

THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN WAR ON THE ARTS

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I

In many ways, the people of Korea are still waiting for the Korean War to end. The standoff between North and South Korea across the demilitarized zone located on the 38th Parallel continues to wield invisible influence over both countries, not only in politics, but also in economy, society, and culture. Although the war has been directly represented in several landmark works of Korean literature, such as Choi Inhun's *Gwangjang* (The Square) and Yi Byeongju's *Jirisan* (Mt. Jiri), there have been very few works of visual art which have explicitly addressed this national trauma. It seems that the distress of witnessing the ideologically motivated massacres, retaliations, and other atrocities of the Korean War effectively deterred Korean artists from responding with works of a distinctly political nature. Although the war and its aftermath clearly had a lingering effect on these artists, most of them were only able to artistically rectify their horrific memories and experiences through metaphor.

This paper is a survey of the impact of the Korean War on art and artists in Korea. First, it will present the activities and works of the official troop of war photographers and war artists, respectively. Then, it will examine how the Korean War was remembered by artists in government-commissioned war monuments and works based on personal wartime experience. Finally, it will analyze more recent works by artists who did not experience the war, to see how the Korean War has been viewed by later generations.

II

The Korean War is remembered through photography more than any other medium.¹ The United States National Archives and Records Administration holds hundreds of thousands of photographs related to the Korean War. Journalists from all over the world came to Korea when the war broke out, and approximately 270 reporters and photographers contributed to the prodigious photographic history of the conflict. One of the most iconic images of the Korean War is Max Desfor (1914–)'s Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph of refugees scaling a bombed bridge over the Daedong River. This image of North Korean civilians risking their lives to seek freedom and

democracy in the South justified the mission of the United Nations, which deployed large numbers of troops to the war.

The South Korean government was not prepared to deal with the war in any systematic way. It was only in August 1950, two months after the war began, that the government managed to mobilize an official war photographers' troop under the Army Information Agency of the Department of Defense. According to a number of testimonies, many of these men became official war photographers based on the promise of an identity card and an exemption from the draft.²

During wartime, the Army Information Agency was charged with disseminating war photographs through the press and other outlets and securing the understanding and trust of the public. The official war photographers' troop was responsible for recording and reporting vivid images of the war. Although they were not financially compensated, the photographers were provided with necessary materials, including Kodak film and Leica IIIB cameras. They were also allowed to eat at the Department of Defense canteen and to ride in military vehicles. All of their photographs were subject to control and censorship, and those pictures that were approved would often be displayed on the news board at the army headquarters, as well as for civilians in the rear.³ Unfortunately, the film negatives which were kept at the Army Information Agency have disappeared due to poor management. Most of the surviving pictures were taken using personal cameras and remain in private collections. Therefore, the specifics of the situation at the time are difficult to verify.



Figure 1. Im Insik, *Destroyed T34 Tank*, 1950

Lieutenant Im In-sik (1920–98), who led the Information Agency of Army official war photographers' troop, captured many images of the war before he was discharged in June 1952.⁴ Some of his pictures, such as *American Soldier Captured and Murdered*, were picked up by the Associated Press and sent across the world, receiving widespread coverage in the U.S. press. Interestingly, since pre-war photography in Korea had been dominated by pictorialism, very few photographers were experienced in "straight photography." Thus, the war images captured by Korean photographers tend to be highly artistic, as exhibited by Im's *Destroyed T34 Tank* (fig. 1) photo. The slant of light in the frame robs the destroyed, abandoned tank of its menacing materiality, giving the photo the aura of a Romantic image of ruins.

Of the Korean photographers, Lee Gyeongmo (1926–2001) had the most experience with documentary photography. As a staff photographer for the Honam Newspaper, he had previously captured vivid images of the Yeosu Rebellion of October 1948, which arose from a conflict between the right and left wings, foreshadowing the Korean War. One of Lee's most harrowing pictures of the aftermath of the rebellion shows a row of victims dead on the ground, with straw ropes bound around their necks and ankles, while a woman with a baby on her back looks for the body of her dead husband. Without expressing any ideological position, the photo presents a powerful image of the plight of ordinary people. Lee was one of the most active of the Korean War photographers, capturing images of refugees, the South Korean army's advances, and North Korean prisoners of war. These photographers' experiences covering the war instilled a strong sense of duty in them, and became the foundation for the rise in popularity of documentary photography after the war.

