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ABSTRACT

The dramatic development of Korean sport in post-colonial era leading up to 1988 Seoul Olympic was in large part politically-motivated. Politics and sport were related by the government’s aspirations to boost confidence in the nation, both at home and abroad. Although politics and sport reciprocally influence each other, politics had a powerful influence on sport by establishing policy that defines national sporting goals and by allocating resources to develop human talent. The political intentions imposed on sport were manifested in two critical ways. First, politicians used sport for its symbolic propaganda effect of enhancing Korea’s image nationally and internationally. Second, sport was employed as means to bind people under the cause of national unity. The Republic of Korea was a military government lacking in democratic institutions so propaganda was important to seal the public’s loyalty to the totalitarian regime.

This study examines the sport-politics-government linkage in Korea during three different time periods: 1) from the military coup of General Jung-Hee Park in 1961 to during the administration of President Park Chung Hee (1961 – 1979); 2) the administration of President Chun Doo Hwan and the 1988 Seoul Olympic games (1980 – 1988); and 3) Post-Seoul Olympics: Democracy, Maturation of Modern Sport (1989 –
This study ends in 1993 because the state-society relations in Korea were substantially altered with the emergence of the civilian government in 1993.

I draw on a wide variety of primary and secondary sources used in historical research to construct my narrative and analysis. These include historical works on Korea; historical, political and sociological works on sport in Korea, western country and Japan; Korean newspapers (I looked at three of the Korea daily newspapers Dong-A Il bo, Chosun Il bo, Hanguk Il bo); a wide variety of Korean magazines on sport and popular culture; government documents on sport and physical education; documents of sporting organizations, such as KASA; and, interviews with individuals involved in making sporting policy during the period under investigation.

I argue that emphasis on symbolic propaganda and national unity was done at expense of developing sports programs for the people, i.e. participatory sports. Instead what was created was a mirage of national progress at the expense of the people. It was an elite sport system that few common people could access, but placated their desire for mass entertainment. It was sort of an Orwellian turn of events. The people were satisfied with sport achievements. The politicians were satisfied with a national following. Only the people didn’t realize they were victims of political mass manipulation. Sports only diverted their minds from more truly important matters of national development.
Dedicated to my father and mother
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My appreciation also goes to Dr. Rho Hee Duk at Seoul National University. Since my undergraduate and master’s degree days, he has shown constant affection and encouragement to me. My special appreciation is also extended to all my other professors at Seoul National University who gave me long-distance encouragement during my graduate studies in the United States.
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I cannot thank my father Kim Dae-Hyun and mother Hyun Jung-Yeol enough. My father passed away last year. This dissertation was a labor of love to honor them for all they have given me. I credit them for all that I am. To my great sadness, my father passed away while I was in the midst of writing this dissertation in 2000. I hope this finished written product is at least a small return to my parents’ sacrifice and love for me. I deeply appreciate my brother Kim Dongsik, sisters Kim Heeyoung, Sooeun, Miyoung, Kyungmi and their families for their love and support. They proved to me that man does not live by bread allow, but is sustained by love and encouragement.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In September 1988, the Summer Olympic games were held in Seoul, South Korea. It was certainly the most glorious moment in the history of Korean modern sport. Over 13,000 athletes from 160 countries gathered in Seoul to participate in the Olympic games. The Olympics were well prepared and successfully managed. Also, the South Korean national teams gave an incredible performance in the Games as they earned 12 gold medals and ranked fourth overall in the medal standings. South Koreans were proud of themselves for successfully organizing such a prestigious event and for the nation's athletes achievements in the competitions. And visiting athletes and fans from around the world were impressed by Korea's performance as well. What a contrast to a few short decades before the games! Just two decades earlier, it was impossible to hold an international sporting event in South Korea: Koreans were merely satisfied with sending several players to international sporting competitions at that time. Twenty years later they
effectively hosted the biggest international sport event in the world. How did Korea succeed in marshaling the tremendous resources and manpower in such a short time? Did success at the Olympics come at any social, political or economic costs? The pinnacle achievement of Korean sports must be understood in the context of the historical circumstances of contemporary Korea.¹

This study examines sport policy as a tool for tyranny in South Korea from 1961 to 1992. It focus on the period after 1961 when Korea emerged from the ashes of war destruction to emerge as a respected international sports player that hosted the 1988 Olympic games. How did Korea, a rubble-heap of a nation marshal tremendous human and physical resources to stage the world premier sporting event, the Olympics? My thesis is that Korea’s sport “progress” was a cosmetic face that covered the political rot of its totalitarian leaders.

Although politics and sport influence each other, I argue politics was the driving force on sport by establishing policy that defined national sporting goals and by diverting scarce resources to develop human talent. In the Republic of Korea, the political intentions imposed on sport were manifested in two critical ways. These are the themes I will explore. First, politicians used sport for its symbolic propaganda effect. For example, if a national team has a brilliant record in international competition or if a government successfully sponsors an international event such as the World Cup, the athletic achievement enhances the image of the country nationally and internationally. A prestigious national image reflects on its leaders, whether they deserve it or not. Given

¹ The terms Republic of Korea, South Korea, and (in context) Korea are used interchangeably. When Korean refers to the entire peninsula, it is do stated. North Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of
Korea’s autocratic rule and dismal human rights record during this period, the country’s public image as a sport champion merely covered the rot of the leaders’ self-interest.

Second, sport was employed as means to bind a politically stressed people under the supposed cause of national unity. The Republic of Korea was a military government lacking in democratic institutions so propaganda was important to seal the public’s loyalty to the totalitarian regime. Presidents Park Jung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, and Rho Tae Woo, used sport to this effect by promulgating a series of policies and laws such as the National Sport Promotion Law in 1962. Prestige and propaganda are two aspects of the same process that put a progressive face on the poor political conditions of my country. For those who think sports are mere games, in Korea it was a tool for the tyrannical ambitions of its leaders.

In explicating the sport-politics-government linkage in Korea, this study examines developments and changes during three different time periods: 1) Development of Modern Sport: The Administration of Park Chung Hee (1961 – 1979); 2) Progress, Prestige and Propaganda: Chun Doo Hwan and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games (1980 – 1988); and 3) Post-Seoul Olympics: Democracy, Maturation of Modern Sport (1988-1992). This study ends in 1992 because the state-society relations in Korea were

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Korea are used interchangeably; Dong A Il Bo (Korean newspaper name), October 3, 1988; Korean Olympic Committee, KOC in Fifty Years (1946-1996) (Seoul: KOC, 1996), 464-485.

1 A Republic in Korea is a regime in which the constitution has been significantly changed. Thus, the election of Kim Young Sam as president in 1992 is not considered a new republic, as the earlier constitution from 1987 remains in force. The converse is also true: Park Chung Hee was president under the Third Republic in 1963 (he came to power by coup in 1961) and the Fourth Republic in 1972, when he introduced the Yusin Constitution (“revitalizing reforms”).

2 Korean names as used here are normally presented in Korean order—the last name comes first; for example, Park Chung Hee, Yun Po Sun, Chang Myon, and the like. Syngman Rhee is an exception to this rule. Names have been romanized in accordance with the usage of those concerned. Similar last names do not imply relationship; 22 percent of Koreans are named Kim, 18 percent Lee (or Rhee, Yi, and so on). Discritical marks have been eliminated from all names and places.
substantially altered with the emergence of the civilian government in 1993. After 1993, much changed for the better Korea as no longer did sport reflect the intentions of a military dictatorship, but resounds with the aspirations of a free, democratic people.

In analyzing the relation between the role of the government and sport development in Korea, this research explores six interrelated issues. First, it investigates the basic sports policies of the former governments, as it seeks to examine the respective positions they took with regard to sport and the effects of their decisions on basic sports policies. Second, it contextualizes the changes in sport promotion policies by comparing developments within Korea with those of other countries. In particular, the background and characteristics of the governments’ efforts to advance sport, such as the National Sport Promotion Law, first established in 1962, is analyzed in comparison with the Golden Policy of the former West Germany, and the Pan-National Policy of Japan. The study thirdly looks at the relationship between the reorganization process of sports departments and the process of changes in sports’ budgets. I investigated the processes, through which the sports section, originally a small part of the Department of Culture under the Ministry of Education, in the Korean government has been expanded and, reorganized within the Ministry of Sport and Youth. In addition, each government’s position toward sport is discussed through an examination of the background of sports budget increases and decreases in relation to the national budget. The fourth theme explores the scrambling for funding and the characteristics of budget fund management of the Korea Sports Council (KSC) and its subsidiary organizations. On this issue, I investigated how KSC, a non-governmental sports organization, has been dependent on the Korean government for funding and discuss some problems with budget preparation.
and usage of the subsidiary organizations of KSC. The fifth point looks at the selection processes for major sporting officials involved in the international arena. The political influence upon selection processes for the members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the chair of KSC, and the chairs of the subsidiary organizations is investigated to examine the governments’ positions toward sport. The sixth looks at changes in sports diplomacy. Whether the international sports diplomacy and the sport exchanges between South and North Koreas produced effective outcomes will be discussed. The lingering question is whether sports provides critical linkages that can over come political differences and fulfill Koreans’ longing for a unified, peaceful nation unimpeded by hostility and animosity.

I drew on a wide variety of primary and secondary sources used in historical research to construct my narrative and analysis. These include historical works on Korea; historical, political and sociological works on sport in Korea, Western countries and Japan; Korean newspapers (Korean daily newspapers Donga il bo, Chosun il bo, Hankuk il bo); a wide variety of Korean magazines on sport and popular culture; government documents on sport and physical education; documents of sporting organizations, such as KASA, and, interviews with individuals involved in making sporting policy during the period under investigation.

I interviewed present and former officials engaged in making sporting policy and realized their perspectives needed contest of historical circumstances. So I mastered and synthesized much information from the other kinds of sources available and constructed my own initial grasp of events. Unfortunately Korean sport history is in its nascent stage, so much more context was needed than is readily available. This dissertation hopes to fill
that gap! My interviewees were Chang Gap Jin, former executive director of Korean Basketball Association; Oh Do Kwang, Former sportswriter of Hanku Il Bo; Chung Sung Tai, Professor of Seoul National University and former president of Korea Sport Science Institute; Lee Ju Un, Professor of the Hanguk College of Physical Education; Kim Nam-Song, Principal of Seoul Physical Education High School and, Cho Yong-Chul, the 24th Seoul Olympic Games Bronze medalist-men’s Judo.
CHAPTER 2

KOREAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORTS FROM PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD TO 1961: TRANS FORMING TRADITION TO TYRANNY

2.1 Introduction

The history of sport and physical activity started at the dawn of human existence. As soon as man organized into groups for purposeful social activity, the phenomenon of sport was born. Korean physical education and sports is as old as Korea history itself. From Korea’s beginning its people have participated in various kinds of recreational games and sporting activities, and the sporting forms, the nature of their practice, and accompanying cultural values, are still reflected in modern Korean athletics to this day. Sport provides a window through which the nature of Korean society and cultural value can be observed. As goes the sporting world, so goes Korea. In politics development in national governance was accompanied by changes in the sporting world of Korea. There has always been an affinity between the Korean court of old and sport for militaristic preparatory, predatory purposes. This affinity was guided by Confucian values and Buddhist ideas. This state-sports pattern can be followed through time, although the
current situation is guided by different motive values. However, as clearly there was a
state in old Korea, there was always links to the sporting world.

This chapter examines changes in Korean physical education and sport from the
earliest period of recorded history, the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC – 668 AD), to the
Administration of President Park Chung Hee. This lengthy overview establishes the
background to understand the emergence of modern Korean sport, which can be
characterized as overly commercialized and a tool of the government’s propaganda
machine. Studying traditional Korean sport provides a “template” upon which we can
study more contemporary developments. What has happened to the noble values that
guided Korean sport at its inception? Was Korean sport always a tool of the ruling
powers to bind the people and spread national prestige? Were the common people ever
involved in sport for purely health or recreational purposes? We must study Korean sport
and physical education on its own terms in order to understand the social and political
forces that have shaped its tenor and tone. We can only come to know today’s state of
affairs by understanding their birth in the past.

Under the assumption and the common sense notion that the current status of the
Korean sport is the accumulation of the past, this chapter considers the values and
limitations of the government’s roles. The study will be focused on the specific
development and the status of the current Korean sport. This chapter is the development
of physical education and sports can be divided into four stages: 1) Traditional Sport 2)
Pre modern-Western Sport 3) Under Japanese Occupation Sport 4) Transition to Modern
Sport.
According to archaeological evidence, Koreans are descendants of Mongol tribes who inhabited the Korean peninsula for centuries prior to the Christian era. They possessed a Neolithic culture, and reached the stage of bronze and iron culture shortly before the opening of the Christian era. According to legend, Dang-goon, Son of God, formed the first primitive Korean community in 2333 B.C. but recorded Korean history begins, with the period of the Three Kingdoms from 57 B.C. To 935 A.D. ¹

The Three Kingdoms begins Korea's feudalistic period that was followed by, the Koryo and then the Yi dynasty. The Three Kingdoms were independent principalities known as Koguryu, Shilla, and Paekjae. The Three Kingdoms period occupied a very significant time point as the start of Korea's written history. Buddhism was introduced to the Three Kingdoms, followed shortly thereafter by Confucianistic doctrines of morality and governance. The Shilla Kingdom conquered the other two and for the first time in its history unified the entire Korean peninsula in 668 A.D. Unification marked the beginning of a long process of solidification of the Korean people as a distinct nation, and Koreans attained a high peak of cultural achievement. In 935 A.D., however, the unified Shilla Kingdom perished due to decadence and strife among the ruling class, and a new dynasty, the Koryu, was founded.²

During the Koryo Dynasty, the administrative system was renovated, and educational facilities were greatly expanded. Buddhism emerged as the main religion and played an important role in the culture, ideology and way of life of the people. Active foreign trade and communication stimulated a veritable flood of cultural development within the peninsula. In 1392, the Koryo Dynasty collapsed under government

²
corruption, and the Yi Dynasty, the last Korea dynasty before Japanese occupation, was founded. The Yi Dynasty marked the beginning of the nation-state of Korea, adopting a bureaucratic government system and establishing a strong central state to administer the eight provinces. The Yi Dynasty introduced many reforms into the social system, but its monarchs vigorously suppressed Buddhism. Confucianism became the most significant dogma of the state and the people, providing not only a fountainhead of national morality, but also the basic principles of government and education. During the Yi Dynasty, Koreans reached new peaks in various fields such as education, science, and literature. In the latter part of the Yi, Korean society began to modernize through the introduction of Western civilization. Some Koreans began to subscribe to religious belief in Christian teachings. As the Royal Decree in 1885 stated, the government began to realize the importance of education for the modernization of the nation. Education was conceived as major vehicle for “the enlightenment of the people” and “the foundation protecting and preserving the life of the nation.” Emphasis was put on the practical aspects of education rather than its abstract and theoretical aspects. As a result, with social, economical and political modernization, traditional thinking based on Confucianism about physical activity began to disappear.3

Throughout most of the feudalistic age, Korea had a close political and cultural relationship with China: governmental education systems were closely modeled on the Chinese. The Chinese language was used as Korea’s national language. Though shamanism, the oldest spiritual belief of the people of Korea, was deeply rooted in the

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2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., 46-47; Hong Kee Karl, Korea: Her History and Culture (Seoul: publisher, 1954), 18, 23, 27, 29, 53, 56, 65; Woo-Keun Han, History of Korea. Translated by kyung-shik Lee (Seoul: The Eulyoo Publishing
minds of Koreans, society was strongly influenced by Chinese philosophies of Confucianism and Buddhism. The result was a syncretic blend. Koreans employed shamanism for day-to-day practical effects, and Buddhism for their wide-ranging worldview. Confucianism reinforced both by its emphasis on moral order through religious ritual practices.

The Korean peninsula was at strategic, geographical crossroads in Northeast Asia, a land bridge between powerful nearby countries of China, Mongolia and Japan. As such, Korea was caught between the aggressive machinations of these overpowering neighbors. This is an essential fact of Korean history. Though a strong hierarchical status system existed during the feudalistic period, most Korean people were mainly engaged in agriculture, their everyday activities geared to the agricultural cycle. The development of physical education and sports was consequently related to military training, and also closely connected to religious and farming affairs. It was believed that the spirits of the ancestors would protect against the evil spirits who were the cause of crop failure, sickness and death. These spirits also would give protection to warriors in battle. These beliefs were embodied in formal ceremonies, and play, games and recreational activities were fashioned after events such as war, hunting, agriculture and ritual ceremony. There were many religious celebrations for worshipping ancestors. For example, annual festivals were held by the Buddhists. A great religious festival, Choosuk was celebrated in August, in which the people of the state gathered to hold services for the Heaven God,

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giving thanks for the protection of their farms during the year. Men and women, young and old, shared good food, singing and dancing for several days.\(^5\)

The following are a brief history of Korea: 1) Ko-Choson (founded B.C. 2333) the first Korean Kingdom founded by legendary figure Tan-gun, 2) Three Kingdoms Period (B.C. 57-A.D. 668): Korea’s three ancient Kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche, and Shilla ruled the whole Korean Peninsula and much of Manchuria, 3) United Shilla Kingdom (A.D. 676-935): Shilla unified the Peninsula. Its advancements in the area of Buddhist art are especially noteworthy, 4) Koryo Dynasty (A.D. 918-1392): In this dynasty Buddhist culture was enriched and brisk foreign trade was carried on. The name “Korea” is actually derived from “Koryo”, 5) Choson Dynasty (1392-1910): (Captial—Hanyang, the present Seoul) Confusianism as the state ideology exerted a massive influence over the whole society, and 6) 1910-1945: Japanese colonial rule.\(^6\)

2.2 Three Kingdoms Period (57 B.C. – 668 A.D.) and United Shilla Kingdom (A.D. 676 – 935)

There was Asadal, the first state ever formed in the northern region on the Korean peninsula. But it was not until the establishment of the Three Kingdomes that recorded Korean history came into being. During this era, the country was divided into three parts. There was Koguryo which ruled the northern section while the southern section was divided into the Kingdoms of Shilla and Paekche. Within a century, though, a new Kingdom called Koguryo (37 B.C.-A.D. 668) emerged in the northern half of the


Peninsula. Koguryo was a nation of warriors, and led by aggressive and valiant kings such as King Kwanggaeto (r.391-410), it conquered neighboring tribes one after another, expanding in virtually every direction. It was Koguryo who finally drove the Chinese out of their last commandery, Nangnang (Lo-langin Chinese), in A.D. 313. At its height, its territory thrust deep into Manchuria and stretched well into the southern half of the Korean Peninsula.7

A new kingdom named Paekche (18 B.C.-A.D. 660) developed south of the Han-gang River in the vicinity of present day Seoul. The people Paekche were more peaceful than the ferocious warriors of Koguryo, and they moved south to avoid the threat of their northern rival. By the fourth century, Paekche was firmly established as a prosperous and civilized state, trading extensively with its overseas neighbors. In fact, Paekche served as a important bridge for mainland culture to Japan, passing on Buddhism, Chinese characters, and political and social institutions. A Paekche scholar named Wang In even served as teacher to the Japanese Crown Prince.8

Shilla (57 B.C.-A.D. 668), furthest from China, was at first the weakest and most underdeveloped of the three kingdoms. The last to adopt foreign creeds and ideas, its society was markedly class-oriented and developed remarkable power, drawing resources from its unique Hwarang (Flower of Youth) corps and Buddhist teachings. By the mid-six century, Shilla had consolidated its power and territory, and entered into a military alliance with T’ang China to subjugate both Koguryo and Paekche. The Shilla-T’ang forces were successful, and the Peninsula was unified for the Koguryo Kingdom repulsed

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
T'ang forces in Manchuria and the northern part of the peninsula, and established the Kingdom of Parhae in 698.⁹

Although politically separate, the three kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche and Shilla were related ethnically and linguistically. Each developed a sophisticated political structure and legal system and adopted Confucian ethics and Buddhist faith.

