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MILITARY BAND MUSICIANS ON THE BORDER:
CROSSING OVER MUSICAL GENRES
IN THE TRANSNATIONAL SPACE OF THE KOREAN WAR

BY

HEEJIN KIM

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Gabriel Solis, Chair
Professor Nancy Abelmann
Professor Jeffrey Magee
Professor Thomas Turino

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines Korean War period music and explains the musical encounters and developments that resulted from the military collaboration between South Korea (the Republic of Korea) and the United States in the initial stage of the Cold War. In particular, this dissertation looks closely at South Korean military band musicians who played a wide range of music for both military and civilian audiences, crossing over the national and cultural borders between the two countries. Locating their experiences within the South Korean and US military music systems and more broadly within their socio-cultural, historical, and transnational context, I demonstrate that military agents played a significant role as cultural agents in initiating and accelerating transnational musical flow and travels and in shaping musicultural developments in South Korea. These discussions are based on data collected through in-depth interviews with musicians who were active during the Korean War and through archival research both in South Korea and in the US. The analyses of this data are combined with analyses of selected military marches and popular songs written or played in South Korea from 1950 to 1961; they are further interpreted within a conceptual framework based on theories of transnationalism and hybridization and in relation to Korean nationalism. During the Korean War, South Korean military musicians composed and performed Korean military marches as part of the musical nationalism of the South Korean state, while still embracing transnational march forms and practices. During this initial stage of South Korean military march development, the military musicians frequently played John Philip Sousa's marches rather than their own. Despite their different points of origin both the limited Korean marches and the readily available Sousa marches were remarkably flexible in their ideological functions, able to be employed for both nationalist and transnational politics within the Cold War context. Simultaneously, a dynamic

hybridization process in South Korean popular music developed during the Korean War period through encounters with the US military and their music, spurred by the preference for diverse musical expressions and grounded on the compatibility with the historical dimensions of the transnational musicultural formations in Korea and with the ideological and socio-cultural dimensions of 1950s South Korean society.

For my Parents

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NOTES ON TRANSLATION AND METHODS OF TRANSLITERATION

All translations from Korean are by the author. In the cases in which books and articles published in the Korean language have an English translation of the title as well as their Korean title, the English title of the publication is added in the list of Works Cited enclosed by brackets next to this author's translation of the title.

Korean words are Romanized in this dissertation using the McCune-Reischauer system. Most of the Korean names in this dissertation are written using the McCune-Reischauer, but there are exceptions. Korean last names that have their conventional spellings appear in this dissertation in the conventional Romanization. Korean authors' names written in English in their publications appear in this dissertation just as they are Romanized in their own publications. One author's name is Romanized using both the McCune-Reischauer system and an exceptional way in the citations and in the list of Works Cited, and the two different spellings are put next to each other with the second one in brackets: Lee, Paekch'ŏn [Lee, Baik-chun]. His name Paekch'ŏn Lee in the McCune-Reischauer appears in the main text as one of the veteran military musicians, appearing like other veteran musicians' names. However, his article published in the English language has a different Romanization. Therefore in the list of Works Cited and the citations in the text I put both spellings. Similarly, the following three composers' names are Romanized using the McCune-Reischauer system, with different spellings that appear in published sources added in brackets: Ikt'ae An [Eak-Tai Ahn], Unyŏng Na [Un-Yung, La], and Chongŏk Woo [Jong Uek Woo]. One song title is also Romanized in the McCune-Reischauer system and additionally in the way the title is widely known internationally: Kangnam Style [Gangnam Style].

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Historical Context and Research Problems

The musical effects of the Korean War live on today in South Korea (The Republic of Korea, the ROK). Indeed, in a 2010 commemoration of the sixty-year anniversary of the outbreak of the war, ROK and foreign military bands, including one from the United States, performed throughout South Korea, marching in the streets and playing music in concerts and at governmental and military ceremonies. From June 23 to June 25, three ROK military bands representing the ROK Army, Navy, and Air Force gave three concerts to audiences of thousands at Chŏnjaeng Kinyŏmgwan (The War Memorial of Korea). This concert series included a joint concert offered by an ROK military band and the 8th US Army Band, which has been stationed in South Korea without interruption since the 1950s. This collaborative concert offered an audio and visual representation of the continuing military alliance between the two countries. Three months later, on September 28, 2010, the ROK and US military bands appeared again in a marching event in downtown Seoul to commemorate the restoration of Seoul from the communist North Korean military sixty years earlier, along with other military bands from an additional eight countries that participated in the Korean War. This marching event attracted many passers-by and was televised nationwide along with the Seoul Restoration Commemoration Ceremony, in which ROK military bands offered ceremonial music. The centrality of musical performances by military bands during these commemoration events speaks to the importance of music and military bands' performances to the politics of the Korean War in the 1950s.

Roughly a year before these events in South Korea, a commemoration of the 56th year of the Korean War Armistice was held on July 26, 2009 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., directly next to the United States War Memorial. This event was hosted by a civilian organization in the US, and US veterans from the Korean War attended the event. For the veterans, that year's commemoration was especially meaningful. Just three days earlier, US President Barack Obama had acknowledged the historical significance of the veterans' participation in the Korean War, often labeled "the Forgotten War" in the US. The President also proclaimed July 27, 2009 National Korean War Veterans Armistice Day.¹ During this commemoration, a recorded thank-you message was played, including remarks from the Wonder Girls, a famous South Korean pop music group and their manager Jinyōng Park, also a well-known singer in South Korea and director of JYP Entertainment. At the time that their messages were delivered to the veterans, Park and the Wonder Girls were simultaneously trying to break into the US popular music market. Their musical travels across national borders at the time of this commemoration bears a fortuitous resemblance to the movement of music and musicians across the national and cultural borders between South Korea and the US during the Korean War in the 1950s.²

This dissertation explores the diverse musical border crossings that developed around military bases in South Korea during the Korean War period in the 1950s and the complex

¹ President Obama called upon "all Americans to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities that honor and give thanks to our distinguished Korean War veterans," and asked "Federal departments and agencies and interested groups, organizations, and individuals to fly the flag of the United States at half-staff on July 27, 2009, in memory of the Americans who died as a result of their service in Korea" (Pamphlet of the 2nd Annual Armistice Day Commemoration & Peace Vigil).

² Of course the Korean War continues not only in this figurative sense of commemoration events but also in the literal military sense because the Armistice Agreement in 1953 was not followed by any comprehensive peace treaty. In fact, the military tension between South Korea and North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the DPRK) heightened recently due to the Ch'ōnanham Incident and the Yōnp'yōngdo Incident in 2010. Upon the outbreak of these incidents, the ROK and the US, which have been in a military alliance since the 1950s, took joint military and political actions.

transnational context in which those border crossings took place, focusing on ROK military band members' musical experiences inside and outside of their military bands. The 1950s was the period in which the Korean War broke out and battles and subsequent reconstruction processes dominated South Koreans' lives; this was also the period when military music, both South Korean and American, most deeply and variously affected South Koreans' musical lives. This dissertation investigates the significance of the ROK and US military music operations during the Korean War era within the general music culture of South Korea in the 1950s. While the military music organizations were operating to fulfill their military goals of accompanying the military events and supporting the troops and citizens, they unwittingly played an important role in fostering musical resources in South Korea and enhancing musical exchanges that crisscrossed the boundaries between the military and the civilian and between the South Korean and American cultural zones. Wars commonly create musical dynamics and exchanges, if only due to the movement of people involved in the war processes. This dissertation not only speaks to the history and music of the Korean War, but it is also a case study that newly illuminates the cross-culturally prevalent phenomena of musical encounters and developments connected to war processes and power relations.

To understand the significance of the military music during the Korean War in the development of South Korean music culture, it is crucial to have a general picture of the Korean War. A civil and international war that broke out on June 25, 1950 and ceased with an armistice agreement on July 27, 1953, the Korean War was the first "hot war" of what has come to be known as the Cold War. The international war that involved South and North Korea and an additional twenty-one UN countries on the South Korean side and two countries on the North Korean side was extremely fierce, impacting approximately 80 percent of the Korean land

(Kukpangbu Chönsa P'yöneh'an Wiwönhoe 1986, 109). During the three years between the outbreak of the war and the armistice agreement, a total of 1,269,349 South Koreans participated in the war as military personnel, and about ten percent of the entire Korean population — both military and civilian Koreans — was killed, injured, or declared missing during the three year battle period (Stuek 2002, 1).³

Among the UN participants, the US presence in the war was particularly remarkable. For example, the Commander of the US Far Eastern Command took over the position of the Supreme Commander of the UN forces, and US ground forces made up approximately ninety percent of the non-Korean UN ground forces (Finley 1983, 82). Altogether 1,789,000 US military personnel were deployed to Korea during the three year battle period (Kukpangbu Kunsap'yöneh'an Yönguso [Nam] 2002, 324).

The scale and degree of the war's impact on non-military Korean citizens was truly deep and far reaching. Because the war front moved widely during the conflict — starting at the 38th Parallel, sweeping along most of the South Korean territory down to the southwest coast, rolling up near the northern border of North Korea, and reaching back to the middle of the Korean land at the time of the armistice agreement — most Koreans directly experienced the war, not only as soldiers but also as refugees, kidnapped civilians, relocated families, families of drafted soldiers, and others who were living in the areas through which the war front was moving. Even though the Korean War is categorized as a “limited war” in international military history in the sense that it was contained within the Korean land and did not expand to become the third world war, it was not a limited war from the perspective of Koreans. The war directly affected and pervasively threatened the everyday lives of most Koreans.

³ Different sources provide different estimations. For example, see Hakchun Kim (2003, 390).

Given that the Korean War so deeply and directly affected most South Koreans' lives, this dissertation asks: In what ways did the music of the war affect Koreans' musical lives? Moreover, since the US military took the central role in the participation of the UN forces and since the scale of the US participation was so large, I hope to answer the following question: What was the impact of US military music as well as ROK military music on the musical lives of South Koreans? This dissertation documents details of the military music operations of both the ROK and the US militaries, ROK military band musicians' experiences, and musical changes in military and popular music in South Korea in the 1950s. Beyond simple documentation, I argue that South Korean and US military personnel in charge of military music operations during this period can be seen as significant cultural agents. They catalyzed new musical formations in South Korea, facilitating and participating in various types of ensembles and activities, crossing personal, geographic, political, and cultural borders, and ultimately drawing upon the otherwise abysmal experiences of the war for the foundation of many of their musical, personal, and cultural values.

Transnational Musicultural Developments in South Korea during the Korean War Period

I examine the Korean War period in the 1950s as one critical juncture in the reconfiguration of transnational musicultural developments in South Korea, paying attention to the aspects of the developments that intertwined with the nationalist agendas of the ROK and the US as well as transnational Cold War politics.⁴ Transnational processes have become a focal point of study in academia and a daily concern among the general public since the late 20th century in response to the markedly increasing flows of people, information, commodities, and

⁴ I use the term "musicultural," inspired by Michael Bakan (2007, xx–xxi), who used the term "musiculture," and Gabriel Solis (2010, 300), who used the term "music-culture." I adopt this term because of its capacity to denote various aspects of music in relation to peoples' lives and societies.

cultural forms and practices across national borders, accelerated by the development of capitalism, transnational organizations, and media and transportation technologies.

Michael Kearney suggests that transnational processes correspond to the political, economic, and sociocultural ordering of late capitalism that has been happening since the mid-twentieth century (1991, 57). James Clifford stretches the timeline back to the beginning of the 20th century, considering “the continuing legacies of empire, the effects of unprecedented world wars, and the global consequences of industrial capitalism’s disruptive, restructuring activity” as main causes for the empowerment of the transcultural developments (1997, 6–7). Cristina Szanton Blanc, Linda Basch, and Nina Glick Shiller look even further back, arguing for the consideration of 19th century colonialization and imperialism as crucial factors for the development of transnational processes (1995, 686). A more extensively historical perspective is found in Roland Robertson’s delineation of the historical development of transnational processes up to the present level of high density and complexity (1990). He points to the period from the 1870s to the mid-1920s as “the take-off phase” of transnational processes, but according to him “the germinal phase” of the history had already begun in the early fifteenth century and proceeded to the next phases,⁵ conditioned by the development of “national societies and the system of international relations” and “conceptions of individuals and humankind” (26–27). In sum, different scholars with different perspectives point to different time periods regarding the unfolding of transnational processes, but what I am interested in is a premise shared by these scholars that transnational processes are not new although they often seem as if they were very recent phenomena (Foner 1997, 355).

⁵ Roland Robertson proposed five phases of globalization: the germinal phase (in Europe from the early fifteenth until the mid-eighteenth century), the incipient phase (mainly in Europe from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1870s), the take-off phase (from the 1870s until the mid-1920s), the struggle-for-hegemony phase (from the early-1920s until the mid-1960s), and the uncertainty phase (from the 1960s to the early 1990s, the point in time when he published this discussion on the phases of globalization) (26–27).

Besides Robertson, scholars such as Anthony Giddens (1987, 263–64), Anthony D. Smith (1995, viii), and Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo (1998, 7–9) have pointed out the close relationship between the unfolding of transnational processes and the development of nation-states, a claim different from Appadurai's (1996, 9) and Kearney's (1991, 55) assertions that transnational processes emerged as “post-national” phenomena. In strong concert with my own perspective are Ludger Pries's ideas about the overall trajectory of the historical development of transnational processes. According to Pries, “transnational relations and transnational practices have existed since the very beginning of such social artifacts as nations, states and national societies” (2008, 2). In the same vein, Peter Jackson, Philip Crang, and Claire Dwyer asserted: “the nation-state continues to play a key role in defining the terms in which transnational processes are played out” (2004, 4).

I strongly agree that the development of transnational processes has as long a history as the development of nation-states, and I regard the late 20th and the early 21st centuries' transnational processes as only one stage in the longer historical development of these processes, distinguished from previous stages by their increased scale, degree, intensity, and size, as well as the involvement of additional processes and dynamics, such as new communication technologies (Foner 1997, 356; Guarnizo and Smith 4; Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer 2005, 11; Pries 2001, 23–24). Also, I agree that nationalism and nation-states are key components for the understanding of transnational processes. In addition, it is necessary to point out that phases of transnational processes can manifest in different ways at different locations that have different historical contexts.

From this perspective on transnational processes, I look into music during the Korean War period in the 1950s, considering the actions of the South Korean and American state

apparatuses that were realized through the agency of the military organizations and also considering the actions of individuals who participated in the military organizations and simultaneously took their own personal actions against the backdrop of the major shifts in power relations in the initial stage of the Cold War. Already in 1945 the entry of the USSR and the US forces into Korea, respectively north and south of the 38th Parallel, as occupation forces after their defeat of Japan in World War II, signaled that the Korean land had become highly vulnerable in the ideological confrontation between the two opposing sectors of the Cold War. At that time in Korea, different Korean political groups with different ideological orientations were also competing to capture nationwide political leadership, and the USSR and the US interventions combined with these ideological conflicts within Korea, which heightened the political tensions in the country. This ideological rivalry eventually transformed into destructive battles between the capitalist alliance and the communist alliance in the Korean War. Thomas Turino, although using a different term (cosmopolitanism), pointed out that we could identify various levels and scales of transnational formations in historical contexts, for example, the “modernist-capitalist” and “the modernist-socialist,” among others (2000, 9–10). Capitalist and socialist transnational formations collided on Korean soil during the initial stage of the Cold War in the mid-20th century. The intent of this dissertation is to explain the significant musical elements of that collision and to consider their consequences for music in South Korea within the transnational capitalist formation in the 1950s in confrontation with the communist DPRK military and its allies.

In this political and military context, the rivalry between the ROK and the DPRK made Korean nationalism complicated, and the relationship between the ROK and the US was strengthened and thickened through governmental and military collaborations. Although the

ROK military and the US military were organizationally separate as a state apparatus of each country, the international military collaboration actually caused an operational mix or composite of the two militaries, and, subsequently, numerous and diverse musical exchanges occurred in support of the war effort in and around these military operations, crossing the borderlines between the ROK and the US and creating a transnational musicultural space.

The Transnational Musicultural Space of the Korean War

Inspired by scholars in transnational studies who developed the notion of transnational space or transnational social space (Bittner, Hackenbroich, and Calkins 2007; Faist 2004 b; Pries 2001, 2008; Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer 2004), I use a conceptual framework, “the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War,” in order to explain the diverse musical travels that arose during the military collaboration between the ROK and the US and their ramifications for the musicultural developments in South Korea. I define the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War, specifically for this research focused on the ROK and US side, as the social space in which US and South Korean institutional and human agents arranged and made musical activities and exchanges during this military collaboration, in interaction with the ideological, economic and cultural forces involved in the Korean War and the broader Cold War, which encompassed and affected both military and non-military music sectors.



Figure 1-1 The Transnational Musicultural Space of the Korean War (focusing on the ROK and the US Collaboration)

I find this framework useful in revealing the transnational characteristics of musicultural development during the Korean War within the Cold War context in a comprehensive and relational way. Using this framework, I foreground the actors and their actions; I explain flows of music in connection with the actors and their actions; I identify the impact of geopolitical and cultural forces; and I illuminate the relations among all these components.

This transnational musicultural space of the Korean War is not static, since it comprises actions and processes. A wide range of actors are a main component of the theoretical concept of transnational social spaces (Jackson, Crang and Dwyer 2004, i), and Guarnizo and Smith emphasize the importance of identifying agency in transnational studies (1998, 29). Perhaps most relevant to my own use of the concept of a transnational space that entails actions of agents over time is Thomas Faist’s statement that “relativist accounts of social space go beyond a purely physical viewpoint that would look at the placement and relationship of ‘bodies’ in space. This

space encompasses ‘action,’ a sphere conventionally attributed to ‘time’” (2004 a, 760–63). With agents and their actions comprising it, the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War entails not only the spatial but also the temporal dimension. Focusing on the ROK and US military organizations as institutional agents and ROK military musicians as important, although not the only, individual human agents, I examine their music-related actions across time at the core of the military music operations and in the broader musicultural developments within this space.

I look into the military music organizations’ and musicians’ actions as military and musicultural processes, emphasizing how they exercised their agency while positioned within the power structure that emerged from the ROK and US military collaboration and within the dynamics of the ideological and economic forces that served as the backdrop for the developing Cold War. As scholars in transnational studies have pointed out, agents in a transnational space perform their actions in positional relations with other elements of this space (Pries 2001, 21) and within the dynamics of power relations and asymmetries of domination in it (Faist 2004, 6; Smith and Guarnizo 1998, 6, 29).⁶ When the Korean War broke out, it was only two years after the establishment of the ROK government after the liberation of Korea from Japanese imperial invasion. The ROK military was in its early formative stage without significant musical and human resources to organize its military music system. In contrast, the US was emerging as a superpower in the capitalist world. It had already established an extensive military system that stretched beyond its territorial border through its participation in the two world wars and had developed an elaborate military music system, particularly during World War II, backed by the

⁶ Border crossings occur “in the exercise of state power, in which no two states are equal (Donnan and Wilson, 16). According to John Tomlinson and Jan Neverdeen Pieterse, cultural hybridization processes also operate in close connection with political and economic power relations (Tomlinson 1999, 144–47; Nederveen Pieterse 2004, 108).

country's financial and cultural power.⁷ Its participation in the Korean War was another military action by the US toward the expansion of its power in world politics at the dawn of the Cold War (Gardner, 2000). The ROK's goal to win over the communists of the DPRK was combined with its nationalist goal to unify all Koreans within its capitalist state system. Under the military and political conditions of the war within the context of the Cold War, however, the nationalist goal of the ROK had to be pursued in collaboration with the US, one of the superpowers in the Cold War. The flow of music and musical travels within this transnational musicultural space of the Korean War would find its path within the dynamics of power relations between the ROK and the US, intertwined with their respective nationalist goals as well as their united ideological and military confrontation against the communist DPRK and its allies.

The ROK and the US militaries together established a border against the communist DPRK, but within this capitalist alliance borderline, different sorts of boundaries were produced that surrounded the US military dispatched to South Korea. The US military established its own military system in South Korea, and the US military camps stationed in South Korea were extensions of the military borders of the US as a superpower within the developing Cold War. These US military border areas, geographically located within the ROK territory, were the foundation on which dynamic musical border crossings would be built. Seen from the perspective of the "contact approach," the US military border areas inserted in South Korea gained "a paradoxical centrality" (Clifford 1997, 7), with diverse personal contacts and musical interactions between South Koreans and US military personnel occurring in and around these

⁷ For example, as of October 1944 the US Army distributed approximately 20,000 *Hit Kit* packages (popular song materials) to its personnel within the US territory and shipped approximately 63,000 packages overseas; before 1945 the US Army and the Navy monthly distributed approximately 13,000 packages of twenty records known as V-discs to their personnel, or "a grand total of more than a quarter of a million phonograph records" (Kendall 1945, 142). According to Capt. M. Claude Rosenberry, ninety per cent of the US Army's V-disc distribution was for its personnel overseas (1944, 19).

areas.⁸ These US military border areas were “central” in another sense because the music resources flowed from these areas to the South Korean cultural zones through various contacts and interactions. The direction of the musical flows and impact reflected and accentuated the asymmetry in the dynamics of power relations between the ROK and the US within the military collaboration structure.

These musical border crossings had multidimensional aspects because the state/national borders intersected with the two other dimensions of border-crossings that I identify as being generally associated with military music: genre-crossing and crossing civilian/military borders. Gloria Anzaldúa argues that border crossings exist at various levels and consist of various types, not only territorial but also cultural, social, political, sexual, racial or psychological (2007). Border crossings can potentially occur wherever the mechanisms for the construction of demarcation reside, be it geographical or conceptual.

Whereas we typically compartmentalize various music types (Merriam 1964, 211), making distinctions about the aesthetics and practices of each type, these distinctions are subject to the notion of functionality in military music. Military music, as several scholars discussed (For example, see Camus 1975, 3–6; Graham 2005, 34; Kendall 1945, 141), serves diverse military goals – assisting military and governmental ceremonies, promoting the core values of the military and the state, boosting militant spirits on the one hand, and providing emotional stability on the other. In order to pursue these diverse military goals, military music embraces and consolidates diverse music types, from military marches and patriotic songs to classical and popular music. In addition, during war time, the border crossings between the military and the

⁸ James Clifford wrote, “When borders gain paradoxical centrality, margins, edges and lines of communication emerge as complex maps and histories” (1997, 7). Renato Rosaldo also pointed out that border areas “should be regarded not as analytically empty transitional zones but as sites of creative cultural production that require investigation” (1989, 208).

civilian escalate not only through the utilization of civilian music but also through the means of mobilization, conscription, and voluntary participation of civilians for war efforts. With the combination of genre crossing and civil/military border crossings, the musical travels that crossed national borders between the ROK and the US through military collaboration reached a level that even bridged the US and ROK popular music domains. The travels of musicians and flows of music across multidimensional borderlines resulted in an influx of US popular music as well as US military marches into South Korea.

My interest is in examining these diverse types of border crossings that occurred in this transnational musicultural space, with a focus on both military marches and popular music. I consider the importance of military marches as musical representations of the militaries and the states and the importance of popular music as an extension of the military music repertory that represents the broadest range of border crossings within this space. I examine portions of South Korean military marches and popular songs in order to explain the musical hybridization processes as an extension of the border crossing processes, considering the ideological, economic, and cultural forces that penetrated this space.

For a better understanding of the hybridization processes, a broader scope of historical perspective may be necessary. John Tomlinson, introducing Renato Rosaldo's explanation of his two perspectives about hybridity, the "original purity" position and the "hybridity all the way down" position, preferred the latter, i.e. the perspective that hybridity is "the ongoing condition of all human culture" (1999, 143). The idea that encounters, interactions, and hybridizations across borderlines are fundamental in cultural history is repeated in Jan Naderveen Pieterse's and Brian Ross's works. Naderveen Pieterse regards cultural history as layers of hybridity (2004,

100).⁹ Brian Ross writes, “There are after all no ‘pure’ individuals, no ‘pure’ cultures, no ‘pure’ genres. All things are of necessity ‘hybrid.’ Of course we can construct them to be relatively ‘pure,’ and in fact we do so, which is precisely how we manage to get (new) hybrids from purebreds that are (former) hybrids” (1999, 266–67). Ross, making an analogy to biological hybrids, provided a “hybridity cycle” model to explain the continuous process of hybridization in cultural history. In the history of cultural hybridization, according to Ross, a hybrid form comes to be regarded as “more legitimate” and “purer” and finally “pure” through adaptation to the cultural environment over time in a society. Then, being considered as a legitimate cultural form, it is named and begins “mating” with different forms that are regarded as “purebreds.” He thinks that this is “the end of the cycle” and that another cycle begins with the birth of a new hybrid form (265–66).

Despite the focus on the ongoing nature of the processes of hybridization, this “hybrid cycle” model suggests that each cycle is closed or completed before the next cycle starts, somewhat projecting an image of disjuncture between cycles and without fully representing Ross’s ideas about the continuing processes of hybridization. Therefore, building upon this model of a “cycle of hybridity” and incorporating Pieterse’s idea of “layered hybridity” and Rosaldo’s idea of “hybridity all the way down,” I propose a spiral model of hybridization in order to shed a stronger light on the continuity through multiple cycles of hybridization, which resonates with Andrew Sutton’s theoretical perspectives on cultural hybridity (2010; 2012).

⁹ Pieterse added, “if we accept that cultures have been hybrid all along, hybridization is in effect a tautology: contemporary accelerated globalization means the hybridization of hybrid cultures” (82).

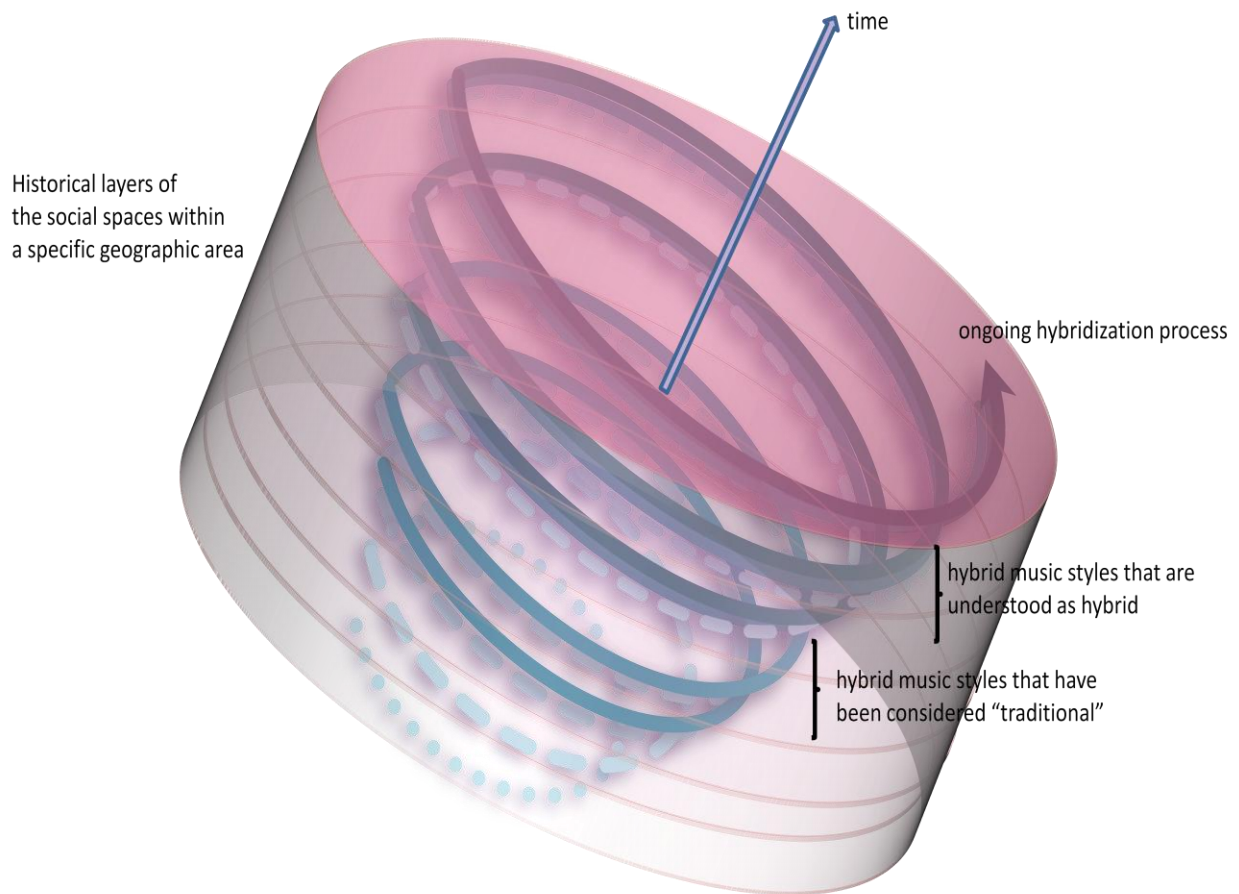


Figure 1-2 Spiral Model of Hybridization

In this model, cycles of hybridization accumulate as layers as time moves on and more and more encounters and interactions happen across borderlines. Musical characteristics in one layer may continue in the next layer primarily in new combinations with new elements, and, additionally, by the efforts to preserve specific musical forms as “traditional” cultural forms. Therefore, it is unlikely that one cycle completely discontinues — one cycle turns into another cycle of hybridization, and in this way layers of cycles connect to each other, expanding the overall scope and increasing the complexity of the whole. Explained in reverse order from the present to the past, one layer of hybrid music styles is rooted in its former layer, which

developed from its own former layer. In a society, people tend to define certain musical styles and forms as “traditional,” but these styles and forms that are considered “traditional” may be preceded by other styles and forms from which “the traditional” grew but that are not as well recognized as the layer of “the traditional.”

The historical accumulation of hybrid music forms and styles occurs in interaction with the social, cultural, and economic conditions of the social spaces in different historical periods, so that the historical development of the social spaces also becomes important in the understanding of hybrid music forms and styles. In this regard, Bittner, Haackenbroich, and Öc kler’s idea of the stacks of social spaces in time deserves attention. They pointed out that transnational spaces are not solely the matter of spatial expansion through multiple areas, but that they are characterized “even more” by the “stacks” of multiple layers of spaces historically accumulated within the same geographical area (2007, 21).

Learning from these scholars’ ideas about the historical dimension of hybridization and transnational spaces, I explain how the new hybrid types of South Korean popular music were developed from existing South Korean popular music by incorporating new elements taken from the music from the US that flowed into South Korea via the US military’s music circuit, and how the development relates not only to the trans-Pacific cultural flows that accompanied the military collaboration between the ROK and the US during the Korean War, but also to the multiple musicultural formations in South Korea from previous decades, tracing back to the late 19th century. The development of the new hybrid types in the 1950s can be better explained when we also consider: 1) the transnational flows of music to Korea that accompanied Western (including American) imperial powers’ reach to Korea in the late 19th century, and the transnational musicultural formation in Korea since then with which the flows of music from the US during

the Korean War period were compatible in regards to the idioms of Western tonal music and tonal harmony; and 2) the transnational musicultural formation during the Japanese imperial occupation period from the early 20th century that is characterized by the mixture of the idioms of Japanese music and the musical idioms and instrumentations from Europe and the US, which had accordingly built up the previously mentioned formation since the late 19th century and simultaneously inserted a discrepant musical language on top. The hybridization processes in South Korean popular music during the 1950s can be better understood when we consider the accumulation of the transnational musicultural formations in Korea as well as the various forces interacting in the space of the Korean War, such as the Cold War ideology, the war economy, the anti-Japanism of the post-colonial period, and the pursuit of “the modern” in South Korea.

This insight into the historical dimension of hybridization and transnational spaces are also useful for the understanding of the Korean War period military march history. South Korean military and non-military musicians/composers made efforts to create Koreans’ own military marches during the Korean War period in the 1950s. ROK military bands were formed in the typical European/American military band instrumentation, and in order to compose Korean marches for this type of ROK military bands, the march composers adopted the typical European/American military march format. However, one of the common practices for the march composition was to combine existing Korean song melodies with this march format, Korean melodies that were reformulated in the aforementioned musicultural development during the first half of the 20th century. For instance, Korean folk songs were already transforming, fused with idioms of tonal music before the Korean War, and this type of hybrid music was recreated into another type of hybrid music, Korean military marches, within the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War.

Literature Review

There are no publications yet that comprehensively discuss Korean War period music, but different aspects of the music have been described or analyzed by a variety of writers, although the number of publications in this area is still limited. The literature falls into two basic categories: first, literature published by military institutions; and, second, writing about the Korean War or about the 1950s found in music history books and other types of historical overviews, and scholarly or journalistic articles and book chapters. Focused scholarly discussions on Korean War period music or 1950s music have been gradually increasing during the most recent ten or so years, particularly concentrated on popular music.

There were only a few books published by the ROK military that describe the military music operations during the Korean War in the 1950s, but they are crucial resources in providing primary information for my investigation. One of the most notable publications in this category is *Yukkun Kunaksa* (The Military Music History of the ROK Army) (Yukkunbonbu 1980). This is the earliest publication solely dedicated to a description of ROK military music. However, despite what the title indicates, this book is not a history of military music in the ROK Army in general, but a history of the army band organization. Such a focus indicates the centrality of the military bands within the military music of the army, which resonates with my work that focuses on veteran military band musicians as a crucial group for the investigation of military music during the Korean War. Descriptions of military music operations other than the army bands' operations within the ROK Army during the 1950s are included in two chapters of *Chŏnghun Osimnyŏnsa* (The Fifty-Year History of ROK Troop Information and Education) (Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghun'gamsil 2000, 111–550). In these chapters, military music is described as a part of the

diverse military operations that aimed to achieve military goals by affecting the ideas and feelings of the people. The ROK Army published another book about its military bands: *Yukkun Kunak Ch'angsöl Yuksimnyōn Hwabojip* (A Photo Album of the Sixty-Year History of the ROK Army Band Organization) (Yukkunbonbu 2007). Included in this book are many images of ROK military bands marching through the streets with citizens as their audience and images of the bands' indoor and outdoor concerts. This photo book, together with the 1980 history, provides visual evidence for the dynamic musical interactions between the military and the civilian spheres during and soon after the battle period.

Konggun Kunaksa (The Military Music History of the ROK Air Force) (Konggun Yōksa Kirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008) is the most exceptional among the South Korean military music histories published so far in its scope and details, but the portions on the 1950s are scattered across different chapters. This book adopts interviews as an important part of its methodology for documenting the early history of the Air Force Band. Publications by military institutions often rely on the memories of those who worked at the core of the military organizations during the war due to the lack of sufficient documentation for a comprehensive understanding of wartime military music operations (Kukkunbangsong [Kukkunbangsong 50-nyōnsa P'yōnch'anwiwōnhoe] 2004; Yukkunbonbu 1980; Yukkunbonbu Chōnghun'gamsil 1991). This justifies the necessity and the value of my interviews with veteran musicians as a means of investigating Korean War period music. While the interviews in these military publications were intended to reveal the institutional histories of the military organizations, my interviews focus on military band members' musical experiences during the war, relating them not only to the institutional history of the ROK military band organizations but also to South Korean music culture in general. Interviews with musicians are also found in some portions of non-military

publications (Chungangilbosa 1983; Park, Söngsö 2010; Shin et al. 2005; Son, Sögu. 2003), but my dissertation is differentiated from those publications in that my work focuses on illuminating the musical experiences of military band members as a significant group of musicians located at the very center of the musical development during the war and on contextualizing their experiences in the procedure of the war and in the overall military music operations by both the ROK and the US militaries.

Kunaktae Unyong (Military Band Operations) (Haegunbonbu 1995), published by the ROK Navy, includes a very brief chronology of the ROK Navy band organization's development, and *Pansegirül Nömö: Haegun Chönghun Osimnyönsa* (Reflecting the Half a Century The Fifty-Year History of the ROK Navy Troop Information and Education:) (Taehanminguk Haegun 1999) includes pieces of information on Haegun Chönghun Ŭmaktae (the Navy Troop Information and Education Music Group), a part of which was an orchestra later renamed Haegun Kyohyangaktan (the Navy Symphony Orchestra). The ROK Navy has not yet published a Navy music history comparable to the aforementioned publications by the ROK Army and Air Force.¹⁰ My dissertation therefore broadens the scope of the literature available on the ROK Navy Band organization by adding analysis of the musical activities of the band members and of the march pieces composed within the band organization in the 1950s.

Synthesizing the information obtained from these books published by the ROK military and adding the supplemental data I collected through my archival research and interviews, I try to provide a more comprehensive picture of the ROK military music system during the Korean War period. More importantly, I provide new insight into South Korean military music in this dissertation. Whereas the aforementioned books written from the military's perspective focus on

¹⁰ The ROK Marines' history overlaps with the Navy's at multiple points throughout its history. I don't discuss the case of the Marine bands separately, but I plan to further investigate the ROK Marine Band organization in the future.

military music unit histories, organizational changes, and military events, I fill a gap in military music historiography by interpreting the military music history from a musical viewpoint. As part of this approach, I raise and answer these three questions: What music did military musicians play and under what circumstances; How did military musicians feel, think, and act in their double roles as soldiers and musicians; What are the implications of the wartime military music for South Korean music culture in general, beyond the boundaries of the ROK military music?

In regard to ROK military bands' repertoires, I particularly focus on military marches. Whereas a good number of military song books have been published since the 1950s by both the military and civilians (for example, Chu 1954; Haegunbonbu Chŏnghun'gamsil 1957; Kukpangbu 1996; 2008; Kim, Chŏmdo 1984; Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghun'gamsil 1951),¹¹ little information on military marches is found in existing literature. Exceptionally, one of the aforementioned military publications, *Yukkun Kunaksa* (The Military Music History of the ROK Army) includes condensed notations of two Korean military marches composed before and during the war by Hŭijo Kim, an officer in the ROK Army Band organization in the 1950s (275–81), and a short remark about march performances during the Korean War is found in Hŭijo Kim's posthumously published article (2002, 59–61). Despite the briefness of the remarks, Hŭijo Kim's mention of the wartime military marches in this article is important for my exploration of ROK military marches because it hints at a significant issue that needs further examination: the nationalist goals of military marches in South Korea juxtaposed with the prevalence of Sousa marches as part of the transnational Cold War development. In my dissertation, I delve into this

¹¹ Among these military song books, *Uri Modu Hanaga Toeŏ: Kunga Ch'ongnokchip* (We All Together: Anthology of ROK Military Songs) (1996) is the most comprehensive anthology of ROK military songs, and *Taehanminguk Kukkun: Kunga Ch'ongnokchip* (The ROK Military: Anthology of Military Songs) (2008) seems to be an update of the 1996 anthology.

issue, exploring archived march notations from the 1950s and uniting the analysis of the notated music with my interviews with veteran military band members about their recollections of march composition and performance, relating them all to the complexity of Korean nationalism in the context of the transnational Cold War.

When it comes to US military music, the available information in printed sources addresses only small areas of the military music system. The *History of AFRTS “The First 50 Years”* contains a brief summary of its operations in Korea (American Forces Information Service and American Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?]). Although not a military publication, *Hanguk Pangsongsa* (A History of ROK Broadcasting) provides information that indicates that the AFKN network continued to grow after the Armistice and throughout the 1950s to entertain the US troops stationed in South Korea (Hanguk Pangsong Kongsa 1977, 946–49), and two books about the history of the United Service Organizations contain summaries of the live entertainment programs offered through the USO during the Korean War (Coffey 1991, 51–76; USO [2002?], 138–43, 175–76).

The information available in these published sources shows only some isolated tips of the iceberg of the US military music system, considering the clues about the presence of various US military units in charge of music in the war that are found in literature. For example, US military bands’ presence in South Korea during the Korean War is indicated in some literature published in South Korea (Hanguk Ŭmak Hyŏphoe 1991, 382–83; Konggun Yŏksa Kirok Kallidan [Chang] 2008, 95; Yukkunbonbu 1980, 127, 164), and the US military’s hiring and auditioning of South Korean musicians for live shows in the US military camps in South Korea are frequently mentioned in literature in regards to their influence on South Korean popular music development (For example, see Kim and Shin 2010, 200; Lee, Haesŏng 1976, 675–77; Hwang 1981, 235–36;

Maliangkay 2006, 22–27; 2011, 66–71; Shin and Ho 2009, 93; Shin et al.2005).¹² However, the goals and procedures of these US military organizations’ music operations remain unknown, and no source explains the US military music organizations and their operations during the Korean War in a systematic manner.

My dissertation seeks to examine the US military music system established in South Korea during the Korean War period and its operations by analyzing archived primary sources. Such an inclusion of primary sources will reveal aspects of the US military music system and its operations during the Korean War as a whole as well as uncover previously ignored details. This investigation into the US military music system and its operations is all the more significant because of their relation to the development of South Korean popular music beyond the boundaries of the military and the state.

Literature from the second category, civilian publications, provides additional information not available via military sources. Kangsuk Lee, Ch’unmi Lee, and Kyōngch’an Min provide a succinct summary of music history in South Korea during the three-year battle period of the Korean War in a section of a chapter in their book (2001, 223–67). Jōngim Jōn offers more detailed information on a broader range of music in South Korea during the 1950s (2001). Whereas these authors discussed music in South Korea in general, other scholars wrote about the music scene in Pusan in particular, the temporary capital city of the ROK during the war until the ROK government’s return to Seoul after the Armistice (Chegal 2001; Kim Ch’anguk 2001). In these publications, the activities of some of the ROK military music

¹² The flow of US popular music into South Korean cultural zones through the US military already started in the mid-1940s before the outbreak of the Korean War when the US Army entered the southern part of Korea after its defeat of Japan (Hanguk Munhwa Pangsong 1967, 42-43; Hwang 1981, 234; Lee, Young Mee 1998, 118; Shin et al. [2005],21-23), but the scale of the musical flow since the Korean War and its influence on South Korean popular music was incomparably bigger than that before the war. Before the mid-1940s, US missionaries brought their music to Korea starting in the late 19th century, and music from the US also flowed into Korea via Japan during the Japanese colonial period (Lee, Haesōng 1976, 671-73; Lee, Kim and Min 2001, 22-34; Park, Ch’anho 1992, 221-26).

institutions are described as a part of the general South Korean music culture. For instance, the military orchestras are highlighted as the foundation for the most representative symphony orchestras in South Korea during the late 1950s and following decades; military orchestras' concerts are listed along with other concerts for citizens as public concerts; and military music institutions are described as sponsors for public performances and music events. All these examples support one aspect of my argument in this dissertation: the unbounded nature of military music.

Within the limited range of the body of literature on 1950s music, descriptions and discussions of popular music of the 1950s are more common than those on military music and other types of music of the 1950s. Munp'yŏng Hwang's writings, which are more journalistic than academic, include sections about the South Korean popular music scenes of the 1950s (for example, 1962, 107–13; 1976, 649–56; 1981, 194–236), and critics and scholars have frequently utilized his works as reference sources, sometimes with citations but more often without.¹³ His work touches on various aspects of South Korean popular music in the 1950s, including musicians' reactions to the war, civilian musicians' involvement in the war effort, South Korean popular songs and famous musicians of the period, popular music infrastructures and musicians' organizations, South Korean musicians' participation in the US military entertainment, US popular music within the South Korean popular music scene, and related changes in South Korean popular music. These themes were repeated in multiple authors' books and articles (Hanguk Munhwa Pangsong 1967, 39–51; Lee, Haesŏng 1976, 674–79; Lee, Sangman 1984, 122–25; Son 2009, 96–101, 109–22; Park, Ch'anho 2009, 141–375), among which Ch'anho

¹³ Hwang is a former popular music critic in South Korea. His writing is based on his own experiences at the center of the 1950s music scene as a songwriter, an affiliate to the ROK military, and an active participant in various music organizations. His writings have been an unequalled information source for later critics and researchers. Junhŭi Kim mentions that Hwang's writings are very influential but contain inaccurate information (2004); he doesn't point out which pieces of information are wrong, however.

Park's work is the most extensive illumination. Information in these publications mirrors the information on the military-civilian collaboration in the war effort described in the military's publications, and these publications together constitute the ground on which I conceive my concept of border crossings.

Young Mee Lee dedicated one chapter of her book, *Hanguk Taejung Kayosa* (A History of Korean Popular Music), to the time period from 1945 to the 1950s (2000, 99–138), and her analytical approach in this chapter is differentiated from the descriptive approach in most of the preceding publications on 1950s South Korean popular music. She analyzed song lyrics and musical elements and discussed them in relation to social aspects of the period, and her approach opened up a new horizon in South Korean popular music studies.

Young Mee Lee's insightful and unprecedented interpretation of song lyrics in consideration of their social context was followed by the studies on 1950s song lyrics by Tongsun Lee (2007) and Yujöng Chang (2009, 2010). According to Tongsun Lee, songs from this period include propaganda-like lyrics in support of the state ideology, military-song-like lyrics that nevertheless add a humanistic sentimentality, and lyrics focused on individuals' sufferings and feelings during the war. Yujöng Chang categorized the lyrics into three types: those that advocate for the values of the nation, those that advocate for the values of individuals, and those that advocate for the values of the state. I find the category "songs that advocate the values of the nation" ambiguous because, although it is set up as its own category of 1950s song lyrics, she actually writes, "songs that advocate nationalist values are mostly found among the popular songs that were released before the outbreak of the war" (2010, 27–31). I believe that this ambiguity in the category is related to the complexity of Korean nationalism in the

transnational space of the Korean War, which I will elaborate during the course of my discussions on military marches and popular music in this dissertation.

Young Mee Lee also unprecedentedly illuminated the time period from 1945 to 1960 by combining the analysis of lyrics with music analysis. Lee identifies *sinminyo* and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as two mainstream types of pre-war period Korean popular music (2000, 57–87; 2005, 2–3).¹⁴ *Sinminyo* was developed from Korean folk song styles with the incorporation of Western instrumental accompaniment and European tonal music elements during the pre-war period (Lee, Soyŏng 2007; Lee, Young Mee 2000, 78–80), and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which was also formed in the pre-war period, was fundamentally influenced by a Japanese popular music style, which combined Western instrumental accompaniment and European tonal music elements (Young Mee Lee 2000, 59–65; 2005, 6–8). According to Young Mee Lee, *sinminyo* declined and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* continued to develop as part of the mainstream during the 1950s (2000, 99–105). Importantly, she emphasizes the influence of the US military presence and the influence of US popular music on the development of new South Korean popular music in the 1950s, which eventually developed in the 1960s to form a new mainstream of South Korean popular music (2000, 116–43). She names this new mainstream *iji lisŏning* (easy listening) (2000, 143–75), though this term has not yet been accepted in popular music discourse in South Korea. In Chapter 5, I build upon her discussion of the changes in South Korean popular music in the 1950s. Starting with her definition of the main characteristics of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style (2000, 59–65; 2005, 6–8) and making an elaboration of my own about the typical characteristics of the pre-war period *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style, I examine to what extent individual songs in the 1950s contained typical characteristics of this style and deviated from them during the course of the hybridization process that resulted from the influx of US

¹⁴ For discussions on other types of Korean popular songs during the period, see Yujŏng Chang (2006, 95–106, 199–244), Chanhŏ Park (1992; 221–26), and Soyŏng Park (2010 a).

popular music through the US military music circuit. My analysis of the hybridization process with a focus on the deviation from the *t'ūrot'ū* style will complement Soyōng Lee's discussion on the hybridization of *sinminyō* style songs in the post-liberation period (2010 b, 301–25). Soyōng Lee's explanation that the hybrid style *sinminyō* went through a second hybridization in the mid-20th century supports my conception of a spiral model of the hybridization process that I propose in this dissertation, a theoretical model that emphasizes the relationship among different stages in the development of the hybridization process.

Additionally, Young Mee Lee's (2000, 125–29) mention of exoticism during her discussion of lyrics of 1950s South Korean popular music was echoed by subsequent research on the topic by Soyōng Lee (2007 a) and Yujōng Chang (2008). Although different authors have different foci and opinions, all three authors are interested in where to locate the US in the exotic imaginations found in South Korean popular song lyrics: whereas Young Mee Lee and Soyōng Lee think that the US constitutes a part of the exotic others, Yujōng Chang argues that the US resided in South Koreans' lives rather than being conceived as one of the exotic others. In my dissertation, I illuminate the complexity of the American Other through discussions of military marches as well as popular music, all within a consideration of the relationship between Korean nationalism and the transnational Cold War.

Indeed, the most popular theme that appears in the literature on 1950s South Korean popular music is its relationship to the US, the US military, and US popular music. Before Young Mee Lee's discussion of this influence in her book (1998, 118–38), multiple authors had already discussed the South Korean popular music scene around US military camps. They described or listed South Korean musicians who participated in these scenes, the US popular songs they sang or that were spread among South Koreans by these singers and through AFKN

radio (For example, Haesŏng Lee 1976, 671–80; Hanguk Munhwa Pangsong 1967, 39–51; Hwang 1962, 107–13; 1976, 649–65; 1981, 194–236; Lee, Sangman 1984, 122–25; Sŏn 1993, 30–66), and, in some exceptional cases, the authors provided their own expert opinions on these phenomena and their importance (La, 1954; Lee, Paekch'ŏn [Lee, Baik-chun] 1964). Shin et al. have described South Korean musicians' involvement in the US troop entertainment in a chapter of their book about 1960s South Korean popular music (2005, 24–35). The inclusion of this discussion indicates the significance of these music scenes for the development of South Korean popular music in the 1960s. More focused research on the US military entertainment during the Korean War is found in Roald Maliangkay's work (2005: 21–33). Here he highlights the activities of the Kim Sisters, a famous girl group who performed in the US military camps in South Korea and eventually moved to the US in the late 1950s and continued their career as musicians in their new home in the 1960s, which he further discusses in another article (2011). The case of the Kim Sisters is an interesting example that shows the cultural by-products of the US military music operations in Korea in the 1950s; an extension of the Kim Sisters' move to the US may be found in Wonder Girls' musical travel to the US for their participation in the recent US popular music market and their involvement in the armistice commemoration, which I briefly introduced above.