The Korean Department of Defense did not form the official war painters' troop until June 1951, a year after the outbreak of the war.⁵ The Department of Defense ostensibly expected to get depictions of battle scenes, representations of the lives of refugees, and yearnings for peace, but in reality the artists received few specific directives. In fact, there were some who believed that certain cultural figures persuaded leaders in the Department of Defense to establish the troop in order to protect artists and provide them with accommodation and ID cards.⁶ Thus, it seems that the official war painters' troop may have been formed for reasons other than the systematic production of painted representations of the war. Few of the artists from the troop regularly witnessed heavy combat, though most made occasional trips to the frontlines to make sketches. They relied on returning soldiers to tell them about the handling of prisoners of war, the disposal of dead Chinese soldiers, and the extent of damage sustained by the South Korean army.⁷

The approximately 40 members of the official war painters' troop held a total of six exhibitions of war documentary paintings. The first of these, "War Painters' Exhibition Commemorating March 1," was held in Busan in March 1952, and featured the work of 25 artists. Most of the works were small drawings which depicted life



Figure 2. Yoo Byeonghui, *Battle on Mount Dosol*, 1951

in the rear, unrelated to the war. Even nude paintings were included. At the sixth and final “Official War Painters’ Troop Art Exhibition,” held in March 1953, the Minister of Defense Prize for best painting went to Moon Hakjin (1924–)’s *Trench*, a vivid portrait of soldiers crawling in the trenches and throwing grenades. Sadly, the painting itself became a casualty of the war, surviving only in the form of a black-and-white photograph.

In 1951, traditional-ink painter Yoo Byeonghui (1919–) painted *Battle on Mount Dosol* (fig. 2), which depicts an intense skirmish between the North and South Korean armies. The flag of South Korea soars high in the air, while the North Korean flag has fallen to the ground, suggesting the former’s triumph.

A number of war-related works by Lee Soeok (1918–90) have also survived. A graduate of the Tokyo Imperial Art College, Lee was active in North Korea before the war. Based on his record of service as the chair of an artists’ alliance in North Korea, it can be safely presumed that Lee was familiar with the Socialist Realist style. When the Chinese army entered the war, he took refuge in the South with his family, and eventually became an official war painter who served in the Central Front. His *Night Battle* (1952), which depicts soldiers digging out a trench, was exhibited in the same year as the first “Official War Painters’ Troop Exhibition” and received the Army Chief of Staff Prize. This accomplished painting is noted for its outstanding composition and its realistic rendering of soldiers engaged in a battle, firing stun grenades.

Of the paintings produced by the official war painters’ troop during the Korean War, only a minimal number depict fierce battles. Most of these focus on the South Korean army while showing little of their enemies. The reason for this is that the painters did not share a collective feeling of patriotism that might be expressed as a wish to destroy the enemy and conquer its territory. In an internecine conflict like the Korean War, it is not always easy to distinguish one’s own forces from the enemy,

or to separate the victims from the perpetrators. Painter Lee Joon (1919–) explained some of the wartime problems faced by the official war painters' troop:

“The war painters made several works, but most of them were just small sketches, so it’s difficult to call them serious war documentary paintings. But you have to remember that there was a lack of materials, and that we were all focusing on how to live day-to-day and survive the war. There wasn’t a lot of desire to make our work anti-communist or to encourage people’s morale... I also believe that we wanted to avoid using our paintings to document the tragedy of our people fighting one another.”⁸

Since it was the official war painters' troop's duty to document the war, most of the works discussed above focus on realism. However, the South Korean war painters understood that Socialist Realism, which was born in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, represented the artistic mainstream in North Korea. Notably, when these painters worked as individual artists, rather than as members of the troop, they actively tried to distance themselves from the Realist style. At that time, the main alternative to Realism was European Modernism.