After Shilla unified the Korean peninsula, she made great strides in the fields of arts and science, and extensive contacts with distant countries through maritime commerce, and traders of that ancient kingdom established hundreds of settlements along the eastern coast of the Chinese mainland. For two and a half centuries, Shilla enjoyed peace and prosperity. Freed from the worries of domestic conflicts and external invasions, it achieved rapid development in the arts, religion, commerce, education and all other fields. The Shilla capital, present day Kyongju, had a population of over one million and boasted magnificent royal palaces and Buddhist temples. Buddhism flourished as the state religion, becoming a dominant force both in spiritual and cultural life of the kingdom. Buddhist sculpture, painting and architecture found in many temples built during the period are artistic masterpieces, graceful and exotic. The cultural remains of this period are among the most valued artistic treasures of Korea today. The Shilla Kingdom was racked by power struggles in the latter years and finally overthrown by Wang Gon in 918 A.D.¹⁰

Specifically what were the characteristics of Korean sport through its ancient recorded history? We find a unique nexus of government a cultural values all guided by traditional philosophy of the East Asian region. Let us describe this nexus, starting with

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰
the Three Kingdom period, from 57 BC to 668 AD. The Three Kingdoms, Koguryo, Paekche, and Shilla, conquered the various smaller kingdoms and developed empires. The first formal school systems in Korean history were established during the Three Kingdoms period in 373 A.D. "Taihak," a government college, was established in Koguryo to educate the youth of "nobles." "Kyungdang," private secondary schools opened in rural areas. In the Shilla Kingdom, "Gookhak" was the representative national school. After the Three Kingdoms, local governments and educators established many schools modeled upon those of China. The principal subjects of these schools were Chinese philosophy, ethics, history and literature. In these days, the troops of the Three Kingdoms expanded their territories by defeating their neighbors, so military security was very important. Each kingdoms employed the Musa training system, in which the aristocrats controlled groups of trained subjects who performed required service and conducted intelligence, in order to maintain total power. The Musa training system was not only for the purpose of developing military protection against aggressors, but was also for the self-interest of rulers who wanted to keep their political power. They developed a cohort of political supporters. This training system was organized on a conceptual basis of sports education. The main concepts were: JI (intelligence), DUK (virtue), and CHE (sound body). Hwa-rang, the Musa of Shilla, and Kyungdang, the Musa of Koguryo, are examples of leaders who used this system to maintain their power.11

10 Ibid.
It is noteworthy to mention that the Silla Kingdom had a unique educational institution called “Hwarangdo,” for its noble youth. As a representative educational institution of the Three Kingdoms period, the fundamental aims and objectives of Hwarangdo were to train young men for government service. Its purpose was to create, maintain and provide strong leadership while Shilla was growing into a federation of chieftain-led states based on the worship of a common deity. The spirit of Hwarangdo and its basic rules of life were based on the few following principles: To serve the king with loyalty; to serve one’s parents with filial piety; to be faithful to one’s friends; not to retreat in battle; and not to kill indiscriminately.\(^1\)

Here we have the indigenous roots of a traditional value toward physical activity that continually reappears in Korean social and cultural history. How was Hwarangdo significant to development of Korean sports and physical education? Hwarangdo unified body and spirit for the service of the nation. It connected sport to national well-being and pride. Hwarangdo became the source of national power and contributed mightily to the nation’s development. It played an important role in Shilla reaching the zenith of its power in the seven century and had tremendous significance for Korean education. Young people trained their minds and bodies, improved their military skills, and learned various social codes through the “Hwarangdo”: Physical strength, military arts, morality, patriotism, aesthetic appreciation and chivalry constituted the major part of their training. Traveling throughout the mountainous parts of the country, and singing and dancing formed the most important parts of this curriculum. This type of training bears a close

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\(^1\) Man-Kyu Yi, *History of Korean Education* (Seoul: Ulyu Munhwasa, 1947), 49.
resemblance to ancient Greek education, which also emphasized the harmony of physical training, music and dance.  

Although indigenous in nature, Hwarando was patronized by the elite. As in modern times, political leaders employed sport for their own benefit. Strict training programs not only solidified aristocrats' hold on power, it also facilitated the development of another side of sports, that is, pleasure or entertainment for the elite. Although these training systems focused on the practicing or exercising (known as 'Muyee' in those times), the noble men enjoyed sports which had many important aspects pleasurable. At the end this time period, the army dance, Kun-mu, became popular. Individual activity of sport (play or game) like an ancient wrestling form, Ssirum was a popular sport form that continues to this day.

As mentioned above, the sports activities in the Three Kingdoms were important for the Musa as vehicles of maintaining their authority as rulers and for preparation for wars, against aggression. Musa training cohered a strong legion of followers to support the court. It was a political as well as military movement. Aristocrats legitimized their power as result of the hard Musa-training. An aristocrat who exemplified these principles was 'Hwa-rang' of Shilla. According to his philosophy "body and mind can't be parted." Members of Hwa-rang's Musa trained their bodies and minds in order to develop whole

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13 Han, History of Korea, 61; Andrew C. Nahm, “Reaction and the response to the opening of Korea: 1876-1884,” in Yung-hwan Jo, Korea’s response to the West (Kalamazoo, Mich., Korea Research and Publications; [distributed by Detroit: Cellar Book Shop, 1971), 19.

14 Ssirum was popular at village festivals in the Three Kingdoms, where the winner’s prize was usually a large bull. In modern times its popularity continues due primarily to the efforts of the Korean Ssirum Association, which has sponsored magnificent matches. In South Korea the most popular traditional sport may be Ssirum. Believed to be over 2,000 years old, Ssirum is Korean-style wrestling. Regarded as a male sport, men participated in Ssirum at village festivals during Chusok (Korean Thanksgiving Day), the tano festival in spring, and other national holidays (KASA (1986). “Ssirum Enjoying Popularity after National Upsurge.” Sports Korea, April, 28. Brief description of Ssirum and its history.
personalities (We call that state a Jun-in-juk human being). This philosophy is understood today in modern Korean sports, but rarely practiced due to commercialism. In addition, the pleasurable or entertainment aspects of sports had great effects on sports activities in the next historical period, Koryo. Thus the indigenous groundwork was laid for the cultural conceptions of sport that persist to the modern era. The philosophical value of sport was the framework of Hwangdo. Yet popular access to it was limited to the elite, and they manipulated it for their benefit—a pattern to be repeated through time.

2.3 Physical Education of Koryo Dynasty (918 – 1392)

Hwa-rang's philosophy, Jun-in-juk, did not carry through to Koryo, a unified Kingdom. Instead aristocratic Munche-ism was the focus; that is, outdoor physical activities were ignored and intellectual development was considered the fit pursuit for the upper classes. There were two philosophical traditions embraced by the upper classes, one was Mun-ban, a philosophy that focused on mental cultivation, like reading and writing, and the other was Mu-ban, which focused on physical skills, including military training. Even though Mu-ban was suppose to lead national defense in this period, Mun-ban factions were so powerful, they handled military affairs instead of Mu-ban. Because of this, the Mun-ban closely controlled political systems. Their influence even affected the training of soldiers. The Mun-ban treasured Confucianism, which emphasized soldiers' mental cultivation over physical prowess. This shift profoundly affected sports

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philosophy as sports in Koryo developed according to the mentalistic philosophical program of Mun-ban.\textsuperscript{16}

The Mun-ban faction appreciated the pleasure of physical activities while cultivating the intellect, so they developed more sports, but sport during the Korean Middle Ages reflected the turbulent political milieu of the time. There were many wars between Koryo and northern countries, so defense of the country was essential. As a result, Musa-training (Musa military training so-named for soldiers) remained an essential form of sports. Because of the political dominance of the mentally-focused Mun-ban, the meaning of Musa-sports was changed from the ancient concept to one which solely trained soldiers for protecting the country. Individual skills of Musa, like Su-bak (Striking: martial arts), where transformed into popular entertainment for the Mun-ban aristocrats and their sons to play. Therefore, techniques for training Musa soldiers, like archery, were refined as a result of their popularity as aristocratic games. This transformation purified Musa-training as sport for its own sake rather than for utilitarian purposes, even though popular masses had no regular access to it. Sport was confined to the elite.\textsuperscript{17}

The main characteristics of sports in Koryo were: 1) emphasis of pleasurable and entertainment aspects of physical activities, 2) exercise for healthy well-being goodness, and 3) classification of sports according to status. It was a time of great sports development. Simply because of aristocratic patronage what sports did the commoners play? The historical record is silent but hopefully not closed. Although Musa-training


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 244-269.
was the main focus of sports in this period, for the first time, people watched and enjoyed sports, and women were able to join in sports activities. In view of hygiene, ideas developed that medicine could be a method of treatment instead of religion.\textsuperscript{18}

2.4 Physical Education in the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910)

Confucianism was a powerful instrument in the reorganization of the state of Choson, and conceptually influenced the official view of physical activity. It is at this early time, sport is related to public policy. The Bible of Confucian doctrine was the Kyungsuh. It contained strictures of conduct for public officials. It behooved all Choson aristocrats to commit the Kyungshu to memory and behave according to its teaching and participation a good aristocrat was called Sadebu. This had important implication for sport practices as Confucianism considered physical activity as vulgar. Confucianism stressed cultivation of the mind regardless of one's bodily condition. For this reason all physical activities were considered uncouth and were suppressed by the government. Only when physical activities could be implemented as a way of mental discipline at a critical time, such as war, were they considered as part of official planning.\textsuperscript{19}

The main contributions of Choson to cultural development were the mental aspects of health and increased knowledge of hygiene. Confucianists in Choson never underestimated the importance of outdoor sports in keeping good health in their daily lives. They also knew how to keep good health indoors, for example, through gymnastics, which was very scientific. Another example of indoor sport was a kind of yoga called

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 244-269; Hyung-Sung Nar, "A study on Korean History of Physical Education --Before Gabo-KyungJang," (Ph.D. diss.: Kyung Hee University, 1973).
\textsuperscript{19} Nar, History of Physical Education, 270.
Hwang In Shim Bang by 'Lee Hwang' The games of Sadebu (noble man) diffused to children and the lower classes as they watched the nobleman play games. Team competitions like SukJun and Juldarigi (tug-of-war games) were held among villages at the later part of the Choson period and they became traditional events among the people in rural life.\(^{20}\)

Even though the Yi dynasty disregarded physical education and sport, these activities were enthusiastically promoted for military training. Physical education and sports were designed for training the body in order to acquire military skills. Sporting activities for military training included archery, horsemanship, shooting cross bow, lance training, use of a fowling piece, use of a lash, and reading and explaining the seven military treatises.\(^{21}\)

Some folk game festivals during the feudalistic period were related to the memorialization of war and heroic warriors. For example, festivals in honor of a warrior who achieved victory over intruders included dancing, a parade of masked characters, horse racing, traditional wrestling, and swing. Also, the “Kanggang suw’lla” dance, which is still the most popular dance in Korea, originated in memorializing Admiral Yi, Sun-Sin’s victory over the Japanese in the Yi dynasty. This play is full of martial spirit. According to tradition, the admiral used this dance to deceive the approaching enemy. When there were not enough men to rout the Japanese, women dressed in soldiers’ uniforms and took their positions on the hilltops beside the men. In the darkness the enemy mistook the circling movement of the dance for massive troop movements and were discouraged from attacking. Another military dance, the “victory Dance of

\(^{20}\) Ibid., 270-309.  
\(^{21}\)
Ch’ungmu,” also called “Drum Dance, “ is a group dance performed in formation, with
advance and retreat movements done to martial music. With a drum in the center of the
dance area, four dancers stand at the compass points, and advance to hit the drum, singing
and circling around the drum throughout the dance. During the late Yi Dynasty the
“Drum Dance” was performed in various ceremonies held at army garrisons and in rites
commemorating the birth and death of Admiral Yi Sun-Sin.22

Religious and ceremonial functions of physical and sporting activities during the
feudalistic period were also significant. The Chinese have referred to Koreans as “the
people who loved singing and dancing.” Many religious events and festivals were
generally celebrated by athletic contests, dance, and music. Indeed, these celebrations
were closely associated with native religious practices intended to bring harmony
between man and the spirits of nature such as the mountains and rivers, and other nature
phenomena that had direct impact on occupation such as agriculture and fishing. During
the “Lantern Festival,” for example, in celebration of Buddha’s birthday, hundreds of
lanterns were hung from long strings strung across temple yards. A monk’s dance was
performed on one side of the pagoda while people walked around it singing and
dancing.23

Many of the seasonal festivals and ritual ceremonies related to field work
included recreational games and athletic contests as well. “Paekchong Nori, “ originally
a Buddhist ritual of confession on the 15th day of the seventh lunar month, became the
farmers’ festival during the slack period before harvest. Dances like the Flower Clown

21 Ibid.
22 Korean National Commission for Unesco, Traditional Performing Arts of Korea. 13, 95,
Dance, Fan Dance, Harvest Dance, Monk’s Dance, Angel Dance, and Salp’uri Dance (a dance to exorcise evil spirits), were closely associated with shaman rituals, and demanded a high degree of physical endurance and spiritual expression. There were also many popular traditional games and recreational activities, some still enjoyed by Koreans today, held to foster village unity. “War of Wagons” is the New Year’s season contest between two teams consisting of hundreds of people from the eastern and western parts of rural districts. The objective of the game was to keep the point of giant, wooden A-frame high in the air; the team lost if it allowed the frame to touch the ground. “Loop fighting” is a variation of traditional tug-of-war. But while tug-of-war is a pulling match, the loop fight is a pushing contest to see which side can succeed in forcing the other’s rope head to the ground. The contest takes place on the night of Jan. 15. This ceremony combined all the participants and their supporters, and music and dancing continue far into the night. “Dancing Around the Pagoda” came to Korea with Buddhism. This dance is performed annually in connection with ceremonies for the dead and on April 8 commemorating the birth of Buddha. “Ssirum,” a form of Korean wrestling, is considered one of the most popular recreational folk games, held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, during the May festival, it is performed mainly by men and boys throughout the country. Today, the Ssirum contest is a professionalized sport, as popular as such modern sports as baseball or basketball.24

There were many recreational games for young girls and women as well. “swing” and “see-saw” were held during the May festival and the New Year’s Day Festival.

Young women enjoyed swinging on ropes suspended from tall trees. In contrast to the men’s sport of traditional wrestling, which is firmly earthbound, the women’s swinging is high into the air.\(^{25}\) These games are still enjoyed by girls and women in rural areas.

“Su-Bak (striking),” a kind of martial art, was practiced as a means of military training since the Three Kingdoms era. Tae Kwon Do developed from this martial art, and is Korea’s national sport today. It is a whole-body sport which uses the arms and legs for self-defense. It is not only a martial art but it is also a means of cultivating one’s own character through the training of both body and mind. It is primarily a mental discipline. “archery” and “swordsmanship” were also promoted for military training. “Kyuk-koo” (Korean field hockey) and “tug-of-war” were played by the people of agricultural villages for group competitions. “Kite-flying” is still enjoyed in regional and national folk celebrations and in some agricultural villages. These are mainly played during the Harvest Moon Festival seasons and the May Festival.\(^{26}\)

From the Kaboh-Kyungjang (1894) imposition Japanese colonial rule(1910)

Many forces, both domestic and foreign, influenced the modernization of Korean physical education and sports. At the end of the Yi Dynasty, the Korean tribute envoys that periodically went to China brought back new knowledge and books. They also brought new products of Western civilization like telescopes, clocks, maps, astronomical instruments and Western style paintings to Korea.\(^{27}\) Meanwhile, the increasing number

\(^{24}\) Nahm, “Reaction and the Response to the Opening of Korea,” 22, 82, 84-86; J.C. Binfield and J. Stevenson, Sport, Culture and Politics (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 152-159.

\(^{25}\) Nahm, “Reaction and the Response to the Opening of Korea,” 87.


\(^{27}\) Karl, Korea: Her History and Culture, 72.
of converts to Catholicism since the eighteenth century, resulted in the importation of various documents on Western philosophy, theology and science. Christianity provided Koreans with a new concept of freedom and equality for all mankind. These new ideas and products of Western civilization had a significant effect on the lives and the way of thinking of Korean people. The impact of Western culture entering through China, gave further importance to pragmatic studies which called for socio-economic and educational reforms and readjustments. As a result, along with the influx of new books on scientific subjects and new knowledge from the West, some progressive scholars began to study ideas revolutionary to Korean traditional culture.

Some young scholars, disgusted with the decaying Confucian aristocracy, turned their attention to studies of a more practical nature, which would have more bearing on the welfare of the people. They advocated anti-Chinese political, economic, and social reform, criticizing all studies that ended in mere contemplation or abstract morality, and ignored physical activity or practical learning. They believed that the past educational values of schools were too bookish, and physically and mentally debilitating. Consequently, a series of reforms were promoted by the government, which resulted in social, economic, political, and educational modernization.²⁸

The Gabo reforms in 1894, were regarded as a historical watershed distinguishing the modern and pre-modern periods in the history of Korea. The Yi Dynasty, the last of Korean feudalistic societies, was modernized through the influence of the Gabo reforms. These reforms emphasized the practical aspects of education over the theoretical, and built new economic, political and educational systems modeled upon those of the West.

²⁸ Andrew, “Reaction and the response to the opening of Korea, 1876-1884,” 147.
Western sports were introduced to Korea by missionaries resulting in the establishment of many sports associations. Through the Gabo reforms, Korean society emerged from the old-fashioned feudal structure, accepting a Western model of "new" ideas and thought.²⁹

School Physical Education

The Gabo reforms transformed Korean education from a traditional Confucian one based on the Chinese classics to new curricula based on Western educational philosophy. A number of Koreans attempted to establish private schools. The government also initiated an educational reform movement in 1894 which established the elementary and secondary educational system, teacher training school and foreign language schools. In the Educational Decree of 1895, King Gojong emphasized the necessity of the new education, and stressed the importance of physical education. As a result, all levels of schools provided physical education classes for students. Along with the study of virtue and wisdom, physical education was acknowledged as a significant factor for cultivating the whole person. These physical education programs, however, were not fully carried out during the beginning of this period due to the lack of educational facilities and teachers. Although Korean eyes feasted on Western culture, the theoretical and institutional basis of reform were not established to sustain it.³⁰

In the elementary school, reading, composition calligraphy, Korean geography and history, recreation and ordinary gymnastics were the main subjects. In the secondary

³⁰ Young-Gap Kim & Young-Moo Lim, The History of Korean Physical Education and Sports (Seoul: Kyo Hak Yeon Ku Sa, 1985), 178.
school, reading, writing, calligraphy, Korean geography and history, foreign geography and history, science, and ordinary and military gymnastics were taught. Some Western sports were introduced in schools by the teachers in the foreign language school. The first track and field events in Korean history were held by the English language school in 1896. The athletic events included 300, 600, 1350M running, ball throwing, high jumping, broad jumping, and some traditional recreational activities. During this period, physical education in schools developed around gymnastics and recreation.

Meanwhile, new and modern schools and social institutions were built by various missionary groups, and different educational curricula from the West were adopted at all educational levels. Combined with the foundation of other modern schools and educational reforms, physical education and sports were recognized as official subjects in modern schools. The missionaries introduced such modern sports as gymnastics and track and field, which became official subjects in the curriculum of most schools' physical education programs and sport competitions. Many athletic competitions were held among the schools.