An interest focused on popular music production in South Korea in relation to the Korean War or in consideration of the decade of the 1950s is found in Sŏngsŏ Park's book (2010) and Junhŭi Lee's article (2007). Sŏngsŏ Park included a collection of images of recordings and album jackets relevant to the Korean War in his book, along with other images and information on the South Korean popular music production that he regards as relevant to the war. Junhŭ Lee

explores the topic in more depth in his article, examining the history of the production and distribution of South Korean popular music during the decade.

Hyunjoon Shin and Tung-hung Ho added new insight into the literature on 1950s popular music (2008, 2010). They examined South Korean and Taiwanese popular music from 1945 to the 1960s, focusing on how US popular music was “translated” in different ways in the two countries and “nationalized” in each country, concluding that the current Taiwanese reactions to South Korean popular music can be better understood by understanding the development of popular music in the two countries during the initial stage of the Cold War. Shin and Ho emphasize the different processes by which US popular music was translated/nationalized in the two countries, but the translation arose in both countries due to the presence of the US military in the Asia-Pacific region during the Cold War. Although they do not use the term “transnational,” their idea that the current interactions in popular music between South Korea and Taiwan are deeply connected to the music scenes around the US military at the beginning of the Cold War resonates with my focus on the historical dimension of the transnational space of the Korean War.

Although discussions of popular music during the Korean War period in the 1950s appear in various types of publications, their explanations of the war and of the ROK and US military music systems and operations are very brief and sometimes imprecise. Therefore, I will seek to explain the development of South Korean popular music in the 1950s in tighter connection to the war processes and military music systems by providing detailed information on military music systems and operations in the 1950s as a background for popular music development and by providing more specific information on the connection between the processes of military music and popular music development. In my discussions of popular music in this dissertation, I will complement, elaborate, and reinterpret discussions in existing literature by adding new findings

from my interviews and archival research, by providing further analysis of music, and by making further discussions from my theoretical perspectives on transnational spaces and hybridization processes.

Methodology

As the literature review already indicated, I conducted interviews, archival research, and music analysis in order to illuminate aspects of the Korean War period music that have not yet been addressed in the literature. I have conducted four rounds of field research in South Korea for about fifteen months in total: preliminary field research in 2006 and primary field research in 2007, 2008, and 2010. My research in the US included four rounds of archival research for about a month in total at the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland in 2008 and 2009, and an additional two visits to Washington D.C. and Springfield, Illinois, for the observation of ceremonies.

During my fieldwork in South Korea, I primarily interviewed veteran military band musicians as my main interview subject group because they experienced the war at the center of the military music operations and because they had the musical sensitivity necessary to keenly appreciate the music of those times. The musical experiences, actions, thoughts and feelings they revealed through their interviews constitute the backbone of this dissertation. Additionally, I interviewed non-military musicians who were active during the Korean War period and non-musician veterans for additional information. In South Korea, I interviewed a total of forty-five people, meeting them one to eleven times each, and during my stay in the US I interviewed some of them by phone and by email for supplemental information. To enhance my understanding of military bands' music and to collect military march notations and historical documents, I

intermittently visited five ROK military band bases in South Korea. Also, I attended seventeen military music events and the Korean War commemoration events held in South Korea to gain a greater sense of the military music and the continuing history of the Korean War.

My archival research in the US concentrated on investigating US military documents relevant to the US military music operations during the Korean War in the 1950s. The information on the US military music system and operations collected from this primary source constitutes another base of my dissertation. Additionally, I attended two Korean War-related ceremonies involving some of the Korean War veterans.

Music analysis constitutes the third main methodology of this dissertation. Among the military marches that I located in some of the ROK military band bases that I visited, I analyze only those marches that were identified as having been composed or copied by hand in or before the 1950s through the dates written on the notations or by my interviewees' reports. I analyze two more military marches introduced in *The Military Music History of the ROK Army*. I also discuss two more marches reported by my interviewees to have been composed in the 1950s, although the notations have not yet been located.

Regarding popular music, I analyze some of the 1950s South Korean popular songs that have lyrics related to the war, that have elements of military marches or songs, or/and that have musical elements that significantly deviate from the typical elements of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style that crystallized during the Japanese colonial period. The selection of the songs used for analysis needed a multi-step procedure because there is no reliable list of South Korean popular songs of the 1950s with the release years identified.¹⁵ Due to the lack of a thorough and completely reliable list as well as the lack of systematic archives of Korean popular songs, I believe that co-

¹⁵ The lack of even a reliable list of the release years of song recordings reflects the embryonic stage of studies on 1950s South Korean popular music.

referencing multiple sources is the best way to identify songs released in specific years in the 1950s. I narrowed down the sources that I could consult to the following: *Hanguk Kayo P'yŏllam* (The Korean Popular Song Index) (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchŏjjakkwŏnhyŏphoe 1992); *Hanguk Kayosa 2* (The History of Korean Popular Songs, vol. 2) (Park, Ch'anho 2009); “Hanguk Taejunggayoŭi Chŏn'gae Yangsang Koch'al: 1945–1960-nyŏnkkajiŭi Chakp'umŭl Chungsimŭro” (A Study on the Development of Korean Popular Songs: With a Focus on the Songs Released from 1945 to 1960) (Chang 2009); *Yusŏnggiro Tŭttŏn Kayosa, Tubŏntchae: Haebang–1960-nyŏn* (Korean Popular Songs on Phonographs, the Second Set: From the Liberation to 1960 (Sinnara 2000); and a South Korean popular music website, *Kayo 114* (www.kayo114.com).¹⁶

Because I intended to analyze songs by listening to sound recordings rather than by reading available notations of melody only, I first selected songs from *Korean Popular Songs on Phonographs: The Second Series*, which covers the period from August 1945 to 1960, and additionally selected the music files of the songs labeled as having been released in the 1950s available at the website *Kayo 114*. Then I crosschecked the release years of the selected songs in the three printed sources. These three sources were selected for different reasons. *The Korean Popular Song Index* was selected because this book provides the most extensive popular song list of the 1950s with the release years specified and because the publishers are two of the most representative institutions at the center of South Korean popular music production and circulation. According to their notes in the book, they created the list on the basis of “performance records, documents about music recordings, published sources, and the documents from the Munhwa Broadcasting Company’s popular song screening” (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchŏjjakkwŏnhyŏphoe 1992, Preface; English translation by this author). However,

¹⁶ This website closed in July 2011.

even the publishers of this index state in the preface that the list is not complete and that amendments and additions are solicited. Therefore, in order to maximize the accuracy of the information, I crosschecked the release years with the other two sources. I referred to *The History of Korean Popular Songs, vol.2* because this book contains many pieces of information about the recording years obtained from primary sources. I also crosschecked the release years with Yujöng Chang’s article, “A Study on the Development of Korean Popular Songs: With a Focus on the Songs Released from 1945 to 1960,” because the author explicitly mentions in this article that she intended to provide accurate information on the recordings that were released during the fifteen-year period, criticizing previous literature on South Korean popular music of the period for inaccuracy in providing information on the recordings. After comparing the information on the release years of the songs from the 1950s in the three publications, I found discrepancies in the release years of some songs as specified in those publications. In these cases of discrepancy, I listed the earliest release year that appears in the publications in the main text of my chapter and put the later ones in the footnotes. In this way I tried to be as accurate as the currently available information allows, but I look forward to a thorough and accurate list of the release years of South Korean popular songs from the 1950s in the future.¹⁷

Regarding the periodization of the Korean War, I suggest the following time framework for discussing the music of the war, devised primarily from military music unit histories and additionally in reference to the unit histories’ relation to the general military history and to the civilian music sphere in South Korea as well.

¹⁷ According to Yujöng Chang (2010), popular music researcher Junhüi Lee is personally creating a list of South Korean popular songs from the 1950s.

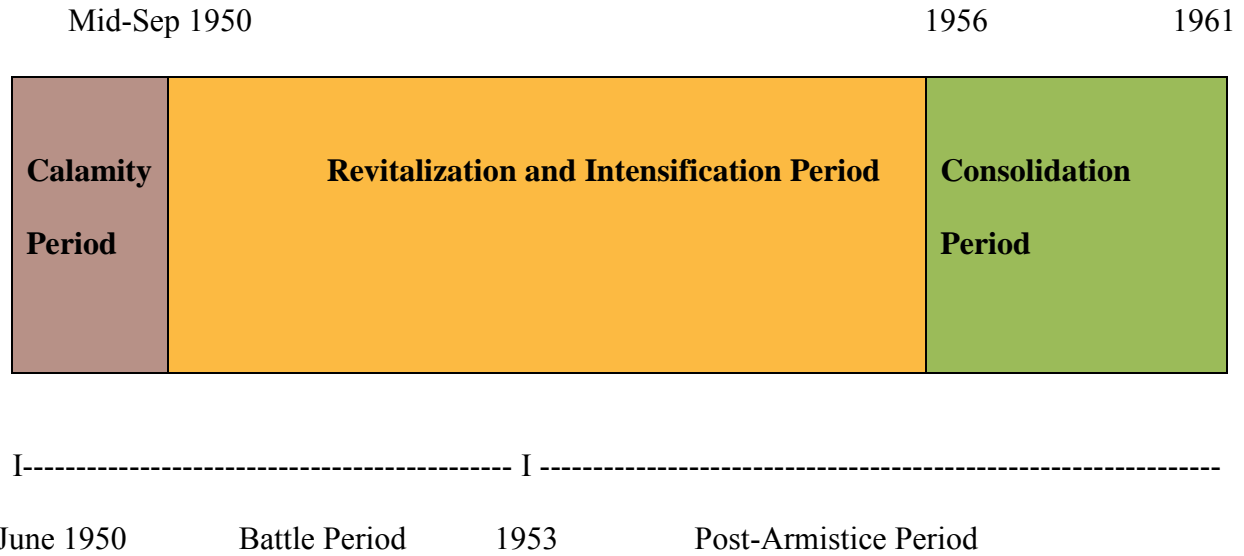


Figure 1-3 The Korean War Music Periodization

First, I identify the earliest period of fighting, from June to mid-September 1950, as the Calamity Period. The South Korean and UN forces withdrew south to the Pusan Perimeter, a southeastern corner of the Korean land, and South Koreans’ musical activities came almost to a halt with even the ROK military band organizations struggling to overcome the challenging situation. Second, the longest period, from September 1950 to 1955, I label the Revitalization and Intensification Period. As the South Korean and UN forces began to advance toward the north after the success of the Incheon Landing Operation and the counteroffensive around the Pusan Perimeter, the ROK military music system expanded and the US military established its own music system in South Korea, reorganizing a large portion of the civilian music sphere for their military music purposes. Despite the ebb and flow of the war situation, the organizational powers of these militaries did not lose their control over the use of music for the war effort.

These expanded war music systems continued until a couple of years after the armistice while the armistice system was being installed. Third, I label the period from 1956 to 1961 the Consolidation Period. While the armistice system stabilized, the gains of the musical support for the war were transformed into a permanent part of the civilian music sphere, one example of which is the discharged ROK Army band members' gradual shift into the popular music and classical music domains.

Usually the three-year battle period from June 25, 1950 to July 27, 1953 is regarded as the Korean War period both in public and academic discourse.¹⁸ However, in this dissertation about military music particularly focusing on ROK military band members' experiences, I regard the period from the outbreak of the war into the 1960s as the Korean War period. From the perspective of military music, the year 1953 is not so significant a break as 1955 and 1956, and by 1961 the ROK military band organizations had become firmly established without any change in the band unit numbers for years afterward (until their participation in the Vietnam War caused changes), suggesting a closing of a historical period in the military band organizations.

Despite the Armistice agreement in 1953, the number of South Korean military bands continued to increase at a similar rate as before the agreement because the South Korean military continued expanding (Kukpangbu Kunsap'yŏnch'an Yŏnguso [Nam] 2002, 687–97; Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 19–22). Also, the central ROK military bands — the Army Headquarters Band, the Navy Band, and the Air Force Band — strengthened their positions during the first years after the Armistice, moving to the capital city of Seoul from their

¹⁸ A part of the development of the Cold War was becoming explicit on the Korean land in 1945 when the US military and the USSR military entered Korea after their defeat of Japan, and the influence of the US military in South Korean music culture started at this point in time. However, my exploration focuses on the 1950s, starting from the outbreak of the Korean War. The massive changes both in military and civilian music in the 1950s caused by the war are clearly distinguished from the development of music in the pre-war period. Also, when the US military reentered Korea upon the outbreak of the war, a couple of years after the occupation army's withdrawal, the scale of the US military presence during the war became far greater than the scale of the US occupation army in the pre-war period, beyond comparison.

temporary locations in southern cities by 1955. Not only did the ROK military band organizations continue to expand, but most of the units that were created for military music operations after the outbreak of the war also continued to exist into the mid-1950s. For example, the Army Chorus, the Army Symphony Orchestra continued to exist until 1955 (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 124–26, 171–72; Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghun’gamsil 2000, 362). Regarding the war process, the resolution of the POW issues was not completed until 1954 (Kukpang Kunsap Yŏguso 1994, 144–54), and despite the Armistice Agreement in 1953, the withdrawal of US troops didn’t start until March 1954 because US President Eisenhower’s December 1953 announcement about the reduction of US troops in Korea encountered opposition and logistical problems (Kukpangbu Kunsap’yŏnch’an Yŏnguso [Nam] 2002, 689–90). The withdrawal was almost completed by 1955, and during those years when the withdrawal of the US troops progressed, the ROK military expanded so as to compensate for the reduction of US troops (693).

In contrast, around 1956, some significant changes occurred, differentiating the years to come from the years before. Drafted military band musicians were eventually allowed to be discharged: an indication that the military situation was settled down enough not to hold the drafted soldier-musicians within the military any longer. After the Army Music School was closed in 1955 and drafted military musicians were discharged in 1956, there was a significant shift of human resources from the military music sphere to the civilian music sphere. For example, many military musicians began their music careers in the civilian music sphere as orchestra members, music teachers, and instrumentalists. Also, affiliated civilian musicians in the Army and the Navy returned to their positions outside of military organizations. In addition, 1956 was the year that General Isaac D. White, the Commander of the 8th US Army, announced that there would not be another war in Korea (Kukpang Kunsap Yŏguso 1994, 183), which I

consider a confirmation of the stabilization of the armistice after the years of effort toward its settlement.

In addition, from a musical point of view, the first withdrawal period from June to September 1950 needs to be distinguished from the subsequent period from September 1950 to around 1955. During this three-month withdrawal period, South Korean military bands struggled to maintain their operations, though the overall band organizations generally survived. In contrast, after September 1950, new military band units and various other military music units were created. Regarding the US military, documents at the National Archives indicate that during this first withdrawal period the US military was also having a hard time providing musical support for its troops. After the Incheon Landing Operation and the counteroffensive around the Pusan Perimeter in mid-September, 1950, more and more military bands, entertainment units, and civilian entertainers entered Korea. Around 1955, the US military music system in South Korea also had significant changes, reflecting major organizational changes in the US military in the Far East. Following the entry into Korea of the Headquarters of the US Army Forces Far East combined with the Eighth US Army in the latter half of 1955, the UN Command Headquarters also moved from Japan to Korea in 1957. By then, South Korea had become a new military center in the transnational Cold War. In accordance with this restructuring of the US military, the military's investment in its troop entertainment in South Korea accelerated during the last few years of the 1950s, resulting in a thriving business for South Korean professional musicians participating in the troop entertainment. These changes in the US military music system, alongside the aforementioned changes in the ROK military music system, validate the three-stage periodization: the Calamity Period, separate from the Revitalization and Intensification Period, and then followed by the Consolidation Period.

The beginning of the 1960s when the stabilization of the growth of the ROK military band organizations signaled a closing of a historical period in ROK military music was also a turning point in South Korean political and social history. The political leadership in South Korea that had lasted through the 1950s came to an end through the April 19 Revolution in 1960, and the May 16 Military Coup in 1961 signaled that South Koreans were moving into the next decade with new leadership and newly-emerging social issues. Interestingly, 1961 was the year when “No-o-ran Syassūi Sanai” (The Guy in the Yellow Shirt) became a big hit, signaling the popular acceptance of the musical hybridization that had developed during South Koreans’ encounters with the music from the US that had entered South Korea through the US military music circuit during the war.¹⁹

Taking all these historical events into consideration, I devised the tripartite historical framework for my discussion of Korean War period music, which spans approximately a decade, from 1950 to 1961, through the dialectical process of learning from written histories, oral histories, and the war archives. Written histories regarding Korean War period music are rare, but the limited information provided me with a sense of how to search further, such as whom to ask and what to ask. Oral histories added tremendous new information to the existing information in written histories, and they added flesh to the bones of the war chronology. Most notably, veteran musicians’ interviews provided critical information for the transformation of a war chronology into a music chronology, challenging my initial timeline based on the war chronology and helping me to give more consideration to the history of military music operations and the social history of music. However, veteran military musicians’ memories were often

¹⁹ In spite of the continuation of the military expansion, the growth of the military music system, and the continuation in the political system after the Armistice, the Armistice was also a significant event in the war history. Therefore, it might be possible to define a transition period from around the Armistice to around the dividing line between the Revitalization and Intensification period and the Consolidation Period.

fuzzy and needed to be framed by the war chronology and cross-checked with written histories and archival documents. Archival documents provided information that filled some of the gaps in my understanding obtained from oral histories and written histories, confirming and refuting my previous understanding. However, the documents in the archives are organized solely from military perspectives and are not suitable at all for the collection of information on music, so without the previous knowledge gained from oral histories and written histories, I wouldn't have known how to explore the archives. By combining interviews and archival research with a literature review of written histories, I was able to devise this three-stage periodization as a historical framework for my study of Korean War period music.

Significance

This dissertation is an unprecedented illumination of Korean War period music with a comprehensive description of both the ROK and the US military music operations combined with an interpretation of their relationship to musicultural developments in South Korea. All of this is investigated based on data collected through mutually compensating and reinforcing methodologies including interviews, archival research, and literature review, and analyzed at the levels of musical works, individuals' musical experiences, military organizations' actions, and transnational cultural formations intertwined with nationalist projects. The analysis of this complex system of interactions contributes to various fields of study, including military history, Korean studies and Korean War studies, transnational studies, as well as musicology.

Reviewing literature on military music, Roland Bannister (2003) wrote, "There is generally a great deal of narrative, but little analysis" (17). My dissertation presents an analytical approach to military music through the case of Korean War period music, examining human

experiences involved in military music and revealing cultural and social meanings of the music, which Bannister considered important toward the advancement of military music historiography. In the same article, Bannister wrote, “It is strange too that comprehensive contemporary histories of military music ... are yet to be written” (18). Despite the obstacle of doing research in an area often muddled by security issues, this dissertation provides a comprehensive look into the music of the Korean War, one of the most significant contemporary international wars. It was also pointed out by Bannister that there are few studies in the English language on military music beyond Europe, America and Australia (15). This dissertation supplements the literature in English on military music with the study on the Korean War, by consolidating literature written in the Korean language; combining ROK and US military music histories from the Korean War; adding new information that I collected through interviews with veteran military musicians and through my own archival research; and applying my own conceptual framework and theoretical perspectives for the interpretation of all the information.

In particular, my dissertation breaks new ground in scholarship on Korean music. My research is the first historical and ethnographic work focused on the Republic of Korea military band members as a main research subject group in the context of the Korean War, and mine is the first analysis of Korean military marches from the perspective of Korean nationalism and transnational musicultural forces, thereby pioneering a new area in the socio-cultural history of Korean music. My investigation into the US military music system and operations and the ROK military musicians’ activities is also significant in Korean popular music history. Scholars have pointed to the US military camps as a significant source for South Korean popular music developments as I wrote in the literature review above, but previous research that discussed the US military camp music scene tended to be restricted to those aspects that were visible to South

Korean participants in the scene. By examining the US military's own documents about its military music operations, this research reveals the US military camp music scene more lucidly, thereby helping to better understand its influence on South Korean popular music developments. Hyunjoon Shin et al. mentioned the necessity for the examination of the military bands' roles in these developments, but he left them unexplored for the reason that doing so entails an added degree of complexity (Shin et al. 2005, 24). By explaining ROK military musicians' involvement in South Korean popular music developments, then, this dissertation fills a longstanding gap in South Korean popular music studies.

More broadly, this dissertation supplements literature in Korean War studies and Korean studies in general. Korean War studies has been focused on military, political, and diplomatic histories of the war (See Allan R. Millet's literature review on Korean War studies [2001]). Research on the cultural aspects of the Korean War has only recently emerged (See Myöngsöp Kim's discussion on the post-Cold-War-period growth of studies on the cultural aspects of the Korean War [2000, 77–80]), and my investigation of the musicultural aspects of the war adds a new research direction for the newly-developing scholarship in Korean War studies. By reinterpreting the history of the military music of the Korean War as a socio-cultural history of the 1950s, this dissertation helps to deepen the understanding of mid-20th century Korean history.

Expanding the scope even further, this dissertation is a new interjection into the literature in transnational studies. Interpreting the Korean War period music from a transnational perspective, this dissertation reveals a special type of transnational space and transnational musicultural formation in which the extended power of the US military was a dominant force for the movement of people and music and where military organizations and military personnel acted as powerful cultural agents. Not only in South Korea but in multiple places around the

globe, the US military presence has created powerful transnational musical flows (Atkins 2001; Bourdaghs 2012; Mamoru 2008; Poiger 2000; Whitfield 1996; Yoshimi 2003); with this in mind, then, this dissertation provides a case study that sheds new light on our understanding of the transnational musicultural formations revolving around US military music circuits worldwide.²⁰ In addition, the spiral model of hybridization newly proposed in this dissertation is not specific to the Korean War but, rather, could open up new avenues for understanding the musical outcomes from transnational encounters as anchored in historical continuity and contributors to the development of social spaces.

Chapter Outlines

I organized the four main chapters into two pairs. I explore military organizations in charge of music in Chapter 2 in order to understand the institutional agency of the ROK and US military music organizations. In contrast, I examine veteran military musicians' recollections of their musical activities in Chapter 3 in order to see how this institutional agency was realized through and surpassed by individuals' actions and to understand the musical life that revolved in and around the processes of the Korean War at a micro-level. The last two main chapters are allotted to discussions of music that was played, newly-created, and utilized or appreciated during the Korean War period in the 1950s. I examine military marches in Chapter 4, as the music type most central in the ROK military band members' musical activities during the Korean War. In contrast, I examine popular music in Chapter 5 as a music type peripheral to the ROK military bands' repertory but still significant in the overall military music operations, utilized efficiently by the US military during the Korean War period in the 1950s, whose cultural

²⁰ Toya Mamoru also published a book in 2005 in the Japanese language about the US military's influence on the development of Japanese popular music; I consulted an informal translation of some the chapters for my research.

ramifications were significant in the development of South Korean popular music in the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War.

Chapter 2: South Korean and US Military Music Systems during the Korean War: Military Agents as Cultural Agents

In this chapter, I explain South Korean and US military organizations in charge of music during the Korean War period in the 1950s. The military power was maximized, and the social space in South Korea was restructured by military requirements during this period. The military exerted its enhanced power within the musical domain, too, reorganizing musical talents and resources in and around the military. Furthermore, the entry of the US military and its military music system into South Korea increased the availability of military musical resources. I argue that the military music institutions played a role as cultural agents crossing the boundaries of the military and that they facilitated musical encounters that crossed the borderlines between the South Korean and US cultural zones.

Chapter 3. South Korean Military Musicians: Recollections on Border Crossings

I discuss military musicians' experiences during the Korean War period in the 1950s, focusing on three veteran military musicians from three different ROK military band units and integrating other veteran musicians' experiences. The military musicians' recollections will provide a detailed look into the ways the military music institutions outlined in the previous chapter were actually operating at specific locations and how individual agents, along with the institutional agents, made up the musical developments in and around the military bases and the musical encounters in the transnational military space of the Korean War. My focus is on highlighting the aspects of border crossings that the veteran military musicians experienced as soldier-musicians, i.e. as military agents and, simultaneously, as cultural agents: the crossing of

borders between the US and the South Korean military, between the military and civilian spheres, and between types of music. I argue that these types of border crossings exemplified in the three representative veteran musicians' experiences became a significant source for a new development in South Korean music in general, grounded on the actions of the military institutions and exceeding the intentions of the military institutions through individual musicians' agency.

Chapter 4. South Korean Military Marches: Musical Nationalism in the Transnational Cold War

Border crossings facilitated and actualized by both institutional agents and individual human agents are also manifested in musical pieces and performances. This chapter and the following chapter are dedicated to exploring the border crossings inscribed in the development of military marches and popular music in South Korea; military marches as the most representative musical type that the ROK military bands played and popular music as the type most widely infiltrated into South Koreans' musical lives. In this chapter, I argue that the history of ROK military marches in the 1950s reveals the conflict and negotiation that the ROK military bands experienced between their responsibilities toward state nationalism and their location within the transnational military space of the Korean War. ROK military marches created and/or performed during the Korean War period in the 1950s constitute the incipient stage of the history of ROK military marches as part of an important component of the musical nationalism of the ROK. However, the marches were composed through the embrace of transnational forms of military marches, European and American, and the burgeoning interest in the creation of the ROK military's own marches was circumscribed by the surge of US marches into this space, best represented by Sousa marches, due to the limitations on military band resources in South Korea and against the backdrop of the transnational ideological war.

Chapter 5. South Korean Popular Music: Border Crossings and Hybridization Processes

The US military very actively utilized popular music for its military goals, and unintended outcomes resulted from the US military's use of popular music. The US popular music brought by the US military to its military bases in South Korea escaped the boundaries of the military bases in the forms of notations, recorded music, and broadcast music, and through musicians' interactions and the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section's troop entertainment programs. All these travels of music and musicians eventually affected South Koreans' musical lives, resulting in the development of new hybridizations in South Korean popular music that embraced musical elements of US popular music. Analyzing selected South Korean popular songs of the 1950s relevant to the Korean War and revealing the trajectory of South Korean popular music in relation to the musical travels facilitated by military agents during the military collaboration between the ROK and the US through the 1950s, I argue that the gradual hybridization process of the 1950s in embracing elements of US popular music was gaining impetus to form a new mainstream in South Korean popular music on the basis of the layers of the transnational musicultural formations accumulated for decades in Korea and assisted by the military, ideological, economic, and socio-cultural forces in the transnational space of the Korean War.

Chapter 6. Navigating Transnational Musical Flows Shored up by the Power of the State and Nationalist Agendas

By introducing a war commemoration event in 2007 that featured ROK military bands playing Korean military marches and juxtaposing the activities of the girl group, Wonder Girls, after their thank you message at the Armistice Commemoration in Washington DC in 2009 and other K-Pop stars' activities since then, I reconsider the meaning of the Korean War period

music in the historical dimension of the transnational space of the Korean War. About six decades after the outbreak of the war, the fundamental elements of the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War still remain important in South Korean military music and popular music, but with the addition of a strengthened musical nationalism of the ROK and increased transnational musical travels, i.e. South Korean musicians' travels remotely to the US buttressed by the state nationalism of the ROK.

CHAPTER 2

The South Korean and US Military Music Systems during the Korean War: Military Agents as Cultural Agents

Introduction

This chapter provides a broad overview of the ROK and US military music systems during the 1950s in order to establish a foundation for the discussions in the following chapters. I use the term “military music system” as a means to describe in a coherent way the actions of, and changes in, the military organizations in charge of music for the ROK military and the US military, rather than to imply that the organizations in each military can be described as one objective and fixed entity. In order to show the dynamic military situation as a background for the development of the ROK military music system and the expansion of the US military music system into South Korea, I begin each section by briefly summarizing the ebb and flow of the ROK and US military operations. This summary of the war process is also intended to reveal the pervasiveness of the war as a basis for the impact of the military music operations on an extensive range of South Korean musiculture. I describe the war process and the overall development of the ROK and US military music systems throughout the 1950s, using the framework of the three-stage periodization of the 1950s proposed in the previous chapter, i.e., the Calamity Period, the Revitalization and Intensification Period, and the Consolidation Period.

In the description of the military music system of the ROK, I pay special attention to the military band organizations because they were the most central and the most enduring music organizations in the military and because military band musicians’ experiences and opinions are a focal point in the following chapters. Regarding the US side, in addition to its military bands’ operations, I focus on its dedication to entertaining its troops in South Korea. One of the

remarkable characteristics of the US military music system during the Korean War was the sophistication and grand scale of its troop entertainment programs, which ultimately influenced South Korean musicultural development during the course of the delivery of music resources to South Korea for US troops and its facilitation of musical interactions between its personnel and South Koreans.

Through my descriptions of the ROK and the US military music systems, I will demonstrate the cultural agency of the ROK and the US military music organizations. I argue that during the Korean War period the ROK and the US military music organizations functioned as significant cultural agents, ones grounded upon the multiple levels of border crossings that occurred during their military music operations. Genre-crossing was an essential part of the military music operations during the war, and this element of border crossing was combined with the border crossings between the military and the civilian and between the South Korean and the US cultural zones. Interpreting these levels of border crossings both in the context of military operations and in the musicultural context, I reveal that the ROK and the US militaries exerted an extensive influence on music education, music management, and the transnational flows of music during the Korean War period in the 1950s.

The Calamity Period: June 25, 1950 to September 1950

The civil war between South Korea (the Republic of Korea, the ROK) and North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the DPRK) and simultaneous international war between members of the communist bloc and capitalist bloc began on June 25, 1950 (June 24, 1950 by US time). When the DPRK Army assaulted the ROK, crossing over the 38th Parallel,²¹

²¹ This line that divided Korea into the North and South was devised at the end of World War II. The US devised it and the USSR agreed to it, and upon their defeat of Japan, the US military occupied the country south of the Parallel

the ROK forces were unprepared for war.²² To support the ROK against the communist DPRK military's assault, the US initiated the UN intervention into the war on the ROK side and sent its own troops.²³ However, the war front moved southward to the Pusan Perimeter on Aug 1, and the ROK territory continued shrinking until mid-September (Cummings 2011, 5–19; Kukpangbu Chönsa P'yönc'h'an Wiwönhoe 1986, 109–114; Stueck 2002, 62–65).



Figure 2-1 Map of the War Front as of Sep 14, 1950 (Finley 1983, 9)

During this three-month period following the outbreak of the war, the ROK and the US configured their military collaboration. The United Nations Command (UNC) was established,

and the USSR occupied the north (Stueck 2002, 11–13). The US military occupation continued until 1948, the year the ROK government was established. Then the US occupation army withdrew and left only 482 US military personnel in South Korea as members of the Korea Military Advisor Group (KMAG) (Tucker 2002, 350–52). The activities of the KMAG continued during the Korean War (Ramsey 2006, 5–26).

²² According to Kukpangbu Chönsa P'yönc'h'an Wiwönhoe, when the war broke out, the number of DPRK troops was almost double the number of the ROK troops, and the DPRK troops were equipped with about three times as many armaments as the ROK's (1986, 110–11). For different estimations, see Stueck (2002, 62) and Cumings (2011, 5–6).

²³ Thus, multinational troops were here established under the name of the United Nations for the first time in world history.

and its leadership was taken by the commander of the US Far East Command (FEC). The Eighth US Army, a part of the US FEC, was a central component of the United Nations Command, and the Headquarters of the Eighth US Army Korea (HQ, EUSAK) was established in Taegu, a southern city in South Korea, within half a month after the outbreak of the war, on July 9. The Eighth US Army had control over all UN ground forces as well as the ROK ground forces. Creating this collaborative military structure under the UN flag, the ROK and the US prepared a monumental counteroffensive (Hermes 1992, 9–10; Kukpangbu Chönsa P’yönc’h’an Wiwönhoe 1986, 112).

During this Calamity Period, the ROK military bands, still in their formative stage, were relocated to southern cities and functioned in a limited way, and organizational efforts for the use of music beyond military band operations were sparse. Considering the rapid dispatch of a large number of US ground forces –153,633 as of September 1950, according to James P. Finley (1983, 82), the installation of US military music in Korea (the entry of only two military bands [though possibly a couple more] into Korea during this period according to the information confirmed so far) didn’t reach a scale commensurate with the size of the ground forces either (“Status of Units and Station List,” RG 407). It seems that the outbreak of the Korean War was too abrupt for either the ROK or US militaries to set their musical operations into full motion.

ROK Military Bands and Other Military Organizations in Charge of Music

Even though the Calamity Period was a lean period in terms of ROK military music supplies, it is still necessary to look into the military music organizations’ actions during this period because they reveal that musical border crossings were already increasing during this period and that the military band organizations were apparently the most pivotal units in the ROK military music system. When the war broke out, the ROK had around ten military bands,

and the bands experienced severe hardships. However, despite the damages to some bands — some peripheral division bands were battling with weapons rather than playing musical instruments, were absorbed into Yukkun Kunak Hakkyo (The ROK Army Music School) after losing their parental divisions, or were destroyed in the worst case – ROK military band organizations as a whole continued their duties, relocating themselves to the south as the military withdrew.

For instance, Yukkunbonbu Kunaktae (The ROK Army Headquarters Band), the most prestigious band in the ROK Army Band organization, left Seoul, the capital city of the ROK, as the ROK government and the Army Headquarters left Seoul for southern cities. The band eventually arrived in Pusan and continued its responsibilities from its temporary home within the Pusan Perimeter, supporting governmental and military events and holding marching parades in the city of Pusan, the newly emerging military, political, and cultural center of the ROK. Sudogyŏngbisaryŏngbu Kunaktae (The ROK Capital City Guard Headquarters Band) also left Seoul when the capital city was occupied by the DPRK military, and it withdrew to Taejŏn, about 90 miles south of Seoul. This band, however, was still playing music for the state even during the tumultuous withdrawal, recording the ROK national anthem at Chungang Pangsongguk (The Central Broadcasting System) in Taejŏn. Then this band withdrew further south to Taegu, where it became affiliated with Kukpangbu Chŏnghunguk (The Information and Education (TI & E) Division of the Ministry of National Defense). Here it was renamed Kukpangbu Chŏnghunguk Kunaktae (The TI & E Division Band of the Ministry of National Defense of the ROK) and assisted with propaganda activities (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 70, 144). While these central military bands of the Army were setting up their new homes within the Pusan Perimeter and resuming their operations for the war, The Navy Headquarters Band in

Seoul also withdrew to the south, but the members were unable to carry their instruments. Without musical instruments the band ceased to function. However, this band was recreated in about two months in Aug, 1950, in Pusan and resumed its musical operations (personal communication, Kim, Haksöng, June 2007). The Navy Band members at the Naval Station in Chinhae were also forced into active duty temporarily in order to defend their military base against North Korean troops that advanced to an adjacent area (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk).

Similar to the fate of the ROK military bands was that of the military music schools. Yukkun Kunak Hakkyo (The ROK Army Music School) and Haegun Kunak Hakkyo (The ROK Navy Music School), which were established in 1949, already had their first new students when the war broke out. The Army Music School withdrew to Pusan along with the Army Headquarters Band, and was reorganized there, absorbing the band members that lost their parental divisions (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 124). The Navy Music School faced the outbreak of the Korean War on the day of the graduation ceremony for its first new students. The school had to withdraw south along with the Navy Headquarters Band, postponing the graduation ceremony (personal communication, Kim, Haksöng, Jun. 2007).

Besides the military bands and military music schools, Kukpangbu Chönghunguk (The TI & E Division of the ROK Ministry of National Defense) and Chönghungamsil (The TI & E Sections) of the ROK Army, Navy, and Air Force were important organizations for the ROK military's cultural and psychological war efforts, and these organizations collaborated with military bands. For example, the TI & E Division's operations included the performances of the former ROK Capital City Guard Headquarters Band, which had been renamed The TI & E Division Band of the Ministry of National Defense of the ROK (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980],

144). The TI & E Division specified this band's responsibilities as "to lift the morale of the military forces, police, and citizens" and "to support other TI & E operations" (Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 2000, 123). However, overall the TI & E Division of the Ministry of National Defense and the TI & E Sections of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force had not yet built solid enough structural bases nor enough experienced personnel during this period (See, Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008, 57–58; Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chŏnghungongbosil]1999, 59; Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 2000, 123).

Also remarkable is Husaenggamsil (The Troop Welfare Section) of the Army.²⁴ Its responsibilities since its establishment in July 1949 included providing recreation and various services for the military personnel's needs. After the outbreak of the war, the section facilitated its subunits in multiple cities and it also created Yukkun Yŏnyedae (Troop Entertainment Units of the ROK Army) to offer propaganda performances. Civilian musicians became involved in the entertainment units organized by this section, and in this way the boundary between the military and the civilian was blurred during the course of the military's extended war efforts (Yukkunbonbu [Yukkunbonbu Kunsagamsil], 320).

Civilian participation in the military music operations was growing not only through the deliberate plans of the military but also by haphazard circumstances. For example, during this period, a famous female music theater group of the time, Haennimgwa Tallim, became affiliated with the ROK Army Music School. According to Tongju Chŏng, former Head of the Administration Department of the Army Music School, when the Army Music School established its temporary base in Pusan, some staff of the school found the group stuck in this southern city while touring due to the outbreak of the war. The turmoil of the war prevented

²⁴ Husaenggamsil was renamed Hyulbyŏnggamsil in Feb. 1951 and renamed once again to Chŏngbyŏnggamsil in 1956 (Yukkunbonbu [Yukkunbonbu Kunsagamsil] 1956, 320).

them from getting back to their homes or continuing their business in the city, and their financial situation during their refugee life was challenging despite some members' efforts to earn a living by doing work other than their theatrical performances. The ROK military supported this group in exchange for the group's participation in the military's propaganda performance events.

Through the symbiotic relationship between the military and civilian performers — the military's need for musical talent for its propaganda purposes and the civilian musicians' need for military support and protection — the military and civilian music sectors merged with each other.

US Military Organizations in Charge of Music

While some ROK military bands were struggling in and around the battlefields and others were establishing their new bases within the Pusan Perimeter (the location of the newly emerging political and military centers during the battle period), the 56th US Army Band entered this area in July 1950 (“56th Army Band,” “419th Army Band,” “419th Band,” “419th Army Service Forces Band,” “Band, 41st Engineers (GC),” RG 338).²⁵ The band was stationed in the city of Pusan, the main gateway for the incoming UN troops. Some of the ROK veteran musician interviewees recalled encountering this band conducting marching parades in the city of Pusan during this time period. Another band, the 24th Infantry Division Band, entered Korea in July 1950 as a part of the 24th US Infantry Division, which was dispatched to Korea earlier than any other units of the US ground forces. Although not yet confirmed, it is possible that the 25th Infantry Division Band, the 1st Cavalry Band, and the 2nd Infantry Division Band also entered Korea during this period because the military units they belonged to were dispatched to Korea.

²⁵ The history of the US military music system in South Korea already started in 1945 when the US military entered Korea after its defeat of Japan. Information indicates that at least one US Army band entered Korea in 1945 (Seoul Sinmunsa, 40–41) and American Forces Radio Service stations were established in Korea during the occupation period. However, this pre-war history of the US military system in Korea seems to have been brief and almost discontinued. My understanding is that no US military band existed in South Korea when the Korean War broke out; and when the war started, there was only one US military radio station in South Korea (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?], 74).

Just as important as military bands in organizing musical support for US troops during the Korean War period were the Special Services division and sections of the US military, although their music programs had not yet been effectively implemented in Korea during the Calamity Period. A document created by the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army HQ succinctly outlines the overall responsibilities of the Section under the title “Mission.”

In addition to [military] bands... commanders will, through the special services officer, actively sponsor a general music program. Volunteer instrumental and choral groups such as dance bands and glee clubs will be organized. The special services officer will arrange for necessary musical supplies and the equitable distribution of recorded music, song sheets, and other music materials and equipment supplied by the Chief of Special Services, War Department, for the use of all military personnel. Equal emphasis will be given to activities requiring individual and group participation and to activities designed for spectator and listening pleasure. Special attention will be given to the organization and development of musical programs in hospitals. Maximum use will be made of available music and instructional facilities in communities adjacent to military installations (“Justification of Estimates of Funds Required for Special Services Fiscal Year 1951,” RG 338).²⁶

Just as this section’s “mission” went largely unfulfilled during the Calamity Period, so did the Special Services Section of the General Headquarters of the US Far East Command’s.

²⁶ This document for the fiscal year 1950–1951 might have actually been created before the outbreak of the Korean War while the Eighth Army’s main responsibilities were the occupation of Japan. However, my understanding is that the Section’s basic principles described in this document also applied to the section’s operations during the Korean War.

However, this section of the GHQ FEC was shifting its focus to the newly developing situation in Korea during this period.²⁷ The section was transforming its organizational attempts to support the military operations in Korea from “an assigned special staff section of General Headquarters, Far East Command,” to a more comprehensive unit that assumed additional duties as “a special staff section of General Headquarters, United Nations Command” (“History of the Special Services Section, General Headquarters, Far East Command, 1 January 1950 to 31 October 1950,” RG 554).

The Armed Forces Radio Service is another significant organization for the musical support provided for the US military, but during the Calamity Period it was not functioning properly in Korea. The WVTP, a part of the Armed Forces Radio Service that had been stationed in Seoul since the 1945 arrival of the US occupation army after Japan’s defeat, was closed in June 1950, a few days after the outbreak of the war. After having withdrawn south, the WVTP eventually evacuated from Korea in July 1950, leaving part of Korea covered by a US Far East Network station in Japan run by the US occupation forces there (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?], 72–74).

In sum, the US military music system was not yet functioning actively in Korea during the Calamity Period, but US military bands entered Korea despite the extremely perilous situation of the war. The US military, like the ROK military, was reorganizing its music system during this period to adjust to the emergency of the war, and its military bands were the most prominent in providing musical support for its troops during this period, similar to the role of the ROK military bands within the ROK military music system. In addition, it is notable that the

²⁷ The transformation of this section for the Korean War was officially made by General Orders Number 17, dated as late as 30 October 1950, although the indication is that these orders were effective 24, July 1950 (“History of the Special Services Section, General Headquarters, Far East Command, 1 January 1950 to 31 October 1950,” RG 554).

military-civilian collaboration was already starting during this period of hardships for the ROK military and the US military as well, a development which I will discuss further in the next section.

Revitalization and Intensification Period: September 1950 to 1955

The musical border crossings facilitated and fostered by the ROK and the US militaries began to intensify once the two militaries turned the tide of the war. The war front began to move northward in September 1950 after the success of the Incheon Landing Operation and the counteroffensive around the Pusan Perimeter by the ROK and UN forces. The DPRK troops withdrew until the war front moved to the far north, reaching Hyesanjin, an area near the northern border of the DPRK.



Figure 2-2 Map of the War Front as of Nov 25, 1950 (Finley 1983, 10)

However, after the People's Republic of China (the PRC) Army's intervention in the war in support of the DPRK forces in late 1950, the ROK and UN forces withdrew south of Seoul again. Then, on Jan 25, 1951, the UN and ROK troops' counteroffensive started, and despite the DPRK and PRC forces' counterattacks, the ROK and UN forces recaptured Seoul again on March 15, 1951, and the war front again moved north of the 38th Parallel at the end of March. The war front continued shifting around the 38th Parallel until the armistice negotiations started in summer, 1951; the counter offensive of the DPRK and PRC forces in late April resulted in the shift of the war front south of the Parallel in May, but the ROK and UN forces restored the 38th Parallel again in late May and moved the war front further north of the Parallel (Hermes 1992, 10–14; Kukpangbu Chönsa P'yönych'an Wiwönhoe 1986, 115–26).



Figure 2-3 Map of the War Front as of Nov 12, 1951 (Finley 1983, 11)

The collaboration between the ROK military and the US military during these battles is well-exemplified in the UNC chart below. Operationally the ROK, the US, and the other UN

forces were under the UN Command, although organizationally the ROK military was separate from the UN forces. For example, as of July 1, 1951, the First US Corps under the Eighth US Army operated in conjunction with the ROK First Infantry Division and the Fifth Marine Battalion as shown in the chart below (Hermes, 57).

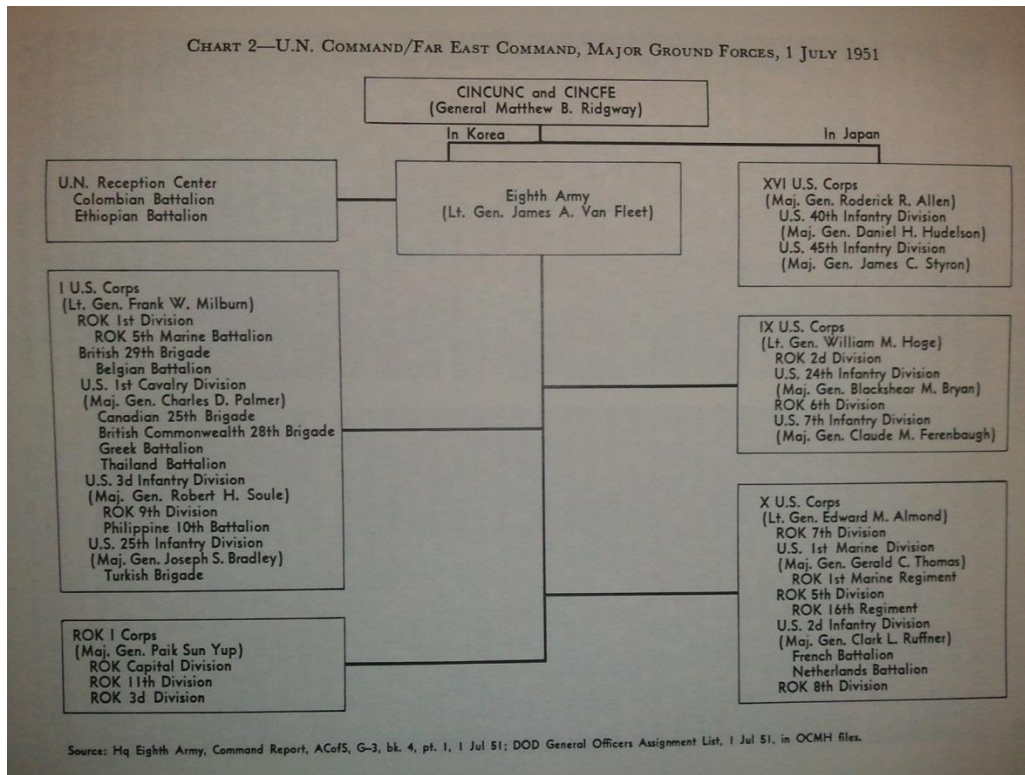


Figure 2-4 Chain of United Nations Command as of 1 July 1951 (Hermes 1992, 57)

The operational crisscrossing between the ROK and the US militaries which contained the musical border crossings between South Korean and US cultural zones in the 1950s were actually more complicated than shown in the organizational chart above. There were South Korean military personnel and civilians working within US military units. For example, the members of the Korean Augmentation to the United States Army (KATUSA) were “legally part of the ROK army and administered by the ROK government,” but they “were assigned as

reinforcements for the understrength” of US military units (Finley 1983, 102; Kukpangbu Kunsap’yŏnch’an Yŏnguso [Nam] 2002, 451–5).²⁸ Another example is the Korean Service Corps (KSC), whose members provided labor such as carrying supplies and food for US combat units (Kukpangbu Kunsap’yŏnch’an Yŏnguso [Nam, Chŏngok] 2002, 459–63).²⁹ This complex intersection between the US and ROK forces during the Korean War at the combat level was mirrored at the level of military music. The American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) had collaborating Koreans within its organization (“Seoul AFRS Weekly Activities Report (15 Oct–21 Oct),” RG 338), and the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters in Korea had Korean musicians perform during live shows for US troops. In short, the operational interactions between the ROK and the US militaries and the participation of Korean civilians in these collaborative military operations occurred on various levels, including musical operations.

The Armistice negotiations, which started in July 1951, were finally completed by the Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953. The negotiation process was not smooth, and the fighting ranged from dormant to aggressive depending on the ups and downs of the negotiation process until the Armistice agreement was signed. (See, Hermes 1992, 15–512; Kukpangbu Chŏnsa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe 1986, 126–31).

²⁸ The number of KATUSA personnel who were assigned to the US military units in Korea was 27,000 as of December 1952, while the number of US ground forces in Korea in the same month was 247,740 (Finley 1983, 82, 102). In other words, South Korean military personnel constituted more than 10% of the US military strength in Korea during that month.

²⁹ As of December 1952, the number of KSC members was 78,405 (Kukpangbu Kunsap’yŏnch’an Yŏnguso [Nam] 2002, 463), almost one third as many as the number of US ground forces in Korea in the same month.

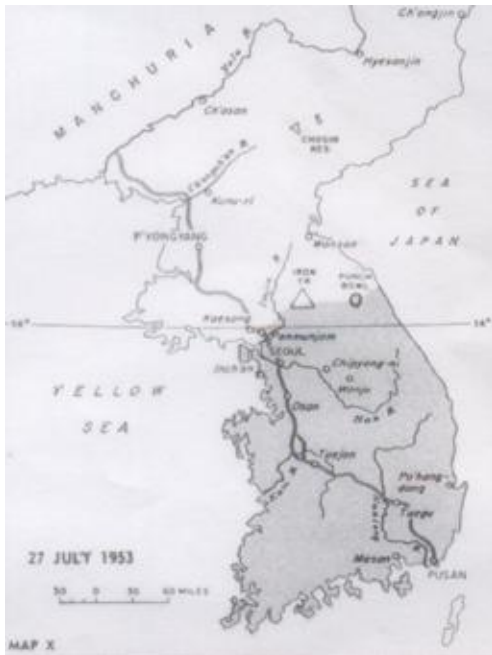


Figure 2-5 The Armistice Line, July 27, 1953 (Finley 1983, 13)

After the agreement was signed, the military collaboration between the ROK and the US continued. This continuing military collaboration was agreed upon between the ROK and the US governments, and was documented as a Mutual Defense Treaty.³⁰ The issue of the unification of the two Koreas was discussed at the Geneva Conference in 1954, but without a fruitful conclusion (Lee, Steven 2001, 116–19). Thus, the two Koreas were to continue the tension of the Armistice system without a peace treaty. At the same time, South Korea remained at the forefront of the tension between the capitalist bloc and the communist bloc in the developing Cold War.

Although the ROK and the US militaries gradually recovered from the emergency situation that they faced during the battles, the ROK military continued expanding during the mid-1950s, after the Armistice Agreement, to cope with the continuing military tension of the

³⁰ This treaty was signed in October 1953 and entered into force in November 1954 (Finley 1983, 102–103).

Armistice and Cold War systems and to compensate for the reduction of US forces as a significant portion of the US military vacated South Korea. From the counteroffensive in September 1950 to the Armistice Agreement in July 1953 and again up to the newly-gained military stability in the mid-1950s, the ROK military constantly expanded, showing an increase in its ground forces from 192,635 in September 1950 to 590,911 in July 1953 to the eventual agreement in December 1954 between the ROK and the US on 720,000 ROK ground forces (Finley 1983, 82; Kukpang Kunsu Yönguso 1994, 162). During the first half of the 1950s, the number of US ground forces in Korea increased from 153,633 in September 1950 to the peak of 320,483 in July 1953, but rapidly decreased to 85,500 by 1955 after the Armistice Agreement (Finley 1983, 82). By this year, the ROK Army Headquarters, Navy Headquarters, and Air Force Headquarters had moved to the capital city, Seoul, leaving their temporary locations in southern cities (Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008, 106; Kukpang Kunsu Yöguso 1994, 164–66). These developments indicate that the ROK military had fully recovered from the emergency situation of the war around the end of this Revitalization and Intensification Period.

Despite the reduction in the number of US troops stationed in Korea after the Armistice Agreement in July 1953, Seoul was becoming a main post of the US military in its Cold War operations in the Far East around the end of the Revitalization and Intensification Period. After the end of the battles in Korea, the US military tailored its organization to fit the new developments of the Cold War. As part of those developments, the Headquarters of the Eighth US Army temporarily moved from Korea to Japan in November 1954, but months later, in July 1955, the Headquarters of the Eighth Army, combined with the Headquarters of the Army Forces Far East, moved back to Seoul, Korea, designated as the Headquarters of the Army Forces Far East / Eighth United States Army (HQ, AFFE/EUSA) (Finley 1983, 106; Kukpang Kunsu

Yōguso 1994, 169). This headquarters in Korea took over the responsibilities of the former Far East Command previously stationed in Japan, which is evidence of the increased importance of Korea in the Cold War strategies of the US military in East Asia at the end of the Revitalization and Intensification Period.

During the Revitalization and Intensification Period, the ROK military developed its music system rapidly to cope with the developing war situations, and the US military built up a large scale military music system in Korea to support its troops and other UN countries' troops. With these two music systems combined, the musical energy concentrated in and around military camps in Korea escalated. School band members were concentrated in military bases and became military band members; civilian musicians from the classical and traditional music and popular music sectors became affiliated with military units to teach, perform, and create music as part of the ROK military's war efforts. US military musicians and civilian musicians entered Korea to support their troops; music was delivered from the US to US military bases in Korea through AFKN music programs and in the form of sheet music; and more and more South Korean musicians "traveled" to US military camps to perform on the camp club stages. The military dominance during the battles and immediately after the Armistice Agreement was a vital factor in the ways musical talents and their activities were integrated into military music operations, crisscrossing musical genres and crossing the border lines between the military and civilian sectors and between the Korean and the American.

ROK Military Bands and Other Military Organizations in Charge of Music

During this Revitalization and Intensification Period, ROK military bands greatly expanded, just as other ROK military units did. The Army Music School also expanded, and various new military music organizations were created. Below is a preliminary diagram of the

ROK military music system during this period that I created based on the information available in six books published by the ROK military (Haegunbonbu 1995; Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008; Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chõnghungongbosil] 1999; Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980]; Yukkunbonbu [Yukkunbonbu Kunsagamsil] 1956; Yukkunbonbu Chõnghungamsil 2000).

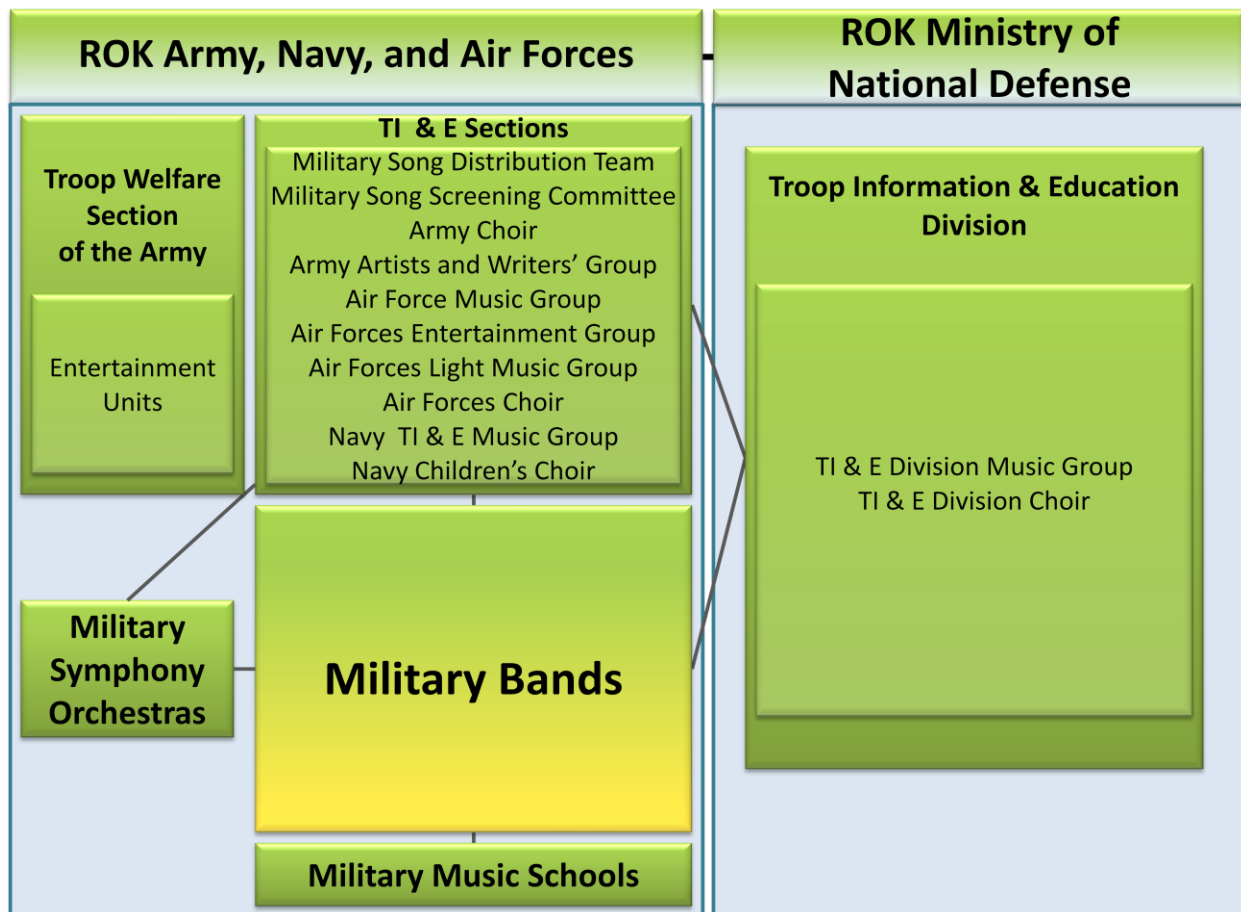


Figure 2-6 Simplified ROK Military Music System during the Korean War, a preliminary diagram

Military Bands

The fluctuating war front, changing extensively from September 1950 to March 1951 and within limited areas around the 38th Parallel from April 1951 to the Armistice Agreement in July 1953, created difficult circumstances for ROK military bands, but, overall, the band organizations continuously expanded during the Revitalization and Intensification Period. Between September 1950 and the Armistice Agreement in July 1953, ROK military bands in different locations faced different situations, but the ROK military bands gradually increased in strength due to the need for musical support for the expanding military organizations on the one hand and owing to the stability in the rear areas away from the battlefields on the other. Damaged infantry division bands of the army were re-created, and new bands were created, including the first ROK Air Force Band and the first ROK Marine Band. During the Revitalization and Intensification Period, the increase in the number of ROK military bands more than tripled the number at the outset of the war.³¹ After the Armistice agreement, the ROK military band organizations gained more stabilization. The return of the major military bands from their temporary bases in southern cities to the capital city of the ROK, Seoul, at the final stage of the Revitalization and Intensification Period was a strong indication of the firm reestablishment of the ROK military band organizations by this time³² (Haegunbonbu 1995, 2–17; Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008, 104–106,163; Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980] 20–223).

³¹ The size of the ROK military bands varied and the number of band members within a unit also changed through the 1950s. It appears that small band units had approximately twenty to thirty members in each band and large ones had approximately sixty to eighty band members each.

³² For example, the ROK Army Headquarters Band and the Navy Headquarters Band, which had been dislocated to southern cities, returned to their original location, Seoul, and the newly-created Air Force Band had moved to Seoul by 1955.

The continuing growth of the ROK military band organizations during this period required the recruitment of new band members, and young men with musical skills at the age of conscription joined the band organizations. Many of them were school band members who played music as an extra-curricular activity, and once they joined the military bands, playing music was no longer an “extra” activity to them. It had become their duty to practice music individually and collectively and to perform publicly, being trained as soldier-musicians in tightly regulated military organizations. The recollection of playing music “day and night [dedicating much time and effort]” as military band members was often repeated by several veteran musicians I interviewed.

Improving their musical techniques within the military band organizations, ROK military band members played music at various military and governmental events. For example, they performed at inspection ceremonies and welcome and farewell events for high-ranking officers and officials. They also played music to see off soldiers for their departure to the war front, to welcome and see off military ships at Navy bases, and to welcome and send off POWs. In addition, they played music for US troops and other UN troops at their arrival and departure and at their military camps in South Korea. The military musicians also played music at marching parades on the streets and at concert halls. The military bands’ performance venues were truly wide-ranging.

Central in the ROK military bands’ repertoires for these military events were military marches. They primarily played western military marches, particularly American composers’ marches. *The Military Music History of the ROK Army* introduces two ROK military marches: “Ch’ungsōngŭl Tahara (Devote Your Loyalty Completely)” and “Hangugŭi Charang (The Pride of the ROK Army),” composed before and during the Korean War by an Army Band officer,

Hüjjo Kim (Yukkunbonbu [Park], 275–81). However, according to the veteran musicians whom I interviewed, ROK military bands' march repertoires were dominated by Sousa marches. The musical and socio-cultural reasons for the disparity between the intent to create Korean military marches and the dominance of Sousa marches will be discussed in chapter 4.

The ROK military utilized the power of music not only through outdoor military events, but also at indoor concerts. Amusing soldiers and citizens with concerts, the ROK military bands achieved their goals for propaganda. For these goals, the bands played diverse types of music in addition to military marches, and they included military songs and classical music pieces, mostly overtures. "Genre-crossing," which I claim to be a defining characteristic of "the genre of military music," was accentuated a bit more within the ROK military music sphere when some of the ROK bands later added to their repertoires songs based on idioms of Korean folk music and other popular songs rearranged for military band instrumentation.

The range of the military bands' audience was as diverse as the types of music they played. The ROK military bands' audience covered a wide spectrum, from military personnel to civilians, and from Koreans to non-Koreans. The bands played music for military personnel at military camps, but when they were marching in the streets, their audience included civilians. At concerts they had both military and civilian audiences. Furthermore, UN troops, the majority of which were US military personnel, were a part of their audience as well. For example, *The Music History of the ROK Army* presents incidents when ROK military bands played music in support of US military units, such as the 10th US Corps and the Korea Military Advisory Group (KMAG) (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 103,140–41).

ROK military bands not only played music for US military personnel as part of their audience, but they also played music together with US military bands. To name a few examples,

the 11th ROK Division Band performed together with the 1st US Marine Band in 1951; the ROK Air Force Band with the 24th US Artillery Division Band in 1953; and the ROK Army Music School Band with the 56th US Army Band in 1952 (Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang], 98; Yukkunbonbu [Park], 127, 164; for more examples of joint concerts, see, Namgung 1966, 18). These kinds of joint concerts were a musical outcome of the military collaboration between the ROK and the US, and they were simultaneously musical representations of the collaborative military structure.³³

This military collaboration between the ROK and the US also opened up spaces that facilitated ROK military musicians' personal interactions with US military personnel. *The ROK Air Force Music History* includes a piece of information about this phenomenon: "Kim ... took saxophone lessons from the 5th US Air Force Swing Band ..." (Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008, 95). This type of musical interaction between South Koreans and US military personnel in the 1950s will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Overall, during the Revitalization and Intensification Period, the ROK military bands expanded rapidly and became firmly established. During the course of the development, the bands' operations involved various types of border crossings. The school band members who had become military band members due to the conscription policy were themselves exemplary of border crossing between military and civilian life. The bands also crossed the boundary between the military and the civilian and the national boundary through a wide range of audience groups: Korean civilian and military audiences along with UN military audiences including US troops. Their repertory crossed boundaries between musical types for the achievement of diverse

³³ The history of the ROK and the US military bands' joint concerts traces back to 1948, when Chosŏn Kyŏngbidae Ch'ongsaryŏngbu Kunaktae (The Chosŏn Garrison Headquarters Band), which was soon renamed ROK Army Headquarters Band, offered a concert along with a US military band in Seoul (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 72).

military goals. Formal and informal musical gatherings among ROK military band members and US military personnel were another type of musical event that crossed national boundaries in the Korean War.

Military Music Schools

Military band members learned music within their band units, practicing steadily, but more focused music education was offered by military music schools. The Navy Music School, which was temporarily closed during the Calamity Period, resumed in February 1951, allowing its first students to finally have their graduation ceremony. By 1955, 136 students had graduated from the school. Paekchŏn Lee, who was a Navy Music School student from 1950 to 1952, recalls: “The classes comprised elementary harmony, general music theories, transcribing notations, and so on. We probably practiced instruments in the morning and learned music theory in the afternoon at the music school. ... The band members were also required to study German, French, and English for the study of Western music because the military band played Western music [for example, European classical music and military marches from the US whose notations contained notes written in the foreign languages].” According to Paekch’ŏn Lee, the Navy Music School envisioned its educational function as comparable to a university-level music school, and the school’s curriculum was designed to provide a comprehensive knowledge for the students’ understanding and interpretation of music, not confined to just enhancing musical skills (personal communication, Oct. 2012).³⁴

The Army Music School, like the Navy Music School, set up a broader goal than just training military musicians; it aimed “to train military musicians and to educate musicians certified by the state as a backbone of the society” (Yukkunbonbu [Park], 124). According to

³⁴ The Air Force didn’t have its own music school, but the Air Force Band had an education unit within its organization responsible for training the band members.

Tongju Chŏng, a former officer of the administrative office of the school, the original plan for the establishment of the school was granting the graduates diplomas comparable to the degrees available from the music schools of the time, and the school's curriculum included elementary music theory, sight-singing, harmony, instrumentation, transcription of music notations as well as individual and collective performance training. Originally the faculty of the Army Music School was comprised of military personnel, some of whom studied music at music schools; during the war, the school employed additional instructors acquired from among the displaced professors and instructors of the School of Music of the Seoul National University, one of the only three music schools at the university level in Korea at that time (personal communication, Chŏng Tongju, Jun. 2010).

However, the original plan to have the students obtain diplomas was not realized due to the turmoil of the war and the insufficient resources of the period. The school needed to prioritize training students to play music rather than teaching systematic music theories during the war. Nonetheless, the Army Music School was the biggest institution for educating wind instrumentalists in South Korea in the 1950s. The school continued recruiting and educating students during the Revitalization and Intensification Period to fill the openings in the increasing number of military bands and the newly-created Army Symphony Orchestra, and the school offered two-year training programs to 360 new students and six-month training programs to 600 new band members, in addition to offering training programs to existing band members until it was closed in February 1955 after fulfilling its responsibilities to train and provide musicians for the expanding army band organization (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 126).³⁵

³⁵ During this period this school extended its role, functioning not only as the educational organization for the bands but also as the main administrative office in control of all the ROK Army bands. In May 1954, about a year after the Armistice, the school moved back to Seoul, and its administrative duties ceased in September 1954 (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 126).

The students from the Navy and the Army Music School also continued to be trained as military musicians in their own military band units until they were discharged in the mid-1950s. The training programs of different band units seem to have varied by a wide range depending on each band chief's policy and the human resources available for teaching within each unit, but some bands seem to have provided excellent training programs to their members. For instance, Jongök Woo recalls that he practiced music individually and collectively in his band and learned music theory including tonal harmony as well. According to him, the theory of tonal harmony was explained and the band members learned it by playing the chords on their instruments and listening by their ears (personal communication, Oct 2010). I would say experiencing the chords and chord progressions played on their wind instruments with different ranges of register might have been more effective for the understanding of tonal harmony than experiencing the chord progressions played on a single piano as we typically do nowadays in classrooms.

Turning back to the discussion of military music schools, the Navy Music School and the Army Music School took a step toward their goal to educate qualified music professionals in South Korean society by educating an increasing number of students; these efforts were further extended through the members' training in the military band units to which they were assigned. It seems that only one among the three universities that had music schools offered a program for wind instrumentalists at the time of the outbreak of the war (for the curriculum of the music schools at the three universities in the 1950s, see, Ryu, Ch'oe, and Lee, 229–44),³⁶ so the training of the hundreds of wind instrumentalists in the Army Music School was an important contribution by the school for music education in South Korea. Additionally, the invitation of

³⁶ The band organized at Yonsei University was a famous amateur band through which wind instrumentalists were trained although there was no music school yet at Yonsei University.

civilian professors and instructors for their teaching at the Army Music Schools as *mungwan* (civilian-officers) during their refugee life was a good example of the enhanced border crossing between the military and the civilian sectors during the Korean War period.

Military Orchestras

The ROK Army created its own orchestra, Yukkun Kyohyangaktan (The ROK Army Symphony Orchestra) in May 1951 in cooperation with the Army Music School and the Army Band organization. The Army hired former members of Koryŏ Kyohyangaktan (The Korea Symphony Orchestra), which had become inoperable due to the war. These members in the military orchestras were entitled “civilian-officers” much like the civilian lecturers affiliated with the Army Music School, and these civilian members, along with students of the Army Music School and members of the army band organization, played music for military propaganda events. The Army Symphony Orchestra offered approximately 50 concerts per year from its first concert in May 1951 until it was disbanded in 1956 (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 171). The Navy also created an orchestra as part of Haegun Chŏnghun Ŭmaktae (The Navy TI & E Music Unit). The Navy employed former members of the Seoul Kyohyangaktan (The Seoul Symphony Orchestra) as “civilian-officers,” and this orchestra along with other groups of the Navy Music Unit offered more than 300 performances during the battle period for both Korean civilian audiences and ROK and UN military audiences (Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chŏnghungongbosil], 74–75). The TI & E Division of the ROK Ministry of National Defense also had former members of Taehan Kyohyangaktan (The Taehan Symphony Orchestra) within its music unit although the orchestral music unit doesn’t seem to have been as fully established nor as active as the Army and the Navy orchestras (Chungangilbosa 1983, 131–33; Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 2000, 215). By hiring musicians as “civilian-officers” and

facilitating these orchestras' performance events, the ROK military functioned as a music management agent; and through the offering of numerous classical music concerts under its management, the military extended its cultural roles during the war while achieving its military goals.

Units under the Supervision of the Troop Information and Education Division and Sections and the Troop Welfare Section

The ROK military's music management function extended further through the activities of the TI & E Division of the Ministry of National Defense, and the Troop Welfare Section and the TI & E Sections of the military. They created various units for the utilization of music and other forms of art and entertainment for military goals, organizing not only military personnel but also civilian talents within the units. The TI & E Division of the Ministry of National Defense defined clearly in its provisions that its actions included "taking artists and artist groups in control" and "boosting morale among troops, policemen, and civilians through military music" (Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 2000, 122–23). Accordingly, this division affiliated itself with civilian musicians and composers along with other artists and entertainers for its military operations. Under this division's supervision, instrumentalists and singers participated in the performance events as members of The TI & E Division Music Group and the TI & E Division Choir. For the performance events, the Music Group and the Choir collaborated with the TI & E Division Band, which I introduced above. For the utilization of military songs, the Artists and Writers' Group, Military Song Distribution Team and Military Song Screening Committee of the Army also assumed a role, and the military songs created under the supervision of the TI & E Division of the Ministry and the Army were incorporated into military bands' repertoires

(Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 2000, 205–16, 362–64). In these ways, ROK military bands cooperated with other units in charge of music.

Also, the Troop Welfare Section of the Army and the TI & E Sections of the Army, Air Force, and Navy utilized civilian musical talents as part of the Army Entertainment Units, the Air Force Music Group, Entertainment Group, Light Music Group, and Choir, and the Navy TI & E Music Group and Children' Choir. This Navy TI & E Music Group was the unit to which the orchestra of the Navy belonged, along with a choir and soloists until the orchestra was recreated as the Navy Symphony Orchestra in 1956.³⁷ (For more information on these units, including organizational changes and the changes in their names, see, Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 1980, 58–61; Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chŏnghungongbosil] 1999, 71–75, 117; Yukkunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 2000, 213–15; Yukkunbonbu [Yukkunbonbu Kunsagamsil] 1956, 320–22)

Overall, the TI & E Division of the Ministry of National Defense began to operate systematically during the Revitalization and Intensification Period, with all the TI & E Sections of the Army, Air Force and Navy better organized for their operations by early 1951, in concert with lower-level military units' TI & E personnel. The Troop Welfare Section of the Army also strengthened its functions during this period. Altogether, they expanded or created military units to support the military actions with music and other types of arts and entertainment. Some of these units were active only during the battle period, but others continued until the mid-1950s. Through the operations of these units, the ROK military not only strengthened its military functions but it also enlarged its subsidiary function; it functioned as a music management agent

³⁷ During the two years from 1951 to 1952, this music unit offered 106 concerts for citizens, 155 concerts for South Korean troops, and 120 concerts for UN troops (Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chŏnghungongbosil], 74–75).

through its arrangement of numerous propaganda performances conducted by both military personnel and civilian musicians.

US Military Organizations in Charge of Music

The US military had already established a substantial military music system before the Korean War, and the system was expanded to Korea after the outbreak of the Korean War. One of the most notable characteristics of the music system was its emphasis on troop entertainment, which obviously distinguished the system from the ROK military music system of the time.

Below is a diagram that shows the US military music system for the Korean War before the Armistice Agreement in a simplified form. This diagram focuses on the musical operations of the Eighth US Army, which was pivotal to the US military's operations in the Korean War. This diagram is a preliminary one, like the diagram of the ROK military music system above.

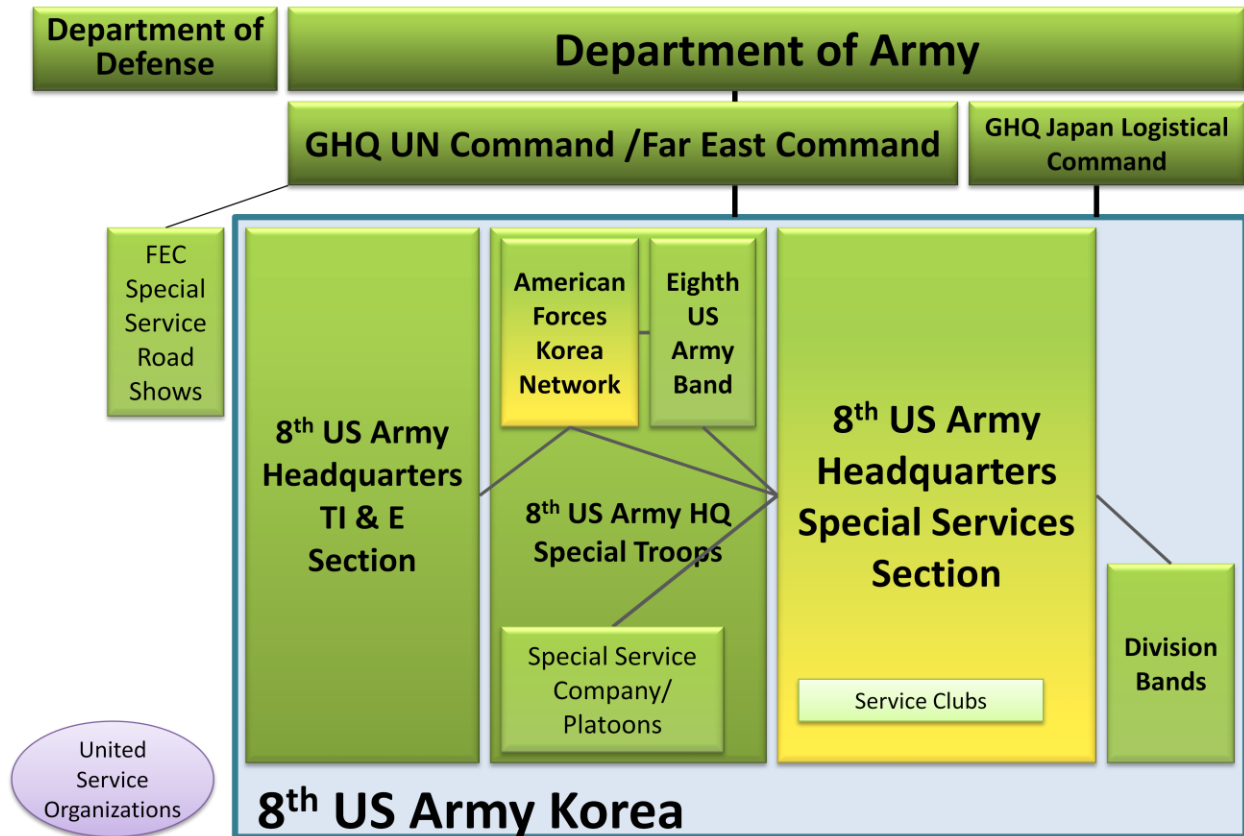


Figure 2-7 Simplified US Military Music System during the Korean War with a Focus on the Eighth US Army, a preliminary diagram

Military Bands

After the success of the Incheon Landing Operation and the counteroffensive around the Pusan Perimeter in mid-September, 1950, more US military bands entered Korea as more US military units were dispatched for further advancement north. By February of 1951, the number of US military bands stationed in Korea had increased to at least nine: the 1st Cavalry Band, 1st Marine Division Band, 2nd Infantry Division Band, 3rd Infantry Division Band, 7th Infantry Division Band, 24th Infantry Division Band, 25th Infantry Division Band, 56th Army Band, and Eighth US Army Band. While the US troops were advancing further north along with other UN troops and the ROK troops, the 124th US Army Band entered Korea in October 1950. Later, this

band was re-designated as the Eighth US Army Band, which has been stationed in South Korea ever since (“Historical Report” 8th Army Band APO 301. RG 338).

Some of the US military bands were severely damaged while going through the second withdrawal from late November 1950 to February 1951, but following the second counteroffensive in the spring of 1951, military band operations seemed to have become quite secure and active. For example, the 25th Infantry Division Band of the Eighth Army’s documents show that in March 1951 the band was performing more actively than in the previous months at ceremonies, concerts, and dinner music, being “greatly appreciated” and “well liked,” and “receiving a large ovation” (“Monthly Historical Report” Twenty-fifth Infantry Division 325-BD Jan–Mar 1951, RG 407). The September 1953 move of the Eighth US Army Band to the Eighth Army Headquarters at Yongsan, Seoul, the home of this representative of US military bands in Korea up to the present, indicates that US military bands’ history in Korea entered a stable stage around this time.

Regarding the categories of the musical performances the US military bands put on, the Eighth US Army Band documents specifically mention concerts, entertainment, dinner music, and dance music as well as martial music which was played at review ceremonies, retreat parades, presentation ceremonies, honor ceremonies for IP’s, guard mount and retreat parades, and decoration ceremonies. These documents show that the band’s performance venues included the main headquarters of the US military in Korea, the Eighth US Army Korea theater and mess halls, military camp service clubs, hospitals, and hotels. Additional venues where US military bands performed included ceremonies outside their military bases such as the celebration of the restoration of Seoul and the Memorial Day Ceremonies at the UN Cemetery.

Compared to the ROK military bands' activities, the most striking aspect of the US military bands' activities in Korea was their dedication to offering entertainment. The veteran ROK military musicians I interviewed recollect that their bands performed primarily for ceremonial events, the martial music type according to the Eighth US Army Band's categorization. Unlike the ROK military bands, US Army bands put as much importance on performances for entertainment as on playing martial music at ceremonies. For instance, troop entertainment was one of the dual missions of the Eighth US Army Band along with its mission as a military band to perform for ceremonies held by various units within the Army.

The US military bands' effort to provide entertainment is also reflected in the ways the bands organized themselves. As an example, the Eighth US Army Band referred to itself "as a concert, marching, and entertainment unit," and in order to fully function as an entertainment unit the band organized various types of sub-bands. The mention of "small combos" begins to appear in the report on March 1951 activities, and in the next month's report the band is mentioned as having "marching, concert, and swing band groups." By June 1951, this band organized three combos within the band "for entertainment purposes." A further report from August 1951 reads, "The working units of the band consisted of 3 Combos, the Marching Band and the Concert Band. A large swing band was organized to augment the Concert Band performances and provide an additional entertainment group." In December 1951, the concert band was even "divided into seven small entertainment units to play for various organizations in the immediate vicinity for New Year's celebrations." Also, mention of "The Eighth Army Dance Band" and "small dance bands" appears in several documents. By dividing the band into various sub-bands, the Eighth US Army Band was able to provide a greater number of entertainment performances in more diverse music types than the band as a whole could actually offer

(“Command Report No 4,” “No 5,” “No 6,” No 7,” No 8,” No 9,” “Command Report November 1951,” “Commander Report December 1951,” RG 338).³⁸

Special Services Sections

The US military bands’ efforts to provide entertainment for the troops were only a small part of the US military’s enormous troop entertainment project. The most central organization in this extensive and systematic endeavor during the Korean War period was the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters. Although there were multiple organizational changes in the military structure during this Revitalization and Intensification Period, throughout this period, the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters remained intact to play a pivotal role in providing entertainment for US and other UN troops in Korea.

This Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters functioned in cooperation with the Special Services Section of the Far East Command General Headquarters stationed in Japan (until it was closed during the final stage of the Revitalization and Intensification Period) and the Special Services Division in the Adjutant General’s Office of the Department of Army in Washington D.C. (The Department of War is also mentioned in the military documents created by the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section, although less frequently than the Department of Army.) This Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters also collaborated with the Special Services Section of the Japan Logistics Command of the US military stationed in Japan as well as the Special Services Sections of the other US Commands in Korea.³⁹

³⁸ For instance, in July 1951, in addition to the band’s performances at ceremonies, the Eighth US Army Band offered 66 performances (more than two performances per day in addition to ceremonial events), among which 55 performances were offered by small combos.

³⁹ For example, the Special Services Section of the Korean Communications Zone had the Athletics & Recreation Division, and this division contained the Entertainment Branch. This branch’s responsibilities included “circuiting, routing and coordination of all live entertainment” for the members who belonged to the Korea Communications Zone (“Organizational Chart, Special Services Section, Korean Communications Zone,” RG407). The Special

In collaboration with the Special Services Division and Sections, the Eighth Army Special Services Section provided resources for the musical activities of the US Army and Air Force personnel in Korea (later also the Navy personnel) and other UN countries' troops as well.⁴⁰ This section also arranged various types of live shows for the troops, including civilian shows, soldier shows, and military-produced shows featuring civilians, in addition to US military bands' performances. The Service Clubs run by this section were part of the venues for the musical performances arranged by this section.

Regarding civilian shows, it seems that Al Jolson and his piano accompanist, who entered Korea immediately after the success of the Incheon Landing Operation in September 1950, were the first two US civilian musicians who performed for the US troops in South Korea ("Chronology of Al Jolson Tour in Far East Command," RG 554). The next civilian show unit that appears in the Special Sections' documentation is Bob Hope and the accompanying 65 performers, including musicians who entered Korea in October 1950. They offered shows even in P'yŏngyang and Hamhŭng, the occupied North Korean cities, to entertain US troops and other UN troops there ("Schedule of Bob Hope Celebrity Show Performances," RG 554).

The civilian entertainers' tours in Korea were initiated in various ways. Some performances were the result of the performers' own desire/willingness, as in the case of Al Jolson, and some were arranged "on invitation order of the DA [the Department of the Army]" as in the case of Grandpa Jones Hillbilly entertainment group, who toured in Korea in March 1951 ("Billeting of IP Entertainers," RG 407). Many of the US civilian entertainment groups were

Services Section of the Far East Command, which had broader and more general responsibilities than the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters, had an Entertainment-Music Branch in the Recreation Division, and this branch was in charge of initiating and coordinating policy about entertainment-music activities, advising officers, reviewing proposed budgets of subordinate commands, and managing technical data ("Recreation Division." RG 554).

⁴⁰ The main US military participants in the Korean War were the Eighth US Army, the 5th US Air Force, and the 7th Fleet of the US Navy.

brought to Korea in collaboration with Camp Shows, Inc., which was “the official liaison agency for procuring talent from the entertainment industry for all shows for the [US] military” and “an integral member organization within the USO [United Service Organizations]” (Coffey 1991, 53).⁴¹ In spring 1951, the first USO Camp Shows unit toured in Korea, and according to *50 Years of USO*, “Camp Shows, Inc., ... sent out 126 entertainment units, which put on over fifty-four hundred shows for the service personnel in Korea [probably by 1953]. In 1953, not a single day passed without a Camp Shows unit staging a show somewhere in Korea” (Coffey 1991, 53).

While arranging the shows sent by Camp Shows, Inc. and various celebrity units’ shows, the Special Services Sections simultaneously produced shows of their own, featuring US civilian performers in some performances and featuring solely military personnel in others. The Special Services Section of the Far East Command Headquarters produced Special Services Road Shows beginning in December 1950, for example, “a riety Revue” and “Hillbilly Hayride,” featuring “Department of the Army civilians.”⁴² Special Services Platoons’ shows were another type produced by the US military, but these show units comprised military personnel. These platoons’ duties were to provide various forms of entertainment for the troops, including production and offering of musical performances. After the 2nd Special Services Platoon’s arrival in November 1950, four more platoons of the 10th Special Services Company entered Korea one by one, making a total of 5 Special Services Platoons operating in Korea by July 1951. The platoons’ performances constituted only a part of the broader “soldier shows” category. Soldier shows

⁴¹ The United Service Organizations started in 1941 and was closed after World War II. After its temporary operations in 1949, the USO stopped operating again in January 1950. However, the Korean War was a significant military event that reactivated the USO (Coffey 1993, 1–51). “By the end of the 1950s, the USO had established itself as a permanent organization dedicated to meeting the social and recreational needs of service personnel wherever they might be” (USO 54).

⁴² They seem to have been civilian performers employed by the Department of the Army.

were also produced within typical military units, utilizing talent selected from the military personnel within the units.

My analysis shows that the supply of all the aforementioned types of live entertainment arranged by the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army went through different phases over the course of the Revitalization and Intensification Period. The number of entertainment units entering Korea began to increase noticeably as compared to the previous year when the war was approaching the armistice negotiations in 1951.⁴³ The abundant offering of live shows continued until 1952. After the Armistice Agreement in 1953, the show units comprised of civilians coming from the US slightly and very gradually decreased, but this does not necessarily mean that the overall scale of entertainment activities of the US military in South Korea diminished after this point. Rather, the Special Services Section of the Eighth Army Headquarters was planning to extend its organization and expand its programs after the Armistice Agreement was signed by utilizing alternative human resources and methods.

After the Armistice Agreement, the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section planned for the expansion of multiple Special Services Sections of the military and for an increase in the number of Special Services companies and platoons stationed in Korea. “Additional personnel are needed during the post-armistice period, to augment Corps, Division, and Area Command Special Services Sections. It was deemed necessary to establish provisional Special Services Companies for this purpose, attaching an operation platoon to each Corps, Division, and Area Command” (“Special Services Section Feeder Report for Combat Operations Command Report [RCS CSGPO-28 (R1)] for the Period 1–3 September 1953,” RG 338).

⁴³ Measuring not only by the increase in the number of entertainment units, but also by the increase in the number of playing days of some entertainment units, the total number of performances offered in a month increased. For instance, the playing days of the USO Camp Show units increased from 34 days to 40 and again to more than 50 by the end of 1952. By increasing the playing days of each Camp Show unit, the increase in the number of USO Camp Show units serving in Korea at any given time accordingly increased.

The support for “self-entertainment,” i.e. soldiers’ leisure activities entertaining themselves rather than being entertained by performers, also continued to expand. Recommendations for self-entertainment had already started in December 1950, and more systematic efforts were made to facilitate a greater number of self-entertainment programs from around the beginning of the armistice negotiations as the battlefields were becoming confined within limited areas and the initiation of armistice negotiations signaled the coming of a more stable situation. These efforts increased even more after the Armistice Agreement. For example, the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section shifted the responsibilities of the 10th Special Services Company and its platoons from performance units to performance facilitation units in order to help the troops to create their own soldier shows; and it held various contests, such as hillbilly contests, in order to encourage soldiers’ participation in recreational activities. For the self-entertainment project, the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters also requested musical instruments and sheet music, such as the Armed Forces Song Folio series,⁴⁴ to distribute to military units for “dance band and combo band potentials” (“Special Services Section Quarterly Historical Report, YMHS–2, 1 January–31 March 1955,” RG 338).

The programs described above—various “self-entertainment” programs, soldier shows, US civilian shows and military bands’ performances as well— formed a large scale troop entertainment system, but the US military’s goals were even more ambitious than could be

⁴⁴ This sheet music series already existed during World War II. As of 1950, the title was *Army Hit Kit of Popular Songs*, and it was issued by the Special Services Division, Adjutant General’s Office, the Department of the Army. From January 1951, it was published under the title, “Armed Forces Song Folio” and was issued by the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force of the USA. Another series with a similar title was “Army Hit Kit for Soldier Shows,” which contained quartet arrangements for the production of soldier shows, and this series was prepared by the Adjutant General, Department of the Army. I found a publication that seems to be a predecessor of these notations series: *Army & Navy Song Folio No. 1*, published probably in the early 20th century.

achieved through these shows and programs.⁴⁵ The US military's tremendously high goals for its troop entertainment offerings necessitated the incorporation of South Korean musicians and entertainers into its military music system. The mention of "local entertainment" for "the benefit of troops in Korea" appears in a document created in November 1950 at the beginning of the Revitalization and Intensification Period ("Annex J [Special Services] to Standing Operating Procedure," RG 407),⁴⁶ and since that time, the US military was making systematic efforts to bring South Korean show units and band units to its troop entertainment stages.

My analysis of the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section documents reveals that the year 1952 was the most remarkable in the development of the history of the US military's utilization of Korean performers for its troop entertainment. In this year, the military did "studies" and made plans for the utilization of Korean performers to entertain its troops, and it set up a system to better control the Korean performers, preparing wage scales and devising audition and documentation systems for the hiring of South Korean entertainment units. In December 1953, the US military went even further in their systematized utilization of Korean performers by publishing the policies and procedures to administrate entertainment provided by Koreans.

Under the tight control of the US military, South Koreans' live shows on the US military camp club stages continued throughout the Revitalization and Intensification Period (and during the next period as well). This entertainment project of the US military even brought about the birth of Korean entertainment agencies collaborating with the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters. This collaboration between the US military and South Korean

⁴⁵ The necessity for more live shows is well indicated by the case of the Eighth US Army Band, which divided itself into multiple sub-bands to offer more performances than the band as one unit could provide, as I explained above.

⁴⁶ Some literature on Korean popular music and my interviews with veteran musicians reveal that Koreans' performances in US military camps started even earlier.

civilians for the US military entertainment project resulted in a burgeoning entertainment business that had never existed in Korea before the Korean War.⁴⁷

As I have explained so far, the Eighth US Army Special Services Section, in consort with other military and civilian organizations,⁴⁸ arranged various types of entertainment programs, but my understanding is that live show programs including musical performances were unique in their effectiveness. Numerous musical performances are described in multiple documents created by the Special Services Sections as having received an excellent audience reception. Although the Far East Command Motion Picture Service seems to have developed a rivalry with the musical performances in terms of popularity, Col. Charles W. Christenberry, the US Army's chief of Special Services in 1951, mentioned, "There is no substitute for live professional entertainment as a morale builder. ... It brings something to the men in uniform that even movies can't equal" (Coffey 1991, 53). It seems that from the military leadership's point of view, movie screening couldn't surpass live shows, including music performances, for morale building purposes.

Armed Forces Radio Service (American Forces Korea Network)

While the Special Services Sections were producing and arranging live performances and providing sheet music and musical instruments for troop entertainment, the Armed Forces Radio Service provided music on air to entertain the troops.⁴⁹ In late September 1950, about two weeks after the Incheon Landing Operation and more than two months after the evacuation of the WVTP (former Armed Forces Radio Service unit stationed in Korea) from Korea upon the

⁴⁷ For more information on the South Korean entertainment agencies in collaboration with the US military, refer to Hyunjoon Shin, et al., 24–27.

⁴⁸ In regard to civilian organizations, the American Red Cross, in addition to the USO, was actively involved in the Special Services Sections' operations.

⁴⁹ AFRTS is the current name of the central US military broadcast system stationed in Los Angeles. Its former name before it started television broadcasting, including during the Korean War period in the 1950s, was AFRS (American Forces Radio System). AFN-K (American forces Network-Korea) is the current name of the network stationed in Korea. Its former name was AFKN (American Forces Korean Network).

outbreak of the war, a US Army unit (an Armed Forces Radio Service Detachment, the 8214th Army Unit) was activated in order to operate a radio station in Korea.⁵⁰ After its arrival in Seoul, it went on air on Oct 4.⁵¹ This unit was eventually attached to the Special Troops Section of the Eighth US Army, to which the Eighth US Army Band and the Special Services Company and Platoons were also attached. It also operated in close contact with the Special Services Section and the TI & E Section of the Eighth US Army. In 1951, this military unit was re-designated as the American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) (“History of AFRS Seoul,” RG 338 ; “Armed Forces Radio Service detachment 8214 Army Unit Report for Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec, 1950,” RG 407; www.afnkorea.net).

Several mobile stations supported the troops during their movements in the battlefields. By spring 1951, three moving stations in addition to two permanent stations in Pusan and Taegu were operating, and by 1953, four more mobile stations were added, totaling nine stations. These stations in Korea “reach[ed] nine out of every ten men [US military personnel] in Korea” by April 1953 (John Sacx, April 25, 1953). After the Armistice Agreement in June 1953, despite four mobile stations’ deactivation, the AFKN further solidified its organization, opening its main studios in Seoul, opening a new station at a US Air Force base, and settling mobile stations at fixed locations (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?], 75–76).

Entertainment programs were a significant part of the AFKN’s content, and music was an essential component of the AFKN entertainment programs. John Sacx wittily pointed out that entertainment was regarded as “only the number-four mission of the AFRS [Armed Forces Radio

⁵⁰ The first American Forces Radio Services correspondent arrived in Pusan in July (<http://www.afnkorea.net/>) before the Armed Forces Radio Detachment was dispatched to Korea.

⁵¹ The AFRS in Korea initially broadcast 21 hours per day. Having temporarily been reduced to 18 hours, the air time soon got back to 21 hours, and eventually further increased to 24 hours a day.

Service]” and was described as filler, but “curiously there’s more entertainment on AFKN than any other station in the world” (John Sacx, April 25, 1953). A document created by the Armed Forces Radio Service Detachment soon after its arrival in South Korea shows that this military unit had a very positive outlook toward its entertainment programs, including music programs, from its initial stage: “It is also believed that the entertainment shows aired at night will serve a greater audience need” (“Seoul AFRS Weekly Activities Report (4 Oct–7 Oct),” RG 338). This unit also stated: “Audience is growing by leaps and bounds and we are very popular. Those who come in to visit, and there are many many visitors, tell us they like our accent on music” (“Seoul AFRS Weekly Activities Report [15 Oct–21 Oct],” RG 338). More specifically, music programs were more popular than any other AFKN programs. The US troops’ preferences, as seen through their mail, went thusly: “[p]opular music held the top spot, country music second, commercial network variety shows were third and mystery programs fourth” (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?], 75).⁵²

Primary sources for the AFKN music programs were selections from the programs created by the American Force’s Radio Services in Los Angeles and the Far East Network stationed in Japan, although the AFKN stations also recorded and broadcast their own local music performances, including the Eighth Army Band’s concerts and selections from the performances by the soldier show units and civilian entertainers touring in Korea.⁵³ These AFKN

⁵² An AFKN radio schedule printed in the *Stars and Stripes* shows that many programs were allotted to music. According to the schedules for April 26 and 27, 1953, at least fourteen music programs were on air: Music for You, Broadway is My Beat, Music for Late Listening, Disc Jockey Request Show, Western Music, Popular Music, Band Music, Vocalist, Popular Request Show, Dance Bands, Symphonic Music, Latin Music, Western Request Show, and Music from America (John Sacx, April 25, 1953). The number of music programs might be even greater because I did not count the titles that didn’t explicitly indicate their content. One of the earliest music programs during the Korean War was Rice Paddy Ranger, a play-by-request show that was on air for about 4 hours a day.

⁵³ According to the *History of AFRTS*, the first station established in 1950 already had a “record library, which contained more than 100,000 musical selections ranging from country to classical to the top ten” (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?]). In April 1953 *The Stars and Stripes* stated, “each station has 20 or 30 thousand records, too, for disc jockey shows” (John Sacx, April 35, 1953). The

music programs in the 1950s targeted US troops in Korea and, additionally, other UN country troops, but Korean audiences were also listening to the AFKN music programs, a phenomenon which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 in terms of its influence on South Korean musicultural development.

Consolidation Period: 1956–1961

Following the expansion of the ROK military and the reorganization of the US military in Korea during the last years of the Revitalization and Intensification Period, each military underwent further reorganization during the Consolidation Period, which aimed for the stabilization of the Korean Armistice system and the worldwide Cold War system. Whereas the ROK military continued expanding during the Revitalization and Intensification Period, during this Consolidation Period the number of ROK ground forces decreased; for example, in comparison to the 1954 agreement between the ROK and the US on 720,000 ROK ground forces in South Korea, the militaries reached an agreement in 1960 to reduce the number of ROK ground forces to 600,000 after the repeated downsizing of the ROK military during this period. The decrease in the number of ground forces was compensated for by the increase and enhancement of weaponry in South Korea, an extreme example of which was the arrival of US atomic cannons and nuclear rocket launchers in South Korea in January 1958 (Kukpang Kunsu Yōguso 1994, 162–231). By this time, the Headquarters of the UN Command had already moved “from Tokyo to Seoul in conjunction with an overall reorganization of US military forces and command structure in the Pacific” (Finley 1983, 108). Based on US military strategy within the Cold War context, South Korea had become a new primary post for the US military in the East

Far East Network also broadcast programs to personnel in Korea. Some of the local programs produced by the AFKN were even sent to the Far East Network and the Armed Forces Radio Service in LA for distribution to the AFRS networks in other areas of the globe.

Asia and Pacific areas, having not only the command of the US Forces Korea, including the US Navy Force Korea, the US Air Force Korea, and the US Army Korea/the Eighth US Army, but also the UN Command concentrated in Seoul (107).

During this period, the military music system of the ROK was scaled down in accordance with the overall reorganization of the military and due to the progress in the stabilization of the Armistice System. The military dominance of musicians and musical activities was diminished and the civilian music sector was gaining more and more impetus. In contrast, the US military music system didn't necessarily shrink during this period. The musical activities in the US military camps remained active during this period, probably due to the military's effort for its troop entertainment particularly in this newly-emerging military center in the Cold War.

ROK Military Bands and Other Military Organizations in Charge of Music

During this period, the total number of ROK military bands decreased slightly. Although the ROK Navy and Air Force created more bands during the restructuring process of the military organizations, the reduction in the number of army bands resulted in a decrease in the total number, which reflected the decrease in the overall size of the ROK ground forces (Haegunbonbu 1995, 2–17; Konggun Yöksagirok Kwallidan [Chang] 2008, 103–109; Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 69–223).

Another important change occurred in the personnel. In 1956, three years after the Armistice Agreement, ROK military band members were finally allowed to be discharged. The delayed approval of the military band musicians' discharge indicates that a great deal of weight was put on the military bands in the war and during the armistice stabilization process. Military musicians were categorized as a special skill group and discharged later than the typical drafted soldiers. After spending up to five years learning, practicing and performing music in the

military organizations in their late teens and early twenties, these discharged military musicians were released into the civilian sector with the potential to develop professional careers in music.

As the demand for new military musicians during this period decreased, the changes in the status of military music schools followed. The ROK Army Music School no longer existed, and the Navy Music School, although it continued admitting new students, was less prominent. The Navy Music School was restructured and renamed Kunak Kyoyuktae (The Military Music Education Unit) in 1960, signifying the attenuation of this educational organization (Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chõnghungongbosil] 1999, 412; Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 126).

During this period, the two military orchestras were also disbanded. The Army Symphony Orchestra was disbanded in 1956. The members from this orchestra, including those members who studied at the Army Music School, had become a foundational human resource for the newly forming KBS Kyohyangaktan (The Korean Broadcast System Symphony Orchestra). Earlier in the same year, the orchestra that belonged to the Navy TI & E Music Group was renamed the ROK Navy Symphony Orchestra, but the next year, this orchestra was also disbanded and recreated into Seoul Kyohyangaktan (Seoul Symphony Orchestra), which was renamed Seoul Sirip Kyohyangaktan (The Seoul Municipal Symphony Orchestra) in 1960. In contrast, the ROK Air Force created its new orchestra in 1958, comprising primarily Air Force band members and additional civilian affiliates for the string section, and it existed into the next decade, but it seems that this orchestra was not as active as the Army Symphony Orchestra and the Navy TI & E Music Unit's orchestra had been during the Revitalization and Consolidation Period. (Im, Wõnsik 1991, 417–20; Lee, Kim and Min 2001, 262; Konggun Yõksagirok

Kwallidan [Chang] 2008, 228–32; Taehanminguk Haegun [Haegunbonbu Chŏnghungongbosil] 1999, 117; Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 171)

The music-related units created under the control of the TI & E Division and Sections and the Soldier Welfare Section also seem to have been mostly discontinued by this period. Not all the dismissal dates of these units are found through documentation, but interviews with musicians who lived during the Korean War period indicate that musicians affiliated with this type of unit returned to their civilian professional music careers by this time after serving the military that protected them during the tumultuous period.

US Military Organizations in Charge of Music

The status of the Eighth US Army Band as the most representative music unit of the US military stationed in South Korea was strengthened during the Consolidation Period, presumably due to the increased significance of South Korea to the US military strategy as the new location of the General Headquarters of the United Nations Command, which was previously stationed in Japan. By April 1955, the strength of this band was reduced compared with its size in the earlier years of the Revitalization and Intensification Period, but during the Consolidation Period, its strength grew.⁵⁴ The exact number of US military bands stationed in South Korea during this period is unknown, but it is possible there were at least two more US military bands because two divisions were stationed in South Korea most of this time period.

The most striking aspect of the US military music operations during this period is the US military's continued effort to offer entertainment to its troops. The inconsistency in the ways the US military documented the number of show units and performances they offered prevent

⁵⁴ In November 1950, the strength of this military band was 2 warrant officers and 68 enlisted men. By April 1955 the band's strength was reduced to 1 warrant officer and 28 enlisted men during the US military reduction during the final stage of the Revitalization and Intensification Period. However, in June 1956 during the Consolidation Period, it increased to 1 warrant officer and 42 enlisted men.

accurate comparisons between the two different time periods, but what can be roughly determined is that the entertainment offerings didn't decrease during the Consolidation Period proportional to the decrease in the number of US troops in Korea. For example, the number of US ground forces in Korea during the Consolidation Period was about one quarter of the number during the month of the Armistice Agreement, July 1953, but the number of performance offerings and music notation books did not decrease at all. From October to December in 1958, 98 performance units offered 4,336 performances for the troops in the areas where the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section was in charge, averaging about 1,445 shows per month, whereas in July 1953, only 14 US military and civilian show units and additional Korean show units were offering performances for the troops. Also, the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army requested 2,000 copies of the Song Folio and 180 sets of "orchestration" per month in 1958 for the US troops, whereas the section requested only 600 copies of the Song Folio and 100 sets of "dance orchestration" per month soon after the outset of the armistice negotiations.⁵⁵

The expansion in US military entertainment in South Korea during the Consolidation Period is also detected in the expansion of the AFKN network. By 1957, the number of AFKN stations in South Korea increased to fifteen: one key station in Seoul, six network stations, and eight relay stations. Also by this year, "AFKN had become an independent network providing complete programming service to all American Armed Forces stationed in South Korea" (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?], 76). In the same year, the AFKN also started broadcasting TV programs. By 1961, the number of

⁵⁵ Also, despite the decreased number of US ground forces in Korea, the Special Services Section facilitated more Special Service Clubs during this Consolidation Period; in the summer of 1958, the Special Service Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters made plans for the construction of 6 more clubs in addition to running the existing 12 clubs.

AFKN TV stations in South Korea increased to two main stations and fifteen additional relay stations (Hanguk Pangsong Kongsu, 947–48). The increase in the number of AFKN stations during the Consolidation Period meant that an increased number of South Koreans gained access to the AFKN music programs because the transmission of the AFKN programming was not confined to the US military bases, but could be picked up by anyone near the AFKN stations if they had a radio receiver. The importance of this accessibility for South Korean musicultural development will be discussed in chapter 5.

Another important characteristic of the US military music system during this period is the steep increase in the military's hiring of South Korean musicians for its troop entertainment. The increasing significance of the Koreans' performances in the US military's entertainment project can be seen both in the Eighth US Army Special Services Section's documentation method and in the documented statistical information. In 1952, the Special Services Section mentioned the Koreans' performances simply as "numerous indigenous shows" in its documents. However, in 1958, the section documented South Koreans' participation in its troop entertainment with accurate statistical information side by side with the statistical information about the US military and civilian shows in Korea. For example, during the last quarter of 1958, among the 98 show units involved in the US military entertainment in South Korea, 76 units were Korean floor show units and band units, taking up about three quarters of the total performance units.⁵⁶ (Among the 98 units, 14 units were US soldier and civilian show units, and 8 units were "foreign professional show" units from other foreign countries.) Among the 4,336 performances offered during this period, 3,792 performances were offered by Korean show units and band units while 205

⁵⁶ The entertainment program statistics in this document are about the last three-month period of 1958 although the title page of this document indicates that it covers the period from September to December of the year. It seems that the cover page erroneously has the word "September" instead of October, considering that each of the cover pages of the other 1958 documents in this folder specifies the time period that the document covers respectively as January to March, April to June, and July to September.

performances were offered by US military and civilian show units; performances offered by Koreans were about 18.5 times the number of performances offered by US military personnel and civilians. In addition, the statistics for the year 1958 reveal a steep increase in the Korean performance groups' involvement in US military entertainment throughout the four quarters of that year. The performances offered by Korean show units and band units increased from 1,851 during the first quarter of the year to 1,866 during the second quarter to 2,298 during the third and eventually to 3,792 during the last quarter of the year, whereas the US military and civilian shows decreased from 352 to 303, 235, and finally to 205 during the four quarters of the year. Considering the USO's own statistics that the total number of performances provided by the USO during the Korean War (probably the three year battle period from 1950 to 1953) was 5,400, it is remarkable that South Korean performers provided 3,792 performances during just a three-month period in 1958.

Conclusion

In response to the demands of the Korean War, the scope of military music in South Korea expanded radically in the 1950s. The ROK military music system was still in its infancy when the Korean War broke out, but it grew rapidly during the few years of the Revitalization and Intensification Period after its struggles to sustain itself during the Calamity Period. The number of ROK military bands almost tripled during the first four years of the Revitalization and Intensification Period, and other military music organizations also temporarily expanded or were newly created during this period, organizations whose operations were interwoven with military bands' activities in support of the war. Another important factor in the development of military music during the Korean War was the entry of part of the already-fully-grown US military music

system, particularly on a large scale during the Revitalization and Intensification Period and with the Headquarters of the Eighth US Army most central in the operations.

During the Consolidation Period, most of the ROK military music organizations that were expanded or newly-created during the Revitalization and Intensification period were diminished or disbanded as the armistice system was stabilized, but the military band organizations endured most steadily as the most representative music organizations of the military. The US military's musical support for its troop entertainment in South Korea maintained its strength overall during the Consolidation Period despite the decrease in the number of the troops stationed in the country. South Korea was gaining significance for the US in the geopolitics of the Cold War during the Consolidation Period as the location of the Eighth US Army combined with the US Army Forces Far East since 1955, and as the new location of the UN Command Headquarters since 1957. In this new military center in the developing Cold War, troop entertainment was being integrated into the US military personnel's routine.

By examining the development of the ROK and US military music systems in South Korea in the 1950s, I identify three main types of border crossings characteristic to the military music operations in the Korean War during this decade. First of all, boundary crossings between the military and the civilian sectors sharply increased while the scope of military music was expanding. The expansion of the ROK military music system meant not only the new creation of musical resources within the military music sector, but also the folding of existing musical and human resources in the civilian sector into the military music system. A large number of South Korean amateur and professional civilian musicians were organized under the control of the military to perform in support of the war, and their performances as a part of military operations targeted not only audiences of military personnel but also civilian audiences. Likewise, the US

military involved not only its military personnel but also US and South Korean civilian musicians in its military music operations in South Korea.

Second, while the distinction between the military and the civilian was blurred under the control of the military in the war situation, the boundaries between musical types and genres became more flexible than they had been before in South Korea. The ROK military utilized diverse types of music during the war by affiliating musical talents within the classical, traditional, and popular music sectors with the military orchestras, TI & E Division and Sections, the Army Troop Welfare Section, the Army Music School, and the military orchestras for its propaganda and troop entertainment. Initially, the ROK military bands played primarily military marches and classical music pieces, but the Korean War period was a critical juncture when more ROK military bands embraced popular music into their repertory. Compared with the ROK military, the US military's use of popular music was far more systematic and extensive. The role of popular music is demonstrated in the AFKN's offering of various popular music programs; the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters' distribution of popular music notation series and musical instruments; and its provision of live shows of popular music for its troops in cooperation with other levels of Special Services Sections and non-military organizations and musicians.

Third, during the course of the ROK-US military collaboration, transnational musical contact zones developed in and around the US military bases within the South Korean territory and became filled with various types of musical travels. The US military established its music circuit that connected its centers in the US and its newly rising centers in Korea directly or oftentimes indirectly via its Asian-Pacific centers such as their military bases in Japan. Through this military music circuit and its extended networks to civilian organizations in the US and in

South Korea, the US military facilitated the transpacific musical flows from the US to the US military zones in South Korea, which were redirected to South Korean cultural zones and were incorporated into new formations of South Korean musiculture as I will further discuss in the following chapters.

The ROK military and the US military's roles as facilitators of multiple types of border crossings help us gain new insight into the significance of military music beyond the scope of the military. Regarding the ROK military, during its expansion in the Revitalization and Intensification Period, it exerted significant agency in music education in South Korea, especially in educating wind instrumentalists. By absorbing drafted amateur musicians, primarily school band members, into the military band organizations and training them in these bands and additionally educating them in the military music schools, the military functioned as a significant educational agent in wind instrumental music in South Korea. Especially considering that there was only one university offering programs for performance in wind instrumental music before the outbreak of the Korean War, the multi-year training of hundreds of military band members should be counted as a significant contribution by the ROK military to South Korean music education, although the impact of this coercive conscription on drafted individuals' lives needs more investigation. The influence of the ROK military as an educational agent was not confined to wind instrumental music but spanned broader areas of music, as was seen in the case of the students of the Army Music School and members of the ROK military bands who filled positions in the Korean Broadcasting System Symphony Orchestra starting in the Consolidation Period. Also, the musical experiences and training in the military band organizations enabled many military band members to become music teachers, professors, and professional musicians and composers both in the classical and popular music sectors after they left the military bands, some

examples of which will be discussed in the following chapters. The ROK military also functioned as a significant music management agent by arranging a large number of performance events offered by the military bands, orchestras, and the entertainment units under the TI & E and Troop Welfare Division and Sections for both the military and civilian audiences.

Regarding cultural agency in music management, the US military far surpassed the ROK military. The US military invested tremendous effort into entertaining its troops in order to build morale and arranged a vast number of live shows for the troops. In particular, the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters, which functioned on the belief, “a singing army is a cheerful army, and a cheerful army is invincible,” played a central role in this entertainment project of the military.⁵⁷ This section’s troop entertainment objectives went beyond the level of the available music resources within the US military and from the US, even necessitating the hiring of South Korean entertainers for its troop entertainment. This situation brings our attention to another form of cultural agency of the US military. The US military functioned as a facilitator of various transnational musical flows between the US cultural zones and South Korean cultural zones. The military brought the audiences of the US military personnel and South Korean musicians into shared performance venues in the US military zones in South Korea, motivating South Korean musicians to learn the music of the US military personnel, primarily various types of popular music from the US. The military’s delivery of popular music resources from the US to South Korea for its troops via the AFKN music programs and in the form of sheet music simultaneously functioned as a delivery of music resources to the South Korean cultural zones: they were adopted by South Korean musicians who performed in the US military zones, and South Korean audiences listened to the music on the

⁵⁷ The Eighth US Army Headquarters’ Special Services Section used this quotation, citing Ed. Arthur Dolph, as a closing to the reasons it was planning to broaden its music programs (“Nonappropriated Funding Program, Fiscal Year 1951, Eighth Army Special Services,” RG 338).

AFKN. This section's hiring and auditioning of South Korean shows for its troop entertainment and its delivery of various forms of music from the US to South Korea had significant ramifications for the development of South Korean popular music, and this aspect will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The state has the power enabled by "*the culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital*" (Bourdieu 1998, 41), and backed by the power of the ROK and the US, the ROK military and the US military exerted significant cultural agency in the musicultural development in South Korea during the Korean War period of the 1950s. The ROK military had youth capable in music under its control by using its coercive means of conscription; the military also had music professionals voluntarily affiliated to the military in return for its protection based on its physical and financial power. The ROK also developed an educational system and music management system within the military by using its organizational and financial power. The US military, backed by the power of the US, brought profound musical and human resources for its military music operations into South Korea and absorbed South Korean musical talent for its troop entertainment, laying the foundation for the development of the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War: "Transboundary exchanges ... cannot exist without some kind of infrastructural support which facilitates transactions or provides resources for making connections and facilitates exchange. Infrastructures thus influence the overall level of interaction capacity ... and the potential magnitude of regional interconnectedness" (Faist 2004, 5). During the Korean War period in the 1950s, the infrastructure for the transnational musical flows and travels between the US and South Korean cultural zones were established primarily by the US military using various "species of capital" accumulated through the federal state system of the US. The US military with its publication system, transportation system, radio network

system, and vast troop entertainment management system, and its backing by the financial, political and cultural power of the US, initiated and propelled intense and immense transnational musical flows and travels.

Grounded in this understanding of the capacity of the ROK and the US militaries as cultural agents supported by the state power of the ROK and the US, in the following chapters I will explore the impact of the cultural agency of the two militaries, reveal individuals' interactions with institutional agencies, and discuss the development of South Korean military and popular music in the 1950s with a focus on institutional and individual agency.

CHAPTER 3

South Korean Military Musicians: Recollections on Border Crossings

Introduction

While institutions and organizations structure human actions and constrain them, the agency of these organizations depends on the members' actions as much as it frames them, and individuals' actions are more complicated than just complying with one specific organizational agency. In this chapter, grounded in the understanding of the institutional history of the ROK and the US military music systems, I focus on the experiences of military musicians and interpolate oral histories of individuals into the institutional history.

This chapter is structured with three main goals in mind. The first is to provide a detailed look into the operations of the military band organizations outlined in the previous chapter at specific locations through the lens of individual military musicians' actions. Particularly, I focus on the military musicians' experiences of border crossings between the military and the civilian, between the South Korean and US cultural zones, and between musical genres, as an essential component of Korean War period music. Second, I aim to reveal how the military musicians created junctures that exceeded the military organizations' stated goals while still being grounded in the organizational power of the military, buttressed by their dual identities as "soldier-musicians." Third, I pay special attention to the musicians' composition and performance of military marches and their performance of popular music, which will anticipate the discussions in the next two chapters. Ultimately, I state that the agency of individual military musicians as border crossers realized and further extended the military and cultural agency of the ROK and the US military organizations in charge of music during the Korean War in the 1950s.

For these discussions, I introduce the recollections of three representative veteran military musicians, Kyosuk Lee from the Navy Band organization, Kangsöp Kim from the Army Band organization, and Ŭnok Lee from the Air Force Band organization, in order to note different experiences and to reveal commonalities among the different military band members' experiences in different bands and locations. Kyosuk Lee contributed to various sectors of South Korean musiculture as a march composer, the first professor in harp performance in the country, and arguably the first music theory teacher who offered classes for musicians in popular music. His contributions to South Korean musiculture drew heavily from the musical experiences and knowledge that he obtained during the Korean War period as a military musician, encompassing popular music and harp performance through his musical travels crisscrossing the borderlines between musical genres and crossing the national/cultural borderlines between South Korea and the US. Kangsöp Kim was a renowned band master in South Korea for decades after the Korean War period. His career as a band master was possible due to the musical competence he obtained during his military service as a military musician and his interest and musical skills in popular music that he developed while encountering US military personnel and their popular music in the war. Ŭnok Lee was a military musician for decades after joining the Air Force Band organization during the Korean War in the early 1950s. His life story vividly demonstrates how a novice school band member could develop multidimensional musicianship during the Korean War period while playing diverse types of music crossing genres in his military band. Along with these three representative musicians' experiences, other musicians' interviews will be referred to, directly and indirectly, in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the micro-level reality of musical life during the war. The recollections of the military musicians will be contextualized based on the previously proposed three-stage periodization.

Kyosuk Lee: Personifying the Unbounded Nature of Military Music

Kyosuk Lee is a former ROK Navy Headquarters Band chief and the composer of “March ROK Navy” and “Haegunga (ROK Navy Hymn).” Acting upon the boundless nature of military music that spans from classical to popular music and reaping knowledge from his travels across the borders between the South Korean and US militaries, Lee made a significant contribution to South Korean musiculture not only as a band chief and march composer but also as an educator in classical music and popular music, transferring his musical knowledge and technique from the military to non-military music sectors. Having entered the ROK Navy Band before the outbreak of the Korean War and having been positioned at the center of the Navy band organization first as a chief petty officer and later as an officer, he provides an authoritative view on the use of music during the Korean War. The following discussions about Koysuk Lee’s musical experiences and his opinions are based on five interviews with him, which I conducted in July and December 2007, January 2008, and June and July 2010 in South Korea, and they are supplemented with interviews with Kŭnmu Lee, which I conducted in November 2011.

Before the War: Musical Background

Lee grew up playing the violin and the harmonica at home and learned the trombone in his teens at Wŏnsan Kongnip Kongŏp Hakkyo (Wŏnsan Public Commerce School) in Kangwŏn Province (a northeastern region of Korea) as a member of the school band. After working at the recording library of a radio broadcasting station, he participated as a trombonist for a short time in Koryŏ Kyohyangaktan (The Korea Symphony Orchestra) in Seoul, one of only three symphony orchestras in South Korea at that time. Then, eventually, he joined the ROK Navy Band organization before the outbreak of the Korean War. He wanted a steadier job than filling

in at the symphony at a time when the symphony organizations in South Korea were not yet stable. In the Navy Band, he was appointed to a teaching position as a chief petty officer and trained new members of the Navy Band organization at the Navy Music School. However, when he was applying for the job, he did not have a clear understanding of the position, and neither did the other four applicants, according to Lee. At this time, the ROK government and military were in the initial stage of formation after the liberation of Korea from Japan, and there was little information about military bands or what role they would play in the new government and its military.

What is funny about us at that time was that we didn't know what it meant to be military officers ... We were interested in [in addition to getting a stable job] whether we would wear the hat with or without a visor [because we thought the hats with visors looked more stylish than berets] when we were applying for the jobs. They said our uniform would include the hats with visors, so we submitted our applications. ... After completing the military training, we were given hats with visors. [The hats were for officers, whereas berets were for regular members of the Navy.] We didn't know what military officers were. We realized later that we were entitled chief petty officers. It may sound funny [to apply for the military job without knowing exactly what the rank was], looking back. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Dec. 2007)

This indicates, on the one hand, that the ROK Navy Band organization was not yet established enough to be well-known to the applicants, and, on the other hand, that Lee and the other applicants were searching for jobs based on their desires as young men and musicians rather than from motivations to become military personnel.

The Calamity Period: Outbreak of the War

Kyosuk Lee's interviews reveal that South Korean Navy band members did not have any idea that they might be participating in an actual war against the North Korean military, despite the minor conflicts between the South and North Korean armies around the 38th Parallel before the outbreak of the Korean War. "I would rather say it was miserable to face the war [without appropriate preparation] than just say it was a shock. ... We didn't have experience with war. ... We didn't know what a war was like. [The North Korean troops] abruptly invaded us with their armaments firing, and our response was like moving hither and thither. We were in that sort of situation at that time" (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Jun. 2010).

When the war broke out, Lee was at the naval station in Chinhae, a southern coastal city. Despite the apparent safety of their location, North Korean troops soon advanced to the mountains near the band's base, so the members of his band had to pick up guns to protect their military base. However, there was no attack on their base, and the band members continued their usual duties.

The Revitalization and Intensification Period: Too Harsh for Music?

Thinking that the Korean War was too chaotic and miserable to have room for music, Kyosuk Lee was initially skeptical of my research project about music during the war. However, Lee's repeated claim during the interviews that the Korean War was too harsh to have music does not actually mean that there was no music during the war. Rather, it highlights several main aspects of the use of music during the Korean War. As our conversations continued to unfold, Lee provided insightful ideas about the use of music amidst the chaos and suffering.

First, Lee's perception that the use of music during the Korean War was not effective in supporting the war relates somewhat differently to different stages of the development of the war.

Those who are experts in military music, like Lee, would not misleadingly overestimate the level of military music resources that were available to the ROK military during the Korean War overall. It is particularly true that music was not efficiently utilized at the beginning of the Korean War in the ROK military organizations. Regarding the ROK Navy, the Navy itself was not fully established yet, and it had not yet developed the necessary musical resources to support the war, as is demonstrated by the fact that the ROK Navy Band entered the war before the first students at the Navy Music School had even graduated. In addition, the South Korean economy was not strong enough to support military music production, and the North Korean troops' sudden invasion incapacitated the already-limited music production in both the military and civilian sectors. However, Lee states that the military band's activities resumed after the South Korean military's counteroffensive and the restoration of Seoul in September 1950. With this testimony Lee clearly comments on a turning point in the development of the use of music during the Korean War, which necessitates the distinction between the periods before and after September 1950.⁵⁸

Second, Lee's argument that music did not play an essential role in actual battles during the Korean War directs our attention to the main functions of military music during the conflict. Although not part of the battles, military musicians performed in other important venues and for other significant occasions to support the Korean War, providing sonic formality for the military organizations and reenergizing military personnel in between battles.

⁵⁸ As was described in the previous chapter, after the Incheon Landing Operation and the Counteroffensive around the Pusan Perimeter in September 1950, the whole Navy Band organization regained its strength: the Navy Music School that was closed at the outset of the war resumed its classes; supplemented by the graduates from the Navy Music School year by year, the Navy Band performed for various military ceremonies and entertained Navy members. The Navy affiliated the former members of Seoul Kyohyangaktan (the Seoul Symphony Orchestra) and other musicians with the Navy organization for the war effort.

You know pacification operations. For those operations military musicians were necessary, not for battles. Could military musicians play trumpets where gun shots were coming? When soldiers are [were] marching, when they are [were] collectively marching, at that time military musicians played music to help keep pace, and, when soldiers were taking rests, military musicians played beautiful melodies to comfort the soldiers. Military musicians took those roles. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Jan. 2008)

Among the pacification operations in which his band played music, Lee recollects a concert his band offered at the Navy Hospital in Chinhae to entertain injured soldiers as the most memorable one. I would say that the bullets and artillery damaged the soldiers, but the military musicians, with their music, assisted the soldiers in staying strong and that, in this sense, ROK military musicians' roles in the Korean War were no less profound than those military musicians centuries ago who played drums and gongs during battles.

Third, Lee thought that the use of music during the Korean War was limited, particularly regarding the ROK military's use of music and especially comparing it to the US military's use of music. Lee was one of those who witnessed the US military's abundant musical resources and music programs for its troops in Korea during the Korean War, in particular the musical resources and programs for troop entertainment.

After coming back from bombing attacks, the US pilots were dancing and provided with comforts. The US military had the composure to utilize music. ... They published Hit Kit once a month.⁵⁹ ... The US military published the notation books for soldiers, not only military songs [but also popular songs]. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Jul. 2007)

⁵⁹ For more details about this publication, see footnote 24 in Chapter 2, p. 36.

Lee contrasts his observation of the musical life in the US military camps with the South Koreans' situation in the war:

When the war broke out in the country that was in poverty, the issue of survival/eating was too critical to worry about playing and listening to music. It was too harsh. What was at stake was to die or to survive. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Dec. 2007)

The US, the wealthy country, had the composure. ... [the US military men] had the composure to drink whiskey in the evening after coming back from the daytime bombing attacks. It was beyond the imagination of the South Korean military. ... Also, the war industry may need to be considered in relation to it. When it comes to it [the war industry], it was beyond the imagination of the South Korean military [at that time]. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Dec. 2007)

Lee attributes the profuse use of music by the US military to US economic power and the position of the US in the Korean War and in the Cold War. I would say, although US combat soldiers took the same fatal risks as the South Korean soldiers, and many of them were injured and killed during the war, in terms of the military system itself, the US was in a different position than their Korean counterpart. The US participation in the Korean War strengthened the US and its military's position in the developing Cold War, with only its troops at risk in the war and with all other means of support for the military safe in its own land, whereas the ROK military had the war in its own territory with all its means of subsistence threatened and with most of its people at a crossroads between life and death in the midst of the sweeping war front. In addition, the US military had already accumulated significant military music resources and experiences prior to

the Korean War, for example while fighting in World War II, whereas the ROK military entered the war during its formative years with very sparse military music resources (for information on the US military music system before the Korean War, see Kendall 1945). Therefore the US military was able to provide abundant musical support for its troops in the Korean War, to which the South Korean military music system was incomparable.

Lee's observations of US military music started with his encounter with a US Air Force officer, Captain O'Connor. According to Lee, Captain O'Connor belonged to the US Air Force unit stationed at the K10 base in Chinhae, but he was a "top-class" trumpet player. He visited Lee's navy band base after hearing about the band, and his visits continued for a couple of years. Captain O'Connor brought sheet music to the navy band, and played music together with some of the ROK Navy band musicians there. "Performers, first of all, need notations. We didn't have [sufficient] notations. We obtained many notations from Captain O'Conner. Therefore [almost] all the music we played was American music" (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Dec. 2007). The music that the ROK Navy Band musicians and Captain O'Connor played together was mostly US pop and swing tunes selected from the Hit Kit/Song Folio volumes that the captain brought, for example, "In the Mood," "Pennsylvania 6-5000," "Sentimental Journey," "Blue Moon," and "Oh My Papa." Although these songs may sound different depending on the instrumentation and arrangement in which they are played, the most commonly known versions of these songs from the mid-20th century can sound either rhythmically upbeat and musically witty and/or harmonically rich and sonically soothing; and they are attractive in their melodic expressions and finely-designed in their musical organizations. I believe that these kinds of sonority were delightful, like an oasis of relaxation, to the South Korean military musicians

playing the music on their own instruments while they were amidst the emotional stress and physical destruction of the reality around them.

Captain O'Connor, in addition to providing the notations for these types of songs, transported performative aspects of US music to these Korean musicians through personal contacts. As an example, Lee mentions "bounce eight." There is a performance convention regarding eighth-note subdivision in jazz/swing that is not captured in notation, namely the performance of eighths as rhythmically uneven. Lee recalls that the sheet music had a written note, "in swing style," without further instruction about exactly how to play the eighth-notes in swing style. By listening to Captain O'Connor's demonstration during their jam sessions, the ROK Navy Band musicians who participated in the gatherings learned how to play "bounce eight," which is part of the essence of swing. Lee compares this aspect of learning to the learning method of *P'ansori* singing in Korean music.⁶⁰

Swing can't be explained with words. People can't understand it before they are immersed in it. For example, the singing methods in Korea, those of the renowned *sorikkundŭl* (singers of Korean folk music such as *P'ansori*) can't be notated perfectly. It is similar to it. The sensibility can be taught only through demonstrations and practices. You know that *sorikkun* teaches through personal meetings. It is similar to it. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Jan. 2008)

Encountering US pop and swing through personal contact with Captain O'Connor and through the Song Folio/Hit Kit volumes, some of the ROK military musicians in Chinhae, including Kyosuk Lee, eventually formed a swing band. Captain O'Connor arranged this band's


⁶⁰ P'ansori is a Korean traditional vocal performance genre.

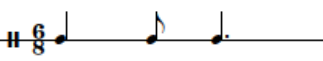
visits to his Air Force base. During the visits, Lee had chances to observe the military music operations at the US military bases, and his band also played music there. In this way, the boundary between the US military and the ROK military was blurred in terms of performance space, performers and audiences, and repertory.

The Consolidation Period: Study Abroad and Thereafter

In 1956, three years after the Armistice Agreement, the ROK Navy invited contributions for the creation of the ROK Navy Hymn, and Kyosuk Lee's tune won first prize in the music competition: thus was born the ROK Navy Hymn, the most representative military song of the ROK Navy ever since then. This song comprises three phrases with different thematic materials, with antecedent and consequent sub-phrases (8 bars per each sub-phrase) in each phrase. This formal structure, | A (a, a') B (b, b') C (c, c') : | seems to be a synthesis of one of the typical song forms in Korean popular music at that time (each phrase with its own thematic material) with a phrasal structure common in European/American music (a pair of antecedent and consequent phrases). This song is primarily in A \flat major, but I find that a tinge of a pentatonic scale common in Korean music at that time (sol, la, do, re, mi, which fall on e \flat , f, a \flat , b \flat , and c', in this song) is entailed in the melody. Particularly in the first phrase, the two sub-phrases are composed of two halves, with the first half on a pentatonic scale combined with the second half tonal. The triple subdivision within the compound meter (6/8) suggests a subtle connection to an essential rhythmic element in Korean folk music, which is primarily in triple. The pentatonic element implied at the beginning of the song and the triple subdivision throughout the song would have been familiar to the members of the Navy and functional in guiding their singing. The melody in the first phrase weaves around the tonic of the A \flat major scale within the range of a pentatonic scale mentioned above, from e \flat to c', surrounding the tonic: this melody seems

to match lyrics that describe the ROK Navy as a shield protecting the sea. Then the melody in the second phrase starts at a lower range, c – e b , like a groundwork for the upward-movement of the melody; the melody in this phrase increases momentum, ascending stepwise and focusing on the tones of the tonic chord (e b , a b , c') and further one degree higher on d' b . The accumulation of momentum leads to the resounding climax in the third period in the highest range of the register in the song on and around e' b , combined with the assertive lyrics, “We are the ROK Navy,” in the first phrase, and with the passionate words, “Our blood stirring in our

hearts,” in the second.⁶¹ The consistent repetition of the rhythmic patterns  and

and so contributes to the accumulation of momentum toward the outburst in the last period. Synthesizing the defensive melodic movement at the beginning and the powerful outburst at the end, and fusing musical elements of different origins, Kyosuk Lee created this song, a musical representation of the power of the ROK Navy.

⁶¹ The lyrics in the first stanza tell of the ROK Navy’s responsibilities to protect their country by guarding its sea for the safety of its land; in the second stanza they describe broadly and in abstraction the ROK Navy’s responsibility to guard the oceans to maintain peace for the ultimate goal of freedom.



Figure 3-1 ROK Navy Hymn (Haegunbonbu Chŏnghungamsil 1957, 16)

In the same year that he composed The ROK Navy Hymn, Lee went to the US for study abroad at the US Navy Music School. The military collaboration that brought US military personnel and its music to the South Korean territory was now promoting travel in the opposite direction, namely, this Korean military band member’s travel to the US, within the structure of the military collaboration. During his study at the school, Lee took classes on ear training, sight singing, harmony, counterpoint, instrumentation, orchestration, conducting, and arrangement including dance band arrangement. Although he played trombone from his teenage years and taught wind instruments to the students at the Navy Music School before his study abroad, he had interest in learning the harp, and he studied harp performance at the US Navy School of Music in addition to taking the regular courses.

Before his study abroad Koysuk Lee had already composed military marches, and he continued composing military marches during and after his study abroad. Kyosuk Lee does not clearly remember the composition years of his earliest marches composed before 1956, but according to the interviews with other Navy band musicians, Lee composed at least two marches during the Revitalization and Intensification Period. One was “March ROK Navy” with a melodic theme drawn from the ROK national anthem melody and the other was “Our Class,” which Lee composed for a cohort of the students of the ROK Navy Music School (personal communication, Lee, Kūnmu, Nov. 2011). One of the marches he composed during the Consolidation period was the “ROK Navy Hymn March” based on his own ROK Navy Hymn melody. All these marches were written in the typical European/American march instrumentation (brass, woodwinds, and percussions) and in the typical European/American march form, comprised of intro, a section with multiple strains, and a trio section with modulation.

After his return from studying abroad Kyosuk Lee made great contributions to the ROK Navy not only as a march composer but also as a military officer. He worked as the principal of the ROK Navy Music School in the 1950s. In the next decade, he led the ROK Navy Headquarters Band as the chief of the band, the most prestigious position in the ROK Navy Band organization.

Lee’s contribution was not limited to the Navy band organization. It extended beyond the military to South Korean music culture in general. After retirement from the military band, Lee taught at Ehwa Women’s University as a professor, which had just opened a harp performance program for the first time in South Korean music history. As the first harp teacher in South Korea, he laid the foundation for harp performance education in the country, basing it on his education of harp performance during his study at the US Navy School of Music. Also, he

offered music classes for musicians in the popular music sector, teaching harmony and instrumentation based on his experience with popular music both in South Korea and the US within the military music organizations.⁶²

When asked, Lee defined military music as any music that military musicians play, regardless of the genre.⁶³ I think that Lee's belief in the lack of boundaries for military music was the basis on which he developed various musical interests and his competence in diverse types of music and made contributions to a wide range of music in South Korea. The knowledge and understanding of music that Lee formed through his service in the ROK Navy Band organization, combined with the heterogeneous nature of military music and his encounters with the US military's music, enabled him to contribute to diverse music sectors in South Korea. Lee's musical life is a good example of the personification of the unbounded nature of military music shaped within the context of the Korean War and the developing Cold War.

Kangsŏp Kim: Musicianship in the Transnational Military and Performance Space

Kangsŏp Kim belonged to the ROK Army Band organization, joining as a private second class and discharged as a non-commissioned officer (a sergeant first class). Encountering the US military and its popular music during the war, Kim became interested in popular music. He went

⁶² Regarding the contribution of the military beyond the boundary of military music, Lee adds a comment, although not about his own contributions but about General Wŏnil Son's. Talking about the symphony orchestra under the Navy TI & E Music Team, which I mentioned in the previous chapter, Lee holds in high regard the decision by General Son, the Commander of Staff of the Navy during the Korean War to affiliate all the members of the former Seoul Symphony Orchestra during their refugee life to restart a symphony orchestra with the support of the Navy. (personal communication, Lee, Kyosuk, Dec. 2008)

The Seoul Symphony only survived due to the support from the Navy during the war. The Navy also benefited by utilizing the musical talents from the symphony orchestra for its war efforts until it was later transformed back to a civilian orchestra.

⁶³ I agree with Lee that a definition of military music should not be bound by type or genre (e.g. marches), but I would argue that the use of the music for military purposes is also an important consideration, whether it is performed by military musicians or civilians, and whichever type of music they play.

on to learn popular music, and eventually he became a renowned band master after finishing his military service. Whereas in the previous section I focused primarily on Kyosuk Lee's recollections about the main characteristics of military music operations during the Korean War, in this section I pay attention to Kangsöp Kim's experiences with a variety of performance spaces. This shift in focus is because Kim, as an army band musician, followed the shifting war front and, accordingly, his interviews provide vivid descriptions of the wartime music scenes that related more directly to the changing situations of the war than those of navy band musicians. As a continuation from the previous section, however, diverse types of border crossing will be highlighted in Kim's experiences. The following discussions are based on ten interviews with Kangsöp Kim, which I conducted in May, June, July and December 2007, January 2008, and June, July, and October 2010; and additional interviews with Pyöngsun Cho, Tongju Chöng, and Chongök Woo [Jong Uek Woo], which I conducted in August 2007, June 2010, and October 2010, respectively.

Before the War: Musical Background

Kangsöp Kim started playing the piano in the 5th grade. He had a piano at home, which was unusual at a time when there was not even a musical instrument store in his town of Jönggü in Chölla Province (a southwestern region of Korea). Like Kyosuk Lee, Kangsöp Kim continued learning music by participating in a school band. He was a trumpet player in the school band of Chönggü Nongöp Hakkyo (Chönggü Agricultural Middle School, seventh to eleventh grades).⁶⁴ After graduation from the school, he moved to Seoul and continued studying music, taking

⁶⁴ According to Kangsöp Kim and other interviewees who participated in school bands before conscription, school bands were active in big cities before and after the Korean War. There were even school band competitions. Kim remembers that his school band also participated in a band competition in the Chölla Province with the school bands from other cities, such as Chönju, Kunsan, and Iri.

private piano, violin, composition, and theory lessons, with a goal to cultivate musicianship in Western classical music.

Calamity Period: Marching Parades in the Pusan Perimeter and Encountering the US Military

Kangsöp Kim moved to Pusan upon the outbreak of the war as a student of the Army Music School, which withdrew to Pusan along with the Army Headquarters Band. Regarding the withdrawal of the band and the school from Seoul to Pusan, Pyöngsun Cho, who was a noncommissioned officer in the ROK Army Headquarters Band, provides a more vivid description than the other interviewees. According to Cho, the Army Headquarters Band and the Army Music School left Seoul a couple of days after the outbreak of the war. “[Due to the lack of the appropriate means of transportation during the turmoil of the war] we walked to P’yöngt’aek, or to Osan, with our instruments on our shoulders. We had such strong mental power” (personal communication, Pyöngsun, Cho, Aug. 2007). Unlike the Navy Headquarters Band, the Army Headquarters Band withdrew with their instruments in their hands, and it was certainly a tremendous hardship to walk the long distance (about 30 miles from Seoul to Osan and about 45 miles from Seoul to P’yöngt’aek) with their instruments, a feat all the more impressive considering enemy soldiers were advancing near them.

If we had been one day late in the withdrawal, we would have been besieged by the North Korean soldiers. ... When we reached Osan, we wanted to stay there one night, but a senior [officer] said that we should not sleep there that night. He said that we should go south with the instruments with us whichever time at night it was and that otherwise we would have huge trouble. We followed his lead, but complained because we wanted sleep. [It turned out that] the North Korean military occupied the city about four hours after we left there. When we left, an advance force of

the North Korean Army had already entered the city. If we had been captured, we would have been in a fix ... with all the instruments on our shoulders. (personal communication, Cho, Pyöngsun, Aug. 2007)

The withdrawal on foot must have been a hardship, but the military musicians did not give up the instruments. The musical instruments were important military tools to raise or calm the spirits of the people in the war. For the military musicians, these instruments also functioned as a lifeline because without the instruments, they could have been sent to the war front with guns in their hands instead.

The military band musicians continued south on foot and by car and eventually arrived in Pusan in Kyöngsang Province, a southeastern port city. The Army Headquarters Band reopened its base there and the Army Music School resumed classes. Accordingly, Kangsöp Kim resumed playing his trumpet in this new location of the school in Pusan.

Pusan emerged as a new political, military, and cultural center of South Korea within the Pusan Perimeter. In the Pusan area, a dynamic music scene was developing: it was filled with not only many refugee musicians but also with musical flows, encounters, and exchanges, engendered by the collaborative military structure between the ROK and the US. Positioned within this military structure, Kangsöp Kim, as a private second class, played music with his band and welcomed incoming US troops at Pusan Port. The encounter between Kim's band and the US troops at the Pusan Port was imbued with a cooperative mood, according to Kim. He recalls that the US troops were fond of his band's welcome events and that he genuinely welcomed the US troops by playing his music.

A significant moment for Kangsöp Kim arose in Pusan while he was participating in a marching parade: "During the Korean War, [almost] all refugees went down to Pusan. In Pusan

we had marching parades [almost] every day in order to boost morale [among citizens] ” (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007). During a marching parade in the Pusan area, Kim’s band met the 56th US Army band, which was also having a marching parade there. Through the encounter with this military band made up of Afro-Americans, Kim was introduced to US popular music. It was the starting point of his interest in this music, which turned out to be very significant in preparing him for his future career, although Kim himself had not recognized this at that time in Pusan.

According to Kim, the 56th US Army Band, after exchanging greetings with the ROK military band members, followed the ROK band to its base: “Because we were all musicians, because we could be connected to each other through music, we formed a friendly relation with each other” (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007). With a friendly musical relationship along with the cooperative military relationship, the two military bands continued visiting each other’s bases and played music together. These musical gatherings introduced Kim to US swing, which was a staple style of music for the entertainment of the US military in Korea at that time. “They taught this to us, swing jazz. ‘Big band’ you know, ‘big band.’ They told us to do ‘big band.’ What is ‘big band?’ We didn’t know. They demonstrated it” (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007).

Kim was interested in learning the music because it sounded exciting to him. He mentions that he was excited about the harmony in this music and liked the rhythmic aspects, among others. Because of his special interest in the music from the US, Kim continued meeting with a member of the 56th US Army Band and learned jazz piano, although only for a short period, while both bands were stationed in the Pusan Area:

I started to learn jazz piano there. I didn't learn it through study abroad. I learned it during the Korean War, in the 1950s. A black piano player taught me jazz piano individually, saying that I was talented. . . . Improvisation, ad lib, I learned it there, too. (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007)

Kim was fascinated by the improvisational aspect of jazz, which, as he said, was new to him.⁶⁵

We learned to play music as it was written in the notation. . . . Their notations had only melodies and chord names. How to actualize the chords depended on the musician's own feelings. . . . This sounded like dreaming [unimaginably fascinating] at that time. I understood it after listening to the music for a long while. (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, Jun. 2007)

At a time when he was pushed into the tumult of war, Kim was developing his new musical interests and paving the way for his future career.

The Revitalization and Intensification Period: Performing at Various Venues as a “Soldier-Musician”

After the Incheon Landing Operation and Counteroffensive around the Pusan Perimeter by the ROK and UN forces in September 1950, Kim's musical activities as a military musician involved extensive moves that followed the war front. Most frequently he played music to assist military ceremonies. He also offered concerts for both ROK and UN troops, including US troops, and did marching parades for citizens in big cities both north and south of the 38th Parallel.

⁶⁵ Korean traditional music does contain improvisational aspects, but Kim grew up learning notated Western music.

Captured North Korean Cities: Parades for Citizens and Performances for ROK and US Troops

In October when the ROK and UN forces were advancing north, Kim's band went to captured North Korean cities, Wŏnsan and Hamhŭng in the northeastern coastal area, to provide parades and concerts. Kim remembers his move to this area as the most dangerous moment during his activities as a military band musician. With North Korean soldiers still scattered around the eastern mountainous areas after defeat by the ROK and UN forces, the band's musical instruments were disguised as armaments, the band members held branches of trees to hide their trucks moving in the mountains, and they fired blank shots upon hearing gun shots around them (personal communications, Chŏng, Tongju, Jun. 2010). Having experienced these tense moments, the band, including Kim, performed in parades in the captured cities, where they were welcomed by the citizens who Kim remembers waving their hands and applauding. Although Kim says he was unsure how genuine these gestures were, I would say the ROK military band members who crossed the 38th Parallel were performing an act of unification in the occupied cities as an important part of the military strategy, an act that guns and bombs could not accomplish.

In regard to this aspect of the ROK military bands' role of winning the hearts and minds of the North Koreans through music, Chongŏk Woo [Jong Uek Woo], a veteran musician and composer, provides insightful comments describing the situations in the occupied cities north of the 38th Parallel.

Once the military advanced into a city, the police entered and took control in the city, but before the police came in, we [The TI & E Division Band of the ROK Ministry of National Defense] followed the combat units. It means that our military band did propaganda operations by doing marching parades in the city. To the citizens, "we came to liberate you, not to kill you, so come out of your house...." all these can't be said to the citizens in such a short time. So our military

band, by doing the marching parades, created the friendly atmosphere. ... If we had done the marching events with guns and knives in our hands, the citizens might not have come out. Because our military band did the marching parades, they knew [that we didn't intend to kill them]. ... At first nobody came out ... in about three days [almost] all people came out [to the streets] in a huge crowd that looked like a sea of faces and like mountains of people. (personal communication, Woo, Chongök [Woo, Jong Uek], Oct. 2010)

ROK military bands' marching parades in the newly captured cities of the DPRK were acts to assure the citizens that the ROK military forces were there to unify rather than to harm.

The ROK military's goal for Korean unification during the war was always intertwined with the military situation of its collaboration with the US, and Kangsöp Kim's band performed not only for Korean citizens and the ROK troops in the occupied areas in the previous North Korean territory, but also for the US military there. Kangsöp Kim recollects about the US military audience for whom he performed: "They didn't know whether they would still be alive the next day. They were crazy about our performances, tossing their caps up in the air. Their responses were all good" (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, Jun. 2007).

However, the band returned to Seoul without completing their scheduled parades in Hamhŭng because of the 1st US Corps' judgment that the area had become too dangerous for the band's parades due to the large-scale intervention of the Chinese troops (personal communication, Chöng, Tongju, Jun. 2010). After the return to Seoul, Kim went north once again for parades and propaganda concerts in P'yöngyang, the capital city of North Korea that was then occupied by the ROK and UN military forces, where Chongök Woo [Jong Uek Woo]'s band had already had marching parades before. However, once again the band had to get back to their camp in Pusan via Seoul without completing their scheduled performances in P'yöngyang:

it was their second withdrawal. Thereafter, Kim's band never again had a chance to play music for the citizens residing in this northern part of Korea.

The Taegu Train Station: Seeing off Soldiers and Kangsöp Kim's March Composition

After the second withdrawal, Kangsöp Kim, as a member of the ROK Army Headquarters Band, moved to Taegu, a southern city near Pusan. Taegu was the location of an ROK Army reserve unit, and Kim performed at the train station in the city when soldiers from this unit were leaving for battle. "We played military marches, energetic marches, to boost the morale of the soldiers who were leaving for combat after being trained in the reserve unit" (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007). Regarding the military marches his band played, Kim remembers a few Korean marches, such as "Ch'ungsöngül Tahara (Devote Your Loyalty Completely)," composed by Hüijö Kim, his band chief. However, Kim says that his band played mostly US military marches. He specifically mentions John Philip Sousa's and King Karl's marches as the core of his band's repertory.

Although the military marches he played for the soldiers were energetic, his own feelings about the soldiers were different.

When we were playing military marches for the soldiers in front of the Taegu Station, I was so sympathetic towards them. Some were crying. Below [near the trains] their moms and dads were crying. I myself was almost crying. (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007)

Kim's feelings during his performances at the Taegu train station were later inscribed in his own march composition: "Hüisaengja (The Sacrificed)." When he was encouraged to compose a march by his band chief Hüijö Kim, Kangsöp Kim wrote a march in memory of the soldiers whom he saw off at the train station in Taegu although, about six decades after the war,

he doesn't possess the notation and barely remembers the details of the composition. The discord between Kim's activities as a booster of morale and his personal feelings of sympathy towards the victims of the war, which was fused into his march composition, turned into part of his band's military operation. According to Kim, the Army Headquarters Band played his march in Taegu, presumably meaning to honor the deceased, injured, and missing soldiers, combining both sympathy and morale boosting in a single performance.

The UN Cemetery: Performances at Ceremonies as a "Soldier-Musician"

Performances for military and governmental ceremonies were the most frequent duties of the army band to which Kim belonged. Kim played music at many troop inspections, but it seems that the most memorable ceremony for Kim was the opening ceremony of the UN cemetery in Pusan. Notably, what is most deeply inscribed in Kim's memory are the aspects of the ceremony related to his interest as a musician rather than the military aspects. Most clearly of all, he recalls the band's playing of Chopin's Funeral March and the compliment he received about his knowledge of the music at that time. Also, it seems that he was very much interested in musical rivalry, judging whether his band was outperforming the other band at the ceremony, the ROK Navy Headquarters Band.

This resonates with what Kim mentioned about the position of military musicians: he thinks that musicians took over the military duties, not that soldiers took over the musical duties. In other words, Kim defined military musicians primarily as musicians rather than as soldiers, whose most central interest was in music while doing soldier's duties in any military circumstances. Kim also pointed out the interdependent but prominent relationship of the musical aspects of his band's activities to the military aspects while describing his perception of the audience's reactions during his band's marching parades. According to him, the citizens

came out to the streets during the parades because they heard the “musical sound,” not because they were interested in the “military” band. Elaborating on Kim’s recollection, I would say, music was a significant means to attract citizens’ attention to the causes of the ROK military. Once the citizens came out for the “musical” sound, what they witnessed was the “military” band that was constructing the magnificent images of the ROK and the military, playing music in neat uniforms with splendid ornaments and making announcements with musical instruments that the area was a part of the ROK territory and the residents were in the embrace of the South Korean state. When guns and artillery fire, people fall, flee and hide; when military bands play music, people gather around. Music was not just accompanying the war, but music was at the very core of the war process, compensating for the destructive power of the military’s guns and artillery, constructing meaning, and upholding military procedures.

Concerts: Exemplar of Border Crossing in the Military Music of the Korean War

Musicianship was indeed a key component in the identity of the military musicians; they were musicians on the concert stages as well, having their chief as a conductor. On these concert stages, Kangsöp Kim and his band members epitomized their musical border crossings. They played music for both soldiers and civilians with a repertory of various types of music:

We played the music that the citizens liked. We played dynamically a few military songs and things like military marches. We needed to play military songs because we were soldiers [one aspect of our identity as soldier-musicians]. And we played many Korean folk tunes in the brass band arrangement. Hüijo Kim did lots of arrangements. [Songs such as] Ch’eonansamgöri, Kyöngbokkung T’aryöng, Toraji, and Arirang, among others. We played lots of these songs arranged for our band. (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, Jun. 2007)

In addition to military marches and military songs, the main repertory of Kim's band on the concert stages included European classical music; and in addition to Korean folk tunes, the band's subsidiary repertory included Korean popular music and even US popular music.

According to Kim, among these diverse types of music, his band's Korean audience liked Korean popular songs best and Korean folk songs second best. Though popular taste favored familiar Korean tunes, the scope of Kim's band's repertory encouraged the audience to explore new musical interests by introducing their audience to classical music pieces and popular music from the US.

Although classical music and US popular music were not the main interest of Kim's band's Korean audiences, these types of music were of special interest to military musicians like Kangsŏ Kim. During the interviews with veteran military musicians, I often observed that they were proud that their musicianship included the playing of classical music pieces. Kangsŏ Kim proudly mentioned Chopin's Funeral March twice during his interviews, regarding his musical knowledge about the work and regarding his ability to rearrange the work for symphonic orchestras into one suitable for his military band. Similarly, Ponggi Lee, also a veteran Army band musician, proudly recollected the titles of classical music pieces that his band played under the leadership of his band chief, Hŭijo Kim, saying that his band chief and the band members did a sort of musical experiment, challenging the limits of wind bands, by playing music for symphonic orchestras in their own military band instrumentation.

Regarding popular music, Kangsop Kim explained with enthusiasm how much he was interested in the US popular music that he encountered during the 1950s, especially mentioning Glenn Miller and his Orchestra's performances. Kim mentioned that he was particularly fond of Glenn Miller's "accent." His interest in Glenn Miller's swing music was easily rearticulated

during his interviews as an interest in the type of marches Glenn Miller and his Orchestra presented. Kim labeled these marches as “swing marches,” emphasizing the cheerful rhythmic expressions and syncopations in such marches as “St. Louis Blues March.” Kangsöp Kim fondly described a scene in the movie *The Glenn Miller Story*, which he watched in the 1950s and which shows how creative rhythmic expressions in “swing marches” can affect marching soldiers’ bodies and their emotions. Ünok Lee also mentioned this movie during his interview, indicating the strong appeal of this movie to ROK military musicians.

US Military Camps: Participation in US Troop Entertainment

Kangsöp Kim’s interest in US pop and swing grew continuously, and he began to participate in the US troop entertainment in some of the US military camps, playing these types of music. After his encounter with the 56th US military band in the Pusan Perimeter, he began to learn US swing and jazz and joined his unit’s swing band as a pianist. The swing band to which Kim belonged performed for US soldiers at the US military camps when requested: “When they didn’t have shows prepared, they asked us to come. With jukeboxes on they danced and enjoyed themselves. When they had live band shows, they were excited” (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, May 2007). Later Kim’s own special interest in US swing inspired him to play the music outside the military band at US military camp clubs with his musician friends when he was promoted to the ranks high enough to commute from outside his military band camp and spend his off-duty hours outside the military band. On the stages of the US military camp clubs, Kim primarily played music from the US and rarely played Korean songs. Kim recollects that his main repertory for the live shows in the US military camps comprised big band swing such as that of Glenn Miller Orchestra and US pop tunes of the day, and that the audience in the military camps liked the music for dancing.

They liked to listen to what they had listened to in the US more than Korean songs that they were not familiar with. Of course, they did prefer it. They were excited that Koreans also played the music they had listened to in their own country. They shouted, wow ... standing up and clapping, things like that. Here [Korea] was the foremost front to the US at that time. It was regarded that they could die any day. It was taken for granted to have fun at night. (personal communication, Kim, Kangsöp, Jun. 2007)

Kim was impressed by the US military's effort to provide entertainment for its troops and the financial power that made it possible: "They had clubs for dancing and entertainment even at the company level. The US is really a wealthy country" (personal communication, Dec. 2007). Like Kyosuk Lee, Kim was also impressed by the profuse musical resources available for soldiers in the US military due to the financial power of the country. The systematic musical operations of the US military, supported by the military's organizational power and the US's financial power, not only impressed the ROK military musicians but also made US popular music accessible to South Koreans, including Kangsöp Kim and Kyosuk Lee. The Song Folio volumes and jukeboxes in the US military's clubs operated by the Special Services Sections and the clubs run by the United Service Organizations were important media for Kim's learning of US popular music.

Although the form of Kangsöp Kim's initial contact with US popular music was different from that of Kyosuk Lee's – a chance encounter with the 56th US military band on the street in Pusan vs. an encounter with a US Air Force member visiting the ROK Navy Band in Chinhae with specifically musical intentions – the result of the contact in these two cases was similar. In both cases, the contacts resulted in the exchange of musical resources between the US and ROK

musicians. US and ROK military personnel crossed over their military boundaries; ROK military musicians became interested in US pop and swing music, and US military personnel gained opportunities to have Korean musicians perform in their military bases. In this way, the transnational performance space of the Korean War was developing.

Consolidation Period: A Professional Musician in South Korean Popular Music

With his interest in popular music developed during his military service, Kim shifted to the civilian popular music sector during the Consolidation Period after discharge. Kim recollects that around this time the distinction between military musicians and non-military musicians was nebulous because many of the professional civilian musicians were discharged military musicians. After obtaining a specialty in popular music by playing music in US military camp clubs and various venues for Korean audiences in downtown Seoul, Kim eventually took over the position of band master of Korea Broadcast System (KBS) TV, the national television broadcast system that started in 1961. Thereafter, he led the KBS band for about four decades, providing music for South Korean audiences all over the country and composing popular songs as well, for example *K'osmos P'ïöinnün Kil* (The Road with the Cosmuses Blooming) and *Ora Ora Ora* (Come, Come, Come Along), big hits of the 1970s.

During the Korean War, Kim had to play music as part of his role in the Army, moving extensively north and south and performing at numerous venues for diverse audience groups: parading through the streets, entertaining soldiers in the ROK and US military camps, supporting military ceremonies, and performing on concert stages. However, Kim would define himself as a musician more than as a soldier, and he was also discovering his new musical interests as an individual musician while serving the country as a military musician. Kim, looking back, mentions that the Korean War changed the direction of his life as a musician: a student whose

goal before the war was studying classical music became a leading professional musician and band master in popular music in South Korea after his experiences with military music during the war. More specifically, the unbounded nature of the military music in the Korean War, music that included diverse types and that blurred the cultural borders between South Koreans and the US military, produced a musical space in which Kim's interest in popular music grew and his focus shifted from classical to popular music.⁶⁶

Ŭnok Lee: Developing Versatile Musicianship through Genre-Crossing Military Music

Like Kangsŏp Kim, Ŭnok Lee joined the ROK military organization as a private second class, but he belonged to the Air Force Band. Ŭnok Lee's interviews show how a student who just started playing the saxophone as an extra-curricular activity at school became involved in public performances during the war, eventually becoming an ROK Air Force Band member and acquiring professionalism in music through the military band organization. Experiences of border crossing through wartime music are abundant in Ŭnoke Lee's interviews, just as in Kyosuk Lee's and Kangsŏp Kim's interviews. Whereas I focused on framing the main aspects of the military music of the Korean War in the first section, and on how performance spaces were characterized by various types of border crossing in the second section, in this section I pay attention to how various types of music were incorporated into military music during the Korean War, how this characteristic nurtured Ŭnok Lee's musicianship, and, simultaneously, how his own agency had an impact on making the ROK Air Force Band's repertory more inclusive. Additionally, because the Air Force Band that Ŭnok Lee joined was created over a year after the outbreak of the war, his interviews about his musical activities before joining the military band

⁶⁶ The social and economic forces that accompanied the military collaboration between South Korea and the US in the war were also important factors that drove Kim to change his life course, and these issues will be discussed in Chapter 5.

provide opportunities to look into the wartime music outside the military band organizations as well. The following discussions are based on information obtained from eight interviews with Ŭnok Lee, which I conducted in South Korea in July and August 2007 and July and October 2010.

Before the War: Musical Background

Ŭnok Lee started learning the tenor saxophone in late 1949 by joining his school band at Incheon Kongŏp Hakkyo (The Incheon Engineering School, 7th to 12th grade) in the city of Incheon, the west coastal city near Seoul where the Incheon Landing Operation occurred three months after the outbreak of the war. One of the band members organized and taught the band without any instruction from music teachers, and the activities of the band were, thus, very limited. The school band members were mostly beginners, and they played music for themselves without any public performances. They primarily played marches together, but they began to practice Suppe's overture, "Farmer and Peasant," with a plan to offer a concert in conjunction with the other two school bands in the Incheon area. However, the Korean War broke out five days before the scheduled concert.

The Calamity Period: In the City Occupied by the Communist North Korean Army

Ŭnok Lee's residential area, the city of Incheon, was occupied by the North Korean Army about a week after the start of the war. Ŭnok Lee stopped going to school and went to his hometown, Kimpo, a small town near Incheon, which Lee considered safer for him than Incheon. However, the North Korean Army also occupied this area. His perception of the ROK military bands' activities during this period was: "They might not have been able to do anything. They might not. They were driven almost down to Taegu, further to Pusan. How could they possibly play music" (personal communication, Lee, Ŭnok, Jul. 2007). Lee's perception reflects the

urgent situation that the ROK military bands faced during the calamity period and it renders the military bands' persistent efforts for the war during this period as even more impressive.

Revitalization and Intensification Period: Into the Air Force Band, Military Marches and Beyond

The City of Incheon was restored by the ROK and UN forces after the Inchon Landing Operation, and subsequently Seoul, the capital city of the ROK, was restored. An essential part of the Korean War was a cultural war, and the ROK conducted propaganda performances in the reclaimed cities while advancing north. Under these circumstances, Ŭnok Lee, who had started to learn the saxophone only a few months before, was called to participate in the war with his music. Initially he became a member of an ROK Police band and then involved in an entertainment unit affiliated to the ROK Army, playing mostly military marches and Korean popular music. Eventually he became a member of the newly established ROK Air Force Band, expanding his main repertory to include classical music pieces and even US popular songs.

Shifting within the Web of Musical Organizations and then to the ROK Air Force Band

When the area of Incheon returned to the governance of the ROK, Ŭnok Lee joined a police band of the ROK, which was stationed in Incheon and which belonged to the Public Information Section of the Kyōnggi Province Police:

Public speeches were utilized to win the hearts and minds of the people and to inculcate them ideologically [during the war]. The South Korean police were, as North Korean communists were, interested in those [propaganda] events, and it [the Kyōnggi Province Police] created a band for the events. However, there were not sufficient musicians for the band, so they gathered some adult musicians from a [commercial] band in the Inchon area and members of the three school bands who hadn't yet left Inchon [for the south]. (personal communication, Lee, Ŭnok, Jul. 2010)

As a member of the police band, Ŭnok Lee played both marches and existing Korean popular songs, traveling widely for propaganda displays along the shifting war front. After the performances in Inchon, he visited numerous places to support the dissemination of propaganda, and he finally performed in Kaesŏng and Yŏnbaek, cities near the 38th Parallel, when the ROK and UN Forces reclaimed the cities and continued to advance north:

When we found villages of decent size, our band performed marching parades in the streets. Then people gathered around. After the band members attracted an audience, the actors and actresses who belonged to the police like us did anticommunist theaters on the stages that were selected beforehand in wide places, trying to mold the audience's thoughts to fit our ideology.⁶⁷ (personal communication, Lee, Ŭnok, Jul. 2010)

Ŭnok Lee adds about the audience, "Because the villagers didn't have other performance events, [almost] all villagers came in crowds" (personal communication, Lee, Ŭnok, Jul. 2010). This statement implies that the propaganda performances appealed to the audience first of all as cultural events. It reminds us of Kangsŏp Kim's recollection about the military band's achievement of its military goals by attracting citizens' attention first with its "musical sound." The bands played music for military purposes, but the performances were initially recognized by the audience as musical events. However, while being entertained in the musical performances, the audience was being enveloped by the political and ideological messages of the ROK delivered through the musical sounds in the cultural events. Months prior, Ŭnok Lee

⁶⁷ Ŭnok Lee remembers that this newly-created performance group under the supervision of the police also included Myŏngsuk Han, then a middle school student, who became a very famous singer in South Korea after the war and whose song I will discuss in Chapter five.

himself had been one of those typical citizens who was interested in military or police bands' marching parades on the streets, but the war made an abrupt change, pushing him to the street to play music to attract other citizens' attention to the ROK military and the police's causes in the war.

Ŭnok Lee assumes that the villagers, who were originally South Korean citizens and who had been temporarily under the North Korean army's control, were fond of his police band, a component of the ROK government (personal communication, Jul. 2010). Around the time when Ŭnok Lee's police band was conducting propaganda performances in the restored cities, ROK military bands were performing marching parades further north in the captured cities of the previously North Korean territory, much like Kangsŏp Kim's band and Chongŏk Woo [Jong Uek Woo]'s band in P'yongyang, Wŏnsan, and Hamhŭng.

After the second counteroffensive in spring 1951, the police band was disbanded, and Ŭnok Lee became involved in the Troop Welfare Section of the ROK Army, which I explained in Chapter 2. He joined T'aeyang Aktan, a commercial band formed by former members of the police band and theater, but this group itself was affiliated with the Troop Welfare Section of the ROK Army, which was part of the South Korean military's efforts to utilize human resources in the civilian sector for military purposes. Ŭnok Lee, as a member of the band, sometimes played Korean popular music for the soldiers in the military units stationed in the mountainous areas in Kangwŏn Province, which was called Chungbu Chŏnsŏn (the Middle Front Line).

When the Kyŏnggi Province Police created its own music theater, Ŭnok Lee joined the group after he ended his affiliation with the Troop Welfare Section, but he was soon offered a chance to join the Air Force Band, which was about to form in late 1951. It was about half a year after the Armistice negotiation started, but combat was still occurring around the 38th Parallel.

He was at the age of conscription and decided to join the Air Force Band. In February 1952, Ŭnok Lee officially became a member of the ROK Air Force in Taegu, a southeastern city where the ROK Air Force Headquarters was stationed and where Kangsŏp Kim's band, the ROK Army Headquarters Band, was also located.

Ŭnok Lee recalls that most of the Air Force Band members had learned their instruments in school bands, although some of them had additional experience with band music. Ŭnok Lee thinks that the training in the military, which was strict and demanding, pushed the members to greatly improve their musical techniques. In the previous section, Kangsŏp Kim pointed out that many military musicians put greater emphasis on their musicianship than their soldier-ship, yet it is interesting to note that the development of this musicianship was often enhanced by the military discipline imposed on these young men as soldiers. Ŭnok Lee, comparing his military band activities with his previous musical activities, mentions that he played music that deserves the name of music after joining the military band whereas his previous musical activities were not professional.

Ŭnok Lee's repertory also expanded in the Air Force Band. Before joining the military band, he played primarily military marches and existing Korean popular music. As a member of the Air Force Band he played classical musical works as well as military marches as the band's main repertory, and, additionally, US pop and swing.

Military Marches

As a member of the Air Force Band, Ŭnok Lee played military marches most frequently. Ŭnok Lee, an alto saxophone player, was also appointed drum major of the band, the leader of the band during marching events. According to Ŭnok Lee, many citizens, regardless of age, attended his band's marching parades in the streets. Once again, he mentions, "The streets were

crowded with people when we passed by marching. At that time they rarely had those things [musical events]. Therefore, when they heard music [from the streets], [they came out], and the streets were filled with them” (personal communication, Jul. 2010).

Ŭnok Lee says that the marches they played were mostly Sousa marches, similar to Kangsŏp Kim’s recollection about his army band. When asked about Hŭijo Kim’s march, “Devote your Loyalty Completely,” with the Korean national anthem melody in the trio section, he remembered playing the march, but his memories of the military marches he played were primarily about US marches, particularly John Philip Sousa’s marches. For military and governmental ceremonies, the Air Force Band also played special pieces for each occasion, such as the Korean and other countries’ national anthems, in addition to military marches.

Among the ceremonies for guest visitors, the most memorable to Ŭnok Lee seems to have been the welcome ceremony for US President Eisenhower. Lee recalls that President Eisenhower visited South Korea after the presidential election and before his inauguration. After his inspection on the front lines, he visited the President of South Korea, Syngman Lee, and Ŭnok Lee’s band and two other ROK military bands played music at the welcome event at Kyŏngmudae, then the Presidential House of South Korea.⁶⁸ Lee remembers that his band played march pieces at the event: “I don’t remember [exactly which marches we played] because we played too many pieces. Probably we played ‘Stars and Stripes Forever’ because it was the US President who came” (personal communication, Jul. 2010). Ŭnok Lee recalls that he had a positive view of the US President, and this resonates with Kangsŏp Kim’s feelings about the incoming US troops that I mentioned above. My understanding from the interviews with veteran musicians is that, overall, the musicians had positive opinions of the US governmental and military personnel while they were performing as military musicians during the Korean War.

⁶⁸ The Presidential House of the ROK is currently called Ch’ŏngwadae.

Classical Music:

Ŭnok Lee, as a member of the Air Force Band, not only played marches but other types of music as well. During their concerts, the Air Force Band primarily played Western classical works, mostly overtures, such as “Light Cavalry,” “Poet and Peasant,” “The Fledermaus,” “The 1812 Overture,” and “The Overture to the Barber of Seville.” The band also featured soloists singing Korean art songs and Western opera arias. In order to advertise the concerts for citizens, the band played marches in parades in the cities prior to its concerts. In other words, military marches and classical works were intertwined in the Air Force Band’s musical operations.

US Pop and Swing:

Furthermore, the diversity of the Air Force Band’s repertory extended to include US pop and swing in late 1953 when a swing band began to perform as part of the Air Force Band organization. Initially, the chief of the band prohibited popular music in the Air Force Band, so Ŭnok Lee and his colleagues who were fond of playing popular music had been playing the music only when the chief left for the day. However, this tension between individual musicians’ interests and the band chief’s order was eventually resolved, resulting in the inclusion of popular music as part of the Air Force Band repertory. Ŭnok Lee remembers the performance at a party for Korean pilots and US military men in 1953 in Kangnŭng, an eastern coastal city with an ROK Air Force base, as the critical juncture at which he started to play popular music with the permission of the Air Force Band chief.

One day, the chief was asked to provide dance music for a party during the band’s visit to the Air Force base in Kangnŭng and was embarrassed to think that the band wouldn’t be able to fulfill the request. However, Ŭnok Lee and the band members who had been playing US popular music without the chief’s awareness offered to supply the music for the party, to the chief’s

surprise and relief. Thereafter, the members were allowed to practice the music during their on-duty hours, and later the members even had their own stage at the Air Force Band's formal concerts for soldiers and citizens. "At that time the main repertory was Glenn Miller's pieces. ... The pieces I still play, for example, 'In the Mood.' ... At that time, Glenn Miller's music was famous, and the music was good" (personal communication, Lee, Ŭnok, Jul. 2010).

During the interviews, Ŭnok Lee called the members of the group "swing members," and the group's main repertory was music by the Glenn Miller Orchestra. Ŭnok Lee says that, except for hiding from the band chief in the military band base before his permission, it didn't require special action or effort to incorporate swing dance music like Glenn Miller Orchestra's music into his group's repertory because the music was already prevalent in South Korea: "I just picked up what was around me" (personal communication, Jul. 2007). Unlike Kyosuk Lee and Kangsŏp Kim in the previous sections, who were introduced to US pop and swing through their direct personal contacts with musicians in the US military stationed in South Korea, Ŭnok Lee was introduced to the music in a South Korean cultural context in which US pop and swing had already spread. Listening and dancing to US pop and swing music was becoming a popular cultural practice in urban areas and military towns in South Korea into the mid- and late 1950s.⁶⁹

For Ŭnok Lee, the availability of US pop and swing notations was an important factor for the learning of this music. As was explained before, the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters brought Song Folios and dance orchestrations to the US military camps in South Korea, which made the learning of this music feasible for Korean musicians.

Another reason musicians like Ŭnok Lee picked up US pop and swing was their own interest in the music: "When I first played it, I felt it was wonderful. Because it was something

⁶⁹ The social debates about the changes in moral standards after the war, such as the debates about the Park Insu incident and the novel "Jayu Puiin (Freedom Women)" in the post-Armistice period, revolved around dance hall scenes.

new, I was curious about it, because it was different” (personal communication, Jul. 2007). Ŭnok Lee’s positive opinion of US pop and swing resonates with Kangsŏp Kim’s fascination with US swing/jazz and Kyosuk Lee’s opinion that the US pop tunes he encountered in the mid-20th century were overall excellent tunes, which I introduced in the previous sections. In addition, Ŭnok Lee recalls that he had a feeling of freedom while playing the music.

Most of all, it [US pop and swing] is in the mood of freedom, isn’t it? ... The music is not in the authoritative formality itself. Moreover we [initially] played the music as our hobby. ... We played whatever pieces we would like and whatever pieces we could play, following our own desires. There [in the practice room for regular military band activities] we had to practice the pieces as we were commanded by the higher-ranking officers for concerts and new military march pieces. ... When we did the regular ensembles, we, as soldiers, did it as mandatory. This [his group’s musical gathering] was what we did among ourselves in a free atmosphere. ... It was also different from classical music. It was light music, so it was different. When we played classical pieces like overtures, the mood was very serious, but it was not so. Its mood was, most of all, free. That [playing of marches and classical pieces] was what we did as soldiers, and this [the swing members’ musical gathering] was not what I did as a soldier. (personal communication, Lee, Ŭnok, Jul. 2007)

The awareness of the dual position of military musicians as “soldier-musicians” is clearly addressed in Ŭnok Lee’s recollections, as it was in Kangsŏp Kim’s. The essence of musicianship that mattered to Ŭnok Lee was the playing of music of his interest rather than playing mandated music. To Kangsŏp Kim, it was expertise and excellence in the knowledge and playing of music. To others, it was concentrating on classical music without being distracted by popular music.

Although different military musicians focused on different aspects of their musical interests, the common factor is that military musicians were eager to pursue their interests and desires as musicians as much as they were required to be loyal to their duties as soldiers.

The two sides were essentially supposed to converge harmoniously, but that was not the case all the time. Ŭnok Lee and his colleague military musicians' interest in popular music was initially not congruent with the regulations imposed on them as soldiers. In his interview, Ŭnok Lee contrasted his playing of popular music with other types of music he was required to play as "free" vs. "imposed," "light" vs. "solemn," and "civilian" vs. "military."

Ultimately, however, his playing of popular music, which Ŭnok Lee distinguished from his military duties, was incorporated into his military duties, further intensifying the genre-crossing nature of military music in his band organization. These musicians' persistence in playing the music that they had interest in as musicians eventually influenced their band chief's decision to allow the music when the individual musicians' interest properly fit with the audience's interest that developed in the military and cultural space of the Korean War. The demand from the audience in combination with the musical interest of the musicians eventually pulled down the musical border that exiled popular music from the Air Force Band.

Consolidation Period: Military Musician as a Career

More than two years after the Armistice Agreement, the Air Force Band moved to a new base in Seoul in 1955. Most of the drafted soldier-musicians left the band around this time, but Ŭnok Lee remained in the military band. After investing about five years in the military band during the critical ages for career development, staying in the band as a professional musician was the first choice for him. Thereafter, Ŭnok Lee was a professional military musician for about

three decades until he retired in the 1980s as a warrant officer from the position of the chief of an Air Force Band.

In sum, Ŭnok Lee was significantly influenced by the course of the Korean War in his path as a musician, but he also acted as an agent himself. He did not have any plan to become a military musician or a professional musician before the war. However, upon the outbreak of the war, he played music for propaganda performances even as a beginning saxophone player, and when joining a military band became an option, he took it. His school band's aspiration to put on its first public performance vanished after the sudden outbreak of the war, but during the war he developed his musical experiences through the numerous opportunities for public performances in several cities. His school band's ambitious plan to feature its first classical music piece, "Farmer and Peasant," at a concert didn't come true due to the outbreak of the war, but as a military musician he played various overtures, including "Farmer and Peasant," as part of the military band's main repertory in addition to military marches. He further expanded his own repertory by practicing US pop and swing, even before they became a part of his band's repertory. Practicing music devotedly within the tight regulations of the military band organization, and, on the other hand, holding onto his own interest as a musician, Ŭnok Lee eventually obtained versatile musicianship as a military band member.

Conclusion

I have given great attention to the firsthand recollections of the three representative military musicians to demonstrate that large-scale musical border crossings, funded and enabled by the military music organizations in the Korean War in the 1950s, lived in the actions of individuals experiencing new musical forms, performing for diverse audiences, and exchanging

and spreading knowledge. After experiencing diverse types of music for several years as a military musician within the ROK-US military collaboration structure, Kangsöp Kim, who pursued education in classical music before the war, became a renowned figure in popular music after leaving the Army Headquarters Band. One of the factors that had an impact on his career goal change during his military service was his exposure to US popular music through his encounters with US military band members and US popular music recordings and sheet music that became available to him during the war. Ŭnok Lee, who had just started learning a saxophone as a hobby at his school band, was trained in the military band organization as a drafted soldier during the war and eventually became a professional military musician, playing not only military marches and patriotic songs but also classical and popular music. Kyosuk Lee obtained knowledge and techniques in harp performance at the US Navy School of Music during his study abroad, which was arranged through the ROK-US military collaboration. During his military service, he also obtained the idioms of jazz through his contact with US military personnel dispatched to South Korea and through his study at the US Navy School of Music. Finally, he contributed not only to military music in South Korea as a leading march composer, but also to classical music as the first professor in harp performance and to popular music as an influential music theory teacher. All three interviewees' musical lives help us to understand the diverse ways the borderlines between the military and civilian, between types of music, and between the ROK and the US were crossed through military music systems and operations and by individuals' actions.

The lives of the three interviewees were critically affected by the war and by the power of the military, but as agents of border crossings, they interacted with the power of the military in the war, resulting in the expansion of the boundaries of military music and the cultural agency of

the military. The power of the state and the military brought Ŭnok Lee, a school band member, into the military as a drafted soldier, but the young man with musical skills still retained some space for agency even when conscripted, a coercive act by the state and the military. A story repeated by several interviewees is that their musical skills enabled them to join the military music organizations, which granted them a certain degree of protection within the military structure. After joining the ROK Air Force Band, Ŭnok Lee, as a soldier, complied with his band chief's order, but as a musician, he didn't give up his interest in popular music, influencing his band chief eventually to broaden the Air Force Band's repertory by including popular music when a catalyst arrived in the form of an Air Force personnel's request. Kangsŏp Kim's first contact with the 56th US military band occurred by chance during a marching parade as a part of his military duties, but through informal gatherings with the band members, he developed his own musical interest and skills by playing popular music. This interest provided a bridge for him to shift to the popular music sector after discharge. Kyosuk Lee had his own desire to learn the harp during his study abroad. Originally, the US Navy School of Music didn't have a curriculum for harp performance, but the school eventually supported Kyosuk Lee's musical interest, and his education within the ROK-US military collaboration extended to his contribution to classical music education in South Korea. These cases demonstrate how individual desires and agency helped shape the direction of these border crossings.

ROK military musicians in the 1950s were required to live under the same tight regulations as others in the regular military units, but their interests and aspirations as musicians often played a stronger role in their identities than their position as soldiers, judging from their memories. During my interviews with veteran military musicians, I often observed that their genuine interest in music and their pride in the development of their musicianship were more

prominent in their memories than the hardships they experienced as soldiers in the war. They recollected so vividly and intensely the moments when they learned tonal harmony by playing chords on different wind instruments together with band members, acquired advanced level musical skills within the tight regulations of the band units, encountered new music through gatherings with US military personnel, engaged in musical experiments to play orchestral music pieces in their military band instrumentation, and composed military marches themselves.

Kangsöp Kim's testimony that military band members were musicians first and took the role of soldiers second clearly explains the military musicians' passion and desire as musicians, which exceeded the military goals of the military music organizations and accentuated the cultural agency of the organizations.

CHAPTER 4

South Korean Military Marches: Musical Nationalism in the Transnational Cold War⁷⁰

Introduction

The military band musicians' experiences of the Korean War period that were described in the previous chapter included brief mentions of ROK military bands' march performances and the composition of ROK military marches. Although the ROK military bands played music as varied as their performance venues and audiences, military marches made up the core of the ROK military bands' repertory during the Korean War. The bands played military marches most frequently and on the most diverse range of occasions – during marching parades, military and governmental ceremonies, and concerts. In this chapter, I explore the composition and performance history of military marches during the Korean War in the 1950s as an essential component of Korean War period music.

To begin this exploration and give some context, I provide an overview of 1950s ROK military marches. My sources for the performance and existence of these marches are the military bases of two of the most representative ROK military bands along with two additional band bases as well as interviews with veteran military musicians of the time. I frame this overview within the three-stage periodization that I have proposed as a general historical framework in this dissertation. Despite the limited number of ROK military marches in consideration, detailing the history is meaningful because within Korean music scholarship this is the first attempt to look into the ROK military march history during the Korean War, which

⁷⁰ Some materials in this chapter are presented in “Battlefields and the Field of Music: South Korean Military Band Musicians and the Korean War,” my chapter in *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonialism, and Local Music Making*, edited by Suzel Reily and Kate Brucher (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, forthcoming), the original version of which was presented at the 53rd Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Middletown, Connecticut in October 2008.

has been kept alive only in military bands' notation rooms and in the memories of veteran military band members, whose number is shrinking rapidly six decades after their participation in the war. I end this overview by categorizing the marches according to their formal structures and melodic themes.

Building on the foundation of this overview and categorization, I discuss the implications of the history of the ROK military bands' composition and performance of military marches as part of the ROK's state nationalism in relation to the characteristics of the transnational space of the Korean War. I argue that ROK military bands' march composition and performance during the Korean War period in the 1950s point to an act of negotiation that the ROK military bands had to undertake as agents participating in the state nationalism of the ROK while embracing the transnational norms of military marches and engaging with the military, political, and cultural dynamics of the transnational Cold War, which included the complicated meaning of the otherness of the US within the military collaboration structure.

Regarding the composition history of ROK military marches, I demonstrate that this act of negotiation is especially well exemplified in the composition and performance of the military marches based on the European/American norms of military marches but which characteristically incorporated melodic themes adopted from existing Korean songs, particularly those songs that could function as indexical markers of Koreanness and the ROK military's nationalist causes. Regarding the performance history, I develop my discussion by paying special attention to the discrepancy between the composition history and performance history of the ROK military marches. When I asked veteran ROK military musicians about their bands' march performances, no interviewee was prompt to mention Korean marches. Instead, most of them named Sousa marches first, and their recollection of Korean marches was brought up only when

I asked specifically about Korean marches. The military march genre is heavily charged with nationalist agendas of the state, and, in this regard, I find complicated relationships between nationalist ideas implied in ROK military bands' performance of military marches and the centrality of Sousa marches in the ROK military musicians' march repertory. Sousa marches are generally regarded as musical emblems of the US; however, ROK military bands complicated the meanings of Sousa marches by framing them as musical representations of the capitalist alliance and reshaping their meanings for the ROK military's nationalist causes.

Korean Military Marches in the 1950s

The history of the ROK military marches was just beginning around the time the Korean War broke out. Tracing back through their development, the Western concept and practice of the military band and military march were embraced in Korea around the turn from the 19th to the 20th century during the era of Taehanjeguk, which inherited Chosŏn, the last Korean dynastic state. However, the military bands of Taehanjeguk were disbanded in the early 20th century during the Japanese invasion period, and Koreans did not have their own military bands playing military marches for decades. In the latter half of the 1940s, when the Republic of Korea government and its military were established south of the 38th parallel after Korea's liberation from Japan, the ROK military bands and their own military marches began to develop.⁷¹ Hüijo Kim's march, "Ch'ungsŏngŭl Tahara (Devote Your Loyalty Completely)," composed in 1948, is practically the only ROK march that has a significant performance history before the mid-1950s, and Kyosuk Lee and many others began to compose military marches in the 1950s. The interest

⁷¹ School bands formed in Korea in the early 20th century under a multitude of influences, such as the legacy of the military bands of Taehanjeguk and the involvement of Western missionaries in music education in Korea. School bands became more active after the liberation of Korea from Japan in 1945, and many of the members became ROK military band musicians. Due to the close connection of the school bands with Korean military band history, the school bands' activities need further investigation.

in and effort for the composition of military marches increased in South Korea during the Korean War period in the 1950s, and most of the newly-created ROK military marches were written based on European/American model.

The Calamity Period

There is no information indicating that any new military marches were composed in South Korea during the Calamity Period of the Korean War. It seems that the withdrawal process of the ROK military was too urgent for the military bands to consider creating new military marches. However, when the war broke out, there were at least three Korean marches: “Ch’ungsöngül Tahara (Devote Your Loyalty Completely),” “Tolchin (Dash Forward),” and “Ch’up’ung (Autumn Wind).”⁷²

“Devote Your Loyalty Completely” is the first military march ever composed for the Republic of Korea Army, and it was composed by Hūijō Kim in 1948, around the time when the ROK government was established before the Korean War. At this time Hūijō Kim was the chief of the Fifth Chosöngyöngbidae Brigade Band, which developed into the Fifth ROK Army Division Band the following year.⁷³ He was appointed to a position in the ROK Army Headquarters Band in 1949 and eventually took on the position of chief of the ROK Army Headquarters Band, the most prestigious band in the ROK Army in the 1950s. Some of the veteran military musicians whom I interviewed remember playing Hūijō Kim’s march “Devote Your Loyalty Completely” during the Korean War in the 1950s. Their memories are vague about whether they played this march at the outset of the war or later, but because Hūijō Kim had

⁷² The repertory of a military band of Taehanjeguk in the early 20th century included a musical work entitled “Taehangungmin Haengjōngok (The Great Korean People’s March)” in its repertory, according to Sahun Chang (1974, 218). Neither notation nor information about the musical characteristics of this march is available, but Yoyöl Namgung wrote that it was a march composed by Franz Eckert, the guest educator and director for the band (1987, 86).

⁷³ Chosöngyöngbidae expanded and developed into the ROK Army.

composed this march as a military officer before the war with a clear intention to have it played for military purposes (Kim, Hŭijo 2002, 60), it is very possible that this march was played even during the Calamity Period, at least by Hŭijo Kim's band.

“Devote Your Loyalty Completely” was written in a typical Western march form and is based on Western tonal music idioms. The overall musical characteristics of this march are: major scales in tonal music (E-flat Major with a modulation to A-flat Major), duple meter, homophonic texture, a typical Western military band instrumentation of brass, woodwinds and percussions, and a sectional form with a trio section in which a modulation occurs. Notably, Hŭijo Kim incorporated the melody of “Aegukka,” the ROK National Anthem, into this march as the main melody of the trio section. The adopted melody of the ROK National Anthem in the trio section is also based on the idioms of Western tonal music. The Anthem is originally in 4/4 time, but the melody appears in the trio of this march in 2/2 time. Below is a condensed form of the notation of the march, which I found in *The Military Music History of the ROK Army*, published by the ROK Army.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ A complete set of parts for this march also exist in current ROK Army band notation rooms.



Figure 4-1 A Condensed Notation of “Devote Your Loyalty Completely” (Yukkunbonbu [Park]. [1980], 275–77) (The Korean words in the notation state that: this piece is a march; the title is “Ch’ungsŏngŭl Tahara (Devote Your Loyalty Completely)”); and it was composed in 1948 by Hŭijo Kim, a second lieutenant with ID number 11430, who was the chief of the Fifth Chosŏngyŏngbidae Brigade Band.)

The other two marches that already existed at the outset of the war, “Dash Forward” and “Autumn Wind,” were composed even earlier than “Devote your Loyalty Completely.” Information indicates that these two marches were originally composed for a school band by Sain Chŏng, a music teacher and former member of a military band of Taehanjegyuk (Lee, Kim and Min 2001, 156; Namgung 1987, 137). These two marches have historical significance as the earliest examples of Korean-composed marches in Western march form that have been found so far,⁷⁵ and these marches are also listed in the ROK Navy Headquarters Band’s notation index that was created in 1961. However, only a very few veteran military musician interviewees remember playing these marches. According to Ŭnok Lee, his ROK Air Force band probably played “Autumn Wind” under the conducting of the guest composer after his talk to the band members (personal communication, Oct. 2010).⁷⁶ I have found a piece of information in literature that confirms Lee’s memory; the Air Force Band played “Autumn Wind” and “Dash Forward” at their concert in 1955 during the Revitalization and Intensification Period (Taehanminguk Yesurwŏn 1965, 403), the period that this chapter will now consider.

The Revitalization and Intensification Period

According to *The Military Music History of the ROK Army*, Huijo Kim composed another military march, “Taehan Yukkunŭi Charang (The Pride of the ROK Army),” in 1952. The manuscript of this march has not yet been found in the military band notation rooms that I visited, but *The Military Music History of the ROK Army* contains the delineation of the melody and bass

⁷⁵ For information about military music in Korea before the appropriation of European/American marches and the composition of Korean marches in the European/American style, see Bangsong Song (2007, 189–92, 287–93, 364–88).

⁷⁶ Most of my interviewees who had had played march pieces from their school years said that they were not familiar with the titles of these marches. It indicates that these marches were not played widely among school bands either.

line, showing the overall form and melody of this march (Yukkunbonbu [Park] [1980], 278–81). *The Military Music History of the ROK Army* claims that this march was disseminated to army band units, but only one of my veteran military musician interviewees confirmed that his band played this march.

In contrast, Huijo Kim’s first march, “Devote Your Loyalty Completely,” has a significant performance history. The composer himself writes in his article about the performances of this march during the Korean War. Kim mentions that during the war his band played this march during the parades in the previously North Korean cities that the South Korean and UN troops occupied in fall 1950, such as P’yŏngyang (the North Korean capital city), Wŏnsan, and Hamhŭng (Kim, Huijo 2002, 61), parades in which Kangsŏp Kim also participated, as I introduced in the previous chapter. Not only veteran musician interviewees from the Army Band organization but also veteran musicians from the Air Force Band organization confirmed that they played this march during this period. Although *The Military Music History of the ROK Army* specifically mentions the distribution of “The Pride of the ROK Army” to the army band units during this period, “Devote Your Loyalty Completely” seems to have been played more.

Another march was composed with the melody of the ROK National Anthem incorporated, similar to Huijo Kim’s “Devote Your Loyalty Completely.” As I mentioned in Chapter 2, Kyosuk Lee in the Navy Band organization composed “Haegun Haengjŏngok (March ROK Navy),” and he utilized melodic phrases of the ROK national anthem as thematic material for this march. According to Kyosuk Lee, he composed this march before 1956. Although he didn’t remember specifically which year he composed this march, it seems that it was composed before spring 1952, because a veteran Navy Band musician recollects that the march was already

available when he joined the Navy Band organization in March of that year (personal communication, Lee, Kŭnmu, Nov. 2011).⁷⁷

The manuscripts of two more marches, which were found in the notation rooms of the Navy Headquarters Band and the Army Headquarters Band, have dates indicating that these marches were composed or manually copied during the Revitalization and Intensification Period. The two marches are Minyŏng Song's "March No. 3, Kaesŏn (March No. 3, Return in Triumph)" (Nov 11, 1952), and an anonymous composer's "T'ongil Haengjingok (Unification March)" (May 20, 1953). The title of Minyŏng Song's march, "March No. 3," indicates that it is possible he composed at least two more marches before his composition of this march, but there is no information yet available about the existence of his marches Numbers 1 and 2. Minyŏng Song belonged to the Navy Band organization, and I found a photo of him conducting a Navy band in a photo album that I located in an ROK Navy band base. "Unification March" was found in an Army band notation room, but the manuscript does not include any information about the composer. The trio section of this march has the melody borrowed from a patriotic song with the same title.⁷⁸

In addition, four more marches were mentioned by veteran military musicians during their interviews as a part of the ROK marches composed during this period. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kangsŏp Kim said that he composed a march entitled "Hŭisaengja (The Sacrificed)" around 1952, and that this march was played by the ROK Army Headquarters Band during a concert. Another interviewee, Chongŏk Woo [Jong Uek Woo], whom I also introduced

⁷⁷ I have located notations of two different versions of this march, and I plan to do more investigation into the history and the characteristics of these two different versions.

⁷⁸ A song entitled "T'ongil Haengjingok (Unification March)" appears in a song book published in 1954 as being composed by Ch'ŭljuak Yŏnmaeng (The Wind Band Association of the ROK) (Tongyang Ch'ulp'ansa, 24). The melody of this song is adopted by a composer, Unyŏng Na [Un-Yung La], for his composition of a march, which is also entitled "Unification March." The manuscript of this march was found in the form of card notations in the Navy Headquarters Band notation room, with the date inscribed listed as Sep 21, 1961 by the transcriber, which indicates that the composition date may be earlier than this date.

in the previous chapter, mentioned that he composed a march entitled “The Blue Wings (P’urŭn Nalgae)” after the Armistice Agreement.⁷⁹ He recalls that the march was played by his Army band stationed near the Armistice Line. Haksŏng Kim, a veteran musician from the Navy Headquarters Band whose interview was also introduced in the previous chapter, reported that his band played “March Arirang,” composed by Unyŏng Na [Un-Yung La], around the end of 1950 after the Inchŏn Landing Operation and before the second withdrawal.⁸⁰ This march contained the melody of the song “Arirang,” which is regarded as the most representative song of the Korean people and which contains elements of Korean folk music. Another veteran musician from the Navy Band organization, Kŭnmu Lee, reported that Kyosuk Lee composed another march, “March Our Class,” around 1954, which I already mentioned in Chapter 3.

If not for the interviews with these veteran musicians, the history of these marches would not have been revealed, and I believe that there may be other military marches that were composed and/or played in this period that are remembered by those whom I have not yet interviewed. Also, there may be more marches created during this period than are listed above because, among the marches I found during my archival research, I excluded those marches that

⁷⁹ By crosschecking the information Woo provided during his interview with the information about his band history in *The Military Music History of the ROK Army* (Yukkunbonbu [Park] 1980, 206), I found that this march was composed in 1954. Regarding the title of this march, the meaning of the color blue in Korea is different from its meaning in the US. Blue does not necessarily mean “low-spirited” in Korea. Rather, in many cases its meaning relates to “youth” and “loftiness.”

⁸⁰ Various sources mention “March Arirang,” indicating the significance of the song “Arirang” in the history of ROK military marches. Haksŏng Kim reported that his band practiced “March Arirang,” composed by Unyŏng Na [Un-Yung La], but in *the ROK Navy Headquarters Band Notation Index*, the title “March Arirang” is listed without a composer’s name. Veteran musicians from the Army Band organization remember playing “March Arirang,” but their recollections differ as to whether they played this march in the 1950s or later. For example, Kangsŏp Kim mentions he played March Arirang in the 1950s, but Pyŏngsun Cho says he played March Arirang later than the 1950s. Hŭijo Kim also mentioned in his article that “March Arirang” was played not only by ROK military bands but also by at least one US military band stationed in South Korea, but it is unclear in the article whether he himself composed this march or not, and he does not specify when this march was composed and performed. Haksŏng Kim, from the Navy Band organization, provides a comprehensive report on the subject, stating that there were multiple marches with the title “March Arirang.”

did not have dates on the manuscripts and because there may be marches kept by the military bands I have not yet visited.

The Consolidation Period

My archival research shows that there was a noticeable increase in the number of Korean marches in the ROK military band organizations during the Consolidation Period. For example, at least 13 more Korean marches became available to the ROK Navy Band organization between 1956 and 1961. The ROK Navy Headquarters Band's notation index, created in 1961, includes 23 Korean marches under the Korean March category, although it does not provide information about when they were composed.⁸¹ Among these 23 marches, at least five marches can be confirmed by the manuscript dates on the notations to have been composed or copied by hand during the Consolidation Period.⁸² In addition to these five marches, eight more marches were found to have been composed or manually copied during the Consolidation Period either in the ROK Navy Headquarters Band's notation room or in Haegun Kunaktae Yöksasil (the ROK Navy Headquarters Band History Room).⁸³ Remarkably, seven out of these eight marches, including

⁸¹ In the category of "Korean Marches," twenty-six entries are listed in the index. However, two non-Korean marches were put on this list, and another two entries are two different titles for one march, so the actual number of Korean marches in this category is twenty-three. The category of "Foreign Marches" in the index mistakenly lists Korean marches, which needs further investigation.

⁸² The five marches are: "Haengjingok Kukkunüi Nal (March the Military's Day)" (arranged by Ikhwan Chang, manuscript dates available are Sep 21, 1956 and Sep 22, 1958); "Kokukka/Hanyangga (Song for the Home Country/Song for Seoul)" (composer or arranger not specified, Feb 27, 1958); "Haktoga/Undongga (Song to Students/Song of Physical Exercise)" (composer or arranger not specified, 1958, month and date unclear in the copy); "(Ku)Aegukka Haengjingok (Old) National Anthem March)" (arranged by Ikhwan Chang, Feb 25, 1958); and "Aegugüi Norae (Song of Patriotism)" (arranged by Hüijo Kim, Feb 4, 1958).

Among the other 18 marches, two are Sain Jöng's marches, which were composed before the liberation of Korea from Japan. Four marches were either copied in the year of the May 16 military coup d'état (1961) or their titles indicate that they were composed after the coup d'état, but these marches are not within the scope of my research. Seven march notations lack manuscript dates, so I excluded them from my investigation. The notations of the other five among the 18 marches have not yet been found.

⁸³ Kyosuk Lee's seven marches composed during this Consolidation Period are: "Subyöng (Sailor)" (January 11, 1956); "March 4, Paektusan (March 4, Mountain Paektu)" (January 25, 1956 and July 1956); "March 3, Kaesön (March 3, Return in Triumph)" (January 28, 1956 and July 1956); "March 5" (July 8, 1956); "March P.T." (manuscript date April 23, 1957, composed in March 1956 according to Kyosuk Lee's own composition list); "March 57" (May 13, 1957 and May 21, 1957); and "March ROK Navy Hymn" (manuscript date Sept. 27, 1959).

“March ROK Navy Hymn,” were composed by Kyosuk Lee, who composed March ROK Navy during the Revitalization and Intensification Period. The other one is Wŏnmu Hŏ’s march, “Hangugŭi Charang (Pride of the Republic of Korea) (October 14, 1957). In addition, notations of two marches with dates from the Consolidation Period on them were found in two Army band notation rooms. These two marches are Tongjin Kim’s “Pangong T’ongil Haengjingok (Anti-Communist Unification March)” (Dec 13, 1956) and Ch’anggwŏn Ch’oi’s “Haengjingok Yŏnmudae (March Yŏnmudae)” (April 23, 1957).⁸⁴

Overall, the interest in and the effort to create Korean marches increased during this Consolidation Period, particularly in the Navy Band organization. My speculation is that this steep increase in march compositions in the Navy Band organization during this period was related to the Band organization’s effort to realign its musical resources as part of the organization’s development process. This is also indicated in the fact that at the beginning of this Consolidation Period, the ROK Navy officially designated the ROK Navy Hymn, the most representative song for the ROK Navy, and that the orchestra in the Navy TI & E Music Group was recreated under a name that more clearly represented the Navy, i.e., the Navy Symphony Orchestra. Another factor that affected the increase in march composition in the ROK Navy Band organization may be the contribution of the Navy Band members who studied music at the

I found that these marches were mistakenly listed in the category of “Foreign Marches” in the notation index along with several more Korean marches. Kyosuk Lee’s march “Our Class,” which I mentioned previously as one of the marches composed during the Revitalization and Intensification Period, is also listed in the “Foreign Marches” category.

⁸⁴ Tongjin Kim, the composer of the “Anti-Communist Unification March,” was a professional composer affiliated with the ROK Army as one of the members of Chonggun Chakkadan (The Artists and Writers’ Group), which I introduced in Chapter 2 as one of the civilian groups that supported the ROK military’s propaganda during the war. Tongjin Kim was a conductor of an orchestra and a professor at a university in Pyŏngyang, the capital city of North Korea, but he moved to South Korea and served for the South Korean military. He was one of the most important figures in the composition of South Korean military music in the 1950s, and he composed many military songs as well as this march. He composed “Anti-Communist Unification March” based on his own patriotic song, “Anti-Communist Unification Song.” Ch’anggwŏn Ch’oi, the composer of “March Yŏnmudae,” was an Army band musician, and Yeonmudae is a name given to the training camp of the Second ROK Army Recruit Reserve Center in the 1950s.

US Navy Music School and came back during this period, which I will further discuss later in this chapter.

Categorization

Archived notations in the notation rooms of the ROK Army and Navy Headquarters Bands and an additional Army band, combined with veteran military musicians' recollections, prove that the effort to create Korean military marches was increasing during the Revitalization and Intensification Period and that the effort continued during the Consolidation Period. When we consider only the marches whose manuscripts were found in the aforementioned notation rooms and dated from the 1950s and, in addition, the marches that veteran interviewees verbally reported to have been composed or played in the 1950s, the number of Korean march compositions during the Consolidation Period was almost eight times the number of compositions during the Calamity Period.

Most of these marches were composed by military musicians. Kyosuk Lee was the Navy's leading march composer, followed by Ikhwan Chang and Wŏnmu Hŏ. Hŭijo Kim, the composer of the first ROK military march, "Devote Your Loyalty Completely," was the Army Band counterpart to Kyosuk Lee in the Navy. Renowned civilian composers, such as Unyŏng Na [Un-Yung La], who composed "March Arirang" during the Revitalization and Intensification Period, and Tongjin Kim, who composed "Anti-Communist Unification March" during the Consolidation Period, also made contributions to the composition of ROK military marches, but most of the marches were composed by ROK military musicians, both officers and regular band members.

The marches that were confirmed to have been composed or copied by hand in the 1950s in South Korea can be divided, in terms of their musical form and thematic materials, into two

main categories and one outlier category. The first main category is defined by those marches with existing song tunes incorporated as main melodies or themes and in the typical Western march form, comprising an introduction, a section with multiple strains, and a trio section with modulation. I name this category the March Form + Borrowed Melody Category. Examples in this category include “Devote your Loyalty Completely,” “March ROK Navy,” “March ROK Navy Hymn,” “March Arirang,” “Anti-Communist Unification March,” “Patriotic Song March,” and “Unification March.” The other main category is also in the Western march form, but this category comprises compositions without borrowed melodies or themes. Therefore, I call this category the March Form + Original Melody Category. The examples include Minyŏng Song’s “March No. 3, Return in Triumph,” and Kyosuk Lee’s “March 3, Return in Triumph,” “March 4, Mountain Paektu,” “March 5,” “March 57,” “March P.T.,” and “Sailor.”

The outlier category is characterized by the arrangement of existing songs in the military band instrumentation without any change in the form of the borrowed songs, with or without modulation in the second section (or in the repetition of the main section): the Song Form + Borrowed Melody Category. In this category, only an introduction, interlude, and a very brief coda are added to the band arrangement of the borrowed songs. Two marches among those under consideration, “(Old) National Anthem March” and “Song to Students/Song of Physical Exercise,” belong to this outlier category although another march could possibly be in this category.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ “Song of the Home Country/Song of Seoul,” may potentially belong to the Song Form + Borrowed Melody category. I haven’t found the song counterparts from which the melodies in this march might have been derived, but the manuscripts of this march have a name in the arranger column, not in the composer column, strongly indicating that this march is a rearrangement of the two existing songs. The two borrowed songs could be those songs whose titles are identical to the two parts of the march title, “Song of the Home Country/Song of Seoul,” just like the march, “Song to Students/Song of Physical Exercise” is based on the two songs “Song to Students” and “Song of Physical Exercise.”

Although both the March Form + Borrowed Melody Category and the Song Form + Borrowed Melody Category (the SF +BM Category) adopt existing song tunes, I have found that the adopted tunes in the March Form + Borrowed Melody Category are more significantly charged songs within the nationalist agendas active during the war compared to those tunes adopted for the marches in the SF + BM Category. Songs adopted for the marches in the March Form + Borrowed Melody Category are “Aegukka,” the ROK National Anthem, (for example, “Devote your Loyalty Completely” and “March ROK Navy”), “Arirang,” a song regarded as a musical representation of the Korean people (for example, “March Arirang”), and patriotic songs of the 1950s (for example, “Patriotic Song March,” “Unification March,” and “Anti-Communist Unification March”).⁸⁶ In contrast, the tunes adopted for the two marches in the SF + BM Category underscore the marginal status of this category because the three adopted songs for the two marches were almost bygone songs by the 1950s. “(Old) National Anthem March” is based on the Aulde Lang Syne tune, to which patriotic lyrics had been sung but which was fading into the background of ROK history in the 1950s after the lyrics were combined with Ikt’ae An [Eak-Tai Ahn]’s melodic phrases in his “Korea Fantasy” and entitled “Aegukka (the ROK National Anthem) in the late 1940s. “Song to Students/Song of Physical Exercise” is based on two songs in the “Ch’angga” genre, which was spread under the influence of imperial Japan and was fading out in Korea by the 1950s.⁸⁷

In sum, most of the ROK military marches from the 1950s whose notations I found are in the typical Western march form with a section of multiple strains followed by a trio in which

⁸⁶“Patriotism March” was based on the patriotic song with the same title, composed by T’aebyŏn Park, and “Anti-Communist Unification March” was based on the patriotic song “Anti-Communist Unification Song (Pangong T’ongirŭi Norae) which was composed by the composer of the march himself, Tongjin Kim. Both songs are listed in the patriotic song category in a songbook (Chu 1954).

⁸⁷ “Song of the Home Country/Song of Seoul” is also very likely to have two song counterparts, as was mentioned above, and not only does the melody in the second section contain characteristics of Ch’angga but also the title “Song of Seoul” has been found in the Ch’angga type song titles, although I haven’t located its notation.

modulation occurs.⁸⁸ For these marches, the composers frequently borrowed existing songs and they inserted the melodies mostly in the trio section and rarely in other parts. These borrowed songs for this category of marches functioned as indexical markers of the South Korean state, the military, and the Korean people, whereas the musical form of the marches, the instrumentation, and the performance practices were fundamentally of Western origin.

Musical Nationalism, Transnational Conditions

Despite the efforts that were put into the composition of Korean marches during the Revitalization and Intensification Period and during the Consolidation Period, there were only a very limited number of ROK military marches available to the ROK military band organizations, judging from the archived march notations in two of the most representative ROK military band bases, in an additional two band bases, and by veteran military musicians' recollections. Further, according to veteran military musicians, the newly-created Korean marches were not actually performed very often. My understanding, gained from interviews with veteran musicians, is that most of the Korean marches were performed very few times and only by the band units within which the marches were composed. Some of them were even played only during practice time and were not performed in public. The core of their march repertory for their performances was, instead, composed of non-Korean marches, particularly, Sousa marches.

Given that the efforts for the creation of the ROK military's own marches had already started even before the outbreak of the Korean War, as was seen in the remarks above by Hŭijŏ Kim, why was the development of ROK military marches retarded and why were newly-created ROK marches marginalized in the ROK military bands' repertory? Why were most of the newly-

⁸⁸ It seems that the four marches that veteran military musicians verbally reported to have been played in the 1950s were also in the typical Western march form.

created ROK military marches in the 1950s in the specific formal structure of Western origin and why had it become a common practice in ROK march composition to utilize melodies of existing Korean songs? How did the popularity of Sousa marches complicate the history of ROK military music, and how were the meanings of Sousa marches also complicated during the Korean War? In the following, I answer these questions, looking at the specificities of the ROK military march development as part of the development of Korean nationalism and musicultural development in South Korea, and simultaneously revealing how this military music development was intertwined with the military, political, and cultural development of the transnational Cold War and the construction of the otherness of the US within the transnational space of the Korean War.

Musical Nationalism of ROK Military Marches

ROK military bands' performances of military marches during the Korean War were a key activity of the bands that functioned not only to assist in ceremonies and to heighten morale among soldiers and citizens but also to sonically represent the South Korean state and its military. As Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta have pointed out, since the state cannot be seen or felt as an object in itself, it needs to be made into "a real, tangible object in people's lives through representation" (2006, 357). Military bands' performances of military marches become important manifestations of the state by representing the military, which is an essential component of the state. Especially during the turmoil of war, military bands' performances of military marches visually and aurally actualize the strength of the military and the existence of the state.

Former ROK Army Band chief and march composer Hŭijŏ Kim, whose march I introduced above, explained in his posthumously published article the nationalist goal that he had

in his mind when he composed his first march, “Devote Your Loyalty Completely.”⁸⁹ Hŭijo Kim’s interest in composing marches for the ROK military developed in a musicultural context in which the frequent performances of US marches was marking the advent of US power in Korea before the Korean War. The US military entered Korea in 1945 and established the transitional US Military Government, taking control over the lives of Koreans south of the 38th Parallel. Listening to Sousa marches in this political situation, Hŭijo Kim was making plans to compose Koreans’ own marches:

After the August 15 Liberation [from Japan], the military marches that we usually heard were US military marches composed by Sousa, such as “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” “The Washington Post March,” “Liberty Bell,” and “Fairest of the Fair”The marches that were played at that time were, as I mentioned before, mostly US marches, and in the Navy, on rare occasions, French marches or German marches such as “Alte Kameraden.” In addition, the military outfit was in the American style, and so was the formation. The only notable Korean element of the band was the musicians themselves. In July 1948 when I began to serve the military, being a military officer in an Army band, I, first of all, started working toward the replacement of the marches with our own marches. (Kim, Hŭijo 2002, 59–60: translation from Korean into English by this author)

When the US military entered Korea after its defeat of Japan in World War II and before the Korean War, part of its operations included evicting Japanese imperial institutions and personnel from Korea, which Koreans themselves had ardently aspired to do. Therefore, although the establishment of the US military government in the southern part of Korea was an

⁸⁹ Confirming this relationship between military marches and state nationalism, veteran military musicians recollect that upper-level military staff members requested their bands to play Korean marches, although they did not force them to do so.

abrupt intervention to the Koreans in the area, the tolerance level for the intervention was fairly high because it helped to end Japanese imperial occupation. However receptive to the US military occupational government, nationalist agendas were still sensitive issues in connection to the US military presence in South Korea. This nationalist consciousness during the US military occupation period is well captured in Hŭijo Kim's words above about his plans for the creation of Korean military marches. Describing his first march composition, Hŭijo Kim more explicitly mentions:

It was not our ultimate pride to play foreign music as well as possible for foreign audiences. I wanted to work on our own music rather than playing completely Western music. (Kim, Hŭijo 2002, 201)

Emphasizing his nationalist goals, Hŭijo Kim explains that, in order to make his marches distinct from foreign marches and to signify the "Koreanness" of his marches, he strategically borrowed Korean songs for his march compositions. In particular, he incorporated in his marches "widely-known melodies, i.e. our folk songs, our lyrical songs, or patriotic songs that were spread at that time." According to Hŭijo Kim, he considered borrowing these tunes as an effective way to signal to the audience that these marches were Korean marches because the audience would listen to his marches at outdoor military events and at parades without other means to be informed of the identity of the marches, such as program notes available at more formal concert settings (Kim, Hŭijo 2002, 60).

It has been common practice to borrow existing melodies throughout the history of music that assisted marching soldiers, but Hŭijo Kim made it clear in his article that his intention for the borrowing was to express the Koreanness of the marches during the performances of his

marches. According to Paul Elizabeth Hosack Norton, “Early music for the cadenced march....tended not to be originally composed music, but to consist of existing melodies borrowed and adapted to fit the particular rhythmic nature of the cadenced step” (1983, 186). The practice of borrowing continued in Sousa’s marches in the late 19th and early 20th century as well. However, although both Sousa and Hŭijo Kim adopted existing tunes for their composition, Hŭijo Kim’s remarks on signaling the Koreanness of his marches by borrowing well-known Korean songs contrasts to Sousa’s emphasis on his aesthetic interest in borrowing. According to Patrick Robert Warfield, Sousa, “by placing familiar tunes in more refined forms,” aimed to make them “elevated to entertain a wider audience” (Warfield 2003, 219): or, in Sousa’s own words, to “give them a more adequate, full-throated expression” (quoted in Bierley 1984, 40). Sousa intended to do “missionary work” by bridging the gap between highbrow musical expressions and popular taste (Levine 1988, 104–66) as well as to serve his country with his music, and Sousa’ remarks above demonstrate that aesthetic elaboration was his primary interest when he adopted existing melodies for his composition. Unlike Sousa, Hŭijo Kim’s borrowing of existing tunes for his march compositions was primarily motivated by his military and nationalist goals, as is proved in his own words quoted above.

This explains why a significant portion of the ROK marches from the 1950s that I introduced in the previous section have borrowed melodies or themes from existing songs, especially those songs that have strong indexical signs of nationalist messages, such as the South Korean national anthem, patriotic/military songs of the period, and the songs acknowledged widely in Korea as musical representations of the Korean people and their culture. The inclusion of these melodic themes in the march compositions functioned as indexical markers of Koreanness to better achieve the nationalist goals of the march composition and performance.

My understanding is that the indexical function of certain borrowed melodies was also a reason that ROK military bands played certain ROK military marches more often than other ROK marches for the nationalist causes of their public performances. For instance, among the ROK military marches listed above, the marches more prominent in the available literature and in veteran military musicians' interviews are Hūijo Kim's "Devote your Loyalty Completely," with the ROK national anthem tune in the trio section, Kyosuk Lee's "March ROK Navy," with a melodic theme based on the ROK national anthem tune in the first section, and "March Arirang," based on the song "Arirang" widely-known as a musical representation of the Korean people (Kim, Hūijo, 61; Konggun Yōksagirok Kwallidan [Chang], 253; personal communication, Lee, Kūnmu, Nov. 2011; Kim, Haksōng, Apr. 2012).⁹⁰

However, ROK military marches written and/or performed in the 1950s, including those marches that have melodies indexical of Koreanness, are fundamentally based on the Western march form and practice. Most of the ROK military marches are in a sectional form with a trio section that has modulation, Western march instrumentation including brass and wood winds plus percussion instruments, duple or compound duple meter, major/minor scales in Western tonal music, and homophonic texture based on Western tonal harmony, among other characteristics. Why would Korean march composers make a concerted effort to establish a body of Korean marches, yet still rely heavily on a noticeably foreign musical format?

The concepts, practices, and forms of Western military marches as well as the Western military system itself were already a part of a dominating transnational political and cultural

⁹⁰ Veteran military musicians both from the Army band organization and from the Air Force band organization report that they played Hūijo Kim's "Devote your Loyalty Completely."⁹⁰ Kyosuk Lee's "March ROK Navy" was played not only in the Navy band organization, but also in the Army band organization under a different title, "Aeguk Haengjngok (Patriotism March)." Information in the literature and in a military document and veteran military musicians' reports indicate that it is likely that multiple marches were composed based on the song "Arirang" and played by multiple bands, although it is unclear who composed which piece in which year, except for Unyōng Na [Un-Yung La]'s "March Arirang," composed in the late 1950 [late 1950 or the late 1950s??].

formation in the mid-20th century, and Korean marches were not free of these transnational military, political, cultural, and musical formations.⁹¹ For example, there already existed march “classics” transnationally circulating during this period, just like the Western canon of classical art music that was transnationally appreciated, and these Western march classics were a common influence on those South Koreans who composed marches in the mid-20th century. Hŭijo Kim’s mention of “*oerae myŏnggok* (foreign famous marches)” in his article indicates the existence of canonical marches transnationally recognized in South Korea at that time (Kim, Hŭijo 2002, 61). Chongŏk Woo [Jong Uek Woo], whose composition “Blue Wings” was introduced above, says that he composed his march based on his understanding of the musical organization of the marches that he listened to and played as a military band member during the Korean War, which were European/American marches (personal communication, Oct. 2010). Although Woo’s case may not exemplify all the cases of march compositions by South Koreans, this influence explains a way in which the transnational norms and practices of military marches were spreading in South Korea during the war, presenting themselves as canonical models and reorganizing the embodiment of musical experiences among South Koreans as well.

⁹¹ The case of the military bands of Taehanjeguk shows similar irony. The establishment of the Western-style military system and military music system during the Taehanjeguk era had the goal of strengthening the state and its military in order to maintain independence in the midst of imperial harassments. However, the goal was accompanied by the project to equip the state with an apparatus comparable to those of the imperial powers in order to be an equal member in the relationships with those imperial powers. To protect its polity from imperial foreign powers, the political leaders in Korea ironically needed to adopt the format of the military and military music systems of the imperial powers. The agenda of developing military music for the empowerment of Korea was actualized based on the transnational musical practices of Western military bands. Throughout the history of ROK military bands, we can witness the complex convergence and divergence of nationalism and transnational military and cultural structures and processes.

In a broader historical context, the imperial expansion of the West accompanied the transnational flow of the Western military march form and structure, and around the time when Western and Japanese imperialism reached Korea, about five decades before the Korean War, Korea began to embrace this transnational military march form and style. Military bands in the Western style were created, and foreign military music experts introduced their march forms and styles to Korea. For example, a Prussian military musician, Franz Eckert, worked in Korea as an educator/director for a newly established Western style military band in Korea, and he disseminated Western military marches to Koreans.

Ironically, nationalistic ROK military marches were conceived within the framework of Western military march form, which had become a transnational norm. Perhaps this irony cannot be escaped, however. Political independence and the maintenance of a unique cultural identity are essential to the existence of a nation-state, but the existence of nation-states also demands that they are members of the international community of nation-states, which presupposes and imposes transnationally shared concepts, norms and practices (Turino 2000, 15). In the same vein, nationalistic ROK military marches, an essential component of the nationalist projects of the ROK, were composed and performed in conformation with transnationally shared norms and practices of military marches, essentially European/American ones.⁹² ROK march composers like Hūijō Kim were trying to amalgamate their own musical expressions and nationalist ideas with these transnational norms and practices when they were composing ROK military marches for their nationalist causes.

Multiple Functions of Sousa Marches in the Transnational Cold War

Despite the efforts for the creation of ROK military marches in the 1950s, however, veteran musicians recollect that their bands played Sousa marches most often. The titles of the Sousa marches the interviewees mention most frequently are “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” “The Washington Post March,” “Liberty Bell,” “Fairest of the Fair,” “El Capitan,” and “King Cotton.” Although they also played US marches other than Sousa marches, none of my interviewees mentioned US march composers’ names other than Sousa’s, except for one interviewee.⁹³ Also, although the band members played non-American marches such as “Alte

⁹² The national anthem of the ROK, whose melody was incorporated into both Hūijō Kim’s “Devote Your Loyalty Completely” and Kyosuk Lee’s “March ROK Navy” as an indexical marker of Koreanness, was also a product from the nationalist effort in concert with the transnational norms of nationalism.

⁹³ The exception is Kangsōp Kim, who mentioned King Karl along with Sousa. He was in charge of the notation section of his band, which must have required him to be more attentive to the information of his band’s march collection than any other band members.

Cameraden,” “Double Eagle” and “Colonel Bogey,” no one mentioned the names of the composers of these marches, in contrast to their frequent mention of Sousa. The ROK veteran military musicians’ memories of their bands’ march performances seemed to be dominated by the name of Sousa.

In the US, Sousa marches are considered a musical representation of the US, and, indeed, one of his marches, “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” was designated as the US national march on Dec. 11, 1987 (Foster 2004, 49). According to John R. Bourgeois, a former director of the United States Marine Band, Paul Hindemith and William Schuman thought Sousa was “the embodiment of the American spirit” (2004, 55). Frank Byrne describes Sousa as “an important symbol for the nation” and elevates him as “America’s musical and patriotic poet laureate” (2004, 68).⁹⁴ Musicologist Gilbert Chase also honors Sousa, mentioning: “From the time he became leader of the US Marine Band until after World War I, he was *the* national musician of the United States, both officially and by popular acclamation” (1992, 326). Jim Chesbrough adds that Sousa contributed to the cultural development in the US, especially when the US was emerging as a world power (2004, 45), and Carol A. Hess writes even more directly that Sousa was “accompanying the United States’ ascent to global power” (1998, 1–20).

Veteran ROK military musicians’ recollections prove that Sousa marches, as national emblems of the US and as signals of the US’s emergence as a global power, maintained these meanings during the Korean War. As a rising global power as well as the chief ally to the ROK, the US dispatched a large number of troops to South Korea as part of its Cold War strategy. ROK military bands played Sousa marches at Pusan Port to welcome the incoming US troops,

⁹⁴ Sousa himself conceived his music as a musical representation of the US when he mentioned in interviews that “The Stars and Stripes Forever” reflected his patriotic feeling during his stay outside the US and that the march represented “three sections of the country, and these are worked up so as to end with a climax which brings all three into prominence” (James R. Smart, 115).

and the bands also played Sousa marches for the troops at their military bases, as noted in Kangsöp Kim's recollection in Chapter 3. Performed under these circumstances, Sousa marches, as a musical representation of the US, accompanied the US military into South Korea. Also included in Chapter 3 was Ŭnok Lee's mention that his band probably had played "The Stars and the Stripes Forever" at the welcome event for US President Eisenhower, and Lee made this comment under the premise that the march, as an emblem of the US, was regarded by the band members as an essential element for the welcome event for the US President.

However, the function of Sousa marches in the Korean War was not limited to representing the US, becoming more complex to reflect the complexity of the American Other for South Koreans in the war. In the latter half of the 1940s, the US was, to Koreans, one of the foreign others (along with the USSR) that occupied Korea and hindered the establishment of one Korean nation-state despite its contribution to ending the Japanese imperial invasion. Therefore, the prevalence of Sousa marches as an emblem of the US was somewhat discordant with nationalist sentiments in South Korea during the US Army Occupation Period before the Korean War, as was indicated in the aforementioned remarks by Hüijö Kim. However, in the 1950s, the ROK-US relationship transformed into one of allied countries in the Korean War, and due to the loss and injury of American soldiers in the war, the relationship between the ROK and the US was even defined as a "blood alliance." The otherness of the US was made more familiar through its bloody commitment to the South Korean side in the transnational military space of the Korean War, while the bond of the Korean nation through blood was damaged during the war between the South and North Korean militaries, although Koreans mostly did not give up their belief in the establishment of one united Korean nation-state.

The otherness of the US, in addition to being somewhat diluted by the sacrifices of the soldiers, was elegantly shaped as a friendly other by the US military's effort. A letter from US President Eisenhower to the US military stationed overseas, written in 1957, pinpoints the position of the US military during the Korean War:

As a member of our Armed Forces stationed overseas, you and your dependents are representatives of the American people with the essential mission of building good will for our country.

Service men and women are the largest group of official US personnel stationed in foreign countries. As a result, people form their personal attitudes toward our country and our American way of life to a great extent by what they see and hear about American service personnel and their dependents.

... you represent us all in bringing assurance to the people you meet that the United States is a friendly nation and one dedicated to the search for world peace and to the promotion of the well-being and security of the *community of nations*. (emphasis by this author)

Archived as a document filed in 1958 by the Eighth US Army stationed in Korea, the pamphlet in which the above-mentioned letter is quoted also adds, "The truce is just ... a halt in the fighting. True peace in Korea must await a just political job to be done ... and here's where we come in." After mentioning the US military's job "to guard the truce" and "to help in the reconstruction of a Korea ... to become a showpiece of democracy and a beacon of hope to the oppressed peoples on the dark side of the bamboo and iron curtains," the pamphlet points out:

Our third vital mission is more personal: Each one of us is an ambassador. The many men who have served here before us have accomplished much. Now, it is up to us to continue their fine

work.... As individuals, we represent the United States. The Korean people are watching us. Their opinion of America and all that America stands for may well depend on the impression we make. Remember, we hold the key to the success of President Eisenhower's "people-to-people" world-wide friendship campaign.

This mission of the US military in South Korea reminds us of the ambassadorial role of Sousa and his band in creating a positive attitude toward the US overseas in the early 20th century through their musical performances. According to Patrick Robert Warfield (2006), The Sousa Band's international tour in the early 20th century, during which Sousa's marches were played along with other musical works, was delivering American values from the stages of foreign concert halls in line with the expanding power of the US on the international military and political stages. An audience response to The Sousa Band's concerts in England during its tour in 1911 reveals how efficiently the band was spreading Americanism through its musical performances. A quote in the 11th of Feb. 1911 Yorkshire Evening Post states: "Sousa gives the Englishman a more vivid impression of American methods in five minutes than can be obtained from all the written impressions of American ways in ten volumes" (quoted in Warfield 2006, 367). Another newspaper released in 1911 after The Sousa Band's performance in the country reads, "After listening and/or seeing Sousa and his band ... one cannot resist the temptation ... to indulge in Yankeeism" (from *Johannesburg Observer*, April 1, 1911, quoted in Warfield 2006, 368). About five decades after The Sousa Band produced an irresistible "temptation" to Americanism in the countries outside the US through their tour concerts, the US military was making efforts in South Korea for their "'people-to-people' world-wide friendship campaign," following Eisenhower's vision of a "community of nations," in which the US would most likely

take the central position. Sousa marches accompanied this friendly and tempting American Other in South Korea during the US military operations in the Korean War.

In concert with this complication of the American Other during the Korean War within the Cold War context, the function of Sousa marches in the Korean War was broadened to represent not only the US but also the capitalist alliance in the developing Cold War. For example, when the ROK military bands played Sousa marches at Pusan Port to welcome the US troops, and when the bands played the marches to support the US troops at their military bases, the ROK military bands' performance of the marches were musical representations of the military collaboration between the ROK and the US militaries as much as Sousa's marches were musical representations of the US.

Just as complex as the status of American otherness during the Korean War was the development of Korean nationalism in the 1950s. Koreans' nationalist aspirations reached a high point in 1945 with the end of the 36-year-long Japanese imperial invasion. Koreans envisioned the reestablishment of a new Korean state, but this nationalist fervor for nation-state building was disturbed by the international politics of the developing Cold War and by the ideological conflicts among political groups in Korea competing for nationwide leadership. The momentum for the establishment of one Korean nation-state was undermined when the US and USSR military occupational governments were established in Korea in 1945, dividing Korea into two. It was further challenged when the two Korean governments were established separately in the South and North in 1948, supported by the US and the USSR respectively, although each government insisted that all Koreans should be one united Korean nation under its own state system (Gi-Wook Shin 2006). The Korean War, which broke out in 1950, further complicated Korean nationalism, creating enemies among Koreans, solidifying the two-state system with two

confrontational governments in Korea, and bringing in more intervention by foreign powers, who were ideological allies to South and North Korea within the context of the war.

Specifically regarding the ROK's state nationalism, the ROK, which entered the war during the formative stage of its state-building process, had not yet configured its state nationalism sophisticatedly in relation to the broader nationalism of the Korean people and the other half of Korea under the control of the communist enemies. According to Kyöngil Kim, it was not until the late 1950s that the ROK government made efficient efforts for the spread of its state nationalism, despite its attempts since the late 1940s, and nationalism in South Korea was subordinated to Cold War ideology during the 1950s (2003, 199–208).

In the midst of a fractured Korean nationalism and an incomplete configuration of the state nationalism of the ROK combined with the complication of American otherness in South Korea during the Korean War, Sousa marches were easily incorporated into the core of ROK military bands' repertory. In this political and ideological climate, ROK military musicians during the Korean War period in the 1950s could utilize Sousa marches without as much conflict, as indicated in Hüijo Kim's remarks about his nationalist awareness years before the Korean War of the necessity for the replacement of Sousa marches with ROK marches. Sousa marches continued to be central in ROK military bands' repertory in the 1950s, and they functioned not only as a musical representation of the US and as a musical representation of the capitalist alliance in the support of the US troops and US officers/officials, but also as a main component of the ROK military bands' repertory for military events and ceremonies in support of the nationalist goals performed in front of audiences of South Korean military personnel, citizens, and even North Korean citizens.

The utilization of Sousa marches as the core repertory of the ROK military bands was founded not only in this ideological context but also on musicultural grounds. During the interviews with veteran military musicians, I have found that the interviewees put as much consideration into the intra-musical characteristics of military marches as sonic objects as they did the extra-musical meanings of marches, such as the representation of national identity. However, ROK military bands had obstacles to obtaining their own military marches sufficiently in the styles of their preference, sonically as well as symbolically. Their bands were organized in the Western style with Western instrumentation, but Western band music resources had not yet developed sufficiently in Korea in the 1950s despite their gradual growth since the late 19th century. For example, it seems that only one or two universities in South Korea offered a curriculum in wind instrumental music performance at the beginning of the Korean War.⁹⁵ Individual musicians and composers were active in writing music in Western musical idioms in the decades before the Korean War, but the new compositions were for the most part lyrical songs and solo instrumental music, and there were a relatively small number of orchestral music compositions and even fewer compositions for wind bands (Chae 1996, 30; Lee, Kim, and Min 2001, 94–162, 243–56), and composers' interests were not toward military music until the war pushed them to be involved in war music production.⁹⁶ In addition, due to the disbandment of the Korean military system for more than three decades during the Japanese occupation period until 1945, Koreans' own concepts and practices of military music, including military marches, were

⁹⁵ For information about the music programs at the universities in South Korea at the outset of the Korean War, see Ryu, Ch'oe, and Lee 1995, 231–48; Lee, Kim, and Min 2001, 168–74, 257–60. Yonsei University offered music classes and had its band, but it did not have a music school yet. Sungsil College also offered music classes, but it was not a music school either.

⁹⁶ Regarding traditional Korean musical resources, they had not yet been systematically restored enough to be incorporated into military music, either, because the Korean War broke out only five years after the thirty-six-year-

not yet sufficiently developed when the South Korean military was established in 1946 and when it entered the war in 1950.

Within these musicultural and military circumstances and without sufficient wind band music resources in Korea, ROK military bands sought march pieces they could incorporate into their repertory while the efforts for the creation of ROK military marches were gradually increasing. ROK military bands were open to embracing transnationally recognized canonical marches into their repertory, and the availability of non-Korean marches was exactly in line with the geopolitics of the Cold War. According to veteran musicians, they purchased march notations through music stores in South Korea and obtained march notations from at least one US military band stationed in Korea at that time (I believe that a significant number of the march notations gained through the US military band were US marches.) According to one interviewee, Russian marches were not available at music stores as far as he knows (personal communication, Cho, Pyöngsun, Oct. 2011). Two other interviewees even recollect the status of Russian marches as being in extreme contrast with the Sousa marches. According to them, they played Russian marches in their school bands before the war, and some of the marches were aesthetically appealing to them. However, during the Korean War, they were not allowed to play these marches after they became ROK military musicians, because Russia was the essential component of the USSR, which collaborated with the communist North Korean military (personal communication, Lee, Ponggi and Tökhyön Kim, Jun. 2007).

Furthermore, the geopolitics of the transnational Cold War affected not only the direction of the flow of non-Korean military marches but also the direction of the development of ROK military march creation. As indicated in Chongök Woo [Jong Uek Woo]'s case described above,

long period of Japanese occupation during which the development of traditional Korean cultural resources was halted.

ROK military musicians' experiences playing non-Korean marches, mostly US marches and more specifically Sousa marches, affected the military musicians' own march composition process through their growing familiarization with the musical idioms of the marches they played. Moreover, the ROK-US military collaboration facilitated a program through which talented ROK Navy band members could study abroad at the US Navy School of Music. These trans-Pacific travels by ROK military musicians, which crossed the boundaries between the ROK and the US militaries, had ramifications for the development of ROK military march history. The ROK navy band members who studied at the US Navy School of Music became a core group of those who composed military marches for the ROK Navy.

ROK military marches developed in the 1950s within this transnational milieu of the Korean War: in relation to the travels of US troops into South Korea on the one hand, and to the travels of South Korean military personnel to the US on the other, both of which were accompanied by the travels of military march resources from the US to South Korea, bolstered by transnational Cold War ideologies. Compared with the three Korean marches composed before the Korean War ("Autumn Wind," "Dash Forward," and "Devote your Loyalty Completely"), most of the ROK military marches composed in the 1950s have a more expanded and elaborated trio section. This heightened role of the trio section is regarded as a characteristic of Sousa marches (Warfield 2010, xlv), and it is not a coincidence to find similar formal designs in the development of ROK military marches in the 1950s and in the history of US marches since the late 19th century, specifically in Sousa marches.

Conclusion:

By documenting my findings on the composition and performance of military marches in South Korea during the Korean War in the 1950s, I reveal the complexity of the conflict and negotiation between nationalist agendas and transnational political, military and cultural forces entailed in the history. In the march composers' and veteran military musicians' accounts about their composition and performance of military marches, I find two different perspectives on the appropriate march repertory of the ROK military bands.

One is the perspective that puts emphasis on the creation of distinctively Korean marches that contain markers of Koreanness or the nationalist agendas of the ROK military. A significant number of the 1950s Korean march compositions that I introduced have melodic themes borrowed from existing songs relevant to nationalist ideas. These themes functioned to intensify the Korean identity of the marches or the nationalist messages of the bands' march performances. However, these borrowed themes were not necessarily in the "traditional" styles of Korean music. Rather, the function of the borrowed melodies as indexical markers of the nationalist causes of the ROK and its military were of primary importance, and musical elements of "traditional" Korean music were only part of the diverse indexical markers.

Another approach is found in veteran military musician interviewees' remarks that they selected the marches for their performances primarily based on the sonic effectiveness of the march pieces. Veteran military musicians' recollections indicate that they had interest in playing the Korean marches that were available for them. However, they did not feature all the Korean marches that they practiced. In other words, the Korean identity of the marches was not a sufficient condition for their inclusion in the core repertory of the military bands. They tended to include in their performance repertory only those marches they regarded as musically appealing.

Veteran military musicians, during their interviews, generally indicated that they performed the marches that sounded “good” and “interesting”; more specifically, they performed the marches that sounded “dynamic,” “powerful,” and “energetic.”

The identity of the military musicians as musicians was crucial in making these decisions for the selection of the marches that they would feature in their public performances. This identity was also significant in the march composition processes. The military march was a musical genre for the military musicians to engage in a musical venture as composers beyond their usual duty of performing for military events. The “soldier-musicians” and “officer-musicians” as composers made contributions to the composition of ROK military marches together with renowned civilian composers such as Unyŏng Na [Un-Yung La] and Tongjin Kim. Both in the composition and performance of military marches, the musicianship of the military band members was prominent, and I noticed that their identity as musicians was more prominently addressed during the interviews than their position as soldiers or officers.

The ideal for the newly created Korean-composed military marches was the integration of the powerful musical appeal of the sonic objects and the efficient delivery of nationalist messages through their performance, but the creation of sonically appealing Korean marches with additional means to maximize the nationalist function was not an easy task for the Korean march composers during the 1950s. These composers and ROK military bands had various obstacles keeping them from producing/obtaining an abundance of Korean marches that integrated the two approaches (musical appeal as sonic objects and additional means for more efficient delivery of nationalist messages) into march pieces, and some of the obstacles were related to transnational conditions imposed on the composition of the military organizations and the military bands in South Korea. The ROK military and the bands themselves were organized

in the Western style, thus conforming with transnational military norms. ROK march composers had to start with these pre-imposed conditions of the band organization and instrumentation set in these transnational norms and practices. Without sufficient development of Western-style band music resources and in the midst of the turmoil of the war during the formative period of the band organizations, it seems to have been difficult for the Korean march composers to create ROK military marches with strong musical appeal in brass band instrumentation and with powerful devices to deliver nationalist messages in order to fulfill the great demand from the expanding ROK military organizations with the increasing number of military ceremonies and events happening during the war.

Within the circumstances of the insufficient wind band music resources and the increasing demand for march performance during the war, ROK military bands incorporated foreign marches into their repertory as long as the marches had sonic properties that they considered effective for the military events they were assisting. However, the selection of foreign marches was not solely dependent on the aesthetic appeal of the marches; it was also influenced by the military and political climate of the Cold War. Sousa marches, not the marches from other foreign countries, are remembered by veteran military musicians as central to their bands' repertory. The embrace of transnationally recognized marches was made precisely in line with the geopolitics of the Cold War. Sousa marches gained status in the ROK military bands' repertory while the American other was cast in a comradely light within the capitalist alliance between the ROK and the US. In this context, ROK military bands played Sousa marches not only as representative US marches, but also as musical representations of the capitalist alliance of the Cold War. Further, they played the music, from the second perspective on the ideal march

repertory described above, as part of the transnationally shared march canon sonically effective for ROK military bands' nationalist causes as well.

The embrace of Sousa marches into ROK military bands' core repertory and the creation of ROK military marches framed within the European/American march format may look contradictory to the bands' nationalist goals, but Thomas Turino's definition of musical nationalism offers a theoretical ground for the understanding of the march performances and the compositions as evidently nationalist actions by the ROK military bands. Turino defines musical nationalism as "the conscious use of any preexisting or newly created music in the service of a political nationalist movement" (2000, 190). According to him, the context in which music is utilized for nationalist causes is the key to defining musical nationalism, rather than "whether musical works involve the use of local 'vernacular' or 'folk' elements and themes" (190). He adds, "[t]he consciousness of a nationalist function applies to the user, not necessarily to the artists or originators of a piece or style" (191). Considered from this theoretical perspective, the ROK military bands' conscious use of Sousa marches in the performance context for their nationalist causes was definitely an important part of the bands' nationalist actions, and the embrace of the European/American march format for the composition of ROK military marches does not necessarily contradict the ROK bands' nationalist goals.

Ironically, a similar tension between nationalist causes and transnational conditions in march history is also found in the history of Sousa marches. Sousa marches, which constituted part of the transnational norm for South Korean military marches in the Korean War and Cold War context, have their own history of conflict and negotiation with transnational norms in the process of becoming musical representations of the US. John R. Bourgeois, the 25th director of the United States Marine Band, defines Sousa as "an important symbol for the nation," but in his

article he introduces questions raised about the American identity of Sousa's music, which he rejects. For example, he introduces Louis Elson's remarks: "the instrumentation of Sousa's band and the formal designs of his marches differ only in details from European band and marches written by European composers" (quoted in Bourgeois 2004, 68). To Sousa, European marches functioned as a transnational norm, and Sousa himself struggled with this norm: "The European has had a style of his own to pursue and accordingly has not often attempted ours. On the other hand the younger country has of necessity been influenced by Continental methods" (Sousa 1941, 353). However, counting on his belief in music as "a universal language" (354), Sousa was willing to build on top of this transnational (European) basis for the creation of his own marches, which eventually became considered representative of America.⁹⁷

Just as Sousa's marches were first an object of discussion as an American version of a type of transnational music and later came to be seen as a unique and indigenous musical expression of the US, Korean-composed marches went through the same process toward the creation of Korean marches that functioned efficiently as national emblems of the ROK and as sonically appealing musical works, negotiating with the transnational norms of marches. Although this goal was not achieved yet in the 1950s, the decade was significant as an incipient stage in the development of ROK military march composition and performance, during which the main issues for the creation of Korean marches were addressed through the military musicians' and civilian composers' efforts, and during which the ROK military bands' march

⁹⁷ Bourgeois, rejecting the negation of the "Americanness" of Sousa's marches, brings in William Schuman's remarks: "The qualities that make music identifiably American are, to a large degree, in the ear of the beholder. When enough beholders perceive the product to be indigenous, then so it becomes" (Byrne 2004, 68). In other words, Bourgeois regards audience perception as key for identifying Sousa's marches as musical representations of the US, or to put it another way, he puts emphasis on the collective agreement on the construction of the meaning of Sousa's marches as musical representations of the US. In contrast, Gilbert Chase emphasizes the uniqueness of Sousa's own style as well as audience perception as factors in identifying the nationality of Sousa's marches (Chase 1992, 326–27). Regardless of the difference in their opinions on what makes Sousa's marches distinctively American, both Bourgeois and Chase endorse Sousa as a "national" icon of the US and his marches as distinctively "American" compositions.

performances were genuinely active in supporting the nationalist goals of the ROK and its military.

CHAPTER 5

South Korean Popular Music: Border Crossings and Hybridization Processes

Introduction

Expanding from the narrow focus on military marches in the previous chapter, in this chapter I discuss popular music in South Korea in the 1950s, focusing on its relationship to the Korean War and US military music. Whereas military marches are commonly used to represent the state and the military, to assist military ceremonies, and to boost morale, popular music takes on a different but still essential role in military music. It functions as a component of soldiers' everyday lives, as a psychological tool to provide comfort to soldiers and to re-energize their spirits during free time, and as a propaganda tool to integrate citizens into the military's goals. Whereas military marches are played primarily by military bands and mainly in formal settings, the inclusion of popular music into the military music repertoire expands the scope of military music operations, involving diverse groups of musicians and subsequently resulting in diverse types of border crossing processes. As the scope of military music expands by the inclusion of popular music, the potential impact of military music on musicultural developments grows as well. In this regard, US military's use of popular music during the Korean War period deserves special attention because of its profound impact on South Korean popular music development. Starting from the foundation I established in Chapter 2 with my work on the use of popular music by the US military in South Korea in the 1950s, in this chapter, I explore the diverse types of musical border crossings that were involved in the US military's utilization of popular music including South Korean musicians' participation, and their relation to the new hybridization processes in South Korean popular music in the 1950s.

For this exploration, I examine the development of South Korean popular music in the crucial decade of the 1950s in richly diverse contexts. First, I provide an overview of South Korean popular songs from the decade with lyrics relevant to the experiences of the war as a background for the subsequent discussions on the stylistic changes in South Korean popular music. Then I move to an examination of the hybridization processes in 1950s South Korean popular music with a 1961 song, “No-o-ran Syassŭi Sanai (The Guy in the Yellow Shirt)” at the center. This song is regarded as a significant song that opened up a new horizon in South Korean popular music with its embrace of new musical elements common in US popular music. I aim to reveal the course of the hybridization processes during the 1950s by connecting them to “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” which summed up the 1950s hybridization processes and opened up a new stage of South Korean popular music.

After that I explore how the 1950s hybridization processes that gave birth to the song “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” resulted from the border crossings that developed in the space of the Korean War in connection with the US military bases stationed in South Korea. First, I explain the formation of US cultural zones within the US military bases in South Korea during the Korean War period in the 1950s. Then I examine various types of musical border crossings that occurred on and around these newly established borders between US military/cultural zones and South Korean cultural zones. I identify four main means that assisted and accelerated the musical flows and travels. While AFKN music programs were a crucial means for both South Korean musicians and non-musicians to become familiar with and interested in US popular music, there were other means that were particularly important for South Korean musicians wishing to learn the music. They are Armed Forces Song Folio/Hit Kit volumes (notations of US popular music distributed for US troop entertainment), musical gatherings among South Korean

musicians and US military personnel with musical skills, and the Eighth US Special Services Section's arrangement and auditioning of South Korean musicians for their troop entertainment. These means were significant because these musicians proliferated the spread of the music from the US and its musical idioms to South Korean cultural zones by delivering the music to South Korean audiences and incorporating the idioms of US popular music into their own song writing and performances.

Then I try to interpret the integration of this new hybrid music into the core of South Korean popular music in a broader historical and social context, suggesting that the diversity in its musical expressions and its compatibility with the historical dimension of the transnational musicultural formations in Korea were crucial factors in the successful unfolding of this hybridization process. Then I extend this discussion in relation to the military, political, economic, and cultural forces that were interacting in the transnational space of the Korean War. Ultimately, I demonstrate that these hybridization processes were enhanced by a remarkable array of socio-cultural, political and historical factors, including: the US military as a powerful cultural agent that initiated and propelled transnational musical flows from the US to South Korea, South Korean musicians' and audiences' actions and reactions to the flow of US popular music, the backdrop of Cold War ideology, the war economy, modernization fervor, anti-Japanism in the post-colonial situation, the complexity of Korean nationalism during the course of the state-building of the ROK, and the history of transnational musicultural formations in Korea.

Korean popular music from the 1950s has been discussed in diverse types of literature from overviews and journalistic writings since the mid-20th century to scholarly writings during the most recent two decades or so. Engaging with this literature and simultaneously

incorporating my new findings from interviews with military and non-military musicians and my analysis of the music, I provide a unique reconstruction of the 1950s South Korean popular music history with a strong concentration on its relation to the development of the Korean War and with an interpretation integrated with the social and historical dimensions of the transnational space of the Korean War. Given the importance of the song “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” in Korean popular music history, my detailed analysis of the song in comparison with the hybridization history in the 1950s will provide a deeper understanding of the location of this song in South Korean popular music. In addition, my interviews with musicians in this chapter combined with the Eighth US Special Services Section’s own documented history that I introduced in Chapter 2 reveal, more explicitly than ever before, the relationship between US military music operations and South Korean popular music development, and shed new light on this relationship by emphasizing the importance of the Song Folio/Hit Kit notation series and personal interactions between South Korean musicians and US military personnel as well as the role of the AFKN and the Eighth US Army Special Services Section.

South Korean Popular Music in the 1950s: From “Chõnuya Chal Chara (Sleep in Peace, My Comrade Soldiers)” to “No-o-ran Syassũi Sanai (The Guy in the Yellow Shirt)”

According to the Korean War veterans whom I interviewed, “Chõnuya Chal Chara (Sleep in Peace, My Comrade Soldiers)” written by lyricist Ho Yu and composer Sich’un Park and sung by In Hyõn, was one of the most popular songs during the war period.⁹⁸ Music critic Munp’yõng Hwang claims that this song was one of the two earliest examples of South Korean songs from

⁹⁸ In some sources, the title of this song “Chõnuya Chal Chara (Sleep in Peace, My Comrade Soldiers)” appears as “Chõuya Chal Ikkõra (Farewell, My Comrade Soldiers)” (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ũmakchõjakkõnhyõphoe, 227).

the war (Hwang 1962).⁹⁹ About a decade after the release of this song in the South Korean popular music scene, “No-o-ran Syassŭi Sanai (The Guy in the Yellow Shirt)” made a big hit in 1961.¹⁰⁰ This song, written by Sŏgu Son and sung by Myŏngsuk Han, has been described by popular music critics and scholars as the song that marked a turning point in South Korean popular music history. According to Sangman Lee (1984, 124), it signaled the intensification of US popular music’s influence on South Korean popular music, and according to Young Mee Lee (2000, 142), Hyunjoon Shin et al. (2005, 49), and Pil Ho Kim and Hyunjoon Shin (2010, 209), it signaled the opening of a new decade in South Korean popular music characterized by its distinct embrace of US popular music elements.¹⁰¹ In this section, I explore how the 1950s, the decade of the Korean War whose initial stage was marked by the popularity of the song “Sleep in Peace, My Comrade Soldiers,” paved the way for the 1960s, the decade of the emergence of a new mainstream in South Korean popular music characterized by the common inclusion of US popular music elements, which was clearly demonstrated by the popularity of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt.”

South Korean Popular Songs with War Commentaries in the 1950s

During the Calamity Period, the South Korean popular music scene had almost crashed, which is not surprising considering that even ROK military bands experienced hardship in maintaining their musical operations during this period. Munp’yŏng Hwang describes this period

⁹⁹ The other earliest example mentioned by Munp’yŏng Hwang is “Sŭngniŭi Norae (The Song of Victory).”

¹⁰⁰ The standard Korean word for “yellow” is “*noran*,” but in the original Korean title of the song, “No-o-ran Syassŭi Sanai,” the word “*noran*” has one more syllable, “o,” as an indication of the extension of the vowel of the first syllable, “no.” The exact translation of this emphasis of the vowel in the Korean word may be reflected in “ye-el-low,” but in this chapter I will just use the word “yellow” instead of “ye-el-low” in translating the song title for ease of reading. According to the song writer, Sŏgu Son, a later version of this song was released with an accompanying leaflet with an English translation of the Korean lyrics under the title, “The Boy in the Yellow Shirt.” However, in this chapter I translate the Korean title into “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” because the Korean word “*sanai*” usually refers to a young adult male, rather than a boy.

¹⁰¹ Young Mee Lee defined this new stage of South Korean popular music as the era of “*ijilisŭning* (easy listening),” and Pil Ho Kim and Hyunjoon Shin defined it as the era of “modern Korean pop.”

as “the three-month dark period” in South Korean popular music (1962, 107). During this period, South Korean musicians were abducted by North Korean communists (evidence of the significance of popular music within the politics of the war); some of them succeeded in escaping from the abduction, and others who remained in Seoul fought against communists who occupied the city (Hwang 1981, 194-97). During this turmoil, others in the popular music sector who moved to the southern part of South Korea also faced difficulty in maintaining their businesses while living as refugees there. Many of these musicians were supported by the ROK military and collaborated for the military’s propaganda.

During the Revitalization and Intensification Period, and most vigorously during the battle period until the Armistice Agreement in 1953, many musicians, lyricists, and song writers in popular music were organized as part of the ROK military music system under the supervision of the Troop Welfare Section and the Troop Information and Education (TI & E) Division and Sections of the ROK military and the Ministry of National Defense, as explained in Chapter 2. Protected by the military and the government, the musicians, lyricists, and composers contributed to the production of propaganda performances. On the other hand, as their lives became relatively stable during this period compared with the Calamity Period and as the overall cultural infrastructure was gradually being restored, general popular music production, along with other musical activities, was gearing up anew during this period, particularly after the Armistice Agreement.

Ho Yu and Sich’un Pak wrote “Sleep in Peace, My Comrade Soldiers” in October 1950, at the beginning of the Revitalization and Intensification Period, soon after the restoration of Seoul (Hwang 1962, 108). According to Ch’anho Park, this song was featured in a propaganda performance event in December 1950 by Kahyŏp, a civilian entertainment unit affiliated to the

TI & E Division of the Ministry of National Defense (2009, 157). This song, whose lyrics exquisitely synthesized militaristic perspectives and sincere reflections on human emotion, was popular among both civilians and soldiers.¹⁰² Although later the ROK military banned this song for engendering emotions inappropriate for the military, people did not stop singing it (Kim, Tongjin 1952, 18). Eventually the significance of this song as part of both the war history and popular music history was confirmed when this song was featured both in popular music collections and song books published by the military as well (Tongyang Ch'ulp'ansa 1954; Kim, Chōmdo 1984; Kukpangbu 1996; Sinnara 2000). The boundary between the military and the civilian was frequently blurred in many aspects of Koreans' lives in the 1950s, and this song, "Sleep in Peace, My Comrade Soldiers," exemplifies how the military and civilian sectors converged in South Koreans' musical lives during the Korean War.¹⁰³

Ho Yu and Sichu'n Park, while being affiliated to the military, wrote another song, "Chōnsōn Yagok (Night Song at the War Front)."¹⁰⁴ This song was released in 1950 according to two sources (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchōjakkwōnhyōphoe 1992, 227; Lee, Tongsun 2007, 315) although other sources provide different release dates.¹⁰⁵ The songs created during the harsh battle period and directly related to the war in their lyrical content and in the mode of production and reception, including this song, hold a unique position within South Korean popular music history. Munpyōng Hwang and other scholars categorized these songs as *chinjung*

¹⁰² The lyrics take the form of a narration from the first person perspective of a soldier during the advance into the North, describing the tenacious combat against enemies and this soldier's memories of comrade soldiers who died on the battlefields and were left behind.

¹⁰³ The earliest recording that I found of this song for my analysis is from the 1960s, not from the 1950s, so I exclude this song from my music analysis. However, the available recordings of this song and an available notation of the melody show that this song has musical characteristics very different from the typical musical elements of the *t'ūrot'ū* style, which I explain in the following main text.

¹⁰⁴ The lyrics of this song are a narrative of a soldier missing his mother at home while guarding the war front at night.

¹⁰⁵ Munp'yōng Hwang writes that this song was released in or after 1951 (1962, 108), and Yujōng Chang thinks that it was released in 1952 (2009, 222).

kayo (Military Camp Popular Songs), which is a type that merges the characteristics of popular songs and military songs (Hwang 1981, 197; Lee, Young Mee 1996, 112–3). These songs are clear musical representations of the military and civilian border crossing processes that occurred during the Korean War.

Following these songs, additional popular songs were released with lyrics about war experiences,¹⁰⁶ pointing to the desire of musicians and audiences to express and share the experiences of the war through popular music. According to Yujōng Chang, “Nimgyesin Chōnsōn (My Darling at the Warfront)” was released in 1951¹⁰⁷ and “Naeādūl Sosik (News about My Son)” in 1952.¹⁰⁸ South Korean popular songs with explicit comment on war experiences that were released by 1953, the year of the Armistice Agreement, include “Kunsa Up’yōn (A Letter from the Warfront)” (1952),¹⁰⁹ “Paro Gūnalbam (That Night)” (1953), “Ibyōrūi Pusan Chōnggōjang (Separation at the Pusan Station)” (1953),¹¹⁰ “Kusseōra Kūmsuna (Be Strong, Kūmsun)” (1953), “Kkume Pon Naegohyang (My Hometown in My Dream)” (1953),¹¹¹ and “Kyōngsangdo Agassi (The Girl from the Kyōngsang Province)” (1953) (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchōjjakkōnhyōphoe 1992, 228–29).¹¹² The lyrics of these songs deal with various personal feelings within the special context created by the war: the feelings of a mother who lost her son during the fighting, a wife’s feelings about her husband at the war front,

¹⁰⁶ For more detailed discussions on the lyrics of some of these songs, see Young Mi Lee (2000), Younghae Noh (2002), Tongsun Lee (2007), and Yujōng Chang (2010).

¹⁰⁷ According to Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchōjjakkōnhyōphoe, this song was released in 1953 (229).

¹⁰⁸ Ch’anho Park states that “Anaeūi Norae (A Wife’s Song)” (1952) was a cover of the song that was released before the Korean War under the same title. The *Kayo* 114 website, before it closed, featured a recording of this song, listing that it was released in the 1940s.

¹⁰⁹ In *The Korean Popular Song Index*, the song title appears to be “Hyanggi P’umūn Kunsa Up’yōn (A Scented Letter from the Warfront)” (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchōjjakkōnhyōphoe, 228).

¹¹⁰ According to Yujōng Chang, “Separation at the Pusan Station” was released in 1954 (2009, 224).

¹¹¹ Ch’angho Park mentions that “My Hometown in My Dream” was a part of a music theater production in the pre-war period (2009, 161).

¹¹² According to Yujōng Chang, “The Girl from the Kyōngsang Province” was released in 1955 (2010, 31).

recollections of evacuating one's home, a return from refugee life, a divided family's agony at having family members north of the Armistice Line, and a dislocated person's longing for his hometown north of the Armistice Line, among others. The lyrics reveal that dislocations and relocations caused by the war were engendering a great deal of agony and that, although the armistice agreement closed one facet of the destructive war, the armistice line had become another problem.

According to Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchöjakkwönhyöphoe, several popular songs with war commentaries were released in 1955 and 1956, the transition from the Revitalization and Intensification Period to the Consolidation Period. These songs include "Hamgyöngdo Sanai (The Man from the Hamgyöng Province)" (1955), "Hyujönsön Nagüne (The Wanderer around the Armistice Line)," (1955), "Tanjungüi Miari Kogae (Heartbreak at Miari Hill)," (1956), and "Kkume Pon Taedonggang (The Taedong River in my Dream)" (1956). According to Yujöng Chang, "P'inangil Kohyanggil (The Road of the Refugee, the Road Home)" was also released in 1955 (2010, 31). In most of these songs, the armistice line is described as a serious problem, causing separation from hometowns, separation among family members, and separation within one nation.

The transition from the Intensification and Revitalization period to the Consolidation Period was concluded with these songs summing up the war, and thereafter Korean musicians and audiences seem to have moved forward, leaving the war behind. Songs with war commentaries continued to be released from 1957 to 1960: for example, "Tunammae (Two Siblings)" (1957), "Öttön Kyölsim (A Resolution)" (1957), "Samp'alsönüi Pom (The Spring on the 38th Parallel)"(1958), "Ch'uöngüi Yöngdo Tari (Yöngdo Bridge of Memory)"(1958), "Han Manün Taedonggang (The Taedong River of Deep Sorrow)"(1959), "Tumangang-a Chönhaedao

(Tuman River, Deliver the Message)”(1960), “Tuhyŏngirŭl Tollyŏjuseyo (Get Tuhyŏng Back to Me)”(1960) (Munhwabangsong and Hanguk Ŭmakchŏjakkwŏnhyŏphoe 1992, 230-31). However, the commentaries in most of these songs repeat the issues that already appeared in the songs in 1955 and 1956. By contrast, very positive imagery of hope and a happy life was becoming a common component in the lyrics of the popular songs released during the Consolidation Period, giving the impression that South Koreans needed songs that expressed their feelings and hopes for the physical and social reconstruction after the war.

Young Mee Lee claimed that songs with lyrics about the war and the division of the country released in the late 1940s and 1950s were in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style (2000, 113).¹¹³ According to her, the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style was crystallized in the 1930s during the Japanese colonial period before the Korean War under the influence of Japanese popular music, and she defined general characteristics of this style as follows: 4/4 meter; pentatonic scales in minor, la-ti-do-mi-fa, or in major, do-re-mi-sol-la, but more commonly in minor; with the fourth and seventh degrees of the heptatonic scales of Western tonal music rarely used whether in minor or in major; limited use of chords, with one chord often maintained for several bars and with rare use of the subdominant triad among the main triads, not to mention subsidiary triads; delicate melodic expressions and linear organization; a lack of thematic structure, with only “a handful” of surviving songs with the form “a, a', b, a””; and complex vocal techniques like ornamental shakes, moves, pulls, tugs, rolls, and timbral shifts (2000; 59-65; 2005, 6-8). This *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style was still dominant in South Korean popular music in the 1950s (Lee, Young Mee 2000, 99-113), and, among the songs with war commentaries mentioned above, this style is especially well exemplified in the song, “The

¹¹³ The nomenclature for the style was originally kayo, which just means “songs,” or yuhaengga, which means “popular songs.” However, two new nomenclatures developed to refer to this style: ppongchak and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. In the academic discourse, the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is preferred because the term ppongchak is regarded as a denigrating onomatopoeia of the typical rhythmic pattern of this style.

Taedong River of Deep Sorrow.” In the following, however, I will also discuss some aspects of these songs that deviate from the stylistic features of *t’ūrot’ū* described by Young Mee Lee.¹¹⁴

The Stylistic Changes in South Korean Popular Music in the 1950s

Around the turn from the 1950s into the 1960s, “No-o-ran Syassūi Sanai (The Guy in the Yellow Shirt)” made a strong appeal to South Korean audiences with musical features quite different from the typical characteristics of the *t’ūrot’ū* style.¹¹⁵ Hyunjoon Shin et al. explained that this song is characterized by cheerful strumming on a guitar, a violin playing in the hillbilly style, and the jovial singing in a husky voice (2005, 49). In the following I analyze this song in more detail. I think that a further analysis of this song is meaningful because multiple scholars have pointed out the importance of this song in South Korean popular music history as the song that opened up a new era of South Korean popular music, as I described above. I try to find the

¹¹⁴ In regards to the musical idioms and styles of the songs with explicit war commentaries, among the songs whose release years are specified as from 1950 to 1960 in published sources, I discuss only the songs whose recordings are available in the CD set, *Yusōnggiro Tūnnūn Kayosa*, or whose recording files I retrieved from the website www.kayo114.com before its closing in July 2011.

¹¹⁵ Sōgu Son mentions that an English translation of the Korean lyrics of this song was printed on a leaflet and inserted in each album jacket of a later version of the recording. This translation, which was provided to Sōgu Son by Richard Rutt, renders the title as “The Boy in the Yellow Shirt.” In this dissertation, however, I translate the title as “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt.” Rutt translated the Korean word, *sanai*, into the English word, boy, but I translate the word into the English word, guy. The Korean word, *sanai*, means an adult male, so the meaning is closer to the word guy, than the word boy. Rutt’s translation of the song lyrics is as follows.

The Boy in the Yellow Shirt (translated into English by Richard Rutt)

Oh that boy in the yellow shirt!
He never says a word to me.
I don’t know why I like him so.
I don’t see why he does for me.

He’s no dashing Romeo.
But he’s silent, straight and strong.
He’s for me-Oh, I like him so.
Why, oh why, did I fall for him?

Oh, he’s set my heart on fire.
I never felt like this before.
I wonder,
Whether he ever spares a thought for me.

details of this song distinct from the mainstream of the 1950s, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, and try to understand the processes of the stylistic changes in South Korean popular music during the 1950s to which this song connects. In the analysis, my interest is not only in the characteristics of this song different from the elements of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style but also in how this song is rooted in the 1950s development of hybridization in South Korean popular music in relation to the war and South Koreans' encounters with music from the US during the war.

“The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” immediately attracts attention from the intro section with an instrumental accompaniment unusual in South Korean popular music at that time. The violin plays in a US country music style, which veteran ROK musicians whom I interviewed call “hilibili (hillbilly).” It uses double stops, drones, and upward and downward slides, while playing the notes primarily in a shuffle rhythm (for example, see Figure 5-1), which is common in fiddling in country music. The guitar plays additive rhythmic patterns (see an example in Figure 5-2), similar to ones common in Afro-Cuban influenced American popular music in the late 1950s. The bass primarily plays a rhythmic pattern in arpeggio, close to a calypso rhythm although not identical to it (see Figure 5-3). This distinctive instrumental accompaniment continues throughout the song, decisively differentiating the musical style of this song from *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.



Figure 5-1 The violin accompaniment at the beginning of the instrumental intro section



Figure 5-2 The primary guitar strumming pattern in the accompaniment

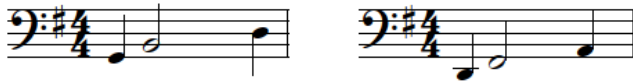


Figure 5-3 Primary bass patterns in the instrumental intro section

My own analysis shows that the instrumental accompaniment in typical *t'ūrot'ū*-style songs basically comprises three layers that each function differently in the musical organization:

- 1) one or a group of instruments, mostly plucked string instruments and/or percussion instruments, which keep beats regularly and provide the bass line (if string instruments are included); 2) another instrument that plays the same melody as the vocal melody or multiple instruments assigned to different phrases of the vocal melody to double the melody; and 3) one or several additional instruments that provide ornamental responses to the vocal melody, in many cases at the end of the (sub)phrases while the singer retains the last note of each (sub)phrase for several beats.¹¹⁶ Whereas the guitar, the violin and the string bass that are featured in the instrumental accompaniment of the song “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” were typically used in

¹¹⁶ There are cases in which the quality of the recording causes problems in identifying the instruments, but the most frequently used instruments are the accordion; strings, such as the guitar, bass and violin; woodwinds, such as the saxophone and clarinet; brass, such as the trumpet; percussion, such as drums and sticks; and rarely a piano. When only one single instrument – usually a guitar – is used for accompaniment in the *t'ūrot'ū* style, this instrument can take on all three roles in the musical texture described above. However, the recordings of the songs with war commentaries from the 1950s that I have found did not include any accompaniment by only one instrument.

the mid-20th century *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style, the playing styles and techniques of these instruments and the musical organization of the instrumental accompaniment in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” distinguish this song from the typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ*-style songs.

Next, a homophonic texture that is no less dominant than the song’s linear organization distinguishes “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” from typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ* songs with their prominent linear organization. In the typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style of the pre-war period, the melodic line is pivotal in the musical organization, and the instrumental accompaniment is organized subordinate to the melody, rather than to function with its rendition of chord progression as an organizational frame.¹¹⁷ The centrality of the melody in the typical musical organization of the *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style is further intensified by the ornamenting features in the instrumental accompaniment that imitates and responds to the melodic line, and the ornamenting features in the melody itself, such as ornamental notes and nuanced vocal techniques that embellish the main component tones of the melody. Unlike typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ* songs that are characterized by the centrality of the delicately expressed melodic line within the linear musical organization, the musical organization of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” is defined vertically by the instrumental accompaniment with the chord progression on the guitar.

Third, the heptatonic major scale in tonal music as a basis for the instrumental accompaniment and tonal harmony as a governing framework distinguish this song from typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ*-style songs. Typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ*-style songs of the pre-war period are based on pentatonic scales that are missing the fourth and the seventh scale degrees of the Western heptatonic major/minor scales, and when the fourth scale degree and/or the seventh scale degree of the heptatonic scales are inserted, they function only to momentarily suggest heptatonic inflections

¹¹⁷ The melodic line in the typical songs in the *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style is sung by a solo singer, not other forms of vocal ensemble.

within the pentatonic framework. The bass line in the *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style typically alternates between the root and the fifth of the tonic chord and between the root and the fifth of the dominant chord, almost excessively suggesting the tonic and the dominant chords; however, the basic chord progression of tonal harmony is not realized in its full sense because of the lack of, or ineffective presence of, the seventh scale degree, the leading tone. In addition, in the *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style the instrument that plays the bass line from time to time shifts to double the melodic line, abandoning its role of playing the bass for the sake of underscoring the melodic line. The instrumental accompaniment on the guitar, the fiddle and the bass in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” by contrast, plays a heptatonic major scale definitive of Western tonal music. The guitar and the bass provide chords I, IV, and V, framing the vocal melody within the structure of tonal harmony. The fiddle accompaniment, while improvising on the vocal melody, adds at many points of the phrases the 4th and the 7th scale degrees of the heptatonic Western major scale to the five tones of the pentatonic scale in the vocal melody, strengthening tonality in this music established by the guitar and the bass accompaniment.

Fourth, the rhythmic drive in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” is different from typical *t'ǔrot'ǔ* songs. In the *t'ǔrot'ǔ* style of the pre-war period, the rhythm section (a single or multiple string and/or percussion instruments) marks the beats regularly in each bar, almost sounding like mechanical, repetitive punctuation on each beat. In contrast, the consecutive guitar strumming throughout “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” pushes a rhythmic flow forward, and the rhythmic figure on the fiddle intensifies the rhythmic flow. The rhythmic drive created by the instrumental accompaniment results in a perceived tempo much faster than the actual tempo of the song. The musical time in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” is fundamentally based on the flow over the bars

whereas the musical time in the typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs is founded primarily in the strict division of time in each bar.

Fifth, the vocal rendition and vocal timbre in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” are different from those in typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. The typical vocal timbre in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs is thin and clear, and, in some ranges of the register it is often strained or nasal. Compared to such vocal qualities, the singer’s voice in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” is a fuller head and chest voice, not strained, nor nasal. The rendition of the melody by the singer in this song is more straightforward and less ornamental, which is contrasted with the typical vocal rendition of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style that is highly ornamental.

Sixth, the formal structure of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” is different from the typical formal structure in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style. Typical songs in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style of the pre-war period are in the strophic form, primarily with three stanzas of lyrics, and the vocal melody is composed of four different phrases (and, rarely, three or five phrases) in each stanza, without any main melodic phrase repeated, resulting in the representative formal structure, | : a b c d : |.¹¹⁸ Unlike this formal structure, the formal structure of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” is | a a b a |, in which a melodic phrase is repeated. After the instrumental interlude, the singer repeats the latter half of the phrases (the lyrics in this half are also repeated), resulting in the overall form, Intro --- | a a b a | --- interlude --- | b a | --- postlude.

In short, the characteristics of the song “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” are remarkably different from the general characteristics of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style that was crystallized in the 1930s and remained essential in South Korean popular music in the 1950s. This song was not an abrupt

¹¹⁸ The third phrase of the vocal melody tends to have a melodic line in a higher range of register than in other phrases, expressing a heightened emotion, in many cases suggesting chord IV in contrast to the use of chords I and V in other phrases.

shift away from the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style, however, but was a product of the hybridization process that had continued over the previous years. This song contains some musical elements typical of the pre-war period and 1950s South Korean popular music, although less explicitly than its new musical elements.

In regard to the characteristics inherited from previous decades' Korean popular songs, it is interesting to find how the melody of "The Guy in the Yellow Shirt" retains elements common in existing South Korean popular music and counterbalances the new musical elements abundant in the instrumental accompaniment. First, even though the rhythmic drive created by the instrumental ensemble is unusual for Korean popular music of the period, the tempo itself is not so fast compared with that of the existing typical South Korean popular songs. In particular, the moderate rhythmic tempo of the vocal melody neutralizes the driving force of the instrumental accompaniment. Second, although the tonal harmony is more solidly structured by the instrumental accompaniment than it is in the typical songs in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style, the chord progression in this song is still static in the midst of the negotiation of the instrumental ensemble against the melodic line with its basis on a pentatonic scale. Pentatonic major scales have been commonly used in Korean popular songs not only in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style but also in the *sinminyŏ* style, a hybrid Korean popular music style that developed in the early-20th century.¹¹⁹ In short, whereas "The Guy in the Yellow Shirt" is framed by the instrumental accompaniment in tonal harmony based on a heptatonic major scale, the vocal melody is on a pentatonic major scale typical in South Korean popular music by then.¹²⁰ Overall, while the instrumental accompaniment deviates from the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style dramatically in terms of rhythmic tempo, scale,

¹¹⁹ For more information about *sinminyŏ*, see Soyŏng Lee (2007 b) and Hilary Finchum-Sung (2006).

¹²⁰ Young Mee Lee noted the use of pentatonic scales as a common characteristic of Korean popular songs in the 1960s such as "The Guy in the Yellow Shirt" (Lee, Young Mee 2000, 146–52)

harmony and musical organization, the vocal melody counterbalances this deviation to some extent.

To better understand the hybridization in the 1950s that proceeded to yield the song “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” it would be useful to demonstrate the deviation from the typical stylistic features of *t’ūrot’ū* found in diverse groups of songs released in the 1950s. First of all, as if signaling the influence of the war and the US military’s music in this hybridization process, the deviation is encapsulated in the group of songs released in the 1950s with military music elements and US imagery in the song lyrics. “Chūlgöun Mokchang (Happy Ranch)” (1953), “Nae Kohyang-ūro Mach’anün Kanda (The Buggy to my Hometown)” (1955), “Ch’ōngch’un Purabo (Bravo to Youth)” (1957), “Haengbogūi Iryoil (Happy Sunday)” (1957), and “Namsōng Nōmbō Wōn (Number One Guy)” (1958) explicitly or suggestively contain military music elements, such as the imitation of military bugle calls by wind instruments (“Serenade on the War Front,” “Happy Ranch,” “The Buggy to my Hometown,” and “Bravo to Youth”), the use of snare drums in military music styles (“Happy Ranch” and “Bravo to Youth”), the use of a male chorus in unison as a reminiscence of military choruses (“Bravo to Youth”), and rhythmic and melodic patterns and instrumentation suggestive of military marches (“Happy Ranch,” “Happy Sunday,” and “Number One Guy”).

These songs with military music elements released during and after the year of the Armistice Agreement have lyrics that cheerfully and hopefully examine various aspects of civilian life,¹²¹ which matched the mood of the society during a time of physical and social reconstruction, a reaction to the darkness and sadness of the war. The energy-engendering

¹²¹ For example, “The Buggy to my Hometown” has lyrics about returning to a carefree hometown; “Happy Ranch” describes the happiness of youth in an imaginary pastoral life; “Happy Sunday” tells about happiness and the pleasure of a picnic; “Bravo to Youth” sings about rosy love; and “Number One Guy” cheerfully proscribes the ideal types of men and women.

elements of military marches in these songs intensify the upbeat images of life in the lyrics, and frequently the hope, love, happiness and dreams envisioned optimistically and cheerfully in these songs are associated with imagery of the US. For example, in the lyrics of “The Buggy to My Hometown” and “Happy Ranch,” the returnee to his rural home is described in the lyrics to be on a wagon where a banjo, a representative instrument of the US, plays, and the happiness of pastoral life is associated with the sound of the banjo in the lyrics.

The association of the optimistic perspective on life with the imagery of the US in the lyrics is only the start of the American features. Each song incorporates musical elements of the US popular music of the day. “Number One Guy” features the Hawaiian guitar in the instrumental accompaniment. “The Buggy to My Hometown” has abundant accentuated off-beats, which were prevalent in US popular music before, after, and during the 1950s. “Bravo to Youth” has a repetition of a melodic phrase within a strophe, which is a characteristic of American popular music, although not solely American, and which is differentiated from the formal structure of typical *t’ūrot’ū*-style songs. Western heptatonic major scales as sonic bases and tonal harmony as a musical framework, as in numerous US popular songs, are found in songs such as “Happy Ranch,” “Number One Guy,” and most clearly in “Happy Sunday.” Also, a fuller head and chest voice, not thin and strained (which is typical in the *t’ūrot’ū* style), is evident in “Bravo to Youth” and “Happy Sunday,” similar to many US standard pop songs in the mid-20th century.

These songs with military music elements and cheerful lyrics combined with images reflective of the US, which were released in the later part of the Revitalization and Intensification Period and during the Consolidation Period, epitomize the interspersed influence of the war and the prevalence of the images of the US throughout South Koreans’ ordinary lives and

their popular music. It is also musically manifested in the inclusion of US popular music elements in the instrumentation, rhythm, formal structure, scales, harmony, and vocal quality in the songs. This trend of the incorporation of US popular music elements reached a climax in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” in 1961.

The inclusion of US popular music elements or elements of popular music that were well received in the US can be found not only in the songs with military music elements but also in many other South Korean popular songs released in the 1950s. Regarding the diverse ways of incorporation, Young Mee Lee (2000, 118–33) and Soyöng Lee (2010 b, 318–22) pointed out that diverse elements of music for dancing were incorporated into South Korean popular music, such as boogie-woogie, mambo, and chacha. Importantly, these researchers identified elements of swing in South Korean popular music of the 1950s, specifically swing rhythm and walking bass as well as the blues scale (Young Mee Lee 2000, 133; Soyöng Lee 2010 b, 321–22). Second, Soyöng Lee mentioned that there were a group of songs that included country music elements in 1950s South Korean popular music, although her focus in her discussion was on pointing out the incongruity and superficial nature of the attempt to make an association with “country and western” and with the images of the US in the songs (2007 a, 53–4). Third, Young Mee Lee briefly mentioned that there were changes in the ensemble types, arrangement, and playing of instrumental accompaniment influenced by popular music from the US (2000, 133). Fourth, Young Mee Lee paid attention to the shift in the use of scales in some songs from pentatonic scales to heptatonic scales, attributing the cause for this shift to the influence of US popular music and to the development of Western tonal music as part of a broader music history in Korea as well (2000, 117–25); I pay close attention to this insight and will discuss this aspect of change in South Korean popular music in more depth in the next section, particularly in relation to the

spatial and historical dimensions of transnational musical processes and the spiral progression of hybridization.

In addition to these changes in 1950s South Korean popular music discerned by scholars, Sögu Son's own songs from the 1950s also reveal how the period prepared him to produce the big hit, "The Guy in the Yellow Shirt," at the beginning of the 1960s. For example, in one of his 1957 songs "Na Hanaüi Sarang (Be My Love, Only Mine),"¹²² tonal harmony is adopted as a main structural framework, different from the typical songs in the *t'ürot'ü* style. The use of the fourth scale degree and the chord IV are apparent in this song, even with the note and the chord taking up the whole duration of some bars. The seventh scale degree doesn't appear in the vocal melody, but the dominant chord V, including the seventh scale degree, is frequently used in the instrumental accompaniment, which contrasts with the near lack of the note in both the vocal melody and the instrumental accompaniment in typical *t'ürot'ü* songs. This chord is even embellished by a ii chord, which intensifies the function of the dominant. These aspects of tonal harmony are quite different from the focus on melody based on pentatonic scales in the typical *t'ürot'ü* songs. Other musical elements in this song also contrast with some characteristics of the *t'ürot'ü* style. For example, in this song we find thicker texture and sweeter and better-blended timbre in the instrumental accompaniment compared to the typical instrumental accompaniment in the *t'ürot'ü* style.

I find that even the songs with war commentaries mentioned above, which were primarily in the *t'ürot'ü* style, show some deviations from the typical characteristics of the style that solidified before the war, although these deviations are overshadowed by the predominating features of the *t'ürot'ü* style in these songs. For example, in a 1950s recording of "Ibyöruui Pusan

¹²² *The Korean Popular Song Index* provides the release date of this song as 1953, and Yujöng Chang states that this song was released in 1955, but the songwriter Sögu Son informed me that this song was released in 1957.

Chōnggōjang (Separation at the Pusan Station),” the bass line played on the string bass sounds very different from the typical bass line in the *t’ūrot’ū* style. The movement of the bass line is very active, and it provides a stronger basis of tonal harmony compared to the typical bass line in the *t’ūrot’ū* style. The bass line plays more diverse tones on the Western heptatonic minor scale, including the 4th and the 7th scale degrees, in addition to the component tones of the pentatonic scales in the *t’ūrot’ū* style. It also plays counter melodies to the vocal melody and plays jazz style walking bass lines in addition to the typical *t’ūrot’ū* style bass line comprising do, re, and sol of the pentatonic scales with intermittent doubling on the vocal melody on the scales. The bass line in this song, although not frequently, plays arpeggio figurations of main chords in the Western triadic harmony; and the bass line has more diverse and flexible rhythmic patterns, in contrast with the very strictly regulated rhythmic patterns of the rhythm section marking explicitly on beats in the typical *t’ūrot’ū* style. The function of the bass in this recording is similar to the function of the guitar in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” in that both provide harmonic bases of Western tonal music built on the major-minor heptatonic scales, interacting with the vocal melodies built on the major-minor pentatonic scales. The tonality and influence of US popular music are subtly inserted into this song, mixed with dominant features of existing Korean popular music, and “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” was an example of the development of this kind of hybridization, in which the tonality and influence of US popular music were more boldly embraced compared with other songs in this hybridization history of the 1950s.

The Transnational Musicultural Space of the Korean War

Grounded on this understanding of the musical characteristics of the 1950s hybridization process, in this section I aim to analyze the processes of musical border crossings during the

decade that resulted in this hybridization in South Korean popular music. During the interviews, Sögu Son and Myöngsuk Han, the song writer and the singer of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” pointed to US military bases as major sources for the cultivation of their musicianship in the 1950s before their production of the song. Weaving their musical experiences with veteran military musicians’ experiences during the decade, I try to reveal the multiple levels and steps of musical travels and border crossings that connected to the US military bases in South Korea and that were involved in the musical hybridization processes in South Korean popular music. Ultimately I aim to interpret this hybridization and these musical border crossings in relation to the historical dimension of the transnational musical formations in South Korea and the socio-cultural, political, and economic forces in this transnational musicultural space of the Korean War.

The Construction of an American Home in the US Military Bases in South Korea

The US military bases in South Korea, although located inside the ROK territory, were extensions of the US military, jurisdictional, and cultural borders. The US military had control over these border areas, and the US military personnel and South Koreans could only get into and out of the areas if permitted by the US military, without any say by the ROK government and military. The US military personnel residing in these military bases were under the control of the US legal system, as specified in the agreement between the ROK and US governments. Despite the military and legal border control of the US over their military border areas in South Korea, these areas might have remained culturally ambiguous because they were in ROK territory and surrounded by South Korean culture. However, one more dimension of border control was added, which was cultural border control. Part of the cultural programs implemented by the US military in these borders was the offering of various US popular music resources, and,

as I explained in Chapter 2, music was delivered to the troops via sheet music, music programs of the American Forces Korea Network, and live performances offered by US military entertainment units, US civilian musician groups, and even South Korean musician groups under the supervision of the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters.

The significance of American popular music in the construction of “American” cultural zones within the US military bases in South Korea is perhaps most apparent in the frequent association of the word “home” with the music. “Mail from Home,” an AFKN music program that aired popular music from the US by the request of people in the US – probably family, friends, and lovers whom the soldiers left at home – for US soldiers in Korea, was “one of the troop’s favorite programs” (American Forces Information Service and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service [1993?], 75). The importance of the meaning of home in the entertainment for the US troops is also confirmed by the United Service Organizations (USO), which arranged US civilian entertainers’ live shows for US troops in collaboration with the US government and military. Publishing its own history, the USO entitled it *Always Home*, reflecting the organization’s goal for the creation of an American “home” in the US military bases overseas as well as in the US (Coffey 1991). I think that the image of “home” that was created through the US military’s troop entertainment programs implied multiple meanings, such as the comfort of home, the soldiers’ love and responsibilities for their family and friends in their home country, and their patriotism to the United States.

The US military’s documents and its own written history show that the military intended to utilize certain types of music more than others for the construction of the American “home” in its military bases in South Korea; the categories most prominent in the US military documents that I reviewed are pop, country, and dance music, especially swing music. Although it is

necessary to be aware of the fact that songs cannot be categorized neatly into compartments labeled with genre names, in this dissertation it remains useful to pay attention to which categorical terms were most frequently used by the US military in order to identify the music that the military intended to use in connection with the meanings typically attached to those labels.

“Popular music” and “country music” are distinguished from each other in a historical overview of the AFKN published by the military institution, and “popular music” is highlighted in another book published by the Adjutant General’s Office in the Department of the Army. According to the AFKN history, popular music held the top spot in the music request program, “Mail from Home,” which I already introduced in Chapter 2. According to the Adjutant General’s Office of the Department of the Army, their distribution of *The Armed Forces Song Folio*, the monthly music notation series, aimed to provide the US military personnel with a “source of the best in popular, standard and show songs” (The Adjutant General, Department of the Army [1963?], Preface). A comparison between the list of the songs contained in this series and the Billboard Pop Chart reveals that this publication included many Billboard top ten songs of the time.

Country music was important enough to the military to be labeled separately as its own category of music, as seen in the AFKN’s own historical overview. The identification of country music as an emblem of US patriotism had already been established during World War II (Malone 1985, 177–97), and the use of the music as an expression of US patriotism continued during the Korean War period in the 1950s. Although it held the second most popular spot in the “Mail from Home” program of the AFKN, it is the musical type that appears in the greatest diversity of entertainment programs arranged by the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section, according to the section’s documents that I reviewed. The terms for country music are ubiquitous

in the descriptions of the civilian entertainment units for the troops (“Grandpa Jones Hillbilly entertainment group,” “western stars” from “Grand Ole Opry,” etc.), the Special Services Road Shows (“Hillbilly Hayride,” a hillbilly Western road show “Western Jamboree,” etc.), the soldier show types (“a hillbilly type show”), the music contest types (“The Eighth Army Hillbilly Contest”), and the band types created for “self-entertainment,” i.e. the types of bands whose members were soldiers themselves within typical military units. Also, “music notations and musical instruments for hillbilly combos and dance combos” were requested by the Special Services Section to support the troops’ self-entertainment.¹²³

In addition to “popular music” and “country music,” “dance music” is another categorical term that appears frequently in the US military documents that I reviewed. The Eighth US Army Band’s documents show that dance music was an important part of the US military’s troop entertainment project during the Korean War. Mentions of dance bands, swing bands and Latin bands frequently appear in the Eighth Army Band’s documents in the description of their sub-band types and their activities in the camp club stages and other military base venues.

Within the general dance music category, swing dance music is most noteworthy. Swing is distinguished from other types of dance music in the US military in that swing music had already become “a symbol of victory” to the military during and after World War II (Erenberg 1998, 209). In particular, Glenn Miller, who participated in World War II as an officer of the US Air Force with his band and who died during his military service, had become an emblem of

¹²³ The importance of country music for the US participation in the Korean War is also well exemplified in a group of songs created by Americans as a result of the war. Numerous songs with references to Korean War experiences in the lyrics were produced during and after 1950 in country music styles in the US; for example, Jimmie Osborne’s “God, Please Protect America,” which reached number nine on Billboard in October 1950, and Roy Acuff’s song, “Doug MacArthur.” See Tribe (2005) pp. 126–141 for more examples of country music that contains lyrics related to the Korean War.

swing as a symbol of victory in the US military.¹²⁴ It is apparent that swing music continued to be in significant use in the US military during the Korean War period in the 1950s. Veteran ROK military musicians whom I interviewed frequently mentioned “swing” as a type of music they had learned while in contact with the US military during the war, and “swing band” as a type of band they formed afterwards when they were featured in the US military camp club stages. The deeply inscribed memory of Glenn Miller’s music in the ROK veteran musicians’ recollections that I described in Chapter 3 is an example of the Korean experience of Glenn Miller and swing music as part of US military music history, although the meaning of the music to the musicians seems to have been somewhat different than the meaning for the US military.¹²⁵

Listening to and dancing to country, swing, and other forms of US popular music as well as Latin dance music that was popular in the US, American troops continued to live a familiar way of life within the military bases in South Korea. Despite their physical location far away from their hometowns, the US troops in South Korea had songs in their military bases that had been listed on the Billboard charts, and the songs were a medium that connected their feelings synchronically to their homeland. They also had songs that they had listened to before their dispatch to Korea, and the songs were a medium for them to remember the good times they had had with their family, friends, and lovers whom they left behind in their hometowns. This music was not only a means for entertaining, but it was also an effective way to comfort the troops, as described in a military document.¹²⁶ Furthermore, it was a fertile ground to remind the troops of

¹²⁴ According to Lewis A. Erenberg, US President Truman and Generals Dwight Eisenhower and Hap Arnold saluted Miller in Washington “after the opening bars of ‘Moonlight Serenade’” in celebration of the victory in World War II (Erenberg, 209).

¹²⁵ I am interested in further investigating this aspect in the future. My understanding so far is that South Korean musicians regarded swing music as a representative music of the US, and it seems that they were more interested in the musical expressions in the music rather than its cultural or symbolic meanings.

¹²⁶ A document created by the US military reads that these programs were aimed to improve “psychological stability” among its troops: “Our greatest value to this area and to the listeners is as a stabilizer from a psychological standpoint.”

the United States they were fighting for and of the people to whom they would or wished to ultimately return. In this regard, country music as a musical symbol of US patriotism and swing as a symbol of victory had special meanings for the US military's goals for the troop entertainment. Then what kinds of meanings did this music have for South Koreans who first encountered the music when they encountered the US military in the Korean War? In the following I explore how this music delivered to the US military bases mainly for the US troops spread outside the US military bases and how South Koreans recreated the meanings of this music in their own musical lives.

Border Crossings and Hybridization Processes

The music for the construction of an American home for the US troops in the US military zones in Korea was not solely contained within the US military bases. It overflowed into South Korean cultural zones. The most immediate agents that facilitated these border crossings were the AFKN, the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters, and individuals, both Americans and South Koreans, who themselves were border crossers and who complicated the cultural border crossings facilitated by the military organizations. To put it in another way, the main means that were involved in these musical border crossings were the AFKN music programs, the music notations distributed by the Special Services Section, the section's arrangement of Korean musicians' live shows for its troops and its auditioning of the musicians for the arrangement, and musical gatherings among South Koreans and members of the US military.

The AFKN air-waves reached outside the US military bases and spread US popular music to South Koreans. The target audience of the AFKN was primarily US military personnel in South Korea, not South Koreans, but I would interpret the AFKN as an agent for the spread of

music from the US to South Korea for two reasons: first, it was actually an important media through which many South Koreans encountered music from the US, whether the AFKN intended it or not; second, my speculation is that the AFKN, at the very least, passively acted to reach South Koreans by not taking any action to block broadcasts from them.¹²⁷ Sögu Son's recollection summarizes well the AFKN's influence on South Korean musicians like him:

[The AFKN was on air] probably almost all day long. Day and night, and at dawn. ... They broadcast for the US soldiers, not for us, so they [almost] all the time broadcast songs popular at that time in the US and very good songs from their past. ... In those days, Korean broadcasts didn't offer many music programs. It was because of the war and also because the broadcasting system itself was limited. However, if one had a radio receiver, one could listen to music on the AFKN as much as he/she wanted. (Personal communication, Dec. 2007; the order of the sentences was rearranged by the author in order to make clearer the logical connection among sentences.)

When discussing the spread of US popular music in South Korea through the AFKN radio programs, specifically during the decade of the 1950s, we need to be aware that the ratio of South Korean audiences of the AFKN to the whole South Korean population was not very high.¹²⁸ However, it is also important to point out that South Koreans who were interested in the music from the US, including musicians, could easily listen to music via the AFKN. Although

¹²⁷ This speculation needs to be confirmed in regards to the technological factors, but considering the fact that the AFKN television broadcasts, which started in 1957, were blocked from South Korean reception for a certain time period in the later decades, it may have been possible to block the AFKN radio and television from South Koreans in the 1950s if the US military had decided to do so.

¹²⁸ According to *The History of Broadcasting in Korea*, only a limited number of imported radio receivers were available in South Korea until the late 1950s because the production of radio receivers in South Korea started in 1958. By 1960 only about 20 percent of South Korean families owned radio receivers). In addition, only seventeen percent of the audience rating in Seoul was given to the AFKN and the VUNC (the Voice of United Nations Command) in 1959.

South Koreans were not the primary target audience of the AFKN, those in the areas adjacent to the main US military bases, including some big cities, gained easy access to US popular music through the AFKN if they had radio receivers at a time when South Korean broadcasting was limited to airing popular music from foreign countries and when money for luxuries such as imported recordings was unavailable to many Koreans. As an example for comparison, according to Toru Mitsui, in the late 1950s in Japan a music fan who was interested in purchasing an LP recording imported from the US had to place an order first and wait because there was a very limited collection of US popular music recordings immediately available in Japan, and the cost of an LP in Japan at that time was “equivalent to one-fifth of the beginning monthly income of the average college graduate” (1993, 281). It is certain that the situation in South Korea in the 1950s was no better than the situation in Japan. However, with US popular music overflowing from US military bases into South Korean cultural zones, if anyone was interested in US popular music, like Sögu Son, one was able to listen to the music by tuning his/her radio to the AFKN channel “day and night” without spending much time, effort or money to get it. Another example is Myöngsuk Han. She recollects that she picked up new songs for her repertory for her shows at the US military bases by listening to AFKN programs (Personal communication, January 2008).

Whereas the importance of the AFKN in the spread of US popular music to Koreans has already been frequently mentioned in literature (For example, Hwang, Munpyöng 1962; Lee, Haesöng 1976; Maliangkay 2006), the importance of the notations, such as the Armed Forces Song Folio series or the Army Hit Kit series, have tended to be overlooked.¹²⁹ As I already

¹²⁹ The original title of *The Armed Forces Song Folio* was *The Army Hit Kit*, and it was first issued in 1943 during World War II (citation). When the Korean War broke out, the title had already been changed to *The Army Navy Air Force Hit Kit*, but later in 1951, the title was changed again into *The Armed Forces Song Folio*. On the other hand, the title Hit Kit was utilized for another series of notations: *The Army Hit Kit for Soldier Shows*.

explained in Chapter 2, the distribution of these notation series to the US military bases in South Korea was one of the responsibilities of the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters. Like the AFKN music programs, these notations were distributed primarily to the US military bases for US military personnel's leisure activities, but the interviews with South Korean musicians indicate that they frequently referred to these notations and made manuscripts of them to practice and perform the music.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the Song Folio series contained notations of US popular music as well as patriotic songs, and the series presented the melody of the songs, guitar chords, and piano accompaniment, and “[o]rchestrations of the songs for stage bands, dance bands, or combos were distributed with the Song Folio” as well. Another series, the *Army Hit Kit for Soldier Shows*, included arrangement types commercially unavailable in addition to the widely available arrangement for melody and the piano accompaniment (The Adjutant General Department of the Army 1963, Preface). In short, these military music publications contained US popular music notations arranged for various types of instrumental and vocal ensembles, and they were a convenient tool for South Korean musicians who were interested in learning music from the US. Sŏgu Son confirms,

Those things [the Song Folio volumes] we naturally [easily] got. It [each volume] contained about ten songs and was published ...every month. I read the books [i.e. the music in the books]. I listened to the music on the [AFKN] radio, and I read the music in the book. In that way I

According to information in one of *The Army Hit Kit for Soldier Shows* volumes, the music publications available to the US Army in the 1950s included *Soldier Shows II Music Cue Book*, *The Army Song Book*, *The Armed Forces Song Folio*, *The BMI Television Sketchbook*, *The BMI Television Sketchbook Supplements*, *The Community Song Album*, and “*Sing, Soldier, Sing*,” among others (*Army Hit Kit For Soldier Shows Vol. III*, the preface page on the inside cover).

memorized the tunes. Therefore, naturally, I learned the music [US popular music], didn't I?
(Personal communication, Dec. 2007)

Such formative experiences with these notations were not only remembered by Sōgu Son, but also by most of the veteran musicians I interviewed, including the three veteran musicians I introduced in Chapter 3. Each of these veterans emphatically credited the Song Folio and Hit Kit series as their tool for learning music from the US. If not for the notations, South Korean bands would not have played the music as much as they did, because playing the music in band arrangements by listening instead of by notations would have required a huge investment of time and effort. Ŭnok Lee thinks that if he had enough Korean popular song notations in the arrangement appropriate for the swing band he participated in, the band would have played as much Korean music as US pop and swing (personal communication, Jul. 2010), confirming the important role of the military publication of the notations for South Korean bandmen's inclusion of popular music from the US in their repertory.

Another important aspect of the musical border crossings that has tended to be overlooked is the musical gatherings of South Korean musicians together with US military personnel with musical skills and interests. The ROK and US military bands' joint concerts that I described in chapter 2 were musical representations of the international military collaboration between the two countries at a very formal level. At informal levels, spontaneous musical gatherings of South Korean musicians and US military personnel also occurred. Sōgu Son comments on this aspect:

Because we had the sheet music, we could play the music [US popular music], and ... we had American friends who played instruments in the US military bases. They checked out instruments

and played music. On those occasions, we could learn what we hadn't learned yet. In these ways we absorbed American stuff. (personal communication, December 2007)

Not only civilian South Korean musicians like Sögu Son but also South Korean military musicians had musical gatherings with US military personnel as I described in Chapter 3, and during these gatherings South Korean musicians learned US popular music. Although such experiences were less common than referring to the Armed Forces Song Folio volumes and listening to AFKN music programs, musical gatherings with US military personnel capable of playing US popular music were no less important than the other two means for South Korean musicians to learn US music. Through the personal contacts, they gained what the notations and the radio programs didn't provide, as was discussed in Chapter 3 regarding Koysuk Lee's learning of "bounce eight" as well as in Sögu Son's remarks above.

Compared to the methods mentioned above, the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section's arrangement of South Korean musicians' shows for its troop entertainment was the US military's most explicit action to initiate and motivate South Korean musicians' border crossing and playing of US popular music. The Section's effort to bring South Korean performers to the stages of the US military bases was made systematically and on a large scale, as I described in Chapter 2. The scale of its impact on the South Korean popular music sector is well captured in Munp'öng Hwang's comment that most of the South Korean instrumentalists in the popular music sector were performing mainly on the US military camp stages after the Armistice Agreement in 1953 (1981, 190). According to my interviews with veteran military musicians, many discharged band members became professional musicians participating in

shows at US military bases. Myöngsuk Han also performed as a singer with professional bands on the stages of the US military bases.¹³⁰

Before I debuted and sang “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” I sang many foreign [US] popular songs. A couple of years after I moved to the South as a refugee from the North, I passed the Eighth US Army Shows audition. ... I worked for the Eighth US Army for about five or six years. (Personal communication, Jan. 2008)

Participating in the US military music programs arranged by the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters, a large number of South Korean musicians, including Myöngsuk Han, developed their repertory of music from the US. All the interviewees who had experience playing music in the US military bases in the 1950s, whether former military musicians or civilian musicians, report that the music they played in the US military bases was primarily music from the US. Sögu Son says,

Because we were providing the shows in the US military bases, the shows needed to be prepared considering the audience there. ... The case was not like playing our own folksongs or our Korean [popular] songs. (personal communication, Son, Sögu, Jan. 2008)

¹³⁰ The Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters categorized Korean shows into two groups based on performance types: show units and band units (Nara document). Show units offered variety shows, including music, dance, and theatrical performance; band units offered instrumental music for the military personnel’s gatherings or dancing. In literature about South Korean popular music (Shin, and others), types of bands are categorized based on the bands’ performance venues: house bands, floor bands, and open bands. House bands performed for one specific club within the US military bases; floor bands for multiple performance venues within the bases; open bands in the camp towns outside the bases.

As I wrote in Chapters 2 and 3, Glenn Miller was most frequently mentioned by instrumentalists whom I interviewed as the US popular music they played most frequently. As a singer, Myöngsuk Han says that the songs she liked to sing on the US military camp stages were Nat King Cole's songs, Patti Page's, and Doris Day's, which is to say singers of US standard pop.

Regarding the issue of the repertory, another interviewee, Paekch'ön Lee, makes an important comment that supports my claim that the US military bases in the South Korean territory were constructed as US cultural zones, creating continuous cultural border lines between these military bases and the surrounding South Korean cultural zones and attracting border crossers. Paekch'ön Lee joined the ROK Navy Band organization in 1950 as a drafted soldier, and after discharge, while majoring in English at a university, he began his career as a member of the band that performed in the club in the Engineering District of the US Far East Command base in Seoul. He played music there for about a decade from the mid-1950s with his band, which started with the name Atone and were renamed the Knights of Melody, later called the Boiler Makers.

Author: Did you not play Korean songs at all at the club in the Far East Command Engineering District?

Lee: No, we didn't.

Author: Did they [US military personnel] not request Korean songs?

Lee: I don't think either our band or they had those kinds of ideas. The clubs in the US military bases were *the extension of the US*, not the extension of Korea at all. (Personal communication, Dec. 2007; emphasis by Author)

Although a few of my interviewees mention that they played a couple of Korean songs during their shows for the US troops, my understanding is that Korean musicians played predominantly music from the US for the troop entertainment and that the playing of Korean music was mostly as a bonus to the main repertory of US popular music, for fun and diversity. According to Roald Maliangkay, a girl band called the Kim Sisters had a diverse repertory including multiple Korean songs, but it seems that the Kim Sisters were exceptions who benefited from their family background in developing their special Korean music repertory for their shows in the US military camps. They had their uncle writing and arranging music for them and had music previously written by their father, a renowned musician and song writer in South Korea until 1950. Even regarding this exceptional case, however, Maliangkay indicates that a significant portion of the Kim Sisters' repertory for the US troop entertainment was music from the US, writing, "they were taught mostly English songs" (Maliangkay 2005, 28; 2012, 69).

South Korean musicians developed not only their repertory but also performance styles to meet the standards of the US military personnel, and in doing so the Eighth US Army Special Services Section's audition process played a critical role. In order to support this claim, it is useful to introduce more of Paekch'ŏn Lee's interviews. While playing music in the Engineering District of the US Far East Command stationed in Seoul, Paekch'ŏn Lee began another job in the Hwayang Agency, one of the biggest South Korean performance management agencies in the mid-20th century, created to mediate relations between the Special Services Section of the Eighth US Army Headquarters and South Korean performers (and to which Myŏngsuk Han also belonged). Lee worked for this agency in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and he attended the Special Services Section's auditions as an interpreter for the agency.¹³¹ According to Lee, the

¹³¹ After the auditions, the evaluators made comments to the leaders of the Korean performance groups, and a summary of these comments was shared with the performance groups that belonged to the agency. It was one of

evaluation criteria for the audition ranged from overall organization of the shows to detailed musical and theatrical elements of the performances.¹³² Passing through these auditions, Korean musicians' performance styles, interpretations of music, and creativity would also be framed by the standards of the US military judges and the audience they sought to entertain.

If the music is a famous piece, we had listened to it a few times on the [AFKN] radio, [during which we could learn about the US musicians' interpretations of the music,] but when we needed to play the music [from the US] available only in the form of notation, we were expected to play it *without misinterpretation*. ... Also they discussed production numbers, the parts of the programs that highlight creativity. In addition to the materials from the US, we could bring in Korean materials, and as long as we rearranged it in a way *suitable for the mood in the club*, it was fine. ... There were *interpretations of music that Americans habitually considered to be appropriate* ... It made Americans unhappy if we played their music without appropriate interpretations. We needed to consider their *habitual* preferences. (personal communication, Lee, Paekch'ŏn, Oct. 2010: emphases by author)

Paekch'ŏn Lee's responsibilities in the agency to make notes in Korean about these comments in order to publish them in the Hwayang Agency's newsletters for the performance groups. In these ways, South Korean musicians adjusted their musical expressions and interpretations to fit the US military's requirements (Personal communication, Oct. 2010).

Regarding the judges for the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Service Section's auditions, Paekch'ŏn Lee, who attended the auditions as an interpreter, says that they were "music professionals. I don't think they were sent by the Department of the Defense [of the US]. They were the military personnel in the US military in South Korea who were able to discuss music, dance, and production numbers, based on their own tastes, who had experience in show programs" (Personal communication, Oct. 2010). Kyosuk Lee, who had personal contacts with the chief of the Eighth US Army Band, recalls that the chief chaired the evaluations during the Special Services Section auditions (Personal communication, Jul. 2010). These testimonies are different from the information available in the literature that the judges were personnel sent by the Department of the Defense.

¹³² The details of the criteria include: the speed of the proceedings during the shows, fun, and variety, which were the three principles of the live shows considered by the judges; musical elements such as phrasing, being in tune, English diction, the balance between the melody and the accompaniment, aspects of ensemble, blending of sound, volume control, tone color/voice color, musical organization, technique, execution; theatrical elements such as showmanship, stage manners, costume, uniform, make-up, dynamism, the build-up toward the climax and closing; and, additionally, the quality of the interpretations, the creativity in the production numbers, and audience reaction (Personal communication, Oct. 2010).

It seems that the entertainment for the US troops in South Korea was required primarily to maintain US standards of music, performance and entertainment, although individual South Korean musicians' own interpretations and expressions were also involved. This might be a reason, although not the only reason, for the suggestion in the literature that South Korean musicians imitated music from the US (Shin et al., 33–34). Paekch'ŏn Lee's recollection of the musical interpretations required by American standards is echoed in one interview with Kyosuk Lee, who taught music theories to South Korean musicians who were interested in playing popular music in the US military camp clubs.

They [Korean musicians whom he taught] would play music for American audiences [the US troops in Korea], so they needed to incorporate American styles into their performances. It was because if they had played Korean folk tunes [as they are], they [US troops] might not have understood them. So mostly I taught arrangement techniques for American styles. (Personal Communciation, Lee, Kyosuk, Oct. 2010)

In other words, even when South Korean musicians arranged or composed music themselves for participation in the US military entertainment, rather than playing music from the US found in the Song Folio or Hit Kit series or copying what they heard on the AFKN music programs, the musicians tried to arrange or compose the music in consideration of the standards of the Special Services Section judges and the US military audiences. Kyosuk Lee's discussion that South Korean musicians were also expected to perform Korean music creatively in live shows may mean that in such cases they were expected to perform in a way that was drawn from their music but modified to be amenable to the US military audiences' musical tastes.

In sum, the notations, musical gatherings, and the Eighth US Army Special Services Section's arrangement of South Korean musicians' live shows and auditions were the crucial means through which US popular music and performance styles spread to South Korean musicians. Simultaneously, the AFKN spread US popular music to South Koreans more broadly, to both musicians and non-musicians who were interested in learning or listening to it. A large group of South Korean musicians acquired the repertory, idioms, and performance styles of US popular music, although with a wide range of acquisition levels, and, at the same time, more and more South Korean audiences became familiar with the music and its idioms and styles.

However, this is not the end of the story of border crossings. Another step in the process of border crossings was made by South Korean musicians. They brought the repertory, the musical idioms, and the performance styles into South Korean cultural zones, performing with the repertory on South Korean stages and incorporating the musical elements and expressions into their own popular music, which happened gradually in the 1950s and more rapidly and extensively in the next decade. Although I didn't find any evidence that the US military had a goal of spreading US popular music and its idioms and styles among South Koreans, the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section's hiring and auditioning of South Korean musicians for its troop entertainment along with the military's radio programs and music publications ultimately led to the result. The result became far more extensive through the actions of the South Korean musicians who participated in the military's troop entertainment. They proliferated the music and its idioms and styles for broader South Korean audiences.

The first type of musical flow in this proliferation was these musicians' delivery of the repertory and the performance styles to the South Koreans' stages, for example, South Korean broadcasting studios, recording studios, and live show stages, such as theaters, music salons,

dance halls, and hotel night clubs.¹³³ These musicians also performed some of the songs with added Korean lyrics. For example, Sögu Son, before writing his own songs, wrote Korean lyrics for Patti Page's song, "I Went to your Wedding," under the Korean title "Nunmurüi Walch'ü (Waltz in Tears)" in the early 1950s (Personal communication, Dec. 2007; Sögu Son's interviews are also available in Sögu Son 2003). Numerous instrumentalists and singers' names are mentioned in literature as musicians who performed both on the US military camp stages and South Korean stages: to name a few, Minyöng Song, the Kim Sisters, and the Hyön Sisters (Myöngsuk Han was one of the two members of this group). According to Munp'yöng Hwang, some musicians active on the US military camp music stages were featured regularly on South Korean television when television broadcasts began during the Consolidation Period (1976, 650). In my opinion, although the audience of the television broadcast was extremely limited in the 1950s, the cultural meanings of the broadcast music programs in the 1950s that featured these musicians' performances are still significant. It meant that their musical styles, tinged by the styles they performed in the US military bases, gained status as part of the popular culture in South Korea, endorsed by the central mass-media and supported by the most advanced communication technology of the time.

The second and the more important type of musical flow in this proliferation step is these musicians' incorporation into their own music of the musical elements and styles of US popular music and other South Korean musicians' joining in these new hybridization processes, altogether contributing to a shift in South Korean popular music toward the formation of a new mainstream. Part of the musical outcomes from these hybridization processes of the 1950s was the music that I described in the second subsection of the previous section. The dance rhythms

¹³³ Recordings of this music also spread in big cities, and South Koreans had the chance to listen to this music at music cafes and public listening rooms. Also, loud speakers of music stores or electronics stores played this music on the streets, attracting the attention of passengers.

and swing music elements in South Korean popular songs were reflections of the border crossings of these traveling musicians and of the musical flows from the US military bases in which dance music, particularly swing music, was prevalent. US country music and standard popular songs were also popular in the US military bases, and the hillbilly fiddle accompaniment in “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” and the new vocal style of the song that reminds the listener of Patti Page’s voice are outcomes of the border crossings that Sōgu Son and Myōngsuk Han experienced during the Korean War period.

The Transnational Musical Space of the Korean War

The US military’s efforts to deliver US popular music to its bases in South Korea and utilize it for its military goals surpassed those goals and resulted in the cultural impact, described above, of the gradual incorporation of US popular music elements into South Korean popular music through various types of border crossings facilitated or initiated by the military. The spread of this music and the hybridization process involved various factors in addition to the US military’s actions, from individual South Korean musicians and audiences’ musical interests and their various motivations to the ideological, political, economic, and historical forces that defined the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War.

First of all, individual musicians’ and audiences’ musical interest was a concrete factor crucial in this process. It is true that the job opportunities offered to South Korean musicians by the US military for its troop entertainment were important in motivating South Korean musicians to learn and play music from the US (Maliangkay 2006, 26; 2012, 70). However, another important motivation for the musicians was their musical interest in the music, which I think resulted in the next step of their musical actions, i.e., adoption of musical elements and stylistic features of the music for the creation and performance of South Korean popular music. During

my interviews with musicians, both veteran musicians and the songwriter and singer of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” frequently expressed the fondness they had for the US popular music that they listened to and played during their border crossing experiences during the decade. For example, Kyosuk Lee stated that the US popular music pieces he encountered through the US military were excellent pieces, referring to them as “*myǒnggok* (excellent pieces).” Sǒgu Son’s description of his feelings about the US popular music he listened to at that time was: “the songs there [in the US] are also popular songs, but, shortly speaking, why are they so beautiful, so musical?” (personal communication, December 2007).

My interviewees’ interests in the US music that they expressed during the interviews were, to be summed up, connected to the diversity in its musical expressions. I would argue that the diversity was, on the one hand, appreciated based on the musicians’ curiosity for new options of musical expression as a reaction to the existing Korean popular music that they found confining and, on the other, based on the compatibility of the music to the musicultural space in which the South Korean musicians had been developing their own musicality.

For example, Myǒngsuk Han expressed her fondness of US popular music for its diversity by contrasting the music specifically with *t’ǔrot’ǔ*, one of the two mainstream styles of Korean popular music since the early 20th century, which continued to be pivotal in South Korean popular music in the 1950s:

Myǒngsuk Han: I like US songs very much. I liked [US] pop songs so much. I didn’t sing along to *tǔrotǔ* songs... When I listened to [US] pop songs, they appealed to my heart and made me feel like singing along with the songs.

Author: What aspects of the songs appealed to you?

Myōngsuk Han: Well, they were more appealing than “ppongtchak ppongchak.”

(Personal communication, Jan. 2008)

“Ppongchak” is an onomatopoeic word for the rhythmic pattern that repeats almost consistently in the typical *t’ūrot’ū*-style songs and functions as a rhythmic framework. This word is also used as a denigrating label for the *t’ūrot’ū* style in South Korean popular discourse, suggesting a monotonous formality in the style. My understanding is that by contrasting the regularized rhythmic basis of the *t’ūrot’ū* style to her musical preference, Myōngsuk Han meant to emphasize her feelings that US popular music had more diverse rhythmic expressions or, broadly, more diverse musical expressions, compared with the typical songs of the *t’ūrot’ū* style. Paekch’ōn Lee pointed out the diversity of the music from the US in more general terms, describing his introduction to US popular music through the US military as encountering a combination of Anglo-American culture and Afro-American culture, and moreover “the culture of the world.”¹³⁴

In contrast, Kangsōp Kim mentioned specific aspects of US popular music that sounded attractive to him. According to him, when he encountered songs from the US, he was excited about the rhythmic aspects of the music and the use of diverse chords in the songs, including altered chords:

[existing Korean popular music] had only three chords. Tonic, dominant, and subdominant. ... The US military’s *Song Folio* had chords written in it. It also had [unnoticeable syllables, presumably, *kit’a*, a Korean word borrowed from the English

¹³⁴ Popular music types originated from Latin America and popular in the US, such as mambo and cha-cha, were also introduced to South Koreans through the US military music circuit.

word, guitar] positions in it. I studied [various chords] referring to it and mastered them.

[I said to myself] Wow, there exist these types of chords! (Personal communication, Aug. 2007)

Kangsöp Kim's comment points to another important aspect of his attraction to the music from the US: diverse musical expressions based on Western tonal music with chromatic elaborations. Young Mee Lee pointed out that one main influence of US popular music on South Korean popular music in the 1950s is the shift from the dominance of pentatonic scales in Korean popular music to the use of the heptatonic scales of Western tonal music. She interpreted this change in popular music as the reception of "general Western modern music rather than US popular music," stating that the shift was also influenced by "various kinds of Western modern music," including the influence of music education during the Japanese colonial period. She acknowledges, however, the influence of US popular music on this change during the decade (2000, 118-123).

Referencing Young Mee Lee's idea and pushing it a step further, I would argue that the accumulation of musicultural formations which had built-up in Korea in the decades prior to the 1950s prepared the musical space for musicians like Kangsöp Kim and for audiences as well to appreciate the diverse musical expressions of tonal harmony that they found in US popular music in contrast with the reiteration of the few chords negotiating with the dominant linear organization on pentatonic scales in most of the existing Korean popular songs. Tonal music recognizably spread in Korea from the late 19th century when the transnational cultural flows that accompanied the expansion of Western imperial and religious powers reached Korea. The establishment of the Korean military band system during the Taehanjegyuk era around the turn

from the 19th into the 20th century, mentioned briefly in Chapter 4, was one element of this historical development of tonal music in Korea. The agents that spread Western tonal music in Korea included American missionaries as well. They had Christian hymns written in the idioms of tonal music sung at their churches. In addition, the spread of Western tonal music at the US missionary schools was critical in the development of Koreans' sensibility for Western tonal music (Lee, Kim, and Min 2001, 17-27). Teaching songs in the idioms of Western tonal music at schools even continued during the Japanese invasion period from 1910 to 1945 because Japanese imperial power and culture themselves were penetrated by the Western imperial powers, although the songs in the music textbooks in the period also included songs based on idioms of Japanese hybrid music (71- 73). The idioms of Western tonal music were also incorporated into many Korean art songs from the early 20th century (139), and these Korean art songs were included in South Korean music textbooks in the mid-20th century after the Korean liberation from Japan, along with songs in tonal music from the West, and some textbooks even included theories of Western tonal music (Kim, Kibok 2002, 58-90). Also, Western classical music pieces in the idioms of tonal music comprised the main repertoires of Korean professional musicians, ensembles, and orchestras in the classical music sector throughout the first half of the 20th century (Lee, Kim and Min 163-67).

Therefore, by the 1950s, many Koreans had developed a familiarity with Western tonal music and tonal harmony, which was also a basis for many US popular songs. In particular, musicians like Kangsöp Kim had had much exposure to tonal music because they played march pieces and European classical music pieces written in tonal music for about five to ten years by the mid-1950s while participating in school and military bands.¹³⁵ When these musicians were

¹³⁵ In the case of Kangsöp Kim, he developed his sensibility for Western tonal music from his childhood by playing Carl Czerny's pieces on the piano and during his adolescent years studying music as a would-be classical musician

attending secondary schools after liberation, tonal music was central to the music education at these schools (Kim, Kibok 2002). Myöngsuk Han believes that her study of music at schools, “classical” or “semi-classical” music in her words, prepared her to become an efficient singer of US popular music on the US military camp stages, indicating a musical ground that had developed in South Korea before the Korean War with which US popular music was compatible (personal communication, Jan. 2008).

In sum, my understanding is that these musicians’ sensibility for tonal music that had formed in this layer of musicultural development since the late 19th century was one basis for their interest in the US pop, swing, and country music that they encountered in the 1950s, which was largely, although perhaps not completely and with some deviations, framed in tonal harmony with chromatic elaborations. In my opinion, the expressions of tonal harmony that touched the musicians’ own musical sensibility in tonal music, together with the stylistic diversity of US popular music (described by Paekch’ön Lee as an output from the amalgamation of Anglo-American and Afro-American cultures, and even the culture of the world), including diversity in rhythmic expression, provided excitement to the South Korean musicians I interviewed. Bolstered by the two poles, familiarity on the one hand and curiosity for new musical expressions on the other, US popular music elements were integrated into the new hybridization process in South Korean popular music in the 1950s.

In addition, my speculation is that another musicultural layer that began to develop under the influence of Japanese hybrid music also affected, in somewhat different ways, the appreciation of the chord progressions and diverse harmonic expressions in US popular music.

in addition to the music education at schools and his playing of Sousa marches and European classical music as a military musician. I think this explains why Kangsöp Kim was more satisfied with the diverse harmonic expressions in the US popular music he experienced than with the more limited use of chords in the typical *t’ürot’ü* songs.

To reiterate in more concrete terms, the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style was formed in a layer of musicultural development before the Korean War during the Japanese colonial invasion period, characterized by the combination of unique Japanese musical elements and elements of Western tonal music and tonal harmony. This means that the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style contained an aspect to which US popular music, largely framed in tonal harmony, was compatible to some degree. For example, the repetition of the alternation between chords in the typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs, suggestive of the tonic and dominant chords in tonal music, was an example of a common ground between *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and the idioms of tonal harmony prevalent in US popular music. However, the excessive repetition of the two chords in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ*-style songs without sufficient “chord progressions” in the genuine sense of tonal music was contrasted with the more dynamic and “functional” chord progressions common in US popular music, and it seems that the latter appealed more strongly to my interviewees who had already acquired the idioms of tonal music.

This interpretation about compatibility based on music history needs to be elaborated in consideration of socio-cultural history, because compatibility is an important factor for musical changes (Merriam 1964, 314; Nettl 1985,19), but also important is how the aspect of compatibility operates together with the social structure and process in contact situations (Merriam 315). The Korean War period in the 1950s overlapped with the post-colonial period in Korea, and although the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style was still central in South Korean popular music with the gradual incorporation of new musical elements typical in the music from the US throughout this period, this style was becoming an object of debate in public discourse because of its Japanese colonial legacy. The *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style was formed under the control of the Japanese imperial power and under the strong influence of Japanese popular music, and according to Young Mee Lee, there was an organized effort in South Korea to criticize this style in public in 1954, one year

after the Armistice Agreement. Kungmin'gaech'angundong Ch'ujinhoe (The Association for the National New Singing Movement) criticized the songs in this style for being "Japanese-colored." This type of criticism continued and escalated during the Consolidation Period. Young Mee Lee writes that the parties that took action against the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style included governmental institutions, such as Kongbosil (the Public Information Office of the ROK), Mun'gyobu (the Ministry of Education of the ROK), and the government-run broadcasting system Chungang Pangsongguk (The Central Broadcasting System, the former name of the Korean Broadcasting System [KBS]) (2008, 36-38). According to Sŏgu Son, who was a bandmaster of the band of the government-run broadcasting system and a member of the song screening committee that criticized the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style, the musical idioms considered appropriate as a basis for the development of an alternative to the *t'ŭrot'ŭ*-style were those of classical music and US popular music (personal communication, Dec. 2007).

In short, the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style was not only perceived to be musically limited in its expressions of tonal music by those who were already accustomed to the idioms of tonal music, but it was also regarded as politically illegitimate because it was connected to the Japanese colonial legacy. In contrast, music from the US was gaining political legitimacy during the Korean War period as music from the allied country at precisely the time when a large amount of the music was actually flowing into South Korea. Under these circumstances, South Korean musicians incorporated US popular music elements into their performances and into their creation of a new hybrid South Korean popular music.

However, this doesn't mean that US popular music was always well-received by all South Koreans without any negative reactions; there were controversies about US popular music as well. The Association for the National New Singing Movement, for example, criticized not

only *t'ūrot'ū* but also “jazz” in 1954, stating that both would “spoil the country” (Lee, Young Mee 2000, 36). In the same year, Unyoung La, a representative Korean composer who I introduced in Chapter 4 as the composer of “March Arirang” composed in 1950, also hoped to have both “Japanese popular music” and “jazz” eliminated from South Korea to enable the creation and spread of “nationalistic” and “healthy” songs (37). Two years before, Tongjin Kim, another renowned composer whom I also introduced in Chapter 4 as the composer of “Anticommunist Unification March” and who was deeply involved in the military music production as an affiliate to the military during the war, criticized both *t'ūrot'ū* and “jazz” in his 1952 article published in the first volume of *Chōnsōnmunhak (The War Front Literature)*. “In the modern era, popular music that was produced under the influence of Japanese popular music is inundating, and it depletes our own noble expressions and it produces vulgar expressions. Also, the music pieces that were composed under the influence of decadent jazz make me worry about our future directions” (16). According to Paekch'ōn Lee's article, published in 1964, the meaning of jazz in Korea was not exactly the same as the meaning of jazz in the US until the early 1960s, and the majority of the Korean people used the term to encompass jazz and other US popular songs as well (Lee, Paekch'ōn [Lee, Baik-chun] 1964, 22). Therefore, it is not clear which specific type of music they criticized by using the term “jazz” in the quotes above from 1952 and 1954, but what is clear is that there were different perceptions and opinions on the popular music from the US in the 1950s in South Korea. While some musicians were attracted to and excited about US popular music and incorporated the musical elements into their popular music production, others thought it was a problem.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ There were critical opinions on US cultural practices and items, particularly regarding their negative influence on the moral standards of South Koreans (Kim, Kyōngil 2003, 182).

More interesting, however, are the different paths onto which these criticisms of the Japanese and US popular music influences moved during the Consolidation Period in the 1950s and thereafter. According to Young Mee Lee, although there were cases in which both jazz and Japanese-colored popular songs were criticized, the focus of the criticisms was on the Japanese-colored *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (2008, 38). My interpretation is that whereas the criticisms during the Revitalization and Intensification Period problematized both “Japanese-colored” popular songs and “jazz,” the criticisms during the Consolidation Period somewhat steered away from “jazz” and concentrated on “Japanese-colored” songs.

This tendency continued in the next decade. For example, Unyŏng La, who criticized both “Japanese popular songs” and “jazz” in his 1954 article, made it clear in his 1967 article that he did not intend to completely expel jazz or American light music from South Korea. Then he wrote, “jazz is a new music that we can’t ignore and it is the music that will continue to develop in the future, so we need to pay attention to the future of jazz and should not mean to denounce jazz without thoughtful consideration” (5). In my opinion, US popular music was securing its place in the transnational space of the Korean War throughout the 1950s, and in the next decade music professionals like Unyŏng La needed to pay attention to the significance of US popular music in South Korean popular culture, which was frequently labeled as “jazz.” In the same vein, Paekch’ŏn Lee concluded his 1964 article by orienting the reader’s attention to the incorporation of US popular music elements into new hybrid South Korean popular music and emphasizing the significance of the roles of “Korea’s young people” in combining “songs of their elders” with “bright elements” extracted from “jazz” (Lee, Paekch’ŏn [Lee, Baik-chun] 1964, 23).

After the Consolidation Period, the new hybrid style of South Korean popular music, like “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” became a new mainstream of the 1960s and the following decades, and musicians who were involved in the production of this type of new hybrid popular songs began to represent the popular music sector. According to Young Mee Lee’s description about a roundtable discussion that was connected to the publication of the journal of the Public Information Office of the ROK, Sŏgu Son, Myŏngsuk Han, and Hŭijun Ch’oe (like Myeŏngsuk Han, Hŭijun Ch’oe also developed his career on the US military camp club stages before his debut in South Korean popular music) were featured as representatives of the popular music sector, along with representatives from other sectors such as the Dean of the School of Music at Seoul Taehakkyo (Seoul National University) and an executive officer of Pangsong Yulli Wiwŏnhoe (the Broadcast Ethics Committee) (Lee, Young Mee 2008, 40). I would say that the representation of the popular music sector by these musicians who were composing and singing the new hybrid music with the incorporation of US popular music elements demonstrates the strengthened status of this type of music in South Korea around this time.

In short, while the status of *t’ŭrot’ŭ*, despite its continuation as a mainstream in the 1950s, was challenged in the post-colonial situation due to its connection to Japanese colonial rule and Japanese popular music, US popular music elements were easily incorporated into the hybridization process in South Korean popular music.¹³⁷ In addition to the aesthetic, musical, and socio-historical reasons that I explained above, the ideological, political, and economic forces in the transnational space of the Korean War functioned to assist this hybridization process. Upon the outbreak of the Korean War, the US perspective on the ROK significantly

¹³⁷ *Sinminyŏ*, which began to develop as a hybrid type alongside *t’ŭrot’ŭ* but which was fundamentally based on indigenous folk music idioms, went through further hybridization in the 1950s, in many cases incorporating elements of dance music such as mambo and ch’ach’a. However, it did not develop further to maintain its status as a mainstream form of music (Lee, Young Mee 2000, 99-105).

changed, and this shift brought about the reconfiguration of the military, political, and economic dynamics in South Korea. Norman D. Levin and Richard L. Sneider wrote that the US, before the Korean War, had “the perception of Korea as a peripheral security interest in the global context,” whereas it made a great commitment to Europe to prevent the expansion of the communist power to European countries. According to them, “the speed and completeness of the withdrawal” of the US army from South Korea after its occupation in the late 1940s, “conveyed little US interest in Korea’s defense,” and the US limited its military assistance and economic aid to the ROK until the outbreak of the Korean War (1981, 34-36). This position changed, however:

The Korean War dramatically reversed U.S. security policy toward Korea, both by creating an awareness of the strategic importance of Korea to U.S. containment objectives and by instilling a general brother-in-arms sentiment. As a result of the North Korean invasion, South Korea became not only a central part of the U.S. *forward defense zone* but also a trusted and valued ally. In the decade and a half thereafter, the United States assumed a dominant role in Korean military, economic, and political development in a relationship characterized as much by its closeness as by its fundamental asymmetry. (Levin and Sneider 1981, 36-37; emphasis by the author of this dissertation)

Based on its new perspective on the ROK, the US not only provided military assistance and dispatched a large number of troops to South Korea, but it also provided economic aid for the purpose of maintaining the capitalist system there. During the 1950s, the aid from the US took the form of grants (loans were used the following decade), and a significant portion of the

UN aid was also provided by the US. This granting of US aid shined all the more against the backdrop of the extreme destruction and poverty in South Korea caused by the war.¹³⁸

Scholarly evaluations on the impact of US economic aid covers a wide spectrum, from a focus on the benefits the ROK gained from the aid to a focus on the intensified US intervention in South Korean politics and economic structures through the military support and economic aid.¹³⁹ Regardless of which government gained what in the long term, as the US changed its ambivalence toward the ROK into a resolute commitment in both military and economic terms, so too did South Koreans' ambivalent perceptions of the US and US cultural practices begin to lean more toward the positive side. Before the Korean War, according to Cornelius Osgood's observation during his fieldwork in Korea in 1947 (two years after the start of the US military's occupation of the southern part of Korea and three years before the outbreak of the Korean War), "The reception from the native populace was all that could be expected of a grateful people. From that time on, more and more Koreans became less and less happy. Having made their hospitable gestures, it is clear that they would have greatly preferred that their visitors go home" (1951, 300). However, during the battle period of the Korean War, the US military was welcomed as an ally, and after the Armistice Agreement, the US military presence was legalized by the Mutual Defense Treaty signed by the ROK and the US governmental officials in 1954. In

¹³⁸ An investigation shows that as of August 1951 (around the time when the armistice negotiation began) almost half of the construction and facilities (forty-four percent of the buildings and forty-two percent of the facilities) of the seven main types of South Korean industry were damaged, and according to another report, after passing through the three-year battle period, the economic loss that occurred in the other sectors of South Korea was about nine times as much as the loss in the industrial sector (Lee, Taegün 2002, 432-433).

¹³⁹ It is beyond the scope of my dissertation to debate the war economy, but what is certain is that, looking into the collaboration between the ROK and the US, we find various tensions and negotiations between the two governments to best benefit each government's own interests while fighting together against communist powers. It was important for the ROK government to gain US economic aid as well as military support for its fight against the DPRK military and in its post-war reconstruction in return for its provision of the establishment of US power in the Asia-Pacific region as part of Cold War geopolitics. On the other hand, it was necessary for the US to enhance its power and promote security in this region against communist powers and to have the ROK, "a frontier state" in its confrontation with communist states, "remain a growing symbol of freedom, justice, and progress," in return for its military and economic support for the ROK (United States Congress Committee on Foreign Relations, 109-118).

other words, the presence of the US military as an ally, not as an occupation army any longer, gained more legitimacy in South Korea, which I discussed in detail in Chapter 4 regarding the issue of American Other.

Another report reads that in 1945, soon after the US military's entry into Korea as an occupation army, a welcome event in a town for the US military was cut short by the hooting of Korean audiences who did not want to see a Korean woman "singing in front of the US soldiers" (Sinmunsa, Seoul 430). However, during the Korean War period in the next decade, many Korean musicians, including female singers, performed for the US troops, and these performances became more and more common within the military collaboration between the ROK and the US. The excellent singers among those who sang for the US troops were featured on South Korean performance stages and gained popularity among South Korean audiences. An example of these singers was Myōngsuk Han. During the interview, she pleasantly recollected her performances in the US military camp clubs, and she was proud of her and her colleagues' skills that were appreciated both in the US military zones and South Korean cultural zones.

Not only the US military and economic commitment but also the position of the US within the ideological map of South Korean society encouraged the increase in the South Koreans' positive attitude toward the US and its cultural items and practices, including music. According to Inch'öl Kang, Anti-communism formed an "ideology complex" in South Korea during the 1950s, in which the worldview of the Cold War, liberal democracy, modernization and pro-Americanism were tightly connected to one another (1999, 221). Anti-communism was the core of the ideological complex, and, accordingly, the US, as the most significant allied country and the rising superpower in the capitalist world against the communist powers, occupied a significant position within this ideological map. The representation of the US as a

symbol of democracy was intensified during the Korean War period, while the ROK and the US emphasized liberal democracy, rather than capitalist economy, as the social value they were fighting for in confrontation with the communist powers. In addition, the image of the US as a model of democracy was highly regarded in South Korea in the 1950s in contrast with South Koreans' own struggles for the establishment of a democratic society during the initial stage of state building, filled with trial-and-error as well as the problems caused by the corrupt and inefficient administration and its political party. While South Koreans' aspiration for the achievement of a "modern" society was disturbed by the destruction of the war, the weapons and other materials from the US that South Koreans witnessed in the war displayed the US military power and economic power supported by "modern" technologies and industrialization. According to Kyōng Ju Kim, the image of the US to South Koreans was "the epitome of the modern world" (2006, 107).

In connection to these military, economic, and ideological realms, the status of the US in South Korea was enhanced and South Koreans' positive outlook toward the US prevailed, rather than being challenged by nationalist ideas of South Koreans about the foreign US power. As I explained in Chapter 4, Korean nationalism was subordinated to anti-communism during the 1950s (Kang, Inch'ōl 1999, 231–42), and the status of the US was not challenged much by nationalist ideas in South Korea because its status was established through its connection to anti-communism struggles during the Korean War period. As Yōngik Yu put it, the relationship between the ROK and the US culminated in the 1950s (436). The political and ideological compatibility between the ROK and the US nicely contained the hybridization of South Korean popular music with elements of US popular music incorporated.

This hybridization process in South Korean popular music in the 1950s that developed through these musicultural, military, economic, ideological, and political dynamics eventually led to the point in 1961 of the widespread popularity of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt.” Both the song writer Sōgu Son and the singer Myōngsuk Han mentioned during their interviews that this song became popular soon after the military coup in May in 1961 and was frequently aired on radio music programs via the mass media under the control of the military government months after the recording was released (personal communication, Son, Sōgu, Dec. 2007; Han, Myōngsuk, Jan. 2008). They believe that the military government’s intervention through the mass media was a direct cause for the song’s popularity. However, underneath the direct cause lay the deeper level of causes built up throughout the 1950s and previous decades: the US military’s musical operations for its troop entertainment; the gradual incorporation of US popular music elements and stylistic features into South Korean popular music throughout the mid-20th century; the multiple layers of transnational musicultural formation in Korea that had US popular music elements favorable and compatible; and the ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and historical forces that constituted the transnational space of the Korean War.

Conclusion

Due to the presence of US military and the insertion of US cultural areas within the South Korean territory during the Korean War period of the 1950s, complex boundaries were created between US and South Korean cultural zones. In terms of physical location, the US military bases occupied a limited area within the South Korean territory. In terms of power relations, however, these areas were the places where the military power of the US as a rising superpower

in the developing Cold War was concentrated and where the US military as the emissary for US cultural power resided.

The border crossings that occurred in this space of the Korean War provide an excellent example to support the claim by scholars in transnational studies that agents in a transnational space perform their actions as part of the “configuration and positional relation of elements” of the space (Pries 2001, 21) and within the dynamics of power relations and asymmetries of domination (Smith and Guarnizo 1998, 6, 29; Faist 2004, 6; Jackson et al. 2004, 10; Schiller 1997, 154–5). Musical travels between the South Korean and US military/cultural zones in the space of the Korean War were bilateral, but the overall flows of popular music resources and musical influence over the course of these travels primarily moved from the US military/cultural zones to South Korean cultural zones. While individual agents partook in the border crossings motivated by their own interests, these border crossings were primarily facilitated and largely managed by the US military for its troop entertainment. The organizational power of the US military, supported by the material, technological, economic, and cultural power of the US, functioned as a governing force for musical exchange within this transnational musical space of the Korean War.

Consideration of the historical dimension of this transnational space was necessary to better understand the process of the spread of popular music from the US to South Korea and the hybridization process in South Korean popular music that resulted from the border crossings. My interviewees’ interest in the diverse musical expressions they found in the music from the US and the hybridization incorporating diverse elements of the music from the US developed amidst the accumulation of musicultural formations in South Korea, to which the idioms of tonal music

and tonal harmony in many US popular songs were compatible and in which the diversity of US popular music was perceived as desirable.

The emergence of the new hybrid type of Korean popular music in the 1950s that occurred in this historical context of accumulation of transnational musicultural formations was as important an aspect of South Korean popular music as the production of the songs with war commentaries regarding the significance of the decade in the history of South Korean popular music.¹⁴⁰ My analysis of the representative song of this hybrid type, “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt,” and its predecessors released in the 1950s and my interviews with musicians from the decade showed that the inclusion of distinctly new elements of the popular music styles from the US as an extension toward diversity was primary characteristics of the hybrid type developed in the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War and that this development was embedded in the development of tonal music in Korea for decades by then. These new hybrid type songs developed as a hybrid of the existing Korean popular music types such as *t’ŭrot’ŭ* and *sinminyŏ*, which were themselves also hybrid. *T’ŭrot’ŭ* and *sinminyŏ* continued in this space, producing another layer of hybridization mixed with elements of tonal music more thoroughly and diverse musical elements of the music from the US. The hybridization in South Korean popular music was developing into this new phase of the spiral progression in the 1950s within the transnational space of the Korean War.

¹⁴⁰ My interpretation is that the Consolidation Period was a turning point in these two significant developments of South Korean popular music; the war commentaries were entering a stage of decline as more positive and cheerful song lyrics were increasing notably, and the new hybridization was becoming prominent enough to be recognized as a new trend in this period. Regarding the development of the new hybrid type of South Korean popular music, scholars have argued that the 1950s was the foundational period for the 1960s development. My investigation suggests that progress in the hybridization and the changes in South Korean popular music during the Consolidation Period may have a stronger bond to the 1960s than to the preceding years of the 1950s. Therefore, it would be possible either to consider the Consolidation Period as a bridge between the years preceding the 1950s and the 1960s or to regard it as conjoined to the following years in the 1960s.

In addition to the actions of musical border crossings in the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War and the historical dimension of this space, I took social, political, and historical factors into consideration to expand my interpretation. This horizon of interpretation can be reframed in terms of the South Korean perspective of the American Other, as it can in an interpretation of military marches. The increase in the interest in the popular music from the US and the incorporation of the elements of this music into the hybridization of South Korean popular music were supported by South Korean feelings toward American interlopers. The American Other was a foreign other, but such feelings were complicated in this transnational military space of the Korean War backed by the relationship of the Korean self with colonial Japan and the relationship of the South Korean self with the communist enemies. During the war against communists in the Cold War context, the position of the American other was strengthened in South Korea as the most significant ally within the transnational capitalist formation and as the financial supporter that provided economic aid during the destruction of the war. In the post-colonial situation, the Korean self was understood in opposition to the Japanese other, the former colonizer, rather than against the American Other, an ally and supporter in the Cold War. While *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was criticized as a Japanese colonial legacy in this post-colonial context, musical elements of US popular music were embraced in the Cold War context as alternative musical resources for the development of a new hybridization process.

The status of the American Other had not been severely challenged by Korean nationalism not only because of its status vis-à-vis the communist Other and the Japanese Other, but also because of a weakened Korean nationalism. During the South Korean state-building period in the divided Korea, Korean nationalism disintegrated. During the intra-national fight of the Korean War, it was damaged. During the initial stage of state-building, the nationalism of the

South Korean state had not yet been sophisticatedly rearticulated as distinct from the broader nationalism of the Korean people, nor was it systematically organized throughout South Korean society. In this context, the American other was regarded as a model of democracy and modernization. All these socio-political conditions functioned synergistically for the spread of popular music from the US and the incorporation of its musical elements into the hybridization of popular music in South Korea.

While the new hybridization process in South Korean popular music was supported by South Koreans' positive outlook of the American other in relation to these ideological, socio-political, and historical forces in the space of the Korean War, the American other was actually interspersed throughout South Koreans' lives. Whereas Young Mee Lee and Soyŏng Lee believe the American other to be represented in South Korean popular songs as an exotic other (Lee, Soyŏng 2007 a, 50–54; Lee, Young Mee 2000, 125–29), Yujŏng Chang argues that the US was not an exotic other but instead resided within the lives of South Koreans (2008, 19). In my opinion, both sides have points that are not necessarily contradictory to each other. The American other was prevalent in the space of the Korean War in multiple dimensions and in diverse manifestations.

For example, Paekch'ŏn Lee, who played music at a US military base in Seoul for much of the 1950s and who was a staff member of the Hwayang Agency cooperating with the Eighth US Army Headquarters Special Services Section for the auditions and arrangements of Koreans' live shows, felt like he was "living with" Americans, and he even thought "they were not Others" (personal communication, Oct. 2010). Some of the musicians I interviewed played music with US military personnel and established friendships through musical gatherings, although their feelings about the American other were not the same as Paekch'ŏn Lee's. Other musicians I

interviewed performed at the US military bases, meeting US military personnel only as their audiences. There were also musicians who didn't perform at the US military bases but still played the music that flowed from the military bases. Also, there were South Korean audiences who might have witnessed US soldiers participating in the war, simply heard about the US soldiers or seen images of the US in movies. The repeated expression in the interviews with South Korean musicians that they obtained or learned music from the US "naturally" reflect the nature of the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War, in which the American other was prevalent in various dimensions and levels, including the realm of popular music, particularly in the lives of these musicians.

I would like to emphasize once again the role of the US military as the most immediate agent that intervened in the construction of this space and that initiated South Koreans' musical encounters with US popular music in the 1950s. If not for the US military's systematic effort to bring US popular music to the South Korean land for its troops, it is unlikely that US popular music would have become so widely available in South Korea at that time. Also, without the military's arrangement of South Korean musicians' live shows for its troop entertainment, it is unlikely that the large number of South Korean band units and show units would have made efforts to learn the music popular among US military personnel. President Eisenhower regarded US military personnel overseas as ambassadors of the US, as I quoted in the previous chapter. Modifying the President's remarks, I would say that in South Korea in the 1950s, US military agents were not only ambassadors of the US state but excellent ambassadors of US popular music as well.

The ROK military also played an indirect part in the popular music development in this space through veteran military musicians' personal involvement in the restructuring of popular

music culture in South Korea. My interviewees' life stories aptly demonstrate this process.¹⁴¹ Civilian musicians' roles in the changes in South Korean popular music were equally important, as was seen in the case of Sŏgu Son and Myŏngsuk Han,¹⁴² but the width and depth of the impact of the veteran musicians' involvement in the formation of post-Armistice South Korean popular music were genuinely impressive; they not only played instruments but they also led bands, produced music programs for nationwide broadcasts, partook in formulating public discourses on popular music, and intervened in the spread of the new musical idioms by teaching. The ROK military's training of military musicians in the band organizations and in the military music schools benefited not only the classical music sector in South Korea, as was explained in Chapter 2, but also the popular music sector.

The spread of the US popular music and the spread of the new hybrid type of South Korean popular music were still uneven in the 1950s, involving mainly urban areas and the areas adjacent to the US military bases, but the hybridization and the musicultural formation had the strength to continue to expand. It was because the hybrid music was firmly buttressed by the prevalence of the American other in various aspects of the transnational space of the Korean War

¹⁴¹ Kangsŏp Kim became one of the most influential figures in the mass-mediated popular music realm as the bandmaster of the governmental television broadcast, KBS; Baekch'ŏn Lee became one of the leading figures in South Korean popular music as a DJ, PD, and popular music critic; Kyosuk Lee offered the first music theory lessons for popular music, helping musicians in the popular music sector become knowledgeable of musical idioms. (Among the students in Kyosuk Lee's theory classes were Junghyeon Sin, regarded as the most influential musician in the initial stage of South Korean rock development, and Hŭigap Kim, regarded as one of the most influential South Korean popular music composers.)

Countless other names could be added, but to name a few: Inbae Kim and Taeyŏng Yŏ, veteran army band musicians who became famous trumpeters as well as bandmasters of radio broadcast systems in South Korea; Minyoung Song, a veteran navy band musician who became one of the most excellent trombone players in popular music; Daehwan Kim, a veteran air force band musician who became a second-to-none drummer in South Korea.

¹⁴² The ROK military's operations also influenced the career development of civilian musicians. For example, Myŏngsuk Han's initial public performances, even before her participation in the US military camp club shows that preceded her debut as a professional singer of South Korean popular music, were put on as an affiliate to the ROK military and police at the beginning of the Revitalization and Intensification Period (Personal communication, Ŭnok Lee, Aug. 2010).

and by the ideological, economic, socio-cultural, and historical forces that were active in this space as well as by aesthetic factors rooted in the accumulation of transnational musicultural formations in the space.

CHAPTER 6

Navigating Transnational Musical Flows Shored up by the Power of the State and Nationalist Agendas

South Korean military band members during the Korean War served their country by playing music across various genres to assist in the achievement of the ROK military's goals, constantly navigating transnational musical flows and performing musical nationalism at the same time. The transnational musical flows in the social space of the Korean War were predominantly trans-Pacific, flowing from the US. These were produced within the military, political, and economic climate of the developing Cold War in the 1950s and intersected with the transnational musicultural formations that had been accumulating in Korea up to this point.

South Korean musicians and composers like Hŭijo Kim made efforts during the 1950s to create their own marches that could better represent the ROK and its military and more successfully promote their nationalist causes. Ironically, however, for the composition of Koreans' own marches they appropriated many transnational norms and practices of military marches, commonly combining them with melodies that could deliver their nationalist messages effectively, such as the ROK national anthem, patriotic songs, or songs containing Korean folk music elements. Despite these efforts for the creation of Korean marches, however, ROK military bands' march repertory was dominated by Sousa marches. Playing Sousa marches in the social space of the Korean War, in which both Korean nationalism and transnational military collaboration were crucial components, ROK military musicians broadened the meanings of the marches. Sometimes they played the music as a musical emblem of the US; at other times it served as a musical representation of the capitalist alliance. Frequently, regardless of the origin of the marches, they appropriated the invigorating rhythm, animating melody, dynamic harmonic

progressions, and lively changing timber of these marches simply to lift morale among their soldiers and citizens, add sonic festooning to their own military ceremonies, and display the power of the ROK military itself.

The efforts for the creation of Korean marches continued after the Korean War period, and by the 1980s Korean marches, rather than Sousa marches, occupied the central spot in the ROK military bands' march repertory. In his posthumously published article from 1987, march composer Hūijo Kim mentioned "Current and former military band musicians have created many new march pieces, and in the recent years, both military bands and school bands play marches created by Koreans at [almost] all events. On rare occasions when they play well-known non-Korean marches, it even feels strange nowadays" (61). Indeed, when I attended the 57th commemoration of the outbreak of the Korean War during the first round of my main fieldwork in South Korea in 2007, the two military marches that Kukpangbu Yangaktae (The ROK Ministry of National Defense Western-style Band), a sub-unit of Kukpangbu Kunaktae (The ROK Ministry of National Defense Band), played at the ceremony were Korean marches. These were "March Sin Arirang" and "March Taryōng," composed by Munkyu Hwang, a former Navy band musician, who, like Kyosuk Lee, studied military music at the US Navy School of Music in the 1960s. These two marches are fundamentally similar to Korean marches composed during the Korean War period in the 1950s in their form, style, and instrumentation: these marches are in the European/American march form with separate sections including the trio section with modulation; and they are played in the typical Western military band instrumentation composed of brass, woodwind, and percussion instruments; but they include the melodic themes drawn from existing Korean songs with Korean folk music elements. In short, this hybrid type of Korean military march continued its development for decades with increasing sophistication in

its style, eventually replacing Sousa marches at the core of the ROK military bands' march performances.

In South Korean popular music, to which military musicians as well as non-military musicians made contributions, we also find a continuation from the Korean War period to the present. The incorporation of musical elements common in US popular music into South Korean popular songs accelerated significantly during the Korean War period and became mainstream in Korean popular music as proved by the success of “The Guy in the Yellow Shirt” in 1961. This characteristic of South Korean popular music still continues in more refined and more diverse styles. These hybrid types of Korean popular songs nowadays appear on Billboard labelled as “K-pop.”

In the cases of South Korean military march development and popular music development from the 1950s, I find a parallel, which I think is deeply connected to the strengthened nationalism in South Korea. Nationalism in South Korea continuously developed in the 1960s and 1970s, and it eventually fully bloomed in the 1980s, being promoted from above by the ROK government, growing from below through student movements and grassroots movements, and supported from the middle by intellectuals' involvement. Likewise, musical nationalism in South Korea became stronger in the 1980s than ever before (Chae 1996, 35-41; Yoo 2007, 110-23). By this time, as was noted by Huijo Kim, Korean military marches, instead of Sousa marches, had become the default content for most performances.

In this context of musical nationalism, the ROK military also created a new style of ROK military band developed around *taech'it'a*, an ensemble type of processional music regarded as a part of Korean “traditional” music. When I attended the Korean War commemoration in South Korea in 2007, along with The ROK Ministry of National Defense Western-style Band playing

the two aforementioned hybrid-type Korean military marches, another sub-unit of The ROK Ministry of National Defense Band, Kukpangbu Kugaktae (The ROK Ministry of National Defense Traditional-style Band), performed at the ceremony. This band was composed of Korean “traditional” percussion and wind instruments and the bandmen were performing another hybrid type of music that explicitly referenced Korean “traditional” music types while dressed in a Korean “traditional” style outfit. This band performed quite loudly on the central stage, with the penetrating sound of a group of reed instruments called Nabal and T’aep’yŏngso playing the melody, supported by a group of another wind instrument called Nagak playing one note in repetition percussively and accompanied by multiple groups of percussion instruments comprising various types of drums and gongs. Supported by and simultaneously supporting the strengthening of Korean nationalism, the revival of traditional style processional band music added another dimension to musical nationalism sponsored by the state and the military in South Korea, while the Koreanization of military marches was providing an essential source for their musical nationalism with the appropriation of transnationally shared norms and practices.

South Korean popular music development also reveals the intertwined relationship between the promotion of nationalism and transnational musical flows, although it is a bit more complicated than observed in the military music. The continuing development of South Korean popular music in diverse styles with the dramatically increased embrace of US popular music elements as transnationally shared musical resources since the Korean War period reached a watershed in 2012 in its flow into the transnational popular music market. Korean musician Chaesang Park, known as Psy in the music market, is making a successful journey through the transnational popular music scenes, particularly in the US, with his song “Kangnam Style [Gangnam Style],” a fusion of Korean rap, electronic pop sound, creative dance moves, and

comic images and idiosyncratic outfits (and the attractive landscape of the Kangnam area in Seoul in the music video as well).¹⁴³ While his song “Kangnam Style [Gangnam Style]” is travelling to the US and other countries through Youtube, iTunes, and radio and television programs, being recognized as an example of K-pop and simultaneously being appreciated as a transnational hit, many South Korean audiences are celebrating Psy’s successful journey overseas from a nationalist perspective, interpreting his success in terms of linguistic nationalism and expressing happiness as fellow members of the Korean people.

On the other side of this nationalistic appreciation of Psy’s song lies a history of the South Korean administration’s support for the transnational flow of South Korean popular music. Since the late 1990s, South Korean popular music has been gaining remarkable popularity in Asian countries as a part of the so-called Hallyu, or Korean Wave. The South Korean popular music industry’s efforts and various audience groups’ reactions are primary factors for the flow of South Korean popular music as it “rides” the Korean Wave, but the ROK administration also provided support for the flow of the music overseas with its cultural policies.¹⁴⁴ The Wonder Girls’ travel to the US in 2009, which I described in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, was another manifestation of the Korean Wave, this time trans-pacific (see the description of a “New Wave” in Abelmann and Shin 2012, 401). Months after I heard their thank-you message to the US veterans of the Korean War at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., their song entered the Billboard 100 Pop Chart, and soon multiple South Korean musicians had entered the US popular music market. In this history of transnationalization of Korean popular songs is located Psy’s “Kangnam Style [Gangnam Style].”

¹⁴³ As of Oct 25, 2012, this song has recorded more than five hundred million views on Youtube, has been in second place on the Billboard Hot 100 Chart for four weeks and took over first place on its Digital Song Chart, and has been first on the iTunes Single Chart and on its Music Video Chart for several weeks.

¹⁴⁴ For more information about the governmental support for the spread of South Korean popular music overseas, see Sang-Yeon Sung (2008)

Though military marches and popular music have developed along different paths, they both reflect the power of the state and the role of the nationalist agendas in transforming or embracing musical hybridization processes into practices of musical nationalism. In both military march and popular music developments, South Koreans utilized elements of transnationally shared music resources that became available in larger amounts than before in the transnational space of the Korean War within the context of the Cold War. Eventually, the hybrid types of South Korean military marches and popular songs reached a point in time when they were recognized as Korean music regardless of the origins of the transnationally-shared musical elements and musical frames embraced in the music, supporting the strengthening of nationalism as well as being bolstered by it.

The power of the state and nationalist agendas even become involved in the enhancement of transnational musical flows as well. The case of the ROK administration's intervention in the flows of South Korean popular music overseas to individual music lovers around the world is a relatively minor example compared with the flows of music from the US to South Korea during the Korean War period in the 1950s. As was discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 5, US popular music crossed the national border between the US and the ROK through the US military music circuit, backed by the military, political, economic, and cultural power of the US, which sought to promote the status of the US in Cold War politics by intervening in the war. The scale of the transnational musical flows that were facilitated by the US military and sponsored by the administration for their troops participating in the war was so immense that the flows even reached to South Koreans, and the impact of these flows was so profound that it was able to restructure South Korean popular music development. This legacy still continues in South

Korean popular music like “Kangnam Style (Gangnam Style)” with the embrace of US popular music elements as its main characteristic.

Psy’s musical activities demonstrate another legacy from the Korean War period military music operations. Upon his return to South Korea after his newly-evolving music business in the US, Psy announced during his press conference that he was planning to perform for ROK troops, suggesting that it was one of the most important responsibilities he needed to fulfill before his departure for the next international tour. He did, in fact, offer a free concert for a large audience of ROK soldiers and citizens during his short stay in South Korea. Some years prior, during his compulsory military service, he had already participated in troop entertainment in the military, and he still considers the entertainment of soldiers a serious duty. Psy’s musical activities continue connecting military and non-military music and functioning to support the goals of the military and the state while dynamically interacting with transnational musical flows. In this regard, there is an overlap between Psy’s current musical activities and the military and non-military musicians’ activities during the Korean War period in the 1950s, although Psy has focused on ROK military bases rather than the US military bases that attracted many South Korean musicians’ interest six decades ago.

Like the overlap I find between the Korean War period music scenes and the current music scenes through the activities of Psy, another overlap of the past with the present arose during my fieldwork in South Korea. Whenever I attended military bands’ public concerts, I frequently came across veteran military musicians I had met before. I know these veteran musicians frequently attend ROK military bands’ concerts. Many veteran military musicians still maintain their relationships with other military musicians through various types of organizations and gatherings, and they remain deeply interested in ROK military bands and their music. When

I asked Ŭnok Lee and another veteran military musician, after a series of the Korean War commemoration concerts that I described in Chapter 1, about their thoughts on the concerts, what they brought up first was how good the music was and which band's music was the best rather than their opinions on the political aspects of the war commemoration events. Obviously, military musicians, as Kangsŏp Kim mentioned and as I believe, are, first of all, musicians who have sensitive ears to music and love to play and listen to good music; these musicians found themselves located in the space of the Korean War at a young age and were forced to take up military duties. The power of the military was fundamental in structuring musicultural development during the war time and these musicians were in the middle of the restructuring processes, but their musicianship was crucial in actualizing the military's plans, and they developed their own musical interests in and knowledge of music amidst the war. Six decades after the Korean War, the veteran musicians are still present in the military music scenes, remembering their participation in the war, and, as musicians, engaging passionately with the ongoing history of the ROK military bands.

In this dissertation, I tried to explain the developments of various border crossings that arose in the social space of the Korean War, relating them to the conceptual framework, the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War. As a researcher, I myself was a border crosser, exploring military music as an individual civilian researcher. I had the great luck to gain support from military officers and governmental officials for the learning of military music and data collection in some of the military band bases. Despite the unusual support and luck, there were certain limits for an individual researcher digging into military materials. For instance, I collected military march notations from two of the most representative ROK military bands and from additional bands, but there remain multiple military band bases that are potential archives

of the military march notations from the Korean War period. If a more systematic effort were to be made by the military band organizations, the history of ROK military marches would become more lucid and comprehensive. Exploration of the military music history by individual researchers combined with the examination of the music by the military with the aid of its organizational power will open up a new horizon of understanding. In addition, whereas my research focused on the musical flows and border crossings that occurred between the South Korean and US musicultural zones through the military music operations, information indicates that the place of Japan in these transnational musicultural flows between South Korea and the US is truly significant. For instance, the US military music operations during the Korean War were mediated through the US military system implemented in Japan, and a large number of US military personnel participating in the Korean War traveled between South Korea and Japan for their time with the Rest and Recuperation Program, which involved cultural activities and music programs. Studies on Japanese popular music in relation to the US military presence in Japan have already started (for example, see Atkins 2001; Bourdaghs 2012), and by synthesizing such explorations into our understanding of the transnational musical flows and border crossings among Korea, Japan, and the US, a more complex picture of the transnational musicultural space of the Korean War will be revealed.

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