Lee Soeok experimented with Cubism in his 1954 work *The Korean War* (fig. 3), which he painted after the war had ended. The figures portrayed in this painting—a father pushing his child and his belongings on a cart, a young girl carrying her younger sibling on her back, a mother holding a bundle of blankets with a young boy walking by her side—represented the actual experiences that most Koreans



Figure 3. Lee Soeok, *The Korean War*, 1954, oil on canvas



Figure 4. Byeon Yeongwon, *Anti-Communist Wandering Spirit*, 1952, oil on canvas

had during the war. But the agony of becoming a refugee dissipates because of the balanced composition, in which geometric shapes are fitted together like a puzzle.

The work from this period that is most strongly influenced by Pablo Picasso (1881–1973)'s *Guernica*, 1937, is Byeon Yeongwon (1921–88)'s *Anti-Communist Wandering Spirit* (fig. 4), 1952, which memorably delineates the inhumane and indiscriminate carnage of war. The painting shows human and machine hybrid figures holding bombs and dashing across a battlefield. These fragmented forms, with their bulging eyes and bodily dimensions, are reminiscent of Picasso's distorted figures of women from the 1930s, and also suggest a sort of madness often associated with Surrealism.

Many Korean artists continued to address these issues well into the 1950s and 60s. But instead of providing more portraits of battles or refugees, the war-related works which appeared after the end of the war more often dealt with abstract topics such as an individual's attachment to life and a loss of faith in humanity.

Nam Kwan (1911–90), who left for Paris in 1955, continued to focus on his memory of the war in his works of the 1960s. Kwan remarked that the fallen soldiers, broken limbs, and refugees he witnessed during his flight from Seoul became motifs for his abstract paintings. The dark colours and mood of his painting *The Movement in the Shadow* (1961), which seems to represent the transformation of a human form into an abstract form, reflects the lingering pain of the war.

Kim Youngjoo (1920–95), who worked as an official war painter, tried to express humanity's despair in his work *Age of Darkness*, which he worked on from 1958 until 1961. Kim places a scene of a crucifixion against a black background, in a work that is

reminiscent of the *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1515, by German Renaissance artist Matthias Grünewald (c.1470–1528). The theme of despair also haunts a related drawing by Kim entitled *Black Sun, Crucifixion*, 6.25, which shows the Madonna and Child, the crucifixion, an image of a bird, and a screaming human being.

III

Since the end of the Korean War, many of the most notable war-related artworks have been the national monuments initiated by the government. These monuments serve to remember those who died during the war, and to represent the beliefs and ideals that they died for. Even before the Korean War came to an end, sculptor Park Chilseong (1929–) erected his *Mother and Child Commemorating the Recovery of the Lost Territory* in Sokcho, a city near the 38th parallel where many North Korean refugees lived. Park's sculpture emphasized the importance of family because one of the most traumatizing aspects of the Korean War was the dispersions and deaths of family members. The theme of a mother and child was frequently used in monuments and postwar art.

War monuments only began to be constructed in large numbers in the late 1950s, once the governmental system had recovered from the shock of war and regained some degree of normality. Anti-communism was the foremost policy of South Korea, and it was the duty of all male youths to serve in the military. This militant social climate is well reflected in the war memorials which began to appear all across the country, the majority of which were highly formulaic. For example, Kim Gyeongseung (1915–92)'s *A Monument to the Dead Soldiers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force*, which was erected in 1957 in Mt. Yongdoo Park, Busan, features three figures (symbolizing the three branches of the military) holding rifles, bayonets, and grenades, while the central figure is holding a dove. The figures' muscular physiques and the overall heroism of the monument are reminiscent of the Socialist Realist style. Nevertheless, there was no criticism of this similarity at the time of its unveiling, and its idealized image of heroes served as a model for later monuments.

Perhaps the most nationally celebrated war monument was *Monument to General MacArthur* (fig. 5), also by Kim. This sculpture, which was an initiative of the Department of Domestic Affairs, was erected in the Incheon Freedom Park in 1957 to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the Incheon Landing Operation. The operation, successfully manoeuvred by General Douglas MacArthur, led to the reclamation of Seoul and the retreat of the North Korean army, and marked a critical early turning point for the South Korean forces. The monument was largely financed through donations collected from citizens at the behest of President Rhee Seung-man. In addition to the statue of the general, which was based on photographs supplied by



Figure 5. Kim Gyeongseung,
General Douglas MacArthur,
1957, bronze



Figure 6.
Yun Seungjin,
Statue of Brothers,
1994, War Memorial

the military, Kim also created a pedestal decorated with reliefs depicting the Incheon Landing Operation.

More than 40 years after the Korean War ended, the national effort to remember the war continued. In June 1994, the National War Memorial opened in Yongsan, Seoul, commemorating all of the wars in Korean history. However, almost half of the exhibition space is dedicated to objects related to the Korean War, which illustrates the persistence of the bitter memories of that conflict. Outside of the massive memorial hall, there stands *Statue of Brothers* (fig. 6), 1994, a huge sculpture of two brothers sharing a dramatic embrace. Based on the true story, the older brother is a South Korean soldier, and the younger brother is a North Korean soldier. This motif of two brothers who are forced to become enemies has now appeared in so many Korean dramas and movies that it has almost become cliché, yet it remains the best symbol for the tragedy of the Korean War.

IV

At the end of the 1950s, a group of young artists in their early 30s led a collective outburst of artistic expression related to the war experience. These artists, many of whom graduated from either the recently established College of Fine Arts at Hongik University or Seoul National University, were members of the post-liberation generation. They had strong, distinct memories of the war, since all of them either fought in combat or grew up amidst the turmoil of the post-war years. These young artists, who were filled with sorrow, doubt and disbelief, were searching for a spiritual anchor, and they were extremely disillusioned with the conservative nature of Korean art. They had greater affinity for movements such as *Informel* and Abstract Expressionism, which emerged from the rubble of Western Europe after World War II and eventually reached the United States. Korean artists found much to identify with in the works of these movements: the post-war spiritual dislocation, the lack of faith in former methods, the disdain for established power structures, and the passion for artistic innovation. Although the Koreans often did not have access to detailed information about *Art Informel* or Abstract Expressionism, they remained extremely enthusiastic about the dynamic intensity of the brushwork and the overall autonomy of paint they saw in contemporary European and American works. Many Korean *Informel* artists created works reminiscent of European and American gesture art by using aggressive brush strokes to slather thick layers of paint onto huge canvases (fig. 7).

In the realm of sculpture, young Korean artists began experimenting with welding metal, a technique that had only recently emerged as an artistic possibility. Although Korean society was impoverished and deprived of many vital materials, there was no shortage of scrap metal. Many sculptors procured metal pieces and barrels from



Figure 7. Kim Tchangyeul,
Ritual no. 1, 1968, oil on canvas

the numerous scrap metal dealers and iron foundries, which they then cut with a straw cutter and welded into sculptures. The fiery process of torch-welding made these war-tested young artists feel like warriors. One particularly important source of material was the metal barrels which the American army used for distributing or selling oil, which were cut open, flattened, and fabricated into other metal products, including buses. Park Jongbae (1935–) recalls that he often used the remnants of military vehicles which he found on Mt. Wawoo, near Hongik University. “Whenever I used those metal plates to make a work, I remembered the scars of war and realized the meaning of the power called destruction.”⁹ One work which Park made from scrapped military vehicles was *Circle of History* (1965), which he described by saying, “The work held traces of a glaring rage, sharp pangs and tender pains, cold criticisms as well as a heaving anger that was on the verge of bursting, as well as an unapproachable volcanic heat...”¹⁰ The rough, craterous surface of the work is indeed reminiscent of destructive anger and explosive passion.

Park Seokwon (1941–)’s *Scorched Earth* (fig. 8), 1968, is a similar work, which the artist described as expressing the “human feeling of emptiness after the wretchedness and misery of war.”¹¹ As the title suggests, the contrast between the smooth surface and rough interior of metal symbolizes ruined soil, or a society ruined by war.

As the South Korean economy grew by leaps and bounds in the 1970s, art



Figure 8.
Park Seokwon,
Scorched Earth,
1968, iron



Figure 9. Im Oksang, *Kim Family after the Korean War*, 1990, mineral colour on paper relief

works which addressed the war became scarce. It was not until the emergence of *Minjung Misool* (People's Art) in the 1980s that topics related to the Korean War resurfaced. Led by a generation that did not experience the war, *Minjung Misool* was not interested in producing works which directly depicted scenes of war. Instead, they took on the problem of dispersed families and protested against the influence of the U.S. military, which remained a fixture in South Korea after the war. Im Oksang (1952–)'s painting *Kim Family after the Korean War* (fig. 9) takes the form of a family picture taken at the birthday party of an old parent, but six figures in the group are whitened out. The picture contains no clues as to the fate of these vanished figures, leaving the viewer to imagine where they are or whether they are still alive or not. *Minjung* artists viewed the culture of the West as trash, stained by the influence of capitalism and materialism. They identified with the *minjung*, or "common people's" culture, which was firmly rooted in the earth. Thus, many of the foremost works of the movement treated farming as their subject. Shin Hakcheol (1943–)'s *Modern Korean History—Rice Planting* shows the southern half of the peninsula filled with the garbage of capitalist and materialist culture, while the northern half contains an idealized depiction of farming communities. In 1989, the authorities reacted to this work, which they felt was pro-North Korean, by confiscating the painting and imprisoning the artist for violation of the National Security Law.

Beginning around 2000, a new generation emerged with its own unique perspective on the Korean War and its impact. Kim Hongsok (1964–)'s video work *Wild Korea* (2005) presents itself as a documentary featuring interviews with "real" Koreans, but it is actually a fictional film with a script and professional actors. The story starts from the premise that, in 1997, the Korean government legalized the private possession of firearms in an attempt to become an advanced democratic country. With access to guns, people react to even the most trivial issues by shooting and killing one another. One interviewee states that he was kidnapped by his ex-girlfriend and then killed in front of a crowd of onlookers. He claims that he was shot because his face was red, and that his face turned blue from shock just before his death. With this ending, the viewers come to realize that they have been watching an interview with a person who is already dead. The video ends with a scene declaring that, after three months, the Korean government again prohibited the possession of firearms.

There are many ways to interpret this work. It reflects the society where people have been endlessly conditioned to report any suspicious people as spies. Also, the killing scene evokes an execution by a people's court during the Korean War. Most of all, the reference to colour in Korean society is a subtle critique of the nation's ideology. Since the ending of the Korean War and the division of the country, Koreans have consistently been subjected to anti-Communist ideology, which identifies the colour red with the most dangerous form of dissidence. Although the frozen relations between the North and South have shown sporadic signs of thawing, ideological

colour remains a political problem that is strategically deployed every time there is a transition in government, and which contributes to the strained relationship between the two Koreas. Kim's video work functions as a comedy which forces us to confront difficult facts and reflects the culture and ideology of Korean society.

In response to the several decades of Korean military culture, Lee Yongbaek (1966–) created his work *Angel-Soldier* (fig. 10), which combines diverse art forms such as performance art, video art, and installation art. Against a fabric flamboyantly decorated with digitally printed flowers, soldiers, whose uniforms and rifles are “camouflaged” with more flowers, participate in a military drill called “the silent walk.” At first, the viewer finds it difficult to discern any movement, but prolonged attention reveals that the soldiers are slowly and repetitively moving forward and stopping. In the entire 30-minute video, the soldiers only cover about 16 meters of ground. Their forward movements are executed in deadly silence, but when they stop, the soundtrack fills with the sound of birds singing. In this simulated battlefield, the soldiers are in constant danger of being vanquished by the flowers. The title of *Angel-Soldier* takes on added meaning when one realizes that “angel” is also a slang word for a computer hacker who attacks the large corporate networks.

Jeon Joonho (1969–), another artist in his early forties, has demonstrated a similar interest in both the military culture which has become a mainstay of Korean life and the demoralizing situation in North Korea. One of Jeon's preferred media is currency. For his work *Welcome*, Jeon scanned the 50 won North Korean bill, which features a picture of Mt. Baekdo. He then made a digital animation which documents the efforts of several North Korean helicopters to install a giant WELCOME sign on the side of



Figure 10. Lee Yongbaek, *Angel-Soldier*, 2005, HD Video



Figure 11a. Jeon Joonho, *Statue of Brothers*, digital simulation of installation

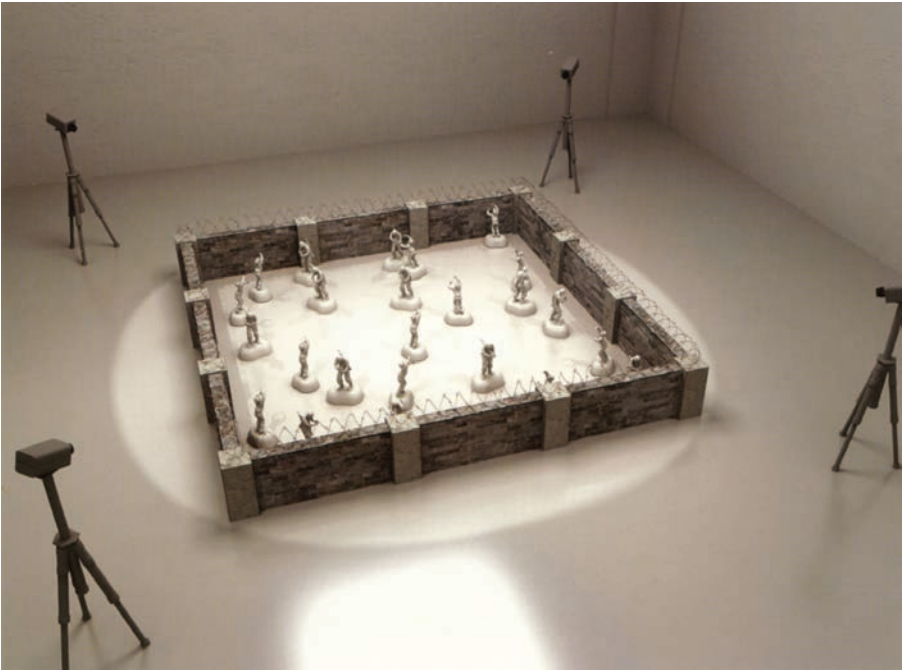


Figure 11b. Jeon Joonho, *Statue of Brothers*

Mt. Baekdoo in order to woo foreign tourists, similar to the famous Hollywood sign on Mt. Lee in Los Angeles. In Jeon's work, the helicopter pilot mistakenly switches the letters "E" and "M," forcing him to make a return trip. In the final scene of the video, two of the helicopters collide with each other, causing an explosive sheet of fire. The video plays on the humour of seeing North Korea emulate the "Hollywood" style of its capitalist arch enemy, the United States, while providing a reminder as to the potential calamity which may result from any mistakes in the tenuous relations between the South and the North.

In his *Statue of Brother* (figs. 11a, 11b), Jeon appropriates the famous sculpture of the embracing brothers from the War Memorial in Yongsan, as described in section III. Jeon separated the older and younger brother, shrunk them down into plastic toy-like figures, and then replicated them numerous times. Next, he motorized the cavalcade of tiny statues so that they spin and move around each other to the tune of a waltz. However, whenever two of the statues get close enough to one another, a sensor is triggered which sends them in opposite directions, such that they can never embrace each other as in the original statue. Jeon's work asserts that the division of



Figure 12. Kim Atta, On Air Project 023-2, *The DMZ Series, The Central Front*, 2004

Korea is actually the result of a power play between larger, stronger nations, in which Korea can only act as a puppet.

Recently there has been a lot of ecological interest in the demilitarized zone (DMZ) which divides Korea, stretching for 155 miles across the 38th parallel. The DMZ has been preserved for sixty years without any human presence. For the series *On Air Project*, photographer Kim Atta (1956–) used his 8x10 camera to capture almost 10,000 long exposure photos of the DMZ, which he then digitally superimposed to create a time-lapse sequence (fig. 12). Because of the camera's stillness and the duration of the exposure, any signs of movement were inscribed as a ghostly wisp. Kim said that whenever he set up his cameras, the North Korean soldiers were on high alert, creating a very tense atmosphere. The primary subject of the finished series is time itself, which has allowed nature to reclaim the area and vanquish all traces of the war after a mere 60 years.

The Korean War was unlike any other war, in that it was not caused by a territorial incursion or a conflict of interest between two countries. Rather, it was a war between proxies of two ideologies — democracy and communism — which was fought between people who had previously shared a history. Korean War art did not consist of systematic propaganda which enacted clear distinctions between allies and enemies. Even though there was an official troop of war artists, its members assert that they witnessed and depicted the war through their own eyes, rather than as members of an “official” institution. Even after the war, instead of showing pure contempt for the enemy and support for the homeland, artists focused more on universal human ideals, such as freedom, dignity, and unity. Another remarkable trait in these individual bodies of work from the post-war period is the fact that they all tend to reflect the influence of abstract art or Modernism. Because of the colonial period and the war, Korean artists felt somewhat antiquated in terms of international trends, and they resolved to catch up during the postwar period. The works of later generations, such as the *Minjung* artists and the 21st-century generation, show that there remain significant differences in perspectives on the Korean War and the country's division. They regard the division of Korea as the collateral result of a power struggle between stronger nations which cannot be solved by two Koreas alone.

Notes

- 1 Kim Hyeonggon, *Hanguk jeonjeng ui gieok gwa sajin* (The memories and photographs of the Korean War), Hanguk haksul jeongbo, Seoul, 2007, 27.
- 2 It was abolished later.
- 3 Kim Yunjeong, *Documentary roseo ui Hanguk jeonjeng sajin* (The photographs of the Korean War as documentary), Master's thesis, Seoul National University, 2009, 22.

- 4 Im Insik, *Uriga bon Hanguk jeonjeng* (The Korean War we have witnessed), Nunbit, Seoul, 2008.
- 5 The memories of artists on the official war painters' troop were slightly different from each other. Read 6.25 *jeonjeng misuljosa yeongu bogoseo* (Report on research into Korean War art), Jeonjengginyeom saeophoe (War Memorial Committee), Seoul, 2008, 9–12; “Jonggun hwagadan ui silsang (The reality of the war painters' troop), *Wolgan Misul*, June, 1990, 65–68; Jung-eon jonggun jakgadul ui itcheojin jeonjeng (Testimony, the forgotten war of the war painters' troop), *Wolgan Misul*, February, 2002, 120–129; “Sok imsi sudo cheonil (A sequel, a thousand days of temporary capital),” *Busan Ilbo*, 3–24 September, 1985.
- 6 *Busan Ilbo*, 10 September, 1985
- 7 Yu Gyeongchae, “1.4 hutae ihu ui pinan saenghwal (Life as a refugee after the 1.4 retreat)” *Gyegan Misul*, Autumn, 1985, 60.
- 8 Lee Jun, “Busan e unjiphan misulin (Artists gathered in Busan),” *Gyegan Misul*, Autumn, 1985, 63.
- 9 Kim Yisoon, *Hyeondae jogak ui saeroun jipyeong* (A new horizon for modern sculpture), Haeam, Seoul, 2008, 224.
- 10 Ibid, 251.
- 11 Ibid, 261.