The Development of Sport

In the pre-modern period, the sports curriculum consisted primarily of martial arts and traditional folk games such as Tae Kwon Do, archery, horsemanship and Ssirum (Korean wrestling). The martial arts were pursued for spiritual and physical training and military readiness, not for relaxation or enjoyment. Since the end of the nineteenth century, however, non-Korean sports missionaries introduced sports that replaced the
traditional games (Table 2.1). In particular, various team sports such as soccer were brought to Korea by Europeans and Americans, and Western sports were incorporated into the programs of the modern schools and other institutions such as the YMCA.32

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Football, baseball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Sword (kendo)</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Cycling, Judo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Track and Field</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
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<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Skating, Softball Tennis</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Equestrian, Archery</td>
</tr>
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Table 2.1. Introduction of Western Sports into Korea33

Other sporting organizations also emerged during the beginning of the twentieth century. The first sport institutions in Korea, the Korean Physical Education and Sports Club, was organized in 1906, sponsoring various sporting events. The Association of Christian Youth, or “Hwangsung”, was organized in 1906, and played an important role in popularizing such modern sports as baseball, basketball and volleyball. In addition, the Association of Korean People’s Sports (1907), the Haoedong Sport Club (1908), the Daedong Sport Club (1908), the Kwanghak Sport Club (1908), the Archery Club (1909), the Association for the Study of Gymnastics (1909) were established. The Association of Heavy and Military gymnastics (1908) was considered the first Korean soldiers’ sport organization, and the Kyungsung Sport Club, was organized and established by

33 Ibid., 36-61.
Underwood and Davison in 1914. It also contributed to the introduction of recreation and modern sports into Korea.

As a result of the conclusion of treaties with the West, the influx of Western culture entered Korea in the late nineteenth century by missionaries. The Western influence was often welcomed as an alternative to the domineering Japanese instruction. In 1895, King Kojong proclaimed the formation of a new educational system as a result of this Western influence and physical education became part of the curriculum.

Sports in late Choson

Physical education became a subject in schools under the new education system. During the KabohKyungjang, missionaries and foreign businessmen introduced Western sports to people in Choson. Western games were held for the first time, and these evolved to the united-term competition, and team competition of common social groups. Many sports-groups organized, and so the foundation of Western sports appeared at last. But after the Japanese invaded Choson, the conquerors abolished sports groups by decree, so many modern sports could not develop well.

Around 1894, when the Lee Dynasty opened its doors and began to accept foreign influences, modern sports came into Korea along with the missionary educators, merchants, and soldiers. In 1895, King Kojong adopted an educational decree emphasizing three traits: virtue, intelligence and health. As a result of this decree, the issue of physical education went from a state of disregard to being considered important.

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34 Kim & Lim, The History of Korean Physical Education and Sports, 211; Lee, A History of Sports and Physical Education in Modern Korea, 77.
35 Ki-Baek Lee, A New History of Korea, 331.
Schools began to regularly teach gymnastics. Western sports spread from Seoul to other cities. Under the directorship of the British missionary Hutchison, the first sports day took place in 1896. Excluding school-based physical education, the Western sport to be imported was soccer (football). Soccer was introduced by members of the British Navy and Merchant Marines. Cho explains that in 1897 a group of British sailors played football during their shore leave at Inchon. Several years later, some interpreters working for the Royal Court organized the first football team in Korea. There were no established rules and, curiously, skill was determined by how high a player could kick the ball.

Enthusiasm for Western sports grew quickly. The first official competition in track and field was held in 1896 under the guidance of Hutchison, a teacher of English. The first baseball game, introduced into Korea by an American missionary, G. L. Gillette, was held in 1906. Tennis became a very popular game among Korean young people, leading to the organization of the first softball tennis club, named “Haoe dong,” in 1908, and the first softball tennis event in 1909. The YMCA also contributed greatly to this movement.

Cho comments that Western sport was introduced through three primary channels: the schools, the military, and American missionary groups. Schools promoted physical education and track and field. The military imported swimming, equestrian competitions, and cycling. The strongest influence came, however, from the American missionary group’s lead in organizing the Hwangsung (Royal Capital) Young Men’s Christian

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38 Lee, A History of Sports and Physical Education in Modern Korea, 104; Kim & Lim, The History of Korean Physical Education and Sports, 204.
Association (YMCA) in 1903. Basketball and volleyball were introduced to Korea through the Hwangsung YMCA.

An American missionary, G. L. Gillett, was sent to Korea in 1901 by the International Committee of the YMCA. Gillett, a Yale graduate with a fondness for baseball, informally taught baseball and basketball. The first baseball game took place between the YMCA and Hansung, a government-run school. The players wore informal uniforms and shoes made of straw fastened to their feet. By 1906, the physical committee of the YMCA was formed and ball sports became familiar. The best athletes came to the YMCA because that is where the best instructors were. In 1916, an indoor gymnasium was built, and basketball and volleyball were promoted, especially as winter sports.

Dong-pyo Oh, sports former editor for Hankook Ilbo—a Korean newspaper—and a Korean sport historian, argues that probably only one percent of Korea’s population could afford to be engaged in Western sports in those years. The YMCA sponsored clubs in schools, but primarily in the elite schools. Only Korea’s highest intellectuals were involved; sports were not very popular with the general public because of lack of exposure and access. The role of sport, however, was being transformed into an institution of Korean national identity for the people in their struggle against Japanese control.

The YMCA, came to Korea at a critical time to introduce new philosophic ideas and sport to counter Japanese hegemony in the region. The Korean peninsula was historically a land bridge of aggression between Japan and Russia. Japanese control won

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39 Eric A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: a comparative handbook (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989), 87. For Oh’s comments, see.
40 Ibid., 87.
out as result of Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War. An agreement in 1905 negotiated by President Theodore Roosevelt conceded Korea to Japanese control. Although Japan reigned supreme, various indigenous political organizations comprised a new Korean intellectual class that was much influenced by Western bourgeois thought and groups like the YMCA.41

The YMCA was thus a significant influence upon the independence movement from its inception through the 1930s. In 1907, three buildings, financed from U.S. sources such as John Wanamaker and John D. Rockefeller, were completed for the YMCA. These buildings became important meeting places for political organization as well as for sports. Moreover, the effects of the world student movement within the YMCA international organization were felt in Korea. Even as late at the 1980s, progressive reforms continue to be an important part of the YMCA youth group’s agenda. Indeed, the Christian student movement is intensely involved in promoting positive social change in modern Korean society.42

2.5 Japanese Occupation (1910 – 1945)

The flag of Imperial Japan floated high over Olympic Stadium in Berlin. The man receiving the gold medal was Korean. His name was Shon Kee-Chung. It was a proud day, because a Korean had defied Imperial power of Japan. Yet it was a sad day because Japan still ruled ruthlessly over the Korean peninsula. The colonial period was a time of extreme contradiction, but sport expressed the hope of freedom and national unity for Korea. It also provided a form of resistance to the imperialists. Like the Olympic flame,

41 Lee, A new History of Korea, 302.
sport kept the fire burning in the heart, soul and minds of Koreans. How did this bleak period of foreign rule overcome Korea? We start in the early part of the 20th century.43

In the latter part of the Yi Dynasty, the government split into several domestic factions. Severe disputes erupted among these factions, and corruption spread among government officials. China, Russia and Japan began to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Yi Dynasty for the benefit of their own countries. Finally, with Japan’s defeat of the Chinese and Russian forces, Japan secured a stronghold over Korea.

On August 22, 1910, the Japanese resident-general stationed soldiers in the streets of Seoul at intervals of every thirty yards to terrorize the Koreans into accepting yet another humiliating treaty. Brandishing guns and bayonets, the Japanese forced a treaty of annexation. Lee Wan-Yong, then Prime Minister, and Japanese Resident-Governor Terauchi signed the agreement which sealed the fate of Korea. Conclusion of the treaty was officially announced on August 29, 1910.

Korea lost her sovereignty to Japan, Koreans were deprived of their political rights, and the Colonial Period began. The annexation immediately deprived Koreans not only of their political freedom but of the means of their livelihood. The Japanese changed Korea’s currency, and transportation and communications systems were brought under her control. The Japanese semi-governmental Oriental Development Company took over a huge part of Korean farmlands in the course of a so-called land survey program. Farmlands were systematically expropriated until up to 80 per cent of the nation’s total rice fields fell under the Japanese ownership. Faced with the threat of total destitution,

42 Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa, 87.
several million Korean people emigrated to Siberia and Manchuria in search of livelihood.\textsuperscript{44}

In the face of increasing Japanese suppression, the spirit of resistance of Koreans found expression in innumerable resistance activities that sprang up throughout the country. The flame of freedom sputtered, but it still glowed in Koreans' souls. In foreign countries too, exiled patriots banded together and initiated active anti-Japanese campaigns. The most tragic and dramatic event representative of Korean resistance to Japanese imperialism was the nationwide uprising known as the March First Independence Movement. The spontaneous and passive resistance movement which broke out on March 1, 1919, called on Japan to voluntarily withdraw from her imperialistic course. The movement was directly inspired by the principle of the "self-determination of weak nations" enunciated by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson at the Paris peace conference. When the news of Wilson's enunciation reached the ears of Korean students studying in Tokyo, they published a statement demanding Korea's independence from Japan in February 1919. This provided the spark for the movement in Korea. Secret plans were drafted and detailed instructions sent out to all the towns and villages via the swift underground grapevine to seize upon this inspired moment. The movement was timed to stage on March 1, two days before the date set for the funeral of Emperor Kojong, in a deliberate attempt to dramatize the tragic fate of the nation.\textsuperscript{45}

At the core of the movement was a group of 33 patriots. On March 1, the 33 men gathered before a crowd at the Pagoda Park in downtown Seoul to read Korea's "Declaration of Independence." The crowd burst into the streets from the park to stage a

\textsuperscript{44} Yonhap News Agency, \textit{Korea Annual} (Seoul: Yonhap News Agency, 1982), 262.

\textsuperscript{45}
demonstration for national independence. The ancient system of message-relays by beacon fires from the peaks of Korea's innumerable hills and mountains carried the event across the country. Even remote villages joined in the spontaneous movement. The exiled patriots in Manchuria, Siberia, Shanghai and the United States also acted in concert, appealing to the governments of their host countries to help Korea in her efforts to recover her sovereignty. But the movement was ruthlessly put down by Japanese police. They arrested the leaders of the movement, tortured and killed many of them. They mercilessly gunned down the crowd who marched in peaceful procession. Thus more than 6,000 demonstrators were brutally killed and about 15,000 cruelly wounded. Some 50,000 others were arrested by the Japanese police.\(^{46}\)

Japan embarked upon a war in Manchuria in 1931. At the same time, Japan tightened its grip on Korea. To strengthen her war efforts, she moved to grab all available resources and potentials of Korea in support her imperial goals and openly employed totalitarian measures to exploit Korea. When Governor-General Minami took over in Seoul, he replaced the "movement of self-rehabilitation" advocated by peacetime Governor-General Ugaki with the "policy of assimilation." Under the policy, Japan undertook various measures to assimilate the Korean people to the Japanese. The Japanese banned Korean language newspapers and magazines and the use of the Korean language was barred at home and schools. Korean names were Japanized. They put behind bar staff members of the Korean Linguistic Society in an effort to discourage Koreans from studying the Korean language. The Japanese stepped up their totalitarian measures more recklessly when they invaded north China. By this time, the powerful

\(^{45}\) Ibid. 262-263.
Japanese financial concerns were consolidating their monopolistic control of Korean industries. Such powerful concerns as the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, enterprises were in every phase of Korean industry.\textsuperscript{47}

As Japan clamped down on Korea, Koreans carried on their independence fights against the Japanese rule overseas. On April 17, 1919, a Korean provisional government was established in Shanghai, with Dr. Rhee Syngman as its head. The government-in-exile was joined by Korean patriots who fled abroad to escape Japanese harassment. In Manchuria and on the Chinese mainland, exiled leader such as the rightwing nationalist Kim Gu as well as the leftwing Kim Won-bong organized Korean youths, students and deserters of the Japanese armies into para-military units to fight the Japanese army. As Japan's defeat appeared inevitable toward the end of World War II, her imperialistic policy took a frenzied turn. Hundreds of thousands of Koreans were taken to Japan and elsewhere for forced labor in coal mines and other coolie jobs in a last-ditch effort to bolster war production. The people were forced to live destitute life after surrendering almost everything they had for the hopeless Japanese war efforts, until they were finally liberated by the victorious Western Allies.\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{Education in the Colonial Era}

As cruel as their occupation Japan did, influence Korea's educational modernization albeit at administrative, and not curricular levels. A few new and modern schools were opened at all educational levels, and the opportunity for education was

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 263-264.
expanded to provide trained personnel for colonial agencies. For example, the Japanese authorities extended primary education to “common schools” throughout the country. Secondary schools were primarily for the children of Japanese expatriates, but admitted some Korean students if it suited the needs of the colonial bureaucracy.49

The main effort of Japanese educational policy was directed toward the “Japanization” of Korean people, to further Japan’s imperialistic aims, and to turn Korean children into loyal subjects of Japan. The Imperial Ordinance No. 229, proclaimed on August 23, 1911, clearly stipulated that “the essential principle of education in Choson (Korea) shall be the making of loyal and good subjects.”50 Under the slogan “Japan-Korean Unity,” the Japanese systematically used the educational system as an instrument for their own imperialistic purposes. All school instruction was centered around ideas of “the divinity of the Emperor, the superiority of the Japanese people, and the sacredness of Japanese soil.”51

Physical Education in School

Indeed Japan now firmly controlled Korea and its educational system. Certainly an altruistic policy in such a situation could not be expected when we consider the effects or physical education. At the beginning of the occupation, the Japanese allowed Koreans to participate in a limited amount of physical education and sporting activities. They also accepted some Korean sports organizations to appease Korean sentiment against the

48 In its effort to eliminate Korean culture, Japan conscripted Koreans in its army, under the misguided notion they would become loyal imperial subjects; Yonhap News Agency, Korea Annual, 264.
49 Macdonald, The Koreans, 85.
annexation. The Japanese government used physical education and sports as means to control the Korean people by attempting to obliterate the democratic and nationalistic aspirations expressed in Korean physical education and sports. The curriculum of the school's physical education program was strictly regulated, prohibiting traditional Korean recreational games in schools. Instead, Japan implemented an ethnocentric policy. Japanese recreational games were instituted in their place, along with Swedish gymnastics, which were practiced instead of the military gymnastics of the vanquished Yi Dynastic policy. The competitive western sports introduced by the missionaries, and other recreational activities, were played. Heavy gymnastics were adopted as an official subject in curriculum of the high schools.\textsuperscript{52}

The Development of Sports

Sport performed two different functions during the period. First colonial rulers encouraged sports among Koreans to provide diversion, amusement from indigenous political organizing activities. Japan wanted Koreans to remain ignorant of and indifferent to politics. The goal was to keep Koreans busy, not politically active. Ironically, Korean leaders envisioned sport as a way to unite Koreans and as a tool for the national independence movement. Secondly the ultimate objective of the Japanese physical education system was to teach 'order and submission', discounting the idea of education for the whole person. Programs to develop the physical were clearly deficient. There was no physical education office in the department of educational affairs in the

\textsuperscript{51} Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 33
\textsuperscript{52} Hak-Lae Lee, \textit{A History of sports and Physical Education in Modern Korea} (Seoul: Ji Sik San up Press 1990), 92
Japanese governor-general’s administration. Nor were there any institutional measures to normalize school physical education: 1) there was no institution for training leaders of physical education, 2) no building plans were offered concerning sport and physical education facilities, and 3) no plans were made concerning the opportunities of sport such as participation in Olympic movement.53

Japan did not introduce any new Western sports to the public, and traditional folk plays were suppressed. As a result, the public was denied opportunities of sport for promoting health and fitness. The public’s sport involvement was restricted to spectator sports. When Japanese rulers eventually introduced Western sports and promoted physical education in Korea in the later part of 1920’s, it was to alleviate the anti-Japanese feelings on the part of Koreans and to prevent the spread of socialistic ideology.54

As in the period of Korean modernization at the end of 19th century, many Western sports were introduced into Korea during the colonial period. Volleyball was introduced by Barnhart, an American missionary, in 1916, and the first volleyball event was held at a YMCA gymnasium in March, 1917. Table tennis was imported from England around 1918.55 Rowing, boxing and skiing were also introduced in Korea during this period. Meanwhile, under the Japanese oppression, some Korean educators and political leaders tried to inspire patriotism in Korean people through sports. Many sports organizations were secretly established to resist Japanese occupation. The Korean Sport Federation, for example, was organized in 1910, and the Korean Sport Association in

53 Yong-Keun Kim, “A History of sport and physical education in Korea during the Japanese rule: focusing on the period of ‘culture polity,” (Ph.D. diss.: Han-Yang University, 1989), 197.
54 Ibid,
1920. The Korean Sport Association lasted until 1938, when Japan forced it to disorganize, but it had already played a pivotal role in the development of Korean sports. Table 2.2 illustrates this development:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport Event</th>
<th>Date of Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Baseball Tournament</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Soccer Tournament</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Softball Tennis Tournament</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Track and Field Competition</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Korean Wrestling Tournament</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Swimming Competition</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Basketball Championship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Amateur Boxing Tournament</td>
<td>1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Marathon Tournament</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. The Sport Events by the Korean Sport Association

In addition, the Association of Korean Baseball Umpires (1923), the Association of Korean Softball Tennis (1925), the Association of Korean Basketball (1925), the Association of Korean Wrestling (1927), the Association of Korean Track and Field (1928), the Association of Korean Swimming (1931), the Association of Korean Soccer (1933) and the National Federation of Korean Amateur Boxing (1934) were founded. Despite Japanese oppression, the YMCA contributed continuously to the introduction and promotion of Western sports, greatly influencing the Korean’s attitude toward sports. The fact that the “YMCA” was a voluntary organization—although of foreign origin—greatly benefited its acceptance by Korea people.

More than 70 members founded the Choson (Korea) Sports Council on June 13, 1920. The sports council was not exactly a sports league. Rather, it was a national education organization dedicated to developing the physical and “spiritual” powers of the

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entire nation. Nationalists and national opinion leaders made up a considerable number of proponents, with few representatives from the sports world. The Chosun Sports Council selected as its leader, Chang Tu-hyon, the president of the Dongyang Trading Company, and it went into full operation with the launching of the Pan-Chosun baseball championships in November of that year. This competition was the beginning of what is known as the National Games, comprising many sporting events. An editorial by Chang Duk-su on July 16, 1920, about the purpose of the Chosun Sports Council tells of the nature of the organization as a nationalist movement group:57

> As for the Chosun Sports Council – National development comes from healthy people. 
> Think of our ancestors pioneering towering forests with only a stone hammers at the beginning of the human race. How energetic they were! Nature only provides resources. People achieve culture through their own power. Likewise, the strengthening of the Korean nation and social development will only be achieved by the Korean people. But we must work even harder considering the unfortunate state of our nation. We must wake up to this fact Many nations that will be competing in the athletic world with our nation are ahead by hundreds and thousands of steps. In order to catch up with them, we must try a hundred or thousand times harder. 
> I declare that the advance of a nation comes from the healthy body. And history proves this. The body and soul of the Romans bringing the entire world under its rule were like evergreen pine trees that weathered snow storms and cold wind. On the other hand, the Romans on the decline to its end had a willow-like body and spirit that could not resist even mild winds. 
> How can we assume that this holds true only for the Romans? 
> Even when comparing modern Germany and France, if the culture of the former emerging national power rises like the sun, what is the reason that the latter feels the loneliness of a fallen autumn leaf? 
> The reason is obviously national physical strength. For the most part, if the level of physical strength is high, the vitality of society expands. On the other hand, if physical strength is lacking, the vitality of society stops expanding and eventually results in self-destruction. 
> Today the reason why our nation is in a shriveled and weakened state is behavior. Now the only way to regain personal happiness and develop our society is by encouraging sports and activating the life that heaven has granted us. 
> It is not that our society has not had its own respective sports organizations, rather, we have not succeeded in supporting these activities and unifying them into one organization. We cannot help but to be embarrassed by the fact that we are behind as the world moves forward in international sports competitions with the League of Nations emphasizing improving the health of all people. However, all things considered, I sincerely congratulate the Chosun Sports Council on its

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57 KOC, *KOC in Fifty Years* (Seoul: KOC, 1997), 32-33.
establishment, and I feel its members' readiness and sense of responsibility should stand out from all the rest.\(^{38}\)

The establishment of the Chosun Sports Council was an idea similar to that of Pierre De Coubertin’s. He wanted to reconstruct his country after its defeat in the Prussian War. He intended to strengthen the minds and bodies of the young people of France through the adoption of sports as a formal education discipline. As an indigenous sport organization, the Chosun Sports Council recruited athletic talent, who ironically served as icons of the Japanese Empire. Korean athletes first participated in the Olympics in 1932, but they had to compete under the Japanese banner. Superior Korean athletes did not necessarily become a Japanese team member. From the organization of the Chosun Sports Council in 1920 to the 10th Olympiad in 1932, Korea made great athletic advances, particularly in long-distance running, basketball, soccer, boxing, and speed-skating. At the 10th Olympiad, three Korean athletes were selected to join the Japanese Olympic team. However, selection process rested entirely with the Japanese Olympic Committee and Japanese Athletic Association, and there were political factors to consider when deciding whether or not to allow Korean athletes to take part in the Olympics. At the 1932 Games Korean participants, Kim Eun-bae and Kwon Tae-ha, finished sixth and ninth, respectively, in the marathon. In boxing, Hwang Eul-su lost in the preliminary round to a German boxer. Although Korea did not win any medals, Kim Eun-bae’s sixth place and Kwon Tae-hak’s ninth place finish gave the Korean people much hope and encouragement in the development of Korean athletics, despite colonial rule.\(^{59}\)

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 32-33.
\(^{59}\) Ibid., 30-34.
Also during this period, the Chosun Sports Association (CSA), predecessor to the present Korea Amateur Sports Association (KASA), was formed in July 1920. The association laid the organizational groundwork that would take root firmly after World War II to develop a modern sport culture. The history of the CSA’s founding coincides with a great, but tragic political event known as the “March 1st Movement.” The period saw sport and physical education emerge as an important tool for the national independence movement. The philosophy of physical education was that of nationalism: to inspire national awareness and strengthen people’s physical fitness. National leaders emphasized sport as a mass medium for national unity. Dong-A Ilbo and Cho-Sun Ilbo, the newspapers which supported nationalism, came to the cause by stimulating people’s awareness of national unity by reporting and sponsoring various sport events.60

Dong-A Ilbo, was formed in April 1920. During its second week of publication, an editorial writer produced three articles which called for the creation of a national sports body in order to enhance the standard of sports and to demonstrate the superiority of the Korean race.61 Three months later the all-Korean Choson Sports Association (CSA) was organized and, soon after, sponsored an all-Korean soccer championship and a national baseball game. The 1920’s also saw the establishment of other sport organizations in addition to CSA. These organizations provided sporting opportunities of sports to a greater portion of population, aiming to promote nationalistic ideology. The birth of the Cho-Sun-Che-Yuk-Hoe (Korean Sport Association) epitomized such

60 Lee, New History of Korea, 344.
movement. Within its limitations as a private organization, it contributed to the introduction and dissemination of Western of modern sports in Korea.62

The first president (Chang Tu-hyon) of the CSA was also president of the YMCA, and many members held dual posts since the CSA was intimately tied to the YMCA. The CSA fought to maintain Korean control of sport. However, by 1925, Japanese authorities controlled the sports grounds. A Chosun Shrine Memorial Sports Festival was initiated under Japanese leadership but the CSA countered with its own festival in 1929.

Cho describes how two leading private junior colleges, Yonhui and Bosung, predecessors to Yonsei University and Korea University, served as catalysts for the growing sports movement.63 By the 1930s their sports rivalry had drawn national attention. Younhui’s basketball team won the all-Japan basketball tournament in 1936, and Bosung’s team was victorious in 1938, 1939, and 1940. However only Korea’s intellectuals and those associated with elite schools enjoyed these sporting events. One can truly argue Korea’s merging of sport with political autonomy was essentially an elitist cause. That is not to say the average peasant did not thirst for freedom. The peasant though was for removed from the political battles fought on the field of sport.

The practice of physical education and sports during this period can also be understood as the Korean people widespread realization of the needs for sport and physical education, as they employed it as a tool for national independence. On one front, students made demands. There were strikes of students against the colonial education policies, opposing racial discrimination (between Japanese and Korean) but also

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demanding the improvement of educational facilities such as sports facilities. Second Koreans took matters into their own hands. They provided what Japan did not. There were nationwide youth organizations, which organized various sport events. Their activities were more systematic and better planned than those of student strikes, and their programs provided needed recreation for young people. Third, sports were also encouraged for women. The health of women was considered from a eugenical point of view: the healthier the women, the healthier their children will be. Fourth, traditional folk plays were rediscovered and disseminated, thus offering an indigenous aspect to Korean sport revival.64

Many Koreans participated in sports events for the purpose of increasing their strength and promoting a nationalistic spirit. Although Korean athletes could not represent their country, Japan begrudgingly and with great resistance allowed some of the to participate in many international and Olympic games. Generally these Korean athletes had to be the top of their sport. And Japan allowed them to compete when it was short of top talent in a few sporting classes.65

After the March 1 movement erupted throughout the nation in 1919, the Japanese government changed its governing policy from one of oppression to persuasion, termed the “culture policy”. As a result, the Japanese government allowed Korean newspapers to be printed in 1920. Soon after the two papers were set up, the press began calling for the strengthening of the body and spirit of an independent people. They feared the country’s national spirit had been lost to Japan. The press was merely projecting the sentiment of the entire Korean population.

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64 Kim, “A History of sport and physical education in Korea during the Japanese rule,” 198.

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With the 11th Olympiad in Berlin only a few months away, Korea was divided over the issue of whether or not to participate in the Olympics under the Japanese flag. One of Korea’s leading figures, Yuh Woon-hyung, spoke out against Korea participating under the Japanese flag. But the Korean representative to the Berlin games, Mr. Lee Sung-ku, recalls that the majority of Koreans felt it was more important that Korea make the world recognize its existence by outperforming Japan in the Olympic trials, and then on the Olympic stage.66

Nevertheless, Japan stacked the qualifying competition against Koreans. In order for a Korean to participate in the Olympics, he or she first had to win the regional competition on the Korean peninsula and then defeat other Japanese competitors as a regional qualifier. The Korean individual and team athletes dispatched to the Japanese Olympic trials showed phenomenal ability, The Scout Soccer Club won the Japan soccer championships, which also served as the Olympic trials. Similarly, the Yonhee College basketball team won the Japan basketball championships. In the marathon trials, Nam Seung-yong and Sohn Kee-chung placed first and second, respectively while in the lightweight boxing division, Lee Kyu hwan was victorious. Despite their proven ability, the Japanese Athletic Association continued to put roadblocks in the way of Korean athletes who longed for an Olympic berth.67

Despite the victory of the Seoul Soccer Club, it was not selected as Japan’s national soccer team and only one Korean national, Kim Yong-shik, was appointed to the team. In recruiting its Olympic basketball team, Japan selected three Korean nationals—

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65 Lee, A History of sports and Physical Education, 192.
66 KOC, KOC in Fifty Years (Seoul: KOC, 1997), 34.
67 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 35.
Lee Sung-ku, Chang Lee-jin, and Yum Eun-hyon from the Yonhee basketball team—which can be considered to be a relatively high ratio of Korean players. This can be attributed to the fact that a Korean, Lee Sang-beck, who greatly respected the spirit of fair competition, was a director of Japan’s national basketball association. He pushed for Koreans’ inclusion on the team, based on their superior ability. He later became Korea’s IOC member. In the case of boxing, Lee Kyu-hwan was chosen to represent Japan in the lightweight boxing division.68

In the marathon Olympic trials, Korea’s Nam Seung-yong and Sohn Kee-chung placed first and second, respectively but Japan refused to accept this and held another trial in Berlin to determine its final representatives to the Olympics. Again, the two Koreans finished in the top two spots, this time Sohn placing first. Japan had to forfeit its stubborn plan to send only one Korean national and two Japanese runners to the Olympic finals.69

In the Berlin Olympic marathons, Sohn won the gold and Nam the bronze medal, wowing the Olympic community as Sohn finished in 2:29:19.2, a new world record! With their Olympic victories, they disproved to the world the theory that Japan had to protect “inferior” Korea and made evident the fact that Korea was indeed a capable people with the motivation and organizational skill to run a nation. This ignited the people’s desire to achieve independence. In the contest of Hitler’s racial theories Sohn overwhelmingly proved, ability was not the who provided a Nazi salute the medals ceremony. Sohn victory was a statement for all oppressal peoples thirsting for freedom from colonial dominance and racist ideologies. Sohn Kee-Chong recently stated, “I felt

68 Ibid.

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desperate and ashamed when I stood on the victory stand. Wearing a shirt with the Japanese “rising sun” on the left chest.” As the Japanese national anthem was played, Shon’s head drooped.⁷⁰

At the Berlin Olympics, when solicited for autographs, Sohn clearly indicated his victory was a political event. He unreservedly signed his name in Korean, even though Japan had assigned him a Japanese surname. He clearly demonstrated he represented Korea, not Japan. He did the same when signing the victory list.⁷¹

The Korean gold and bronze medals in the marathon was a great encouragement to Korean people during Japanese occupation. Gold medalist Sohn Kee-Chong recently stated, “I felt desperate and ashamed when I stood on the victory stand, wearing a shirt with the Japanese ‘rising sun’ on the left chest.” As the Japanese national anthem was played, Shon’s head drooped.⁷²

One of Korea’s oldest newspapers, Dong-A Ilbo, instigated the “Japanese flag erasing incident” when it tampered with a photo of Sohn by erasing the Japanese flag from his chest. Those involved in this incident were later taken away by the Japanese authorities and tortured. Dong-A Ilbo reflected the sentiment of the Korean public – that Sohn’s victory was a victory for Korea, not Japan.

Sohn’s victory gave the Korean people confidence that they could overcome Japan’s oppression. The Korean people knew much about the Olympics even though the KOC was not officially established until after World War II. They also knew about the

⁶⁹ Ibid.
⁷¹ KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 37.
amount of national energy that could be created through the ecstasy from a victory in the Olympics because of their experience with Sohn’s Olympic victory.\textsuperscript{73} He was a sort of shaman indigenous religion used in traditional medicine. His marathon “dance” in Berlin stirred the Korean soul to unleash a healing force within a “patient” sickened by the pathology of colonialism. It was an indigenous metaphor the people could understand.

Sohn and Nam encouraged not only Koreans at home, but also to the Korean independence nationalists who defected overseas. The overseas nationalists included Dr. Seung-Man Rhee in the U.S., who later became the first president of the Republic of Korea, and Secretary Ku Kim, who led the “provisional” government in Shanghai, China.

On August 20, one year after the Japanese were driven off the Korean peninsula upon the conclusion of World War II, a party was held at Toksu Palace in Seoul to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Sohn’s victory in the Berlin Olympics. Both Dr. Rhee and Ku Kim attended the reception. In a speech Dr. Rhee said, “The Korean people were but corpses that ate, clothed themselves and breathed under Japanese oppression. Sohn and Nam overcame this adversity and lifted the nation’s honor by winning the Olympics. Like these two honorable athletes, our people must display this unbending fighting spirit.”\textsuperscript{74}

Yet storm clouds blew strong after the Berlin Olympiad. The world was at war. Japan’s international war machine gained momentum. Koreans were even more repressed. The CSA was banned in 1938. By 1942, all Western sport had been abolished.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} KOC, \textit{KOC Fifty Years}, 37.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.
as part of war time restrictions.\textsuperscript{75} It was a ‘dark of sport’s the Japanese connected sports education to the wars, so they abolished games and exploited sports due to the war, regarding sports as a purpose of winning in the war. The main stream of organized physical activity was comprised of three types of gymnastics—common gymnastics, military gymnastics, and heavy gymnastics, all tightly controlled by the Japanese. The predominant form changed to Swedish gymnastics. The physical and mental practice of adolescents and educational sport were important also. Such sports like Swedish gymnastics spread to the public, too. During this time, even through there was the oppression of the Japanese, people kept participating in sports.

Japan forcibly dissolved the Chosun Sports Council in 1937 because it did not like the nature of the council as a nationalist sports organization.\textsuperscript{76} Japan perceived seeds of discontent in this group. Beside that, the 1936 Olympic had ended. Japan no longer needed the indigenous sports organization to recruit native athletic talent for its national team. Also the winds of war blew terrifyingly strong, and Japan had other priorities.

During the 36 years long Japanese rule of Korea, many developments occurred in politics, economy, culture and other social realms. Under any other situation, these developments might be considered “reform” as they introduced more efficient bureaucratic structures to Korea. But these “reforms” only served the imperialist Japan’s interests, misdirecting Korea modernization and sacrificing the Korean people’s identity. The majority of modern sports introduced were competitive sports which promoted winnings. Historically, it also contributed to stereotype the views on sports. First, school physical education tended to emphasize elite players, which, in turn, has been reflected

\textsuperscript{75} Wagner, sport in Asia and Africa, 88.
upon social physical education. Second, violent performance of players, vehement cheering, and disputes over the referee’s decisions are legacies from this period.

2.6 Transition to Modern Sport: Post-Liberation Policies (1945 - 1961)

After liberation from Japanese colonial rule, Korea had a “window of opportunity” to build a sports infrastructure as a way to bring sports participation to the people. But this possibility never materialized given that Korea faced a political chaos, economic impoverishment and the slow development of immature social institutions. And almost as soon as Korea had become independent, it faced the bitter division of a civil war with the communist north. Under these circumstances the primary concern of the country was survival in all aspects of that word. The inability to seize opportunity from 1945 to 1961 set the stage for political successors to grasp sport for their selfish ambitions. Sport was the easiest and most accessible way for them to put their political imprint on the society. The futile efforts to establish credible sports programs in post-World War II era left a “window of opportunity” for political successors to fashion sport as a tool for tyranny.

But in the aftermath of World War II, there was hope for sports development from the ground up. A new philosophy emerged, which Yoon In-Ho termed the “new sports”:

Sport with the focus on children and young generation, sport that helps to build self-esteem, sport that develops social characters, practical sport that utilizes everybody’s life, and democratic sport

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76 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 33.
77 In Ho Yoon was a former professor of department of Physical Education at Seoul National University.
that rejects the idea of the totalitarian sport.

At least, there was a general belief that satisfying people’s needs was to be the top agenda. Unfortunately, tremendous challenges faced policymakers who wanted to transform traditional sporting activities into the establishment of a modern sport system, including the shortage of athletic scholars with appropriate pedagogical theories. Then there were staffing needs to be met in terms of education directors, physical education teachers and coaches. Finally, sports facilities were needed to realize the “Field of Dreams” (to quote an American movie title) of these plans.

What then were the immediate philosophical influences to build a modern sports system as Korea built a modern nation? American military forces, occupying Korea for three years (1945-1948), were unversed in Korean culture or history. The American governmental administration introduced the foreign “progressivist” educational ideas of John Dewey. This was a practical doctrine based on a premise to prepare citizens for full participation in democracy. Moreover, this progressivist doctrine emphasized health and safety education, rather than physical activities. Another feature was that the department of physical education lacked strong management, and consequently within the administrative structure.

After the American Military Government (AMG) departed, the First Republic set physical education upon an independent course yet fell short of Yoon’s idealistic vision of “new sports.” The First Republic coined the educational doctrine “Il Min Joo Ui,” whereby the government used physical education to mobilize the people against the potential threat of Communist North Korea. Former education minister An Hosang, admitted in retrospect the obsession with the north devalued physical education
programs. Rather, he argued, Korea's true defense rested within people's commitment to society. Their loyalty against communism could best be secured by using physical education to maintain their health as well as social and moral welfare. Korea needed to lead by creating a good society.

The First Republic also failed administratively. It gave physical education departments insufficient authority. Even if physical education was to mobilize the masses to national defense, it was a weak mobilization at best because higher authorities insignificance to the project.

Overview of post-colonial Korean Society

The most imminent assignment for Korea after liberation from Japanese colonialism on August 15, 1945, was to build national social and political institutions which were totally destroyed by 40 years of the deadly suppression under Japanese rule. Moreover, the people wished to establish a modern country. It was envisioned to be an indigenous development path, a democratic social order, without any residue of Japanese colonial influences. That was the ideal, at least to fulfill these goals, it was necessary to eliminate the Korean collaborators who aided the Japanese colonial government and betrayed the nation for their own selfish sakes. Ironically, the so-called liberators--American Military Government--did not help in this endeavor. At the very least, the AMG slowed down the process of Korean self-determination and democratic aspirations. It is ironic because the United States portrays its interventions under the guise of democratic ideals using an American institutional structure as the model. In the very least
this exemplifies American ignorance, and in worst cases it was pure and simple ethnocentrism.⁷⁹

After the Japanese surrendered, Korea was liberated from its former colonial occupier; but, because of power politics between the United States and the Soviet Union, the peninsula of Korea was up for grabs. Russian troops occupied the northern part and the American Military Government directly governed South Korea for three years from September 18, 1945, to August 15, 1948. Meanwhile the United Nations Temporary Commission to Korea attempted to implement the United Nation (UN) resolution that endeavored to establish a free, independent, democratic, and unified Korea. Because of objections from Moscow, the UN could not implement the resolution in the north. The South regime then became the official Republic of Korea (ROK) on August 15, 1948, through elections held under UN supervision. Rhee Syngman was elected President of the ROK by the new National Assembly. The North regime officially inaugurated the Democratic Republic of Korea (DRK) on September 8, 1948. It adopted a national constitution and formed a government that elected Kim Il-Sung as the president. Korea then had two political systems, each claiming jurisdiction over the entire country. This was a very unstable situation that would dominate the peninsula’s political relations even at the beginning of the 21st Century.⁸⁰

The Americans established a military government with little knowledge of Korean history and culture, resulting in poor administration which severely set back South

Korea’s aspirations to independent democratic nationhood. The United States’ military government continued to allow the conquered Japanese colonial officials to work in the new government for lack of better ways to administer the country. Moreover, they allowed the governing colonial bureaucracy to stay in the new government under the name of the administrative supervisors although they had been fired. The AMG deterred Korea from having an independent and democratic government by allowing the Japanese colonial rulers to rule the country. The American tutelage only extended colonial rule!81

The period of American military rule was a transitional one in which South Korean political, economic, social, and educational systems and structures were radically re-arranged. The American military government established and implemented various new programs and policies that affected every aspect of Korean life. It was a time of abrupt change in social structure, from a closed society to an open one. There was also a change in the national ideology, from imperialistic authoritarianism to desire for democracy; the economic structure changed from a colonial economy to a liberal-capitalistic one; and, in addition to public education, the status of women, labor, and public health were also altered.82

In the historical development of Korean education, there were many domestic and foreign forces which helped shape educational theory and practice. Among them were the Korean New Education Movement and education reforms, modeled after John Dewey’s progressivism which had figured prominently in shaping school systems in the United

States. They were landmark movements in the history of Korean education. The Korean New Education Movement contributed greatly to the qualitative development of physical education, as well as education as a whole.\footnote{Dal-Woo Kim, "A Study on Establishment and Development of Physical Education after Liberation," (Ph.D. diss.: Seoul National University, 1992).}

**Sport Policy of the American Military Government (AMG)**

Sports in Post-Liberation Korea was strongly dependent on the government for its development rather than emerging independently through non-political or purely economic organizations. This was to be expected given that Korea’s economy was in shambles and social ruin, and that the government was the only stable credible force. There were few if any other institutions to support and develop sports. Therefore, during those days government educational policy mainly dictated the structure of sports.\footnote{Ibid., III.}

Government had its hand in sports, but did this arrangement bring sports to the people?

The AMG’s policy in Korea was predicated on the Cold War ideology as viewed from a narrow American perspective of pure self-interest. This was an essentially paternalistic, ethnocentric approach, assuming superiority of American institutions. It was a naive approach for a complicated situation. Essentially the AMG imposed U.S. political institutions as well as a foreign educational system upon Korea. It was an “America knows best” policy without regard for 4,000 years of Korean cultural development.\footnote{Ibid., 111.}

The AMG did not have enough knowledge about traditional Korean education during colonial times and the nature of imperial rule, so American military leaders...
actively asked for advice from Korean education leaders and professionals when they started their work on educational governance and building systems. Although Korean input was sought, the ability of Koreans to shape the resulting policy was limited. The resulting program was based on an American traditional conception of individualistic, democratic values while Korean values of respect, consensus, order, deference to the group and hierarchy were ignored. In the AMG, Cho-Sun education committee played the role as the Educational Advisory Bureau which included a wide range of leaders and professionals who took charge of advising educational planning such the teaching ideology and organizing the school system structure. The Educational Committee was composed of Koreans, but its members had studied in the United States and had Christian religious backgrounds. Committee members Oh Chunsok, Paek Nakjoon, Kim Hwalan were Korean in name, but stamped with American ideological conceptions on policy.\textsuperscript{86}

Educational planning and direction influenced the ideology and directions of sports after Liberation with a strong American character. As a result, the meaning of new sports was established according to the nationalistic spirit and mind, and the goals of the ‘new education’ were aimed at trying to achieve democratic principles. Like the educational theory of pragmatism, which was influenced by the American progressive educational theory fathered by John Dewey, the term ‘new sports’ was influenced basically by American progressive ideals. Related to this, American lecturers tried to spread the new ideology of American sports. In other words, Dewey’s American

\textsuperscript{85} Jin-Kyun Kim, \textit{A study of exchange of Korean Society(1)} (Seoul: History of Nation, 1984), 189.
\textsuperscript{86} Nak-Joon Baek, \textit{Education and national spirit of Korea} (Seoul: Munkyosa, 1953), 77-80.
progressive philosophy came face to face with a Confucian society, resulting in a poor fit. 87

The ideology of ‘new sports’ was simplified as ‘democratic sports’ by Yoon Inho. He argued that the old sports of traditional Korea ignored the interests of children and youth. On the other hand, he claimed the ‘new sports’ should interest children and youth as the most important factor, and, therefore, the old method, which focused on the training with authority and suppression of feelings should be excluded. Furthermore, he explained that the ‘new sports’ should emphasize the psychological identity of children and youth and acknowledge their personalities and freedom, which would lay the foundation for life-sports or employing sports to enrich lives as children grow into adulthood and old age. In other words sports was conceived as a life long endeavor. Such a contrast to thousands of years of Confucius values where children were obliged to be obedient to elders. In such a cultural context, a “child-centered” policy is a radical innovation. 88

As Yoon In-Ho described it, the ideology of ‘new sports’ was primarily influenced by the stream of American progressivism. This major influence from the American progressive sports movement resulted from the underdeveloped situation of Korean sports at that time, Korea lacked professionals in sports field, qualified sports leaders, and theoretical organization of the system. America filled the vacuum eagerly to establish a willing, pliable ally as it thirsted for power on the Cold War Asian continent. Consequently America exported sports with Cold War ideology. It lacked the ideology

87 Korean Education Institute’s problems in an auxiliary organ of Choongang University, History of Education (Seoul: publication of Choongang University, 1974), 4-5.
88 In-Ho Yoon, “Characteristics of New physical education,” 83.
based on a Korean tradition of physical activities, even though an ideological concoction of ‘new sports’ emphasized positive factors such as emphasis on children’s identities and on life-sports. In the worst aspects, through, America exported hyper-individualistic values on a group-oriented society that cherished Confucian-ordered relationships and a Buddhist metaphysical value system.

The AMG realized the importance of the sports in national development as it implemented sports policy, but it was poor in turning the goals into reality. For example, during the AMG’s short tenure there was an inconsistent policy of designating where the country’s the sports department belonged. The AMG continually shifted sports to different bureaus as. First it established the general and group sports sections in the Culture Bureau on October 6, 1945, along with seven other bureaus. Then it put the sports department under the Culture Bureau of Culture-Education Administration, and finally included sports within the Adult Education Bureau. Meanwhile, the AMG emphasized the importance of sports, which was seen in one of the directives of the AMG educational bureau encouraging sports activity on September 18, 1945. According to this directive, three hours of sports per week was designated in elementary schools, expanded to five hours per week one year later. Extending the hours of sports, which included health-and-safety academic areas, showed the emphasis on hygiene and cleanliness. It was an important contribution to promoting public health in a war-devastated Korea. In addition, the first president of the sports department, Paek Yong Ki was instrumental constructing the Taehan Gymnasium and the national sports field, spread national health gymnastics, and established the sports Improvement Committee under the Culture-Education Administration. On another front, the president of the Education Bureau, Choi
Soongman, was a visionary who pointed out the importance of life-sports, based on traditional Korean exercises. He established a policy in which sports would aim to improve the health of all the people, but should not be for a specific class of people exclusively. By “class” he meant elite or professional ranks of highly-trained athletes, and by stressing Korean traditions, he hoped to achieve broad participation by instilling indigenous cultural values in the program.

Cho Dong-Pyo, sports editor for Hankook Ilbo, a Korean newspaper, aptly views the nascence of the post-war period in Korean sport in terms of a goodwill basketball game between players from Korea and the U.S. military occupation forces at a sports meet held to celebrate liberation from Japan. This event was a catalyst from which sports organizations grew. Shortly thereafter, national federations governing a variety of sports were formed and obtained full membership status within international sports federations. In 1947, Korea became a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). In the same year, Korean runner Suh Yun-bok won the Boston Marathon. Suh’s victory along with Sohn’s gold medal in Berlin generated popularity for track and field. These were all significant events for a country torn by war and starved for sport. Korea could turn to its sports heroes for inspiration during such desperate times. And conversely, during such desperate times, Korean athletes found the inner fortitude to do their best.

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Oh Do-Kwang comments that *Time magazine* misspelled Suh’s name after his Boston Marathon victory. Oh, a former sports editor for *Hankook Ilbo* For Koreans, asserted that this epitomized the American ignorance of Korea, an attitude which was often displayed by the ineptitude of the U.S. occupation forces. Ironically, America, ignorant of Korean ways, was guiding the hand of educational policy! How could America feel superior if its own journalists misspelled the name of the Boston Marathon winner? Oh remarks that the people of Seoul “went crazy” after Suh’s victory. The accomplishment advertised Korea to the outside world, and encouraged Koreans at home. A Korean athlete had conquered—on American soil; but was still besmirched by the indignity of a misspelled name!

On July 15, 1946, the Korea Amateur Sports Association (KASA) established the Olympic Preparatory Committee to dispatch a Korean delegation to prepare for the Olympic Games. The KASA urged its affiliated national organizations in track and field, swimming, soccer, basketball, weightlifting, wrestling and skating to join their respective international federations. Chon Kyong-Mu, vice president of the Olympic Preparatory Committee, was to attend the IOC Session in Stockholm in June, 1947, and left on a U.S. military flight on May 29. Unfortunately, the plane crashed near Mt. Fuji in Japan, killing him and his entourage. After the crash, the Olympic Preparatory Committee sent a urgent telegraph to Lee Won-Ssoon then living in the United States, calling for his attendance in the IOC Session.91

The KOC was then approved as an official NOC on June 20, 1947. The first KOC president, Yeo Wun-Hyeong formed a preparatory committee on July 1, 1947, to

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91 KOC, *KOC in Fifty Years*, 46.
participate in the 1948 London (summer) and St. Mortiz (winter) Olympic Games. The preparatory committee president was Yu Ok-Kyum, while Lee Sang-beck and Lee Byung-Hak were vice presidents.\(^{92}\)

During the American Military administration, the government could hardly develop through policies covering all aspects of physical education. This might have been because the American military administration barely lasted long enough to affect the policies, and the administration’s interest in physical education was not sufficient to lead it to adequate development. Therefore, the Korean people developed new physical education doctrines to be distinctly Korean. The new doctrines were influenced by the progressivism of American philosophic tradition that it contained more democratic and practical elements of physical education.

Overview of The First Republic Society

Korea had to start a new national history with goals of modernization and democracy after the Liberation. It was a formidable task indeed because the Japanese had suppressed and interfered with national developments for 40 years. The task was daunting. The conflicts between communism and democratization, political confusion over attempts to establish a unified government of North and South, and the eventual separation of the North and South shadowed the dark future of the nation. The new government, facing the conflicts between the ideologies, reeled from the ill effects of colonization and the horror of Korean War. This devastation made it difficult to establish and develop the new social order and system.

\(^{92}\) Ibid.
The First Republic lasted from August 15, 1948, when the Republic of Korea was officially proclaimed, to April 26, 1960, when the April 19 Revolution ended it. The First Republic started its history without ever recovering from colonization because the AMG prolonged its influence, and also due to the failed policies of Rhee Syngman. President Rhee was admittedly pro-American and adopted anti-communism as the chief political principle. He filled government positions with pro-American politicians, rather than able administrators. The officials were extremely conservative, right-wing and opportunists, who always supported the prevailing governing party regardless of ideology or rational policy. Rhee’s government also excluded any opposition parties such as socialists as well as moderates who wanted to negotiate with North Korea for peace, and it ignored fundamental problems such as economic recovery from Japanese colonization as well as how to found a democratic social system as the basis of power and authority. The ideology of the Rhee Syngman government was revealed clearly in the opinion of An Hosang, a high-level bureaucrat. An articulated the governing ideology about the meaning of democracy: “we do not accept and resist the democracy itself which is in the mainstream today, but we demand the true democracy which is Il Min Joo-ui.” The government stressed Il Min Joo-ui, which was the educational doctrine that promoted the government’s anti-democratic authoritarianism.93

The First Republic of Rhee Syngman can be divided into three periods based on the domestic and international situation, and an analysis of goals and policies of the each. The summary is on Table 2.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National foundation</td>
<td>State establishment</td>
<td>Western style democracy, foreign aid dependence</td>
<td>Failed due to Korean war and the lack of professional officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1948-1953)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convalescence after</td>
<td>Unification of North and South Korea,</td>
<td>Reinforce armaments, recruitment of</td>
<td>Failed due to the prolonged reign and dependency on American aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean War</td>
<td>economic stabilization</td>
<td>professional officials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1953-1958)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Liberal Party</td>
<td>Authority maintenance</td>
<td>Administration of the police state</td>
<td>Failed due to the national resistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1958-1960)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Goals and policies of the government prior to the May 16 coup

The leaders of the First Republic claimed its ultimate goals were to establish a Western-style democracy, developing economic stability and power, and unifying North and South Korea. The records clearly show that the government lacked professional administrators and national support due to the prolonged stay of Rhee in power.

The Republic of Korea had a larger population than the Democratic Republic of Korea because historically more people lived in the South, and because hordes of refugees fled from the Soviet-imposed Communist government. But the northern government had more arms from its Soviet collaborators and was capable of uniting the

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94 Hahn-Been Lee, Korea: Time, Change and Administration (Honolulu: The UH & East-West Center Press, 1968), 74.
peninsula by force. For example, the South did have not a single tank, yet the Russians had supplied the North with 242 tanks. On Sunday morning, June 25, 1950, the North Korea army struck deep across the 38th parallel, moved into Seoul and pushed southward. It pushed the southern army and a few American advisors in front of them, capturing many including an American army general. Finally, on the outskirts of Pusan, just before the northern army pushed the remaining defenders into the ocean, the United Nations sponsored a special command unifying 16 nations under the command of the American General Douglas MacArthur. There they held until September when MacArthur’s decisive West Coast landing in the tidal flats at Inch’on cut the northern army’s advance supply lines in two to halt their advance, leaving Communist forces in utter chaos. Almost immediately the U.N. troops retook Seoul and started marching northward. They took P’yongyang and marched on to the Chinese border.96

In the meantime, China had gone Red. A long fought civil war had ended just one year earlier with revolutionary leader Mao Tse-Tung installing a Communist government. In deference to its communist brethren in Korea, China sent large numbers of troops to rescue their northern ally. This military surge was also a move to secure communist China’s borders from a potential, permanent capitalist threat; the United States Army and its allied Korean forces. The U.N. forces beat a hasty, but costly retreat. The Communists retook Seoul on January 4, 1951, but the capital changed hands for the fourth and final time on March 12, when the U.N. Forces retook the city. The two sides fought on for high ground there and along the 38th parallel until an armistice was signed on July 27,

1953. A demilitarized zone was declared and both sides continue to meet from time to time for peace negotiation at the border village called P'anmunjom. However, efforts to produce a peace agreement to officially end the war eludes both countries to this day. Rhee Syngman remained a President throughout the war and for several years thereafter, but corruption and economic stagnation bred discontent among the people. Finally, with the blatant ballot box stuffing and other fraudulent election practices in the spring of 1960, demonstrations, initially led by students, but soon joined by citizens from all walks of life, led to the resignation of the old patriot. He left Korea and died in exile in the United States where he had spent most of his life.\(^\text{97}\)

**Sports policy of the First Republic**

While the Rhee government publicly proclaimed it was pursuing democratization based on a western-style model, in fact, it adopted pseudo-democracy known as Japanese democracy-authoritarianism as characterized by Japan's pre-war military government. This form of "democracy" provided for people's material needs under the guise of a manipulated citizen legislature. It was a semblance of democracy that developed Japan economically but remained authoritarian to the core. Furthermore, the ultimate goals of the government could not have been based on the aspirations of the nation because the government refused to relinquish its power to the will of the people. Instead it painted reality with rhetoric. In this political context, government policy would have a pointed

influence on sports policy as well as on educational policy. Like a masterful puppeteer, Rhee pulled the strings with equal tugs on all aspects of public policy. Sports and education were no different from other aspects.

The educational policy and ideology of the First Republic was reflected in the personality traits and beliefs of An Hosang, first Culture-Education administer. Rhee Syngman was strongly attracted to Japanese authoritarian democratization as an ideology to seize and keep political power as the government fought against North Korea. On one hand, he could not afford dissent as a matter of wartime policy. On the other hand, Korea had been subjugated with 40 years of colonial authoritarian rule. Was the continuation of this situation the goal of the Korean War? Were people fighting for “freedom” or totalitarianism? As Lee’s political lieutenant, An Hosang emphasized the importance of Japanese democratism and aimed at spreading it to the public. Furthermore, he focussed on ideological stability in the educational value system and on intensifying anti-communism as the national ideology.

Korea implemented Japanese “democratism” concretely by organizing the Students National Defense Corps and by requiring military training for students. The government justified these actions as a means to strengthen the national defense because of the hostile relationship with North Korea, and to provide for a stable new government during the Cold War. However, turning schools into military barracks only repeated the Japanese colonial policy of using the educational system for national subjugation. During Japanese colonization, military training replaced physical education in school, aimed mainly to intensify military power by improving students’ physical condition. Thus it was

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98 Korean Education Committee, *Korean Education over 10 years* (Seoul: Pungmunsa, 1959), 120.
conceived that physical education in school would be military training in the new Korea, as well. This possibility was realized by substituting military officers for teachers of physical education when there were not enough teachers for normal education of sports. This not only lowered the quality of school physical education, but it also repeated the uniform, controlling, and authoritarian education of Japanese colonialism. Furthermore, changing physical education terminology to military concepts in a March 18, 1949, promulgation was the concrete realization of this fact.100

Other education-culture administrators advocated the same position and followed the tendency of An Hosang when they wrote educational policy. For example, Baek Nakjoon, administrator during the Korean War, had been educated in the United States, however, he advocated a war education policy based on “ethical” education, “one-skill-for-all” pedagogy, and national defense. He presented his policy as following:

In other words, it means that military education is the education for improving the physical health and for acquiring military knowledge. Also, training the patience and military drill, ignoring food or dwelling places, for improving physical ability is physical education. Therefore, the military defense education should be focusing on the general health by taking care of the food, dwelling places, and hygiene to improve the health of the people.101

Baek defined physical education for national defense as health or hygiene education to improve physical condition or ability. However, he narrowed the policy to mean that eventually physical education should be the means and purpose of national defense only, and he was interested ultimately in collapsing physical education into

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99 Ibid., 120.
100 Sun-Won Kang, Politics-Economic of Korean Education (Seoul: Hankilsa, 1990), 219.
military training. Certainly a healthy, physically strong population is necessary as a pool of potential military recruits and a strong military was in Korea’s vital national interest given the communist hostility of the North. However, physical education serves many other goals in national development. National defense is only one aspect of it. Physical education also promotes a keen self-interested population, thus strengthening the core values of society and motivating people to serve the nation—military—to defend a valued way of life. Thus if the core is strong the fruit remains firm and resilient. In other words people will fight if they feel their society is worth defending.

Kim Publin, who became a culture-education administrator in 1952, also, advocated that a principle for supervising schools should be to contribute to the national defense by improving the health and hygiene of the nation and students’ physical abilities. Like Kim, Lee Sungoon, who became a culture-education administrator in 1954, proclaimed that one principle for supervising schools should be to provide the national defense by leading people to focus on health education and, thus, improving the physical ability of the students. In short, all of these culture-education administrators espoused, and more importantly, implemented educational policy that reflected a national defense orientation to protect South Korea from potential North Korea aggression. Therefore, these administrators consistently focused physical education as a means of ensuring the national defense.102

Consequently, the First Republic culture-education administrators established policy that ignored physical education activity as a way to develop people as whole human beings. Policy was narrowly constructed to protect the national territory from

military invasion. It could be argued that military preparation was the “people’s business”. It kept Korea strong and free so people could pursue their needs and desires. However it protected national borders without addressing the needs of the society within. A strong society, as I earlier argued is willing to defend its cherished way of life. Thus a broader context of “national preparedness” must include core societal satisfaction.

The First Republic failed to fulfill its stated goals by hindering the development of the society in many fields. The government simply failed in actualizing its vision for sports policy that was to develop people’s abilities. Administrative organs revealed the government’s lack of substantial interest in sports when constitutional law was declared in 1948 and the Korean government was established on August 15. The general principles of organization of office, based on the governmental setup law, defined the direction of organization of the Culture-Education Office and its responsibilities. According to this law, the sports department was under the culture-education administration, and sports officials were supposed to deal with the duty and education of sports by orders of the supervisor. The organization in charge of sports was only a small branch physical education office in a Culture-Education department, substantial proof that government was indifferent toward the physical education policy.103

Despite sports’ weak administrative status, Korean athletes triumphed on court and field. Athletic performance endured in spite of the bureaucracy, to the athletes’ credit.

The Opening Ceremony of the 14th Olympiad in London, the first post World War II Olympics provided just liberated Korea with an opportunity to participate, ushering in
the dawn of a new era. This Olympic Games saw 4,099 athletes from 59 countries participating. Korea marched in as the 29th country. Min Jae-ho, a reporter with the Seoul Central Broadcasting Company (now KBS), looking back on this event wrote in his memoirs titled *Traveling to the London Olympics*.

Korea was not widely known, and people mistook me for Chinese or Japanese. I pointed at the Korean delegation marching into the stadium and said to Norwegian and Swedish citizens, ‘Look at them. They are Koreans.’ The two wondered how Korea could have sent such a large delegation and thought it must have been a large country.

Korean pride reigned supreme despite the tortured colonial rule. Japan may have occupied the peninsula in the previous 40 years, but it did not deter the heart and spirit of Korea people as proven by their Olympic attendance.

The 69 members of the Korean delegation wearing their light-gray outfits took off their hats to the King of England, George VI, to pay their respects. The audience applauded the Korean athletes in warm approval. The sound of the applause was the loudest for England, the United States, and then Korea. Despite the frustrating loss in the marathon event, Korea’s first appearance as a national team in the Olympics was a great achievement. Koreans’ athletic abilities became evident with Kim Sung-jip (now vice-president of KOC) weight-lifting and Han Soo-ahn’s boxing bronze medals. Until then Korea had been given little opportunity to compete on a world level. Korea had been under the sovereign oppression of Japan during most of the modern Olympic movement. The London Olympics changed that. It was a turning point for Korean athletic competition and paved the way for continuous participation in future Summer Olympics until the United States’ hegemonic boycott of the 1980 Moscow Games to protest the

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Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan. South Korea sided with its political patron, the United States. Athletically, Korea was able to rise above the political and economic chaos of recent liberation and make known its potential power in the London Olympics. That triumph was short-lived as war enveloped the Korean Peninsula in 1950.\(^{105}\)

The Korean War divided a nation’s people as world powers hovered over the Peninsula as greedy players in a crops game. Americans, Soviets, and Chinese competed for control of the Korean peninsula. During the war, sport survived in the military. Cho explains that the National Sports Festival took place in 1951 despite the war. The southern cities held competitions in order to select athletes for the 1952 Helsinki Games, where they won two bronze medals. Korea’s performance equaled its participation in the 1948 London Olympics where athletes won bronze medals.\(^{106}\) Obviously a thirst for athletic competition and participation was not lost in this economically devastated war-torn land!

For the KOC, the outbreak of the Korean War was a major setback. War compounded the KOC’s difficulties, which up to then, had struggled so hard to keep afloat. Despite this, it still managed to send 44 athletes to the Helsinki Olympics in 1952, where the national team was warmly welcomed with applause and encouragement from the global community.

\(^{104}\) KOC, KOC in Fifty Years, 43-44; 142-144.

\(^{105}\) Korea missed the 1952 Oslo Winter Games due to the economic difficulties of fielding a team during war. This was the only interruption in the post World War II era; KOC, KOC Fifty 50 years, 44-45; Gap-Jin Chang, Interview with author in Seoul, Korea, Chang is elder athlete for the basketball delegation in Korea.

Following the Korean War, South Korean athletes entered Asian regional games for the first time. They won eight gold medals and finished third among 18 teams at the 2nd Asian Games in Manila in 1954. This feat was matched at the 1958 Tokyo Asian Games. The 1956 Melbourne Olympics brought a silver medal in boxing and a bronze medal in weight lifting. Korea won no medals at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome. In 1961, South Korea made contact with the socialist bloc when Yugoslavia’s football team visited Seoul in a World Cup preliminary round. Lee Ki-poong, then KOC president, was elected as Korea’s first IOC member during the 51st IOC Session in Paris on June 13, 1955.

As South Korea distinguished itself with athletic achievements, was there ever a chance for a full, unified team with the North? The 54th IOC Session held in Bulgaria in September 1957 approved North Korea as a provisional NOC entrusted with implementing Olympic programs on the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. The IOC officials also decided to allow North Korea to participate in the Olympic Games as part of a unified Korean team formed with the consent of the Seoul-based KOC. NOC representatives from both South and North Korea held their first talks under IOC arbitration in Lausanne, Switzerland, but their efforts went nowhere.

During the First Republic, the government stressed, Il Min Joo-ui which was the educational doctrine that promoted government’s anti-democratic authoritarianism. Although the educational doctrine of Il Min Joo-ui reinforced anti-Communist policy to defend South Korea against North Korea, the former minister education commented the

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107 Ibid., 146-148, 214-216.
108 Korean Olympic Committee, KOC in Fifty Years 1946-1997, 46-47
practical effect of the doctrine defeated the value of school physical education by not improving the people's social, moral or health welfare.

Not only did the government fail in achieving its official goals, as well as design more detailed policies for physical education, its practice of physical education depreciated sport as a means to embellish the prestige of politics. The authority of the departments in charge of physical education was not sufficient to perform their policies. Therefore the administrative apparatus was too weak to implement sports for its political propaganda effect. It was up to the keen machinations of later republics to seize the propaganda value of sport to glorify the state for better or worse. Sport as a tool of tyranny reached its ultimate potential after the First Republic.
3.1 Introduction

How does a nation gain the world and lose its soul? And can something as seemingly insignificant as sport play a part in the process. I argue a resounding “yes.” In Korea, this happened in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, during the regime of President Park Chung Hee. The game that sport played can only be properly understood from the period’s social, political and economic context. The Park presidency marked a big, distinctive change in the ways that Korean people chose, understood and acted in their own lives. Every moment of their lives was organized by the top-down drive for economic development. Park’s dictatorship, enthusiastically supported by the majority of Korean people, allowed powerful governmental mechanisms to efficiently operate in order to homogenize South Korea into a proclaimed national destiny of economic
development. The period can be characterized as the time of economic fascism. Various governmental technologies were devised and successfully employed.¹

Sport was one of the technologies used to control the country. Compared to the Chun’s presidency, an important distinction lay on Parks emphasis on school physical education. The main focus of sport technology lay on putting the nation in a molded complacency through school physical education, interscholastic and intercollegiate sport, and annually-held various national sports competitions. In a sense, developing physical education can be the first step to bring sport to the people. But this period is characterized by what was lost to achieve a deceptive “gain.” Korea lost its traditional sports to westernization in the guise of “modernization.” In other words, to become a modern nation, Korea had to lose its cultural depth as expressed in Korean sports. With their cultural identity swept away by the powerful winds of “modernization,” Korean souls were laid bare to the final onslaught of the 1980s, the politicization of sport to tyrannize the people. An empty vessel is always ripe for new wine, whether it is sweet or bitter. In Korea’s case the new wine left a stinging distaste in the country.

In theory, sport can play a role in national development by promoting a people’s national identity even when opposed by a foreign colonizing influence. Athletes reflect the physical prowess of the nation as they compete against an otherwise unconquerable foreign foe. This was evident during Japanese colonialism, when early Korean modern sport expressed national identity as a focus for colonial resistance. It kept the light of freedom burning. Korean people enjoyed traditional sport, which provided a sense of

identity, belonging, and unity as Koreans, even though Korea did not exist as an independent political entity. That would come later.²

After Liberation from Japan in 1945, the Korean War, and the early years of nation-building in the 1960’s, sport reflected a new-found status, “modernization” or “JOOK KEUNDAEWHA” in Korean. No longer did Korean athleticism represent resistance against an oppressive world order, now it provided entrée into the modern world system as a full-fledged partner. But, while Korea had been going through the modernization imperative in the 1960s and 1970s, traditional order, norms, social relations, and customs had rapidly deteriorated, considered to be pre-modern “old stuffs” that needed to be discarded. Traditional Korean sport and games faced a crisis of decline. Literally, it meant the death Korean traditional sports and the onslaught of Westernization. For example I remember the Westernization of Ssirum (Korean wrestling) and TaeKwondo (Korean martial art).³

Westernization brought a dichotomous affinity between sport and Korean people who couldn’t identify historically and culturally with those games. I argue the popularity of high school baseball in those days was caused by people’s identification with their home school, not for love of the baseball game itself. Therefore, if people didn’t graduate from the schools in the league, they paid little interest to the game. Winds also blew strongly at the national level. The national policy centering on elite modern sport also accelerated this tendency.

² Gap-Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean Basketball Association), Interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.
Sport emerged as an important element for implementing political objectives, with the establishment of the Fourth Republic in 1972 with President Park’s new Constitution “Revitalizing Reforms” or “Yushin.” The national government began to promote South Korea internationally and to increasingly develop international relations with Western nations and with some of the less hostile Communist countries. International sports competitions provided an excellent tool for South Korea’s political objectives.\(^4\)

I will discuss the characteristics of the government impact by looking at the stated policy for the development of the sports, and to contextualize the changes in the sport promotion policies by comparing developments within Korea with those of other countries. In particular, the background and characteristics of the governments’ efforts to advance sport, such as the National Sport Promotion Law, first established in 1962, will be analyzed in comparison with the strong people policy of the United States, the Golden Policy of the former West Germany, and the Pan-National Policy of Japan. I will examine procedures for selecting leaders of sports groups, the actual conditions of the operating budgets for sports, and the development of diplomatic policy through sport.

The social, political and sport background in South Korea led up to the Chun Doo Hwan presidency and his tyrannical “Sport Republic” of the 1980s. The political harnessing of sport during the 1970s became a foundation for the “golden sport era” also known as the “Sport Republic.” The historical background of the pre-Chun regime provided a framework for answering a central question: What did international athletic

victories or hosting international sport events mean to the Chun government in the 1980s?

3.2 Overview of Society (The Third and Fourth Republic)

3.2.1 The Third Republic (May 16, 1961 ~ Oct. 17, 1972)

Before May 16, 1961, the Democratic Republic Party’s government did not solve the social conflicts resulting from the First Republic. Rather, the government lost the support from the people due to political infighting within the government. It was quickly evident, the government was helpless in achieving historic goals of democratic implementation and economic development. This disappointed citizens and students, and they vigorously demonstrated with public protests. The whole society became politically chaotic while economically the rate of unemployment and inflation increased. As a result, the government lost control of the country. The society demanded a new government, which unfortunately led to an ironic turn of events antithetical to the demands of the populace. The military usurped the government. The military replaced the inefficient civil regime and transformed the whole society with the brute force of steel and cunning strength unlike the former government.\(^5\)

The Third Republic, formed on the basis of this social background, consisted of two types of government systems: the direct military administration for about 2 1/2 years, (May 16, 1961-Dec. 16, 1963) and the Democratic Republic Party administration, a puppet of military control for almost nine years (Dec. 17, 1963-Oct. 17, 1972). The government system of the Third Republic could be characterized as an ‘authoritative
military government,' which justified its existence by dredging up the contrary aspects of the Second Republic that was regarded as ‘provisional democratic government’. It could also be defined as an administration of ‘authoritative modernization’ due to its autocratic efforts to modernize the country.\(^6\)

The characteristics of the Third Republic were closely related to its national goals and its brutal processes to achieve the goals. On the basis of the political atmosphere in the domestic and international environment, the First Republic interspersed by the long term of Park Jung-Hee’s administration could be categorized into three periods, each of which had national goals and policies as follows.\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military Administration</td>
<td>Anti-Communism, Economic growth</td>
<td>Control by Armed Force</td>
<td>Definite Success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1961-1963)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernization of the fatherland</td>
<td>Self-supporting Economic</td>
<td>Plan of Economic development</td>
<td>Moderate economic growth, equitable distribution of wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1963-1969)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National restoration</td>
<td>Long-term economic growth, national security</td>
<td>Continuance of plan of economic development, national security</td>
<td>High growth of economy, maldistribution of wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1969-1972)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 National goals and Policies of the Third Republic

The Third Republic considered its administrative authority to be superior to the process of the democratic development, and thus the administrative authority was highly empowered to preferentially complete the stated goals. Under these circumstances, the


\(^6\) Han, *Politics of Korea*, 14; Chang, “Modernization of Authority Power and the Third Republic,” 225-247.

bureaucracy had the means to demonstrate its roles as arbiter, and to succeed in establishing all social regularities. The bureaucracy effectively ran national affairs by adopting a long-term plan for national development, the initiation of a consistent program and management system, and the reinforcement plan to alleviate problematic matters in the society.⁸

The strongly authoritative characteristic of the Third Republic meant that the government could force the people to follow its policies rather than inspire them to participate in the policies. Along with this characteristic, the administration of the Third Republic managed to adapt the policy of ‘regulation intention priority’ influencing all fields in the society. As a signal of this regulation policy controlling every section in the society, the military government proclaimed that all political parties and social organizations should be dismissed on May, 22 1961, which caused Korea Athletic Association to dissolve and remain unable to function for about two months.⁹

3.2.2 The Fourth Republic (Oct. 17, 1972 ~ Oct. 26, 1979)

Within South Korea, President Park first imposed a state of emergency on the country, then proceeded with a purge of government, a “coup d’etat from within,” leading to a new and much more authoritarian regime, the Fourth Republic, under the so-called Yushin (Revitalization) Constitution. Some observers believe that Park was genuinely frightened by the power and discipline his protégés had seen in North Korea, as well as worried about diminution of U.S. support under Nixon-Kissenger’s détente policy.

However, he had nearly lost the 1971 presidential election to charismatic opposition figure, Kim Dae Jung, whose capacity to govern the country under such circumstances was distrusted by the military. So Park had the military in tow. The election was preceded by amendment of the Constitution to permit Park a third term—evoking memories of Rhee's controversial 1954 amendment for the same purpose.\(^\text{10}\)

A significant change in the constitution, adopted in 1972 with virtually no public debate or discussion, had given Park the authority to maintain himself in office indefinitely by creating an electoral college that was dominated by his own appointees and party members. This and other elements of the 1972 constitutional revision known collectively as the “revitalizing Reforms,” or the Yushin system, followed Park’s near-lose of the presidential election of 1971. In that election, Park’s opponent, Kim Dae Jung, won 45.3 percent of the popular vote.\(^\text{11}\) To remove the possibility of having to stand for popular election again, in 1972 Park asserted that the security situation in Northeast Asia was too fluid to permit disunity in the Republic.\(^\text{12}\) The Park government agreed that tighter controls were necessary to cope with the shift in American policy in accordance with what came to be known as the Nixon Doctrine.\(^\text{13}\) Following the announcement of

\(\text{\textsuperscript{9}}\) Ibid., 256; Korean Olympic Committee (KOC), KOC 50 years (1946-1996) (Seoul: Samsung press, 1996), 471.


\(\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\) Oliver, A History of the Korean People in Modern Times, 303-304.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\) President Park said that his proposed constitution amendments, the Yushin System, were designed to develop South Korea's own style of democracy to suit the nation's ideals and realities. New York Times, October 28 1972, 3. The Yushin System was no a form of democracy, but it was a form of monarchy or dictatorship. According to New York Times, this new Constitution's only purpose was to keep Park in power indefinitely. New York Times, 14 December 1972, 9.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{13}}\) As a result of Nixon doctrine, the United States withdrew the Seventh Division of the United States Army in South Korea, which had been stationed since the Korean War in 1950. President Nixon declared: "We shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense..... The United States can and will participate where our interests dictate, but as a weight—not the weight—in the scale." Richard Nixon, US Foreign Policy for the 1970s, (New York,
President Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972, the nature of confrontation between South and North changed from one of unmitigated hostility to one of probing dialogue. Such a national security problem justified Park's ruling by emergency decree.

Under the Yushin regime, the president had sweeping powers to rule by decree and used them aggressively to control political activity. For example, criticism of the Constitution itself was made a punishable offense. The legislature and the political parties represented in it were narrowly circumscribed in their activities, and although debate within the legislative hall was supposedly protected, it often was not reported to the public. The KCIA abducted Kim Dae Jung, the opposition challenger of 1971, from a Tokyo hotel in 1973 and imprisoned him in Seoul. The press censored itself within guidelines provided by the government. Such a change! The colonial press openly defined Japan, risking the lives of editors and reporters. Yet a Korean press could not be free under its government. Park achieved what Japan could not, a subservient press.

Opposition leaders, read a critical declaration from the pulpit of the Catholic cathedral in Seoul on March 1, 1976 (fifty-seventh anniversary of the independence uprising). With foreign reporter present the government was insulted. The event resulted in prison terms for those who signed it.14

Although South Korea rode out the oil crisis of 1973 with relatively little difficulty, the subsequent 1979 oil crisis was more serious. Its effects were compounded

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14 Macdonald, The Koreans, 57; The Catholic Church provided safe haven and support for the opposition. Catholic universities became the hotbed of student ferment against the government.
by overinvestment in heavy manufacturing and defense industry, another result of the new international uncertainty, and by rising demands for better industrial wages. A leading opposition assemblyman, Kim Young Sam, was expelled from the legislature for his criticism of Yushin regime policies. As Park's hard-line advisers clamped down on growing unrest, labor disputes and student demonstrations erupted into street riots. There were sharp disagreements within Park's entourage over how to handle the disturbances. The nation was shocked by the news on the night of October 26, 1979, that President Park himself had been shot and killed in a firefight between quarreling officials within the presidential compound. The assassin, in fact, was Park's own fellow military academy graduate and KCIA director, Kim Chae Kyu.  

The Fourth Republic was created under the new constitution misnamed the "Revitalizing Reform" (Yushin) Constitution, which was adopted in a national referendum on November 21, 1972. The "reform" constitution drafted by the then martial law government of President Park introduced a tougher ruling structure through a novel form of political institution called the National Conference for Unification (NCU). It was essentially an electoral college whose main job was to choose the President through indirect selection. NCU is also mandated to act as the supreme deliberative organ of the nation, acting on such paramount issues as territorial unification. The NCU opened its inaugural session on December 23, 1972 and elected President Park as the eighth President. President Park was sworn in on December 27. On February 27, 1973, voters went to the polls to elect 146 representatives to the 219-seat National Assembly. The ruling Democratic Republican Party won 73 seats, while the opposition New Democratic

Party took 52 seats. The splinter Democratic Unification Party, a political grouping formed by dissident members of the NDP, won only two seats. The remaining 19 seats went to independents. In accordance with the Constitution, the NCU elected the rest of 73 seats of the National Assembly as hand-picked by President Park on March 7, 1973.16

President Park on June 23, 1973 announced a seven-point foreign policy declaration dropping Korea’s long-standing objection to the simultaneous entry into the United Nations of both the Republic of Korea and North Korea. In the significant foreign policy shift which was hailed by the international community as a “milestone” in the history of Korean diplomacy, Park declared that Korea would not oppose North Korea admission into the world organization if it facilitated world détente and expedited peaceful territorial unification of Korea.17

The Korean Chief Executive at the same time reiterated his government’s readiness to open its doors to all communist countries not hostile toward the Republic of Korea irrespective of differences in their ideologies and political and social systems. The Chief Executive at the same time vowed to carry on inter-Korean dialogue in the spirit of the July 4 South-North Rapprochement Agreement signed in 1972. As long both sides did not interfere in each other’s internal affairs, the President said his declaration should by no means be construed as recognizing the North Korean regime as a legitimate government.18

Unbeknownst then, Park’s détente policy was a windfall for the Korean sporting world. The official thawing of rotations opened a window for on era of sports diplomacy.

17 Ibid., 281.
18 Ibid.
Détente and sports diplomacy fed on each other. As more sports exchanges took place, the window gaped wider in other kinds of exchanges, such as trade, culture and education. Sports allowed an established forum through which détente could be sustained and reciprocated.

But on the domestic front, there was no détente. The government’s steely grip pressed harder the people. President Park Chung Hee proclaimed series of Presidential Emergency Decrees in 1974, invoking Article 53 of the new Constitution which empowered him to take “extraordinary measures” in time of national crisis. On January 8, 1974. He issued Presidential Emergency Decree No. 1, banning all activities opposing, distorting or slandering the Yushin Constitution as well as any press reports on those activities.¹⁹

At the same time, he issued Presidential Emergency Decree No. 2 promulgating the establishment of special martial courts to deal with violators of Decree No 1. The Emergency Decree No. 2 provided for taking into custody all violators of Decree No. 1 without arrest warrants and giving them prison sentences of up to 15 years.²⁰ Détente, in its cruelest irony meant duplicating the communist tactics on free Korean soil.

On January 14, 1974, President Park promulgated Presidential Emergency Decree No. 3 “for the purpose of stabilizing the people’s livelihood” by drastically cutting or exempting taxes for low-income earners. On April 3, 1974, Presidential Emergency Decree No. 4 was promulgated to outlaw the so-called “National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students” which Park said was plotting the overthrow of the

²⁰ Ibid.
government through clandestine subversive activities. It also ordered the closure of the schools engaged in anti-state activities.\textsuperscript{21}

On April 8, 1975, president Park promulgated Presidential emergency Decree No. 7 ordering temporary closure of Korea University and banning rallies and demonstrations on its campus. This decree was lifted on May 13. Another Presidential Emergency Decree, this time No. 9, was issued on May 13, 1975 to consolidate the national consensus as well as to strengthen the total security posture in the wake of the victory of communist government in South Asia. These included people's victories in Vietnam, Cambodia and later, Laos.\textsuperscript{22}

The decree called for imprisonment of no less than one year plus suspension of civil rights for no more than 10 years for any campaign against the existing Constitution, politically motivated student demonstrations, press reports thereof and a number of specified wrongdoing including bribery and land speculations. This decree was in reality a revival of emergency decrees issued in early 1974 and lifted in August of the same year. Later that year some 200 students and other dissidents were jailed by the military court for their anti-government campaigns.\textsuperscript{23}

President Park and his 18-year rule came to an abrupt, tragic end on December 26, 1979. Park, his two top aids, Cha Ji-chol, the top presidential bodyguard, and KCIA Director Kim Jae-kyu, were meeting in a carousel at a KCIA safehouse restaurant to discuss the explosive situation in Pusan. A pall of darkness had descended on what was widely believed to be the securely entrenched regime of Park Chung Hee when a series of

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 298-299.
serious student demonstrations erupted in Pusan and another port city of Masan on the east coast.\(^\text{24}\)

The students hit the streets when it was known that Park's perennial presidency would continue for four more years under the arbitrary electoral college system of Park's own design. The most urgent agenda of the moment for the top leaders of Park regime was whether to resort to shooting to quell the demonstrations which were intensifying daily. It was during the heated discussion that the KCIA director shot and killed Cha and Park in that order. Other KCIA agents killed four of Park's bodyguards on the spot, effectively ending Park and his 18-year-long rule.\(^\text{25}\)

In retrospect, eighteen years of the Park regime had wrought fundamental changes in the power structure of South Korea before Kim Chae-Gue, Director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, assassinated Park Chung-Hee on the night of October 26, 1979.\(^\text{26}\) By 1979 the military was stronger than ever. Although Park had succeeded in keeping the armed forces under control during his years in power, there was no one else who could command loyalty throughout the service hierarchies. Other power centers had developed as well. The economy had grown enormously giving rise to the "Chaebol," major business enterprise such as Hyundai, Daewoo, and Samsung, which were powering Korea's emergence as a major trading nation. Park's government had gathered political power in ChongWa-Dae, the "Blue House," and from there an administrative staff ran the

\(^{24}\) Ibid, 299.

\(^{25}\) Ibid.

executive branch, the secret police (the KCIA), the ruling Democratic Republican Party and, through it, the National Assembly.\(^\text{27}\)

Using security crises and the successive economic performance that followed throughout the 1970s as justification, Park simply continued ruling by decree until his death. After the American withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975, the South Korean government argued ever more strongly that national security required Yushin-type limits on dissent. With more than a touch of Confucian dislike for disunity and discord, the Park government habitually equated democratic opposition with “anti-state” attitudes. Under the existing national security laws, it was easy for the state to label anyone active in the opposition a security risk and traitor.\(^\text{28}\)

The Park government used economic growth to gain public toleration for the Yushin system of government. From the early 1970s, South Korea’s Gross National Product (GNP) grew at rates exceeding ten percent. There was a clear rise in the standard of living as per capita income grew from US$ 87 in 1962 to roughly US$ 1,503 in 1980. Though most Korean workers were not able to enjoy the full benefits of Korean modernization, especially in the early years, by the mid-1970s there were real gains being made. The early Park-era exhortation to “Produce! Export! Build!” was bringing results. In the rural areas of Korea, the Saemaul undong (New Community Movement) was bringing improvement in the economic lives of farmers.\(^\text{29}\)

\(^{27}\) Large South Korean business conglomerates, engaged through their component units in many lines of industry, which have played key roles in the export drive of the Republic of Korea from the mid-1960s. Oliver, A History of the Korean People in Modern Times, 303-304.

\(^{28}\) Nordlinger, Soldiers in Politics (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 136-137; Stephen B Wickman, South Korea, 109

\(^{29}\) A nationwide movement launched in 1971 by South Korean President Park Chung Hee to mobilize villagers for their own mutual benefit to improve their quality of life. Villagers were encouraged to band together for group action on public works such as housing, roads, irrigation, and community facilities, as
When Park was assassinated in 1979, the situation was thus thrown into confusion. The State Council immediately ordered the declaration of martial law. Choi Gyu Ha, a senior official and former prime minister, was elevated to acting president. KCIA director Kim Chae-Gyu, was immediately arrested. The martial law commander, General Chung Seung-Hwa, ordered an investigation to determine whether there had been a conspiracy, and to find out who else was involved. To head the investigation, Chung named Major General Chun Doo Hwan, chief of the army security command, the military version of the civilian KCIC.\(^{30}\)

For several weeks after Park's assassination, despite martial law, there was great hope within Korea that the Yushin decrees would be replaced with a more responsive democratic system. Many felt that Korea had grown and matured politically to the point where mere force was not enough to legitimize the exercise of power. There was hope that people would not permit a regression to rule by a military junta. The military itself was part of this mature emerging nation, and shared the people's yearning for freedom from the terror and tension of the Yushin years. Even Roh Jae-Hyun, the Minister of Defense, announced that the nation's military leaders were willing to support President Choi, and his new democratic policies.\(^{31}\)

However, in a coup on December 12, 1979, General Chun Doo Hwan, as head of the government investigation into Park's death, arrested army chief general and martial

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\(^{30}\) New York Times, October 27, 1979, 6; October 31, 1979, 1; Kim Che-Gyu's arrest and his death still remains a matters of historical confusion.

\(^{31}\) President Choi's first act was to restore full civil rights to 684 political dissidents, including Yun Po sun and Kim Dae Jung, whose political activities had been proscribed. On March 13, 1980, he inaugurated a Constitution Revision Committee, charged to end the Yushin system and return democratic control to the
law commander, General Chung Seung-Hwa, for complicity in the assassination. In the
coup, initially of limited scope, General Chun and a handful of his colleagues, all
classmates from the 11th class of the Korean Military Academy (1955), seized control of
the military. Major General Roh Tae-Woo, later a sport leader and then President of
South Korea, ordered his Ninth Division troops into Seoul, and in a bloody seven-hour
battle, captured the headquarters of the Korean army and the Ministry of Defense.
Although General Chun in reality took over the government, he initially left in place a
figurehead civilian president. In April 1980, Chun secured power by illegally naming
himself KCIA director, while retaining his power in the army. He also required President
Choi to create a National Security Council, with power to govern without constitutional
constraints, and he took chairmanship of the Standing Committee of the Council, which
exercised full powers in continuous session. Widespread anger of protest broke out in
demonstrations, climaxing on May 15, 1980, in a march through the streets of Seoul by
some 100,000 students and citizens. In an effort to avert bloodshed, the students called
off their demonstrations against martial law.\textsuperscript{32}

Nationwide martial law was nevertheless proclaimed two days later under the
direct command of Chun. All political parties were ordered to suspend their activities.

\textsuperscript{32} Newsweek, January 21, 1980, 54, and February 9, 1981, 48; Oliver, \textit{A History of the Korean People in Modern Times}, 315; President Choi Gyu-Ha promised that the Government’s intent was to carry out Constitutional revision and elections. Yet, because he did not have any power to keep his promises, he was a mere figurehead for the military coup. U.S. Congressman Armacost said that President Choi “represents the continuity of civilian government.” Although Armacost believed that Choi had no major political power, he said: “I think it is fair to say that the major decisions at this point are developed within a structure in which the military exercises a very dominant voice.” As quoted in U.S. Congress, U.S.-South Korea relations, 96th Cong., 2nd Sess., August 1980, 11; General Chun illegally became director of the KCIA. Chun took the position while he still remained in the army. The KCIA is, under the Constitution, a civilian organization, not part of the army; \textit{New York Times}, May 16, 1980, 3.
Opposition leader Kim Dae Jung was arrested on the charge that he instigated the anti-government disorder. On May 18, in the city of Kwangju in South Cholla province, approximately 500 students demonstrated, demanding the end of martial law and the resignation of General Chun. Martial law troops reinforced by “Black Beret” paratroopers surrounded the demonstrators and spectators and indiscriminately beat and bayoneted them. Several dozens of people were killed. From the end of the Kwangju massacre until May 27, hundreds of people were killed by their own army. The political situation turned cruel and repressive compared to the nearly bloodless 1961 Park coup.  

The Kwangju massacre demonstrated that General Chun and elements within the armed forces were willing to kill Korean citizens to retain power. This massacre had severely damaged the claim to legitimacy of Chun Doo-Hwan’s regime. After the Kwangju massacre, Chun forced the figurehead president to resign. General Chun then resigned from the army on August 22, 1980, and was elected as acting president by a rubber-stamp electoral college, the National Conference for Unification, on August 30.

The Chun government developed out of the breakdown of the Yushin regime, although Chun preserved the governing structure and the government’s major policies despite the adoption of a new Constitution after the Kwangju uprising. One major change

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33 New York Times, May 19, 1980, 3; Donald N. Clark, The Kwangju Uprising: Shadows over the Regime in South Korea (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 12; Clark and scholars give a full explanation of the Kwangju Uprising in this book; According to the Martial law Command, 170 people died in the incident, but diplomats and residents of the provincial capital of South Cholla said at least 250 were killed. New York Times, June 1, 1980, 4.

34 According to Nordlinger, there are two types of military coups. First, the office corps as leading nationalists, who are commonly able to rationalize away or sincerely justify even their predatory actions. Since they identify with the nation, what is to the advantage of the military is also good for the country. Second is the personal interests of officers. Their desire for promotions, political ambitions, and fear of dismissal are important motivating factors in a significant number of coups. The coup of 1961 was probably of the first type. At least, most people thought that the coup was necessary for the nation. Chun’s coup was the second type. Nordlinger, Soldiers in Politics, 65-66.
in the new constitution was that it strictly limited the president to a single seven-year term of office. According to the new constitution, 5,278 presidential electors were chosen in a national election on February 11, 1981. The electoral college met February 25 and elected Chun with 90 percent of the vote.\footnote{\textsuperscript{36}}

After the presidential election, President Chun claimed that his government’s goals were to have peaceful, stable, and democratic policies. He also promised, and eventually delivered, a peaceful transfer of political power at the end of his term.\footnote{\textsuperscript{37}} In practice, the Chun government returned to a dictatorship similar to the one it overthrew. Throughout its rule, the most troublesome issue for the Chun government was its legitimacy. Most South Koreans did not accept “national security” as a justification for authoritarian military rule. Furthermore, the 1980 coup from which the Chun government originated had ended a democratization process after 18 years of authoritarian military rule under Park. Because of Chun’s harsh political origin, the South Korean people did not support Chun and his government during his presidential period.\footnote{\textsuperscript{38}}

3.3 Sport Policy of the State

The Third and Fourth Republic were a time of contrast. Contrast because the politicians attempted to improve the physical well-being of the people, but at the end of the day, they ignored the peoples’ interests by casting their eyes toward the glamour of elite athleticism. The hard, toned bodies of elite athletes were more appealing than the

\textsuperscript{36} U.S. congress, \textit{U.S. Presidential Delegation to the Inauguration of the President of the R.O.K.}, 97\textsuperscript{th} Cong., 2\textsuperscript{nd} Sess., 1981, 33.  
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 27.}
raw material of the public that begged to be developed. Still much progress was made, as indicated by the optimistic goals of the National Sports Promotion Law of 1962. School programs were started, facilities funded, teachers trained, and a place found for Physical education in the national college entrance examinations. But the real “progress” occurred elsewhere. It occurred in the funding of major national sport centers for training elite athletes who would carry the torch for the politicians on to the sporting field of battle and in international arenas.

In this chapter I compare and contrast the government’s paltry effort to develop physical education, to the government’s grander intent to develop an elite corps of athletes.

From 1961 to 1980, a series of laws and administration changes altered the content, structure and significance of physical education (see Table 3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Policy Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 12, 1961</td>
<td>Temporary law, Article 681 requires middle, high schools, and universities to apply 14.3% of physical measurement test score measurement test to the national university entrance exam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2, 1961</td>
<td>Government reorganization promotes the Department of Physical Education, which had been under the management of the Ministry of Culture to the Bureau of Physical Education. The Bureau of Physical Education expanded and emphasized its missions by organizing the Department of National Sports and the Department of School Sports.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 The administration of physical education during the reform period (1961-1980) (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 17, 1962</td>
<td>National Sports Promotion Law instituted to realize the national policies for improving the peoples' physical conditioning, and to promote physical education more systematically.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 24, 1963</td>
<td>Rejects proposal for a national conference with North Korea to form a unified team for the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December, 1963</td>
<td>Bureau of Physical Education tenure expires; reorganized as the Bureau of Art and Sports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July, 1968</td>
<td>Bureau of Art and Sports under the Ministry of Education reorganized as the Bureau of Social Education, which includes Department of Physical Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1970</td>
<td>National Sports Promotion Committee formulated with the Prime Minister as chairman in order to realize the national policies regarding physical education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 31, 1970</td>
<td>Department of Physical Education again promoted to the Bureau of Physical Education under the Ministry of Education; Presidential Decree, article 5320 mandates national policies regarding physical education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1972</td>
<td>South Korea and North Korea jointly announce physical education and sport event exchanges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Department of School Lunches, Department of National Sports, and Department of School Sports established in the Bureau of Physical Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Reorganization of the physical education conditioning examination into physical charter involving seven subjects and requiring high schools and universities to assign the test score to the entrance exam (before the reorganization, only high schools were required to do this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7, 1979</td>
<td>Sports exchange with Communist countries at the Universiade Games in Moscow, USSR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First national conference held between the Korea Table-Tennis Association and North Korea, but proposal rejected to form a unified team with North Korea for the 35th International Table-Tennis games in Pyongyang. South Korea ultimately boycotts the games.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having taken power over the country by a military coup in May 16, 1961, the Third Republic set its priorities to enhance economic development as well as maintain national security and build the country’s defense. As an authoritarian regime, the administration was willing to embrace any strategy to achieve its national goals, and it had considerable resources to do so. To achieve national prestige, especially to demonstrate wealth and military power, the government began to improve the conditions of physical education in schools, which gave the appearance that national goals were of benefit to the peoples’ interests. However, the attempt was half-hearted for the people and ultimately self-serving for the military-politicians. The administration directed all schools to emphasize health and physical education, through which all students could develop their physical conditioning on the basis of the principle of harmonizing body and soul. Moreover, the administration further reinforced physical education in schools by
obligating all schools to assess students’ physical strength for the entrance test for upper levels.  

As is traditional in Korea, and in practical abeyance with the educational system, most teachers directed students to focus on several main subjects essential for entrance exams to upper-grade schools. These were usually strictly academic subjects, such as mathematics or literature. This practice was culturally ingrained by Confucian values that favored a cultivated mind over the “brute” force of the human body. For this reason, it was natural that teachers and students had not been enculturated to the practice of physical education even though it was included in the school curriculum. In many schools, students, especially in the upper grades, were led to substitute academic subjects for physical education, while lower-grade students would have some opportunities to study physical education at the beginning of the school year, but then encouraged to change later on. Under these circumstances, it could be hardly expected that the practice of physical education would be effective. Therefore, the physical conditions of students became worse. 

Even though physical education was considered less important, in reality mind and body are conceptually one and some Eastern philosophical schools of thought have long maintained that one must keep a fit body to keep a fit mind. The educational practices of this period clearly ran counter to this train of thought. As the government acknowledged that physical was deemphasized, it formulated the law, Article 681 titled

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the temporary law concerning the system of entrance exams for middle, high schools, and universities. The goal of this law was to give importance to physical education by dramatically increasing the score it was assigned to the entrance exams to high school and college. At that time, the assigned scores to physical education was 14.3% of the total score.  

In addition, the government sincerely supported the development of physical education as far as it consider that it would facilitate the people to improve their physical conditioning, and also help to spread the prestige of the nation. On October 2, 1961, the government reorganized the sports bureaucracy to better achieve its aims as it promoted the Department of Sport, which had been under the control of the Ministry of Culture, to the separate status of the Bureau of Sport, and independent agency responsible for its own budget. The Bureau of sports included the department of National and School Sports of the Bureau of Sports. Moreover, the Ministry of Sports began to receive an annual budget raised from 0.3 million won to 100 million won and secured an increase in the number of employees from 3 or 4 to over 20.  

In September 1962, the government formulated the National Sports Promotion Law as a way to improve the physical condition of its people and give new importance to physical education in the schools. This program was an extension of President Park Chung Hee’s slogan “Strong People make a Strong Nation.” The main content of the law provided for: creating organizations to promote physical education, funding for physical education, conducting sports events, holding sports workshops to train teachers and

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41 Out of a total score of 175, the written examination Maximum score was 150 points, while physical placement test counted for maximum of 25  
administrators, and school sports. In other words, the law specified the organizations, funds, facilities, physical directors, and sports science relevant to the development of physical education. The law was revised several times over the next decade, which reduced its impact, but at least it provided solid, concrete written guidance and reflected the government's intent of encouraging physical training and it gradually carried out a policy of physical education, reinforcing school physical exercise, supporting athletic organizations, popularizing the population of exercise, promoting the circumstance of exercise. The concept of sports-nationalism was brought into relief affirmatively by standing on the basis of national policy including a national budget. Many Koreans made much comment that the government spends too much money and effort on cultivating specific athletes to produce good records at international sporting events during the regime of President Park. Yet the regime of President Park couldn't help but pursue national solidarity in order to achieve the revival of the country and economic independence.\(^4\)

The government claimed to stand for an epoch-making athletic policy for physical education, which was intensively represented in the 'National Athletic Promotion Law' formulated in 1962. According to the law, discrimination was prohibited in availability of physical education programs to schoolchildren, and in acquiring national health insurance protection. Moreover, the law was based on principles of constitutional law,

significant in that the land’s highest legal document made the government squarely and solely responsible for organizing and guiding physical education.44

The law provided for the following: (1) the enactment of ‘Athlete Day’ and ‘Athlete Week’, (2) the promotion of local physical education, (3) the promotion of physical education for students and workers, especially the establishment of athletic teams in working places, (4) the establishment of training facilities for physical leaders and of guidance for the leaders’ qualification, (5) the improvement of sports facilities, (6) the foundation of national sports complexes, (7) the utilization of currently available facilities, (8) the programs for training and supporting athletes, (9) the stimulation of the production of sport apparel by tax exemption on the product, (10) national funding for local athletic organizations, (11) funding for athletic organizations and the foundation and management of funds for the promotion of physical education, (12) funding and tax exemption for private sports facilities, (13) the prescription of penal regulations.45

It can be argued that the law was positive in that it conceptualized the government’s primary role in supporting physical education, which yielded the expansion of sports facilities as well as increasing public participation in sport. Despite the gains, the law failed to provide anywhere near sufficient money to effectively conduct its significant task of promoting national physical education. In other words, there was a vital variation between the rhetoric and promises of the National Sports Promotion Law and the reality. The programs for the promotion were not realistic or practical. The look of financial resource can be observed by comparing the per person expenditure of Korea with other countries. Even though Korea’s budget for the years 1964 through 1966 had

44 The Constitutional law article 9, 27, 31
increased from what it was earlier in the decade, it hardly reached one percent of that of West Germany, and roughly three percent of Italy (Table 3.3). This demonstrates that the government’s plan for the improvement for physical education was not adequately funded, and therefore one could expect little or no progress from this law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Budget of Physical Education</th>
<th>Per-Person allocation Physical Education (won)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3,720,000 Lira</td>
<td>410 won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West German</td>
<td>959,000 Marc</td>
<td>1,344 won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea (1964)</td>
<td>5,169,000 won</td>
<td>9.08 won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea (1965)</td>
<td>3,793,200 won</td>
<td>6.65 won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea (1966)</td>
<td>7,461,800 won</td>
<td>12.78 won</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Budget of Physical Education (1964)\(^{46}\) (Unit: won)

In addition to deficient funding, the lack of planning to expand sports facilities caused the government’s plan to be ineffective. Even if school funding had been sufficient, people had no place to play after the dismissal bell rang. West Germany was a fine example of how to successfully promote physical education nationwide by managing facilities people could utilize in swimming pools, gymnasiums, playing grounds, and so on. In contrast, the National Athlete Promotion Law in Korea was unrealistic because it lacked consistency in stipulating concrete schemes for expansion. What is remarkable is the private sector’s progress in building facilities despite the law’s neglect for funding. For example, in 1970, nation-wide there were only two gymnasiums available in Seoul’s YMCA and Taenung Training Center. Only Seoul could accommodate athletes to play on lawn fields.\(^{47}\)

\(^{45}\) The legislation 1146. (September 17, 1962)


\(^{47}\) Korean Olympic Committee, Physical Education Blue Book (Seoul: KOC, 1972), 82; These data do not include sports facilities at U.S. military installations, which were only available to U.S. service personnel.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of School</th>
<th>Number of Gymnasium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>5,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle &amp; High School</td>
<td>2,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High professional school</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior college</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education university</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 1970s condition of Gymnasium facilities

The cruel irony was that the law required each school to have one gymnasium! In reality, Table 3.3 show one was accessible for each 27 elementary schools and 11 middle/high schools. The government could have strived to increase the number of gymnasiums as well as other types of sports facilities for physical education. A lesson of golden programs in West Germany was that it was essential to secure adequate sports facilities in order to successfully develop national talent. The National Athlete Promotion Law, established in 1962, was not realistic or practical as long as it did not increase sports facilities for physical education. It was a fantasy in the minds of the public officials. They passed a law, then washed their hands of responsibility.

3.3.1 The South-North Sports meeting for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics

In addition to laws and legislation relevant to sport and physical, the Korean government was involved in policy making for elite athletes and international competition. At the recommendation of the 59th IOC Session that a unified Korean team participate at the Tokyo Olympics, three rounds of discussions between the North and the

anyway. The U.S. military effort included wide-ranging facilities to maintain troops’ health, morale and welfare.

South took place under the arbitration of the IOC in 1963. The first, held in Lausanne, focused mainly on the issues of the flag, the selection of athletes, and national anthem for the unified team. The South Korean delegation was led by Kim Jin-Ku, and senior representatives included Jhung Walter, Sohn Kee Chung, Min Yoong-Shik, Kim Chung-Yun, and Hwang Yup. From the North were Kim Yong-Hwang, Kim Kee-Su, Yang Sung-Uk and Kim Yong-Gu. Instead of IOC president Avery Brundage, IOC member Mohammed Taher (Egypt) chaired the meeting, Director General Otto Mayer and IOC member Albert Mayer also participated in the meeting.  

Regarding the flag issue, South Korea proposed its national flag, while the North proposed a flag featuring the South Korean national flag, on one side with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) flag on the other. Another option presented by the North was that a new flag illustrating the five Olympic rings on the center of the Korean peninsula be created, but there was no consensus on this option. With regard to the theme song, the South proposed the Korean native folk song "Arirang," but the North counterproposed that the North's national anthem be played for the first half of the 50 seconds, followed by the South's national anthem. In the end, the following agreements were tentatively made: 1) a unified team in principle is right and should be formed. 2) The theme song should be "Arirang." 3) The unified flag will be the five Olympic rings above the English word "Korea."  

The next round of discussions took place in Hong Kong on May 17, 1963. At this time, most of the previous participants were replaced, and the IOC arbitrators were not

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involved. The delegation from the South was led by Lee Hyo and included head representative Jung Sang-Yun and representative Hwang Yup, Cho Dong-Je, and Moon Hyun-Ju. The North’s head delegate was Kim Kee-Su, who was accompanied by representatives Koh Sang-Joon, Lee Il-Sung, Koh Hwa-sung, Kim Chul-Ho, and Suh Won-Joon. The two sides discussed how the unified team would be addressed and the agenda for this meeting. This second round of negotiations lasted until June 1, by which time both parties established the following topics for discussion: 1) the principle of athlete selection, 2) how to train athletes, and select staff and officials, 3) how to address the unified team, 4) how to march in the opening ceremony.\(^5^2\)

The results of this discussion were the following: 1) Olympic trials between the South and North should be held for all events, 2) the trials dates should be arranged by involved sport organizations as soon as possible, 3) the selection of the athletes should be made accordance to the Olympic Charter, regulations of each sport organization, and the spirit of amateurism, 4) the details meted out by respective sports organizations on both sides must receive confirmation from the presidents of both NOCs. The second meeting concluded with the issues to be addressed during the third round of discussions they decided to discuss: 1) how to address the unified team, 2) the selection of athletes, including time and locations, 3) athletes’ training process; and 4) the management of the unified team. Confusion arose when the Northern delegation returned home, and the representatives to the meeting broadcast a radio declaration stating that the second meeting was a failure because South Korea was uncooperative and careless. This raised the question of whether a third stage could actually take place. The third round opened in

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\(^{51}\) KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 83.
Hong Kong on July 26 through IOC arbitration, but the damage was done. Nothing was resolved.\textsuperscript{53}

The two Koreas sought and failed to work out their differences. Meanwhile on the home front, students found that to pass the physical education exam were high enough to challenge them to improve in their physical education studies. Since students made a lot of effort to practice physical activities, their physical strength and conditioning were remarkably improved as attested by the physical conditioning measurement. Moreover, the government instituted the guidance law for the Ministry of Education on May 31, 1963 that introduced special sports activities in order to attract students to physical education. Special sports consisted of physical activities involving parachutes, gliders, boats, motorboats, mountain climbing, swimming, and model planes. According to Article 118 of the law, the government formulated the Committee of Managing Special Sports Promotion to educate science and sports teachers about special sports, so the teachers could direct students. Due to these efforts, students actively participated in special sports. Yet one must question the guiding principle behind the law. Introducing students to exotic, expensive sports was hardly a way to involve them in lifetime fitness activities. A more conservative agenda of more common events, easily mastered and sustained, would have been a better approach.\textsuperscript{54}

(October 2, 1961) 5 bureaus and 22 departments

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{53} Vantage Point, Vol. 3, January 1980, 26 and Foreign Broadcast Information Service-APA, February 1979, E 2; KOC, 83-84.
Due to the government's revolutionary policy, people's health and body strength improved, but it would decline after the government reorganized the Ministry of Education on December 7, 1963 and the downgraded the Bureau of Sports into an agency within the Bureau of Arts and Literature. The move lowered the status of sports and relegated within the bureaucratic maze. As depicted in the previous chapter, the Third republic planned to energetically develop all fields of society, but it did not adopt a democratic method. They followed the strategy "regulation intention priority" programmed to control every social affairs. The government's policy for sport and physical education was also differentiated from those of the previous administration in
that the policy was designed for the achievement of the general revolution. However, the policy began to develop in harmony with the government’s intention in establishing specific national goals and managing them.\footnote{The Korean Federation of Education Associations (KFEA), \textit{Korean Education Yearbook} (Seoul: the Korean Federation of Education Associations, 1964), 176. 187; Ju Un Lee (professor of the Korean College of Physical Education), Interview with the author on the phone, April, 2001.}

More administrative shuffling was to come, which rendered sport an insignificant role in national. In July 1968 the administration of education and art was transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Information, and the Bureau of art and Literature was renamed as the Bureau of Social Education. Therefore, the Department of Sports became an appendage of the Bureau of Social Education, still lost in the suffocating bureaucracy of government, gasping for air. In 1970 the structure of the Ministry of Education was changed to “one’s duty system.”\footnote{Jong Cheol Kim, \textit{Theory and practice of Educational administration} (Seoul: publisher, 1970), 65.} Along with the change of governmental organization, the functioning of the Bureau of Sports became so weak that physical activities were reduced. In terms of school sports, students began to lose their interest in physical education, as they were not required to take the physical strength measurement test for the entrance exams to middle schools and universities. Although the entrance exam to high schools required students to take the physical strength measurement test, the assigned scores to the test were gradually reduced from 14.2% of the total scores to 12.5%, 5%, 3.3%, and 2.5%. Clearly a concept of total development of mind and body escaped policy makers. It also escaped students. Consequently students reacted rationally. They became negligent of the practice of physical education and their health suffered for it.
Figure 3.2 Administrative Structure of the Ministry of Education (Jan. 14, 1970)\textsuperscript{57}

(2 offices, 5 bureaus, 11 departments, and 17 departments in charge)

Change was to come, sports would assume an administrative prominence, policy emphasis and a practical impact on student. Along with the general international trend, the Korean government began to consider that the development of physical education should be essential not only to achieve the improvement of the people’s physical strength but also to spread its national prestige in the overall international sphere. Therefore, the government came to establish the law to pave the way for the promotion of physical education. To realize the national policies for the development of physical education, the government formed the National Conference for the Promotion of National Sports in 1970 with the prime minister as the chairman. The government promoted the Department of Physical Education to the status of the Bureau of Physical Education in order to actualize the national policies along with the law. Furthermore, the Korea Amateur Sports Association, as a non-governmental organization that involved 30 private sports organizations, was charged to promote physical education with national funds and its own funds. As the scores of the physical conditioning test influenced the total score of the entrance exams for universities, students again began to seriously practice physical education. As additional promotions, Korea domestically held the National Sports Meet, the National Children’s Sports Meet and other sports events. Internationally, Korea initiated exchange sports events with communist countries by sending athletes to the Universiade Games in Moscow in 1973.58

However, the sports competition between South and North Korea reflected such a severe political divide that it could be more accurately described as a propaganda competition. Games became a yardstick for measuring the national power, so both countries were anxious to defeat the other in sports. It is understandable that many countries in Asia would want to exhibit their national pride through the Asian Games or the Olympic Games, and quite a few countries in the world would dedicate their efforts to win as many medals as possible from international games through an organized program of sports science. International games would be an arena in which each country would like to display its national pride, exchange cultural ideals, and be eager to host other countries. However in the Korea’s case, competition was a war without guns, a test of the ideologies of two opposing systems. Thus rapprochement with the North was unrealized as Korea made sturiders in relations with other communist states.

3.3.2 Negotiations for the 1979 World Table Tennis championships in Pyongyang

The efforts to arrange sport exchanges between the Koreas was not dead despite a history of false starts and illusion. Taking a cue from the United States-China “Ping Pong diplomacy” another round was to begin. On February 20, 1979, chairman Kim Yoo-Soon of the DPRK Sports Leadership Committee, and Kim Deuk-Joo of the Table Tennis Association of North Korea proposed to South Korea Sports Council president Park Chong-Kyu and South Korea Table Tennis Association president Chae Young-Chul that

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59 Tae-Yong Lee, “World's Longest Sports Talks,” Koreana, Vo. 4, No. 3, 1990, 70. A North-South Red Cross meeting was a consequence of the international political situation. Since the late 1960s, the relationship between West and East bloc began to develop mutual coexistence and détente. 1972 U.S.-China Ping-Pong Diplomacy was a good example of détente. However, the Red Cross meeting ended without any compromise.
the North and South should negotiate president on February 27 details for a unified team to participate in the 1979 World Table Tennis Championship in Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. The abrupt offer to negotiate occurred just two months before the 35th World Table Tennis Championships, scheduled for April 26-May 6, 1979. For the sake of improving South-North relations, the Korea Sports Council and the Korea Table Tennis Association accepted the offer despite the time constraints. South Korea's immediate acceptance put the country vulnerable to the North's long-standing political pyrotechnics, was the North's sudden request a disguise to humiliate the South? It was a risk proposition for the South to accede.60

South Korea's delegation led by Chae Young-Chul, and North Korea's delegation led by Kim Deuk-Joon conducted the first meeting on February 27, 1979, in Panmunjom, which is located on the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) that separates the two Koreas. South Korea proposed that considering the time-consuming process involved, a unified Korean team be decided at latest by March 12. With little remaining before March 14 when the game brackets were to be established, the issue needed to be resolved as soon as possible. Also, in the event that the North did not follow through with a unified team, at least South Korea's athletes would still be able to participate.61

The North continuously requested the South to uphold the principle of establishing a unified team, while at the same time refusing to respond to the proposal for

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61 KOC, 84-85; Hap-Dong News Agency, *Korea Annual 1980*, 38 and *F.B.I.S.-APA*, February 27, 1979, E 2; KOC, 85; *F.B.I.S.-APA*, February 27, 1979, E 2. The name of “Koryo” was originally a name of kingdoms of ancient Korea.
actually creating a unified team made by the South. A war of words was on! The North also requested: That in principle, the most capable athletes be included, and those ranked as the best players by the World Table Tennis Federation should also be on the team. The remaining should consist of an equal number of athletes from the South and North for a total of 18. Pyongyang should provide all necessities and facilities, responsible for lodging southern athletes, and the leadership of the delegation shared by two people, one from each side. Finally, they wanted the name of the unified table tennis team would be called Koryo.62

The second round of negotiations began on March 5, in which the South requested that the North guarantee the right of South Korea to participate in the world championships as a legitimate member of the World Table Tennis Federation. On March 9, during the third round of negotiations, the South reiterated that it should have legitimate access to the World Table Tennis Championships. On March 12, during the fourth round of negotiations, and two days before the drawing for game brackets, South Korea repeated its request that the South be allowed to participate in the WTTC in the event that the unified team was not formed. At this time, the North refused the South’s request, and the entire negotiation to fell apart as the South did not participate in the event.63

In 1970 the president demonstrated his intention to emphasize the practice of physical education in the schools, and he suggested the policy to implement it. Along with his proposal, he proclaimed an executive order, Article 5320 in August 1970.

62 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 85.
According to the decree, the Department of Sports was again promoted to the status of the Bureau of Sports in order to realize the policy. The autonomy of the Ministry of Education as activated by the presidential decree had been revised nine times until December 8, 1973, including three revisions in the single year of 1973. Under such perpetual reorganization, one could hardly expect the government to lay a solid foundation to achieve the president’s goals. During the revision, the Department of School Lunches was established in the Bureau of Sports so that nutritionally deficient kids could build strength for physical education. The bureau had three departments with the Department of School Sports and the Department of National Sports.  

The physical strength measurement test, which was formerly required for the entrance exam to high schools, was restored to the university entrance exams as well as high schools. Therefore, middle and high school students became interested in sports both in and out of schools. Moreover, in March 1977, the government built sports schools to isolate prospective elite athletes for high-level training in all provinces as well as establishing the Hanguk College of Physical Education in order build a scholarly base to realize the promotion of sports.  

In order to establish national policies for the promotion of sports, the Minister of Education could nominate members to the National Sports Committee in concert with the president’s approval, and have them formulate the policies.

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64 The Korean Federation of Education Association (KFEA), The Korean Education YearBook, 187, 243.
65 Ibid.,356.
66 Sport Encyclopedic Dictionary Compilation, Sport Encyclopedic Dictionary (Seoul: Yehosa, 1974), 154
Figure 3.3 Administrative Structure, Ministry of Education (Feb. 18, 1978)\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{67} The Korean Federation of Education Associations (KFEA), The Korean Education Year Book (Seoul: KFEA, 1976), 356.
As described above, the Ministry of Education took change to administer physical education during the Third and Fourth republics.

The Third Republic’s efforts to establish an epoch-making policy to influence all aspects of social life led to the National Physical Education Promotion Law that showed conceptually how --at least-- administration wanted to emphasize physical education. Even though the law contained some good ideas for the development of national physical education, it was ineffective. It hardly suggested specific plans for implementing the law. It was a plan without punch. This was because the government preferentially focused on the development of economic strength, so it ignored spending national funds to promote national physical education.  

In addition, based on the characteristic of ‘bureaucratic authoritarianism’, the revolutionary government performed the trigger role in improving physical education. Its intentions to were demonstrated by the fact that Dongha Kim, a lieutenant general at that time, took office as the president of the Korea Amateur Sports Association that was reorganized after two-month suspension of operations. Hence with a general in command, the government approached the problem with the seriousness of a military campaign. Furthermore, at the nomination of the president, Lee Hyo a reserve rear admiral, was appointed as the association’s vice-president in charge of day-to-day affairs. The administration sustained this strategy of selecting high-ranking military officers in nominating other presidents. It was a faulty attempt to improve of physical education

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because in battle does not equal success on the playing field. These are two different games. 69

Obviously, the Third Republic planned to develop all aspects of social life, but the republic would not adopt a democratic method. It followed the strategy of 'regulation intention priority' programmed to control every aspect of social life by dictatorial decree. The government’s policy for physical education was different from the previous administrations in that it was designed to achieve a general revolution by fiat. However, the policy was developed in concert with the government’s overall political objectives at home and abroad. It was aimed at showcasing the country’s athletic talent rather than bringing health and physical education to the people. More effective policies to promote national physical education were neglected because specific national goals were aimed at training athletes to spread the nation’s prestige abroad. Although the administration in 1962 formulated the National Physical Education Promotion Law to guide the development of physical education, the administration failed to devote reliable financial aid to implement law. Instead, the government diverted national funds to the Korea Amateur Sports Association for the 10 years of the Third Republic. Moreover, the Third Republic’s measure to strengthen the country for national security and defense was closely related to the emphasis of physical education in schools.

3.3.3 National Sports Festival and National Youth Games

69 Korea Amateur Sports Association, KOC in Seventy Years, (Seoul: KASA, 1990), 688.
The National Sports Festival is Korea's biggest sports event. The festival succeeds the Korean National Games sponsored Korea Sports Council, which dates back to 1920 when its predecessor, the Chosun Sports Association, was created. The National Sports Festival involves high school students and above in 35 sports and four demonstration events. Over 20,000 athletes and officials representing 15 major cities and provinces and 13 overseas Korean communities take part in the games. In light of the sheer number of participants, the festival exceeds the Olympic Games.70

The Korean National Sports Festival had been successful through the take-off period and development process, conquering all the difficulties from the first game of 1920 to the 73rd of 1992. And till now, it had many trials and errors, but - -most importantly - - learned from many mistakes and then developed into the largest athletic meet in Korea, which created the “know-how’ at being able to conduct every kind of international athletic meet. Many players’ talents were nurtured through the meets, which ultimately promoted a national spirit and paved the way for joining in, not only national meets, but also international ones to receive worldwide recognition. But the transitional progress of the National Sport Festival had not been smooth.71

The National Games, which have boosted the nation’s athletic development in the international meets, have contributed much to the dissemination of Olympicism and promotion of sports among the public. The Games, held by 15 cities and provinces alternately, played a catalyst role in developing provincial sports activities and in recruiting promising athletes. The Korean National Sports Festival has enhanced the

71 Ibid.
quality of people’s living, and contributed to the establishment of better and sounder
society and to the cultivation of their personality that the society needs.\textsuperscript{72}

The sports festival is divided into summer and winter events, with the winter
sports festival helping the nation expand the winter sports facilities which lag behind
those for summer sports. The festival is not restricted to a mere athletic competition, but
involves various cultural programs aimed at introducing local culture and raising the level
of sports culture. Team rank by point in the sports festival. Athletes representing their
respective cities and provinces try their best under the fair competition rules while the
festival promotes sports nationwide.

In order to incite even younger ages with the love for sport, the National Junior
Sport Games (NJSG) were created in 1972 for elementary and middle school students.
The games are held in the site of the previous National Sports Festival, a year after the
latter is held. The NJSG helped enlarge the base of the sports population and promoting
the sports-for-all programs. More important it created enthusiasm and gave an early
training start to future elite athletes. The KOC has repealed the points ranking system
which was criticized for causing an excessive medal race among the young student
athletes, and combined the game with educational and cultural events. The festival
features 14 sports for elementary school division and 26 sports for middle school
students.\textsuperscript{73}

3.3.4 The Historical Background of Sport Diplomacