who have assisted them (illegal acts of tolerating anti-societal criminals).\(^{203}\)

The Jehovah’s Witness leadership responded by obliging to some of the Preventive Commission’s requests. Jehovah’s Witness representatives also stated in a newspaper article, “In the church doctrine, there is no mention of refusal of handling arms and Romans chapter 12 mentions obedience towards the authority, which means obeying national laws.”\(^{204}\) The JW representatives also stated that the JW COs existed because of mistaken interpretations and obliged the request to formulate a list of their members who were conscription obligators.\(^{205}\) In a MMA report on the impact of the Preventive Commission ordered by Pak Chŏng Hŭi in 1975,

\(^{201}\) Kang In Ch’ŏl, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng”, 119.
\(^{203}\) Kang In Ch’ŏl, “han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng”, 120.
\(^{204}\) “Yŏhowaŭi chūngin pyŏngyŏk ihaeng kyŏrŭi” [Jehovah’s Witnesses decide to complete conscription], \textit{Chosŏn ilbo}, 19 Dec. 1974.
\(^{205}\) Ibid.
the response of the Jehovah’s Witness leadership was that the draft evasion of JW members was accepted as a wrongful deed and they would assist in the prevention of draft evasion. However, there was no mention of any expulsion of membership from the Church representatives. Also, Public Relations Officer Kim Dong In at the South Korea Jehovah’s Witness Headquarters stated that the leaders were pretty much threatened and coerced by the MMA officers to comply. MMA officials threatening JWs to gain compliance have been reported more than once. For example, MMA officials threatened to torture JW member Pak No Kwŏn’s sister and pressured his family members’ workplaces to have them fired.

Even though the state persecution and pressure on draft evasion and Conscientious Objection was at an all time high, draft evaders and COs continued to exist. In 1974, there were 210 convicted conscription evaders with 132 of them being JW COs. From 1975 to 1979, the number of conscription evaders per year was less than 60 and there were only 12 in 1978, an all time low in South Korea.

The state persecution of Jehovah’s Witnesses was widely accepted and unquestioned because they were labeled as delinquents. According to Foucault, a delinquent is someone with an identity that can be subjected to a “biographical knowledge and a technique for correcting individual lives’ where the delinquent’s entire life, even before the committed crime, is open to

206 Republic of Korea, Military Manpower Administration, "Yŏhowaŭi chŭngin sindo taepp'ojawawŏi kandanmoedŭng kip'ija yebangŭl wihan choch'i kyŏlgwa pogo" [Report on the meetings with Jehovah’s Witness leadership conscription evasion prevention measures], National Archive and Research Services, Military Manpower Administration Report No. 66, 18 Feb. 1975, 102.
207 Hong Dae Il, Kim Dong In, Steve Lee, Personal interview, 5 Aug. 2013.
208 Chŏnjaengŏmnŭn sesang, Han Hong Gu, and Pak No Ja, Ch’ongŭl tŭli annŭn saramdŭl, [Those who do not hold guns], (Seoul: Ch’ŏllumswa yŏnghŭi, 2008)309.
209 Republic of Korea, Presidential Secretariat, ”Yŏhowaŭi chŭngin’ sindo ibyŏnggip’i yebang choch’i pogo”.
210 Sin Pyŏng Sik, "Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsaenghwalgwa kunsajuŭi, chingbyŏngjewa 'sinsŏng han kukpangŭi ŭimu' tamnonŭl chungsimŭro”, 158.
evaluation.” The surveillance of conscription aged JW members and their families by the Illegal Military Affairs Prevention Committee; mandatory meeting between the Prevention Committee and the JW Church representatives; and the apprehension as well as the forceful conscription of JW members at congregation gatherings reveal the isolation and labeling of the JW Church members as delinquents who have “criminal personalities”. The criminal’s “affinity with his crime” allows the state to quarantine the delinquent and for the Jehovah’s Witnesses, their identity was their affinity leading to criminality and delinquency. Thus, the social stigmatization and negative labeling of Jehovah’s Witnesses as “religious fanatics” was upgraded to a whole new level with the severe crackdown of Conscientious Objection in the 1970s. Being a member of the JW Church labeled each Jehovah’s Witness as either a delinquent prone to a criminal act, in this case draft evasion, or an accessory to the same crime. Their very existence attracted the attention of law enforcements because of their “criminal personalities”. Years of social stigmatization and the negative labeling as social deviants by the media influenced the transition of JWs from ostracized religious minorities to criminalized delinquents.

While the coercive negotiation forced upon the SDA Church by the state was successful, this was not the case for the Jehovah’s Witnesses. Even though the state successfully coerced the Jehovah’s Witness Church leaders to comply with many of their requests, not all of them were accepted, such as the expulsion of the members who assisted COs. The fact that these members existed as well as the JW COs themselves, reveals that the state ultimately failed to negotiate the full compliance of the Jehovah’s Witnesses as a whole. This stems from the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ understanding and principles based on “personal conscience”. For the SDAs, refusing to handle

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212 Foucault, * Discipline & Punish*, 252.
weapons being based on “personal conscience” was used to sever their ties to Conscientious Objection. However, for the JWs, “personal conscience” have always been their method of following biblical principles:

When Jehovah’s Witnesses make decisions regarding military service, they will be making a personal decision on the basis of their Bible-trained consciences, not on the basis of a decision of the politically tarnished ‘synod’. They will consider the things they owe to God as well as the proper authority of the secular government.\textsuperscript{214}

This, along with political neutrality and reference to relevant biblical passages, each individual JW decides to object to conscription or not.\textsuperscript{215} Thus, based on JW principle and logic, the church representatives’ responses, which stated that Conscientious Objection was a “wrongful deed”, whether coerced or not, does not influence a JW CO’s decision. According to Mr. Kim Dong In, the church members attend multiple mandatory bible study meetings weekly and this heavy commitment shapes each individual’s conscience based on their understanding of the bible.\textsuperscript{216}

According to Kim, this also prevents the existence of “fake” Jehovah’s Witnesses because of the intensity and time consuming nature of their religious activities.\textsuperscript{217}

For example, Song Ki Yun was a JW CO imprisoned in 1977 who refused to complete his duties in the defense corps, an acceptable alternative service in which the conscripts works in a public government office. He stated, “After eight months of Bible study, I felt that my service in the military unit was against the Bible’s principles. I immediately refused to perform the service at the unit, and as a result, I was sent to the military police. That happened just four

\textsuperscript{214} Willy Fautre ed., \textit{For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience}, 28.
\textsuperscript{215} Willy Fautre ed., 27. Jehovah’s Witnesses in FICO (Families of Imprisoned Conscientious Objectors) stated, “Since God has no nationality, it is illogical for those who profess to believe in God to change their behavior according to the political point of view of any nation.”
\textsuperscript{216} Hong Dae Il, Kim Dong In, Steve Lee, Personal interview, 5 Aug. 2013.
\textsuperscript{217} Hong Dae Il, Kim Dong In, Steve Lee, Personal interview, 5 Aug. 2013.
months prior to my being discharged.” Song made up his mind to become a CO knowing the consequences even though he only had four months left until the completion of his conscription duties. Song’s actions reveal a pure non-conforming and non-negotiable attitude of the JW COs. Even though Song only had four months left, he still decided to become a CO and be punished. For the representatives who used biblical passage to legitimize state authority and claimed JW COs were misinterpreting the Bible, their preference for compliance is based on their “personal decision on the basis of their Bible-trained conscience”. This concept of “personal conscience” based on biblical principle and passages is very open-ended for debate and discussion. However, the individual decision, regardless of coercion or inner/outer influence, has always been respected by the JW Church.

Conclusion

Under the military dictatorship of Pak Chŏng Hŭi, criminalization of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection gradually gained momentum through implementation of punitive measures and public stigmatization through the press. Draft evaders/Conscientious Objectors were labeled and punished while Universal Male Conscription was solidified as a social norm. As the Pak regime began to present conscription as an equal duty and set lengthy prison sentences through the system of repetitive and additional punishments, the number of draft evaders drastically reduced to mostly the Seventh-day Adventists and the Jehovah’s Witnesses. While the SDA Church decided to remove Conscientious Objection from their church doctrine, the JWs stood firm and continued to be punished and stigmatized. Three Jehovah’s Witnesses died because of harsh physical violence inflicted on them in the barracks and the military prisons and as a result special solitary cells were devised specifically for the JW COs during this period.

218 Willy Fautre ed., For South Korea Without Prisoners of Conscience, 70.
The change in the SDA Church doctrine and the continued existence of JW COs despite immense pressure are examples of negotiation and resistance that occurred between the state and the COs. The SDA Church was able to successfully negotiate with the state to avoid stigmatization and punishments by compiling to acceptable forms of Conscientious Objection set by the state and later giving up the church doctrine on Conscientious Objection. The Jehovah’s Witnesses’ continuous resistance labeled them as delinquents. The persecution of Jehovah’s Witnesses coincided with the completion of the national surveillance system, the full criminalization of draft evasion/conscientious objection, and a state-wide moralization campaigns that implemented state-defined “morality” and “immorality” as social norms to eradicate delinquent behavior. Even though the Pak regime failed to completely halt draft evasion/Conscientious Objection, they successfully contained a problem that was rampant and seemed unfixable in the 1950s. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.
3. Containment through Disciplinary Mechanisms of Power

The Seventh-day Adventists’ removal of Conscientious Objection from their church doctrine allowed the Pak regime to put massive pressure on the Jehovah’s Witnesses, which became the only group of Conscientious Objectors up until the early 2000s. The constant surveillance of JWs, repetitive imprisonments, and the mental and physical torture inflicted upon them were neither questioned nor challenged by public opinion captured in the press which viewed Jehovah’s Witnesses as delinquents and social deviants. Methods of state surveillance were made possible through the implementation of the social security system as well as a nationwide “moralization” campaign, which persuaded citizens to carry out auto-surveillance. This allowed this permeation and normalization of an anti-draft evasion/Conscientious Objection mentality during the late 1960s and 1970s. In this chapter, I will analyze the Pak regime’s successful decimation of draft evasion/Conscientious Objection that successfully implemented disciplinary mechanisms of surveillance, normalization, and delinquency.

The Pak regime collected personal information such as birthdates, deaths, marriages, and relocations from the citizenry with the enactment of the Social Security Law in 1962. On May 1968, the social security system was fully implemented through the revision of the Social Security Law that universally issued social security cards and collected fingerprints from each individual over 18 years of age. In the 1970s the Social Security Law was revised to allow the government to request the presentation of social security identifications. This was established to identify any changes such as residence or martial statues, in other words, a continuous

220 “Kaeine yŏnggubŏnho” [Permanent Personal Numbers], Donga ilbo, 29 Aug. 1968.
surveillance of the citizenry was completed by the 1970s in South Korea. Scholar Hong Sŏng T'ae have stated that the mechanism of surveillance initiated and completed during the Pak regime heavily influenced the development of South Korea into a “garrison state”. These included the social security system, fingerprint registration system, inheritance number system, and the resident registration chart system.

The Social Security System

This newly developed surveillance system had close ties with conscription. Surveillance is a disciplinary mechanism used to locate, track down, and constantly observe each single individual in a large group setting. Surveillance allows the observation of behavior or actions in a group so that those who do not conform to the established social norm accepted by the majority could be singled out as delinquents or deviants. Surveillance, normalization, and delinquency are all inter-working parts of the disciplinary mechanism in which surveillance is used to observe the successful internalization of normality and to pick out, label, and define delinquency. The Pak regime stated that the reason for the revision of the Social Security Law in 1968 was to produce “effective and actual results through the social security system”. The law requested men over 18 years of age who were potential conscripts to record their preferred military services and special abilities when they registered for social security and fingerprinting. Through this law, the state began the documentation of detailed personal information that allowed the tracking down of “missing persons” which was a significant problem that lasted nearly two decades.

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222 Hong, "Yusin tokchaewa chumindŭngnokchecho", 97~98.
223 Ibid.
224 Sin, "Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsæneghalgwga kunsajuŭi, chingbyŏngjegwa 'sinsŏng han kukpangŭi ŭimu' tamnonŭl chungsimūro", 159.
225 Ibid.
including the rampant draft evasion and conscription corruption that took place throughout the 1950s. Even though the Pak regime slowly normalized Universal Male Conscription as an equalized service, 320,863 out of 431,268 accused draft evaders could not be tracked down as their whereabouts were unknown and documented as “missing” from 1963 to 1967.\textsuperscript{226} The implementation of the new social security system had an immediate impact on the prevention of draft evasion. In February 1969, the government identified through the social security system and cracked down on 450,000 draft evaders, physical examination evaders, and reserve service duty evaders.\textsuperscript{227}

The new social security system was presented by the media as a working system that would have a positive impact on South Korean society. One positive impact that resulted from the implementation of the new social security system was the reunion of long lost family members who have been split apart because of the Korean War. One newspaper article drew attention to a family of five siblings who were separated for 22 years and reunited through the social security system. The older brother who defected to the South found his name in the “missing persons” list at his original legal domicile and was able to reunite with his four brothers and sisters who defected later and grew up at an orphanage.\textsuperscript{228} Another article released earlier that year described a sister finding out her brother’s social security number and his whereabouts also through their original legal domicile after over 30 years of separation.\textsuperscript{229} Both of these articles heavily emphasize how it was the social security system implemented by the government that allowed these reunions to take place. The second article also mentions how the brother and

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\textsuperscript{226} Sin, "Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsaenghwalgwa kunsajuŭi, chingbyŏngjewa 'sinsŏng han kukpangŭi úimu' tamononŭl chungsimŭro", 159.
\textsuperscript{228} "Chuminjŭngi ch'ajajun onammae 22nyŏnmane chaehoe" [Five siblings reunited through the social security system after 22 years of seperation], \textit{Donga ilbo}, 7 March 1969.
\textsuperscript{229} "Chumindŭngnok e ttarŭn ije" [ Reunion through the Social Security System], \textit{Donga ilbo}, 24 Jan. 1969.
\end{flushright}
sister, “through rain and snow” searched 15 years for each other all over the fields of their hometown as well as through advertisements and broadcasting.\(^{230}\) The siblings also thanked and praised the new social security system and the pleasant social workers who helped them reunite.\(^{231}\)

Many newspaper articles published during this time emphasized the social security system’s ability to track down whereabouts of criminals and those who were associated with or considered relevant to past crimes. In Ch’ŏngju prosecutor’s office, around 15 closed cases were reopened daily, 3 times the daily average before the introduction of the social security system.\(^ {232}\) Wanted suspects with unknown whereabouts were arrested when they returned to their legal domicile to receive their social security numbers. Another article also reported that 962 violent criminals who had committed murders, rapes, arson, and robbery were arrested after their whereabouts were tracked down through the social security system.\(^ {233}\) Many cases were also reopened when victims’ identities were also tracked down as well. It was clear that the social security system was extremely effective in tracking down both the criminals and the missing. From September 1968 to the January 1969, out of the 231,866 criminals on the loose with unknown whereabouts, 127,713 were registered in the new system and 14,000 were arrested and convicted.\(^ {234}\)

Under the new social security system, it was possible to locate every citizen though their registered legal domicile. This parallels Foucault’s principle of elementary location that sought

\(^{231}\) Ibid.
\(^{233}\) “Miże kangnyŏkpŏm 962 myŏng subae” [962 Wanted Violent Criminals Handled], *Donga ilbo*, 9 May 1969.
\(^{234}\) “Mansach’on yŏmyŏng kŏmgŏ” [14,000 Arrested], *Donga ilbo*, 31 Jan. 1969.
to eliminate “the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals”.\textsuperscript{235} The powers granted to the Pak regime from the social security system was identical to this tactic of “anti-desertion, anti-vagabondage, anti-concentration” aimed at “knowing, mastering, and using”.\textsuperscript{236} The government used the social security system to locate and track down the missing, and determined how they would be utilized for their benefit. By locating long lost family members torn apart by war and tracking down criminals, the state legitimatized and presented to the public, the effectiveness and usefulness of the surveillance system. This closely resembles the aim of the principle of elementary location or \textit{partitioning}: “to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits”.\textsuperscript{237} Even though Foucault does not specifically refer “partitioning” to the implementation of surveillance mechanisms, the process is very much similar.

The draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors were also tracked down, arrested, and their numbers and names were listed alongside the other criminals arrested through the social security system in newspaper articles and public bulletins. Out of the 14,000 criminals arrested by January 1969, around 8,000 were guilty of committing an infraction related to conscription.\textsuperscript{238} It was also during this time that all crimes related to conscription began to be called \textit{pyŏngmusabŏm} or illegal military service activities and all draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors were physically labeled as criminals.\textsuperscript{239} Even the name of the special laws enacted to deal with draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors changed during this period.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{235} Michel Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison}, (New York: Random House, 1995) 143.
\item \textsuperscript{236} Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish}, 143.
\item \textsuperscript{237} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{238} Mansach’ŏn yŏmyŏng kŏmgŏ” [14,000 Arrested], \textit{Donga ilbo}, 31 Jan. 1969.
\item \textsuperscript{239} Sin, “Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsaenghwalgwa kunsajuŭi, chingbyŏngjewa 'sinsŏng han kukpangŭi ŭimu' tamnonŭl chungsimŭro", 159.
\end{itemize}
In 1961 it was called *Pyŏngyŏgūimumip’iljae kwanhan t'ŭkpyŏljoch’ibŏp* (Special Law for Individuals with Incomplete Conscription) and this was changed to *Pyŏngyŏkpŏbwiban tŭngūi pŏmjoech’öbore kwanhan t'ŭkpyŏljoch’ibŏp* (Special Law for Punishment of Criminals in Relation to the Violation of the Conscription Act).\textsuperscript{240} When it became possible for the state to track down draft evaders/COs, their identities were no longer obscure. There was no need for “surrender periods” and moral persuasions; draft evasion was fully established as an act of crime and social deviancy.

*The Intensification of Surveillance Mechanisms and the Yusin System*

The implementation and intensification of surveillance mechanisms was a direct effect of the Yusin Constitution enacted in 1972. On December 6, 1971, Pak declared a state of emergency in South Korea and also announced martial law to initiate the Yusin system, which included a series of reforms as well as the intensification of national surveillance.\textsuperscript{241} These reforms included the restriction of citizens rights such as freedom of speech and assembly as well as the nearly unlimited power granted to Pak over the government including the power to appoint one-third of the national congress.\textsuperscript{242} Pak justified the introduction of the Yusin system and the declared state of emergency with consecutive geopolitics events in East Asia that were politically detrimental to the ROK as well as North Korea’s aggressive provocations against the South. These included the North Korean commando raid on the blue house and the capture of the USS Pueblo and its crew in 1968; the attempted assassination of Pak in 1975, in which his wife was killed; and the Nixon Doctrine that resulted in the withdrawal of 20,000 U.S. soldiers

\textsuperscript{240} Sin, “Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsængkhwalgwawan kunsajuŭi, chingbyŏngjewa 'sinsŏng han kukpangŭi ŭimu' tamnonŭl chungsimüro”, 159.


\textsuperscript{242} Byung Sun Kahng, “The Yushin Constitution,” 179.
stationed in South Korea, U.S abandonment of Taiwan and its rapprochement with China, and the withdrawal of U.S troops from Vietnam that resulted in the communization of South Vietnam.\textsuperscript{243}

The introduction of the new social security system in 1968 was a sort of preparative reform before the Yusin system was developed and implemented in the early 1970s. While the Pak regime justified the first revision of the social security system with positive social impacts such as location of criminals and missing persons, the justifications of later revisions were forceful and intensified with nationalistic and anti-communist rhetoric. Pak’s reason for the second revisions that took place in 1970 was “to prevent kanch’ŏp (spy) and impure elements from infiltrating society and to track them down efficiently” and the reasons for the tertiary revision in 1975 was to “gain a foothold in arranging an all out war”.\textsuperscript{244} Preparation for an “all-out war” with North Korea was also Pak’s justification of the Yusin system.\textsuperscript{245} Intensified surveillance mechanisms were implemented with forceful language and reforms that could not be challenged after much power was granted to Pak.

There were many other forms of intensified surveillance such as the introduction of ijang or village foremen to observe and mobilize residents in every village, town, or city.\textsuperscript{246} Intensified surveillance developed in tandem with the numerous reforms to make sure that the new laws were implemented correctly and to locate and punish any objections and challenges to the government. Schools were militarized with the creation of the Student National Defense Corps

\textsuperscript{244} Hong, Sŏng T’ae, "Chumindŭngnokchedowa ch’ongjejŏk kamsisahoe" [The Social Security System and Total Surveillance Society], Minjusahoe chŏngch’aegyŏn’gu 9(2006)270.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid.
and the introduction of military drills in high schools and universities; in which teachers, professors, and administrators were given the duty to inspect the students. Also, labor unions were disbanded and illegalized with reforms such as the New Village Movement in factories, which was initiated and administered completely from the top.

The implementation and intensification of surveillance mechanisms began a national crack down on “impure elements” and “kanch’ŏp”. This was a direct result of a domino effect that began with geopolitical events and national security concerns that inevitably linked the individual citizen to the state as well as the geopolitics of a region. This kanch’ŏp prevention initiative was widely publicized in public spaces, school settings, public bulletin boards, and on large banners across main road to pressure the citizenry to observe one another. These banners and posters included slogans such as “Let’s find the invading kanch’ŏp to pulverize ambitions of communization”, “Let’s prevent impure schemes with reporting (to the authorities) mentality”, and “A kanch’ŏp does not rest. I should be the first to watch my mouth”. Other slogans like “Check if the neighbor’s visitor is a kanch’ŏp” were posted in villages across the nation that forced people to doubt that even law abiding citizens can be spies in disguise. People were led to believe that kanch’ŏp could exist anywhere and everywhere. The state also falsified arrest reports of kanch’ŏp living in residential areas which were announced through the media and at pansanghoe (monthly neighborhood meetings).

The kanch’ŏp prevention initiative was also a process in which the citizenry were made to behave as “non- kanch’ŏp” by proving their loyalty; people were cautious of being accused as

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247 Kim Tong Ch’un, "Kanch’ŏp Mandūlgi’ŭi Chŏnjaengjŏngch’i: Chibaejilssŏrsŏ Yusinch’eje", 151.
248 Ibid.
249 Ibid.
250 Ibid.
251 Ibid.
252 Ibid.
kanch'ŏp and were basically in full compliance with the authorities and the regime. The goal of the kanch’ŏp prevention initiative was to achieve full compliance and obedience from the citizenry through auto-surveillance as well as the active participation of individuals in pointing out potential threats to separate themselves from the enemy. Because everyone was watching, observing, and supervising each other; each person had to self-censor their remarks and behavior. The same method was used to crack down and punish draft evaders and COs who were labeled alongside kanch’ŏp and impure elements as social deviants who did not obey the authorities. Thus, the anti-draft evader/CO mentality and the negative public opinion of the press regarding COs was developed alongside the kanch’ŏp prevention initiative.

The Implementation of Surveillance Mechanisms in South Korean Society

The social security system allowed the placement of individuals into a “field of surveillance” and a “network of writing” that “engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them”. Documentation was an important factor of the disciplinary mechanism that originated from traditional methods of administrative documentation used in the military. The military needed to “track down deserters, avoid repeating enrolments, correct fictitious ‘information’ presented by officers, know the services and value of each individual, establish with certainty the balance-sheet of those who had disappeared of died.” All of these problems occurred in Korea ever since the breakout of the Korean War as explained in the previous chapters. Also, tracking down both draft evaders and those who were discharged was difficult because of the inadequate documentation of military records by the MMA. The Pak regime

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253 Kim Tong Ch’un, “Kanch’ŏp Mandŭlgi’ŭi Chŏnjaengjŏngch’i: Chibaejilssŏrosŏ Yusinch’eje”, 151.
254 Ibid.
255 Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 143.
256 Ibid.
solved most of these problems through the implementation of the new social security system. By collecting individual profiles, whereabouts, and fingerprints, this was “a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation” that revealed the “power of writing.”  

The accumulation of documents also allowed the “organization of comparative fields making it possible to classify, to form categories, to determine averages, to fix norms.” The documentation and tracking down of the formerly “missing” through the social security system allowed the separation of the criminals from the rest of the citizenry. The government was also able to determine their numbers and document criminals by felony and normalize the criminalization of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection by labeling all abnormal and illegal acts related to conscription as pyŏngmusabŏm.

Draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors were criminalized not for committing illegal acts like the murderers and the rapists they were listed alongside, but because they failed to conform to the norm, in this case, Universal Male Conscription. Those who failed to achieve certain standards, “the whole indefinite domain of the non-conforming” were the ones punishable by the “disciplinary penalty” described by Foucault. Abnormality was considered to be on the same category as the most severe crimes. On February 1973, the Supreme Prosecutor’s Office began a campaign to “root out the six biggest social evils” which included murder, hit-and run, drug trafficking, health product fraud, organized crime, and pyŏngmusabŏm. Not abiding by the social norm of Universal Male Conscription in South Korea, whether evasion, refusal or incompletion, was considered a severe crime in the same level as murder or kidnapping. Thus, the labeled identities of draft evaders and COs as social deviants

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257 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143.
258 Foucault, 190
259 Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 178-179
were determined by their delinquency, “this anomaly, this deviation, this potential danger, this illness, this form of existence, that must be taken into account when the codes are rewritten”.  

After the implementation of the social security system, the government, “by means of observation and assessment hierarchized, differentiated, judged, punished.” The line between the “good” citizen and the “bad” citizen was clearly outlined with the subsequent actions taken by the authorities after the introduction of the Yusin system. In 1972, names of draft evaders and COs were posted on public bulletin boards of the city and province of their residence. Just a year later Executive Order No. 34 mandated the formation of a special task force to label draft evaders/COs as “individuals with unpatriotic behavior” (pigungmin chŏgin haengwija) and were determined to “limit their societal activities as well as track down and punish” them. This ranged from school to the workplaces. High Schools began kyoryŏn'gyoyuk or military drill curriculum in 1970 and universities began pyŏngyŏngjiip'ch'egyoyuk or collective barracks training in 1976. Jehovah’s Witness students who refused these military drills were punished by the teachers for disobedience and undermining the teacher’s authority and were forced to drop out of school. In 1975 all employers were ordered under threat of prosecution, to have military service information of all of their employees. They were also required to obtain a list of potential conscripts and proof of military service. A JW CO who was imprisoned in the 1990s elaborated on the struggles of being a Conscientious Objector in the 1970s:

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261 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 255.
262 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 299.
263 "Pyŏngyŏkkip'ija myŏngdan konggaek'iro" [List of draft evaders to be made public], Chungang ilbo, 3 Feb. 1972.
264 Im Chae Sŏng, “Han'guksahoe yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbeue taehan kukkawa chonggyoŭi taeŭng,” 406.
265 The “task force” was formed in 1974 as the Pyŏngmusabŏm pangjidaech'aeguwŏnhoe or Illegal Military Affairs that cracked down on Jehovah’s Witnesses throughout the 1970s.
266 Kang In Ch’ŏl, "han'guksahoea yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t'ŭksŏng", 128-129.
267 Sin, "Pak Chŏng Hŭi sidaeŭi ilssangsaenghwalgwa kunsajuŭi, chingbyŏngjewa 'sinsŏng han kukpangŭi ŭimu' tamnonŭl chungsimŭro", 161.
The pain endured by teenagers who refused military drills was unbearable...the school could not expel a student for refusing military drills, so they persuaded them to drop out through continuous torturous punishments and threats. The academic records of these teenagers show that they only graduated middle school. What would the press say? ‘These people don’t even properly educate their children’. Now there are academic assemblies for ex-convicts but during the 1970s we really could not work...Our reputation as low class and economically debilitated was solidified in the minds of the older generation.  

The director of MMA stated that blocking the “path of societal advancement” of draft evaders was justified and necessary as it equalized Universal Male Conscription and to “establish conscription completion as an ethos”. The equalized duty of Universal Male Conscription and the illegality and denouncement of draft evasion/Conscientious Objection were slowly established by the press as a ‘moralized’ social norm. The Pak regime was able to internalize and normalize social regulations as “public morality” through the media and conscription completion as well as the intense surveillance of its deviants “was at the highest level of public morality”.

The Impact of Surveillance Mechanisms in South Korean Society

On January 20th 1973, during an inspection tour of the MMA, president Pak ordered, “from now on do everything it takes, even consider making a law, to build a social ethos that forces the draft evaders themselves and their parents to be unable to live in this society with their heads held up high.” Punishment of family members was nothing new by the 1970s as punishments and fines were forced upon family members of those who were abroad without completing their military services. However, Pak also ordered MMA to halt draft evasion at all

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Kang In Hwa, "Han'guksahoeŭi pyŏngyŏkkŏbu undongul t'ong hae pon namsŏngsŏng yŏn'gu" [Study of Masculinity through the Conscientious Objection Movement of South Korean Society], Master’s Thesis, Ewha Womans University, 2007, 48.

"Pyŏngyŏkkip'ija iljedankwakŭ munjejŏm" [The problems draft evasion crackdown], Chosŏn ilbo, 4 Aug. 1971.

Im, 155.

"Ppalgaengi mora ttaerigo mugomun chipch'onggŏbuja 'koŭijŏk t'asal'" [Individuals who refused arms accused of being communists, water tortured, 'intentional murder'], Han’gyŏre sinmun, 16 Jan. 2009.
costs so that the citizens will build a “social ethos” to normalize the criminality, abnormality, and delinquency of draft evasion/Conscientious Objection. Following the rules, as well as abiding by state defined public order and public morality was introduced and solidified as the social norm. And it was up to the populace to internalize these forms of “order” and “morality” and separate themselves from the “bad” by conforming to the norm, and to discipline themselves through auto-surveillance.

Positively responding to this order, the Chosŏn ilbo published an article three days later titled “Military service as a human duty” that labeled draft evaders and their parents as “antisocial human beings we cannot live amongst”. Denouncement of draft evasion was very much internalized by the populace through local institutions in the 1970s. In rural areas where the New Village Movement took place, “Village without Draft Evaders Movements” also developed in parallel with the modernization initiative. This was similar to the anti- kanch’ŏp campaigns which occurred during the same period in which citizens were cautioned to look out for draft evaders in local areas. Signs and banners were posted in towns and villages as local MMA offices proceeded to increase surveillance and crack down on draft evasion. In 1974, the local MMA district office of Kwang Ch’ŏn village declared 1974 to be the “year of draft evasion eradication” and ordered local officials to paint the label, “Draft Evader’s House” (kip’ijaŭi chip) on the doors of their homes so that draft evaders and their families “cannot hold their head up in society” (figure 4). They did so with red paint on the door of Mr. Kim whose son was a draft evader who left home to find work 10 years ago. The son returned in 1970 and claimed that he was not going to be drafted. Mr. Kim tried to persuade him to be conscripted but his son soon

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272 “In’ganŭimosu piyŏngyŏk” [Military service as human duty], Chosŏn ilbo, 23 Jan 1973.
274 “Mangsin munbi 'kip’ijaŭi chip'” [Shamful 'Draft evader's House' sign], Chosŏn ilbo, 25 May 1974.
left home again. The literal “labeling” of his home had an extreme psychological effect on the Kim family as Mr. Kim stated that “I’m embarrassed to raise my face” and attempted to commit suicide by burning his house down, which was promptly stopped by his neighbor. His wife also refused to eat and drink and confined herself to the house and his youngest son did not come home after leaving the house.

Figure 4: Photo of the sign stating “Draft Evader’s House” on the home of the Kim family. From the Chosŏn ilbo article "Mangsin munbi 'kip'ijaŭi chip'" [Shamful 'Draft evader's House' sign], 25 May 1974.

The trauma experienced by the Kim family reveals the severe effect of being consciously and literally marked as social deviants. It also reveals the power of normalization that made Mr. Kim “accept the power to punish, or quite simply, when punished, tolerate being so.” Similar cases also happened when the father and uncle of two imprisoned Jehovah’s Witnesses, Ryu Ki

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275 "Mangsin munbi 'kip'ijaŭi chip'" [Shamful 'Draft evader's House' sign], Chosŏn ilbo, 25 May 1974.
276 Ibid.
277 Ibid.
278 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 303.
Rin and Yun Pong Kŭn, resigned after failing to convince them to overturn their decision to be COs.²⁷⁹ Both Ryu’s father and Yun’s uncle were high ranking officers in the Korean Army; Ryu’s father disowned his son and forced the guards to punish him severely and “turn him into a soldier by any means possible”.²⁸⁰ Thus, severe punishment of COs such as the existence of the tokkŏ’tŭkch’ang became naturalized and accepted. In 1977 Ku Kŭn Hoe, a JW CO, was tortured in front of other soldiers by his superiors in his barracks after he was forcefully conscripted.²⁸¹ They duct taped his mouth and shoved lighted cigarettes in his nostrils until he was on the brink of death by suffocation.²⁸² However, this was not the worst he experienced, in his testimony he stated, “What was more painful for me was to see the reaction of other soldiers watching me get tortured. They looked at me as if I was a rare animal, and I couldn’t find a single expression of sympathy on their faces.”²⁸³ The immorality of Conscientious Objection had been fully denounced by disciplinary normalization and legitimized disciplinary power to inflict legal punishments in a context that “appears to be free of all excess and all violence.”²⁸⁴

**Redefining Normality: Decimation of Draft Evasion and Conscientious Objection**

The internalization of Conscientious Objection as anti-societal and anti-national acts continued well into the 1980s. In 1986, 1,381 former Jehovah’s Witnesses accused the Watch

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²⁸⁰ Ibid.
²⁸² Ibid.
²⁸³ Ibid.
²⁸⁴ Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 302.
Tower Bible and Tract Society of Seoul of conspiracy to commit and committing anti-national activities to the Seoul District Prosecutor’s Office. The indictment papers stated:

The Jehovah’s Witness Church use religion as a mask to claim authority as the ‘work of Satan’ and the state administration as ‘animals’. They persuade their members not to complete conscription duty, not to pledge their allegiance to the flag, and not participate in national community services...This anti-national religious group must be punished.

Whether it is the decades of persecution, stigmatization or the criminalization of JW COs, the reasons for giving up their faith is uncertain for these former members. What is striking is the nationalist rhetoric used by them being identical to the ones used by the media and the state to “educate” the public about anti-state activities as well as social deviancy. Here, we see the full power of normality internalized by the citizenry. This case exemplifies auto-surveillance as the former Jehovah’s Witnesses goes even further by persuading the state to act upon the deviants they criminalized. These former Jehovah’s Witnesses used an extreme form of identification with the Nation to separate themselves from the negatively labeled group they were once part of.

This phenomenon of “hyperidentification” is discussed by Takshi Fujitani in his book Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II (2011). When Japanese Americans were forced into internment camps after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the JACL (Japanese American Citizens League) and individuals like Mike “Moses” Masaoka “hyperidentified” themselves with white American identity through active cooperation with US intelligence services. The JACL attempted to survey the Kibei (Japanese Americans born in the US who returned to America after receiving their education in Japan) population to determine

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286 “Yŏhowaŭi chŭngin chŏnsindodŭri kobal” [Accusations of former Jehovah's Witnesses], Chosŏn ilbo, 13 June 1986.
their loyalty and exclude those regarded unredeemable. Such data, Masaoka claimed, would be useful in “ferret[ing] out the bad in order to protect the rest of the community”. For the “redeemable” Japanese Americans, the deficiencies of their race would only be compensated by “extraordinary efforts” such as “extreme demonstrations of ‘love’ for the national community” such as military service and Masaoka’s call for a “suicide battalion” of Japanese American soldiers. Even though the critical issue of race and ethnicity is missing from the former Jehovah’s Witness case, their nationalist rhetoric reveals the former JW’s attempt to prove their social normality through hyperidentification. The denouncing of the JW Church as well as their pursuit of legal criminalization reveals how these former JWs have severed all ties to those accused of abnormality and delinquency they were formally associated with.

We also see the perpetual existence of citizens’ “reporting mentality” developed through the kanch’ŏp prevention initiative that called for “an active participation” of the citizenry in separating patriotic nationals from kanch’ŏp and “impure elements” like draft evader and Conscientious Objectors. The internalization of normality is exemplified by this method of separating one’s national identity defined by compliance and obedience, from the identity of the delinquent defined by social deviancy of the COs and kanch’ŏp.

How the immorality of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection became normalized reveals the inner working of disciplinary power. It functions as a “relational power” that is “everywhere and always alert” and as a “network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally.” In the previous section we saw how Pak’s

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288 Ibid.
289 Ibid.
290 Fujitani, Race for Empire, 187~191.
291 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 176~177.
orders in his visit to the MMA (“I will make sure that draft evaders and their families cannot live with their heads raised in this society”) literally, word by word, transferred down to Mr. Kim’s voice (“I cannot raise my face”). Normalization as a relational power is revealed by how the action and language of the accused, their inability to “hold their head up” in society transferred from Pak’s orders to the media, local conscription offices, and to the families who were incriminated alongside the draft evaders. We also see the inner workings of disciplinary power from top to bottom through how Pak’s orders to stigmatize draft evaders and their families transferred to the local governing body (local village movements to thwart draft evasion) and then internalized by the delinquent (trauma of the delinquent’s family). The trauma of the draft evader’s family as well as the resignations of the two JW CO’s father and uncle reveal how power relations work laterally. By labeling the families of draft evaders as delinquents we see actions taken by the family members to halt the draft evader or CO; and their failures resulted in their condemnation and stigmatization. We also see how power works from bottom to top through the hyperidentification of the former JWs. Not only was this an attempt to separate themselves from their former association with delinquency, by reiterating nationalist rhetoric to denounce the JW Church and pursuing legal action, we see how power “functions like a piece of machinery.”

After the implementation of the social security system, the numbers of draft evaders and Conscientious Objectors continuously dropped throughout the 1970s. In 1970, there were 34,004 draft evaders/Conscientious Objectors and by the end of the decade in 1979, there were only 13. Ultimately, even with the establishment of a national surveillance system and the massive

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292 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 177

293 Sin, 158. The biggest yearly reduction was from 1972 (12,795) to 1973 (around 900) and in 1978 there were only 12 draft evaders/COs, the lowest recorded in South Korea.
crackdown of draft evasion/Conscientious Objection, the ROK society did not achieve the goal of 100% conscription rate set by Pak. The authoritarian regime also failed to stop the Jehovah’s Witnesses from rejecting conscription even though they were heavily monitored and discriminated against with the COs themselves being heavily punished with extended sentences as well as physical and mental torture that led to some deaths. Even at the height of the surveillance system’s success in decimating the numbers of draft evaders and COs from the 1970s onward, there were at least five JW COs imprisoned in South Korea every month and every year from 1974 to 2000.  

However, as Detlev Peukert explains the inner workings and governing forces of the Nationalist Socialist system in his book *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life* (1987), “no system is capable of punishing all infringements of its norms; any attempts to do so would make the system itself freeze up.”

A 100% conscription rate would mean that there would be no labeling of draft evaders ad COs as delinquents and social deviants. It would be possible for normality to lose power and individual and private opposition to Universal Male Conscription may lead to public protest or even political resistance. Having controllable and strictly monitored delinquents in society allowed the state to “present them as close by, everywhere present and everywhere to be feared”. The continued existence of draft evaders/Conscientious Objectors as delinquents allowed the state to justify its power to control the whole population through systems of surveillance. This is precisely summed up by Foucault when he states, “Delinquency constitutes a means of perpetual surveillance of the population: an apparatus that makes it possible to supervise, through the

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296 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 286.
delinquency themselves, the whole social field. Delinquency functions as a political observatory.™

Conclusion

What the Pak regime accomplished was much greater than the 100% conscription rate. It was the redefinition and perpetuity of normality. Universal Male Conscription as well as the immorality of draft evasion and Conscientious Objection became established, solidified, and perpetuated throughout South Korean history as the social norm. “The power of the norm” became more widespread and “like surveillance and with it, normalization became one of the great instruments of power” in the modern period. It was this established norm that outlived the Pak regime to the 1980s and even passed the new millennium. The persecution of JW COs also outlasted the Pak regime and was prevalent throughout the 1980s as two more JW COs died after being forcefully conscripted. Both Kim Sŏn T'ae and Kim Yŏng Kŭn committed suicide by hanging in 1981 and 1985, but the Commission on Suspicious Deaths in the Military has concluded that their deaths have been caused by continuous mental and physical violence inflicted upon them. For example, Kim Sŏn T'ae was beaten, shoved into an oil drum, and rolled down a steep slope. The continuous existence of violence inflicted upon JW COs as well as the continued social denouncement of JWs revealed by the actions of the former JWs reveals how the immorality of Conscientious Objection as a social norm stood firm in the 1980s. It was this perpetual normality that lived on after 2001 when the JW CO described in the introduction was criticized for faking his faith in prison by other prisoners, including a church

297 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 281.
298 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 184.
300 Ibid.
elder imprisoned for fraud. As Foucault stated, “the perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short it normalizes.”301 It is this very perpetual normality that created the silence and loomed over the issue of Conscientious Objection after the end of military dictatorship and the main battleground for the activists of the Conscientious Objection Movement that started in 2001.

301 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 183.
Conclusion

Recent Developments: 1994~2013

In 1994, the additional sentencing of COs ceased to exist and the prison sentence for the violation of the Conscription Law changed to 3 years; it stayed that way until 2001 when it was lessened to 1 year and 6 months.\(^{302}\) Two trials in 2001 and 2004 challenged the Military Service Act when the defendants claimed that the law violated the Korean Constitution, citing Article 18, which provides that “all citizens shall enjoy freedom of conscience”.\(^{303}\) This was the first time the definition and context of “conscience” in the constitution was debated by state officials since the production and enactment of the Constitution in 1949, which was promptly brushed aside with the introduction of Universal Male Conscription and legalized by Pak in 1969. The court defined the conscience protected by the Constitution as “a strong and earnest voice from the heart that, in determining what is right and wrong, if not followed, would mean the collapse of an individual’s very meaning of existence, an urgent and specific conscience.”\(^{304}\) However, the courts in both trials determined that national security superseded the right of conscience protected by the Korean Constitution and an introduction of an alternative service would be recommended after a “national consensus”.\(^{305}\) Both defendants were convicted and sent to prison, however, the verdict in 2004 was overturned by the Supreme Court after Seoul District Court Judge I Chŏng Ryŏl acquitted three Jehovah’s witnesses, a first in South Korean history.\(^{306}\) Five of the six justices at the Supreme Court concluded that the introduction of alternative service as an option, however, Justice I Kang Kuk argued that the defendants were not guilty by stating,  

\(^{302}\) Kang In Ch’ŏl, "han’guksahoewa yangsimjŏk pyŏngyŏkkŏbu: yŏnggawa t’ŭksŏng", 136.
\(^{304}\) Christine Choi, "Military Conscription and Human Rights,” 168
\(^{306}\) Cho Kuk, “Conscientious objection to Military Service in Korea,” 207.
“The freedom of conscience has been sacrificed one-sidedly while the duty of military service has been completely fulfilled”.\textsuperscript{307} This was another first at the top level of the Judicial Branch in South Korea as Justice I further pointed out that the defendant was willing to do his constitutional “duty of national defense” in non-military ways, in order not to violate the legal interests of other individuals in the State community.\textsuperscript{308} 

The government also received internal and external pressure from the National Human Rights Committee and the UN Commission for Human Rights in 2005 and 2006; the latter recommended that the South Korean government should compensate previously imprisoned COs and stop imprisoning COs.\textsuperscript{309} The Ministry of Defense did submit a draft of a new law allowing alternative service in September 2007, however, the new conservative administration of President I Myŏng Pak halted the addition of alternative services on 24 Dec. 2008.\textsuperscript{310} Conscientious Objectors are still serving prison sentences today. The latest Conscientious Objector to refuse conscription was Kim Sŏng Min on 11 Nov. 2013, who became a CO in objection to the permeation of militarization and hierarchization in everyday life of South Korean Society.\textsuperscript{311} In his testimony for the cause of Conscientious Objection, Kim starts off by stating how he was told to “set up a militaristic atmosphere (kun'girŭl chabara)” when leading a youth group at a church retreat and he could not partake in the “barracks” life normalized in society.\textsuperscript{312}

\textsuperscript{307} Cho Kuk, “Conscientious objection to Military Service in Korea,” 171 
\textsuperscript{308} Cho Kuk, “Conscientious objection to Military Service in Korea,” 174 
\textsuperscript{309} "Conscientious Objection in South Korea," War Resisters’ International and Korea Solidarity for Conscientious Objection, 8 
\textsuperscript{310} "Conscientious Objection in South Korea," 10. 
\textsuperscript{312} Ibid.
For the Jehovah’s Witnesses, after 75 years of persecution and more than 17,000 JW COs serving prison sentences, optimistic changes have began to be implemented by the government. After a meeting between the representatives of Jehovah’s Witnesses and a high-ranking official in the South Korean Correctional Services in 2012, a relief measure for the imprisoned COs was agreed upon. Within five months of the meeting, more than 70 percent of JW CO inmates were separated from the general prison population and placed in cells with fellow JW COs. This most recent development is a momentous event because JW COs are being separated from ordinary criminals, countering the actions of the Pak regime in labeling the JWs as no different from the worst criminals in society.

**Perpetual Normality of Universal Male Conscription**

Perpetual norms of militarism and conscription completion established and solidified during the Pak regime have been and are very much alive to this day in South Korea. The rhetoric of “sacred duty of national defense” and the denouncement of conscription corruption have continuously been used during the civilian governments of the 1990s. While the Pak regime defined the equalized duty of mandatory conscription as Administrative Democracy’s preparation for democracy, Universal Male Conscription in the same context have been used to define the civilian government’s role in promoting the same democracy for which the Pak regime have been supposedly preparing the ROK for.

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314 Ibid.
315 Ibid.
316 Kang In Hwa, "Han'guksahoeŭi pyŏngyŏkkŏbu undongŭl t'ong hae pon namsŏngsŏng yŏn'gu" [Study of Masculinity through the Conscientious Objection Movement of South Korean Society], Master's Thesis, Ewha Womans University, 2007, 24.
Conscription equality was promoted through the negative media portrayal of high-profiled individuals who have been associated with conscription corruption ever since the 1990s. One famous case is that of I Hoe Ch'ang, a nominee in the presidential election of 1997 and 2002. After his son was accused of conscription corruption as he was exempted from military service due to him being underweight, his reputation and popularity dropped and many suspect that this is the cause of his consecutive failures in elections.\(^{317}\) The legacy of I Hoe Ch'ang is that politicians and high-ranking officials present their anti-conscription corruption stance and proof of military service of their family members. Another case was that of Yu Sung Chun, an extremely popular singer and celebrity. In 2002, after announcing numerous times through media outlets and talk shows that he will fulfill the “sacred duty of national defense”, Yu flew to the U.S and received American Citizenship.\(^{318}\) Yu has been banned from entering South Korea ever since and notoriously portrayed as a public enemy by the media. Even now, 12 years after Yu’s draft evasion, online news sites and internet portal sites in South Korea are filled with articles and debates about Yu’s actions, his current status, and whether he should be allowed to return to South Korea or not. There were also numerous cases throughout the late 1990s and 2000s of singers, police officers, professional athletes who have been caught, charged, and punished with for draft evasion or conscription corruption.\(^{319}\) The media portrayal of conscription corruption and draft evasion committed by these privileged, upper class individuals have been presented to again promote conscription equality as well as ending draft evasion and conscription corruption and unfairness of military services. In the end, what remains intact is the perpetual normality of Universal Male Conscription.

\(^{317}\) Kang In Hwa, “Han’guksaehoe’ui pyŏngyŏkkŏbu undongul t’ong hae pon namsŏngsŏng yŏn’gu’”, 25.

\(^{318}\) “Yusŭngjun h’ŭk ‘modŭn kŏl marhal kihoega itchi anke’n’nŭn’ga’” [Yu’s side, ‘Maybe there will be a chance to tell the full story’], Donga Ilbo, 15 Nov. 2007.

\(^{319}\) “I Hoe Ch’ang pyŏngp’unge munŏjigo...Yu Sung Jun p’adonge kungmindŭl tŭngdollyŏ” [Citizens negatively respond to I Hoe Ch’ang and Yu Sung Jun], Segye Ilbo. 28 May 2013.
One of the more recent cases was that of MC Mong (Sin Tong Hyŏn), a rapper and celebrity in South Korea who was accused of draft evasion by self-inflicted bodily harm. He was accused of intentionally having a dentist remove multiple back teeth. However, Sin was cleared of all charges except for delaying conscription without valid reasons in which he served 120 hours of community service and was under house arrest for one year.\(^{320}\) Even though Sin claimed that he would still want to complete his conscription duties, the current military service law does not allow individuals over the age of 30 to be conscripted (Sin is currently 33).\(^{321}\) Since then, Sin has halted all activities and remained quiet as he fears backlashes from the media and the public. One article claimed that “MC Mong’s innocence has been proven in the courts, but his moral innocence has not been proven in the mainstream public”.\(^{322}\) It has been more than 40 years since the establishment of Universal Male Conscription as ‘moral righteousness’ and its continuous existence as a social norm is again revealed.

“Going to Kundae (military)” is a common topic of conversation in South Korea from lighthearted discussion of future plans with friends at pubs to small talks with taxi drivers on the way to work. Conversations about hopes of “not going to Kundae” are as prevalent, however, is always silenced and brushed aside. The state has always directed the distress, fear, and anger of men away by creating, labeling, and stigmatizing those who are considered a threat to the socially normalized Universal Male Conscription. For the persecuted Conscientious Objectors, recent events have positively reinforced the hope for the introduction of alternative services. While the criminalization of Conscientious Objection has been put to a halt with democratization and the introduction of the civilian government, the solidification of Universal Male

\(^{320}\) “Conviction of MC Mong upheld at high court”, Korea Times, 16 Nov. 2011.
\(^{321}\) “MC Mong ruled unable to be enlisted”, Korea Times, 28 June 2011.
\(^{322}\) “Puŏngyŏkpŏp wiban mujoe MC Mong, taejungegen ajik yujoeda” [MC Mong, not guilty of violating the conscription law, still guilty to the public], Sports Seoul, 11 April 2011.
Conscription has never been fully challenged and Universal Male Conscription as a perpetual norm has continued to exist ever since the 1970s. Thus, the true power of normalization is explicitly exemplified through the unfa ltering nature of Universal Male Conscription throughout the history of the Republic of Korea.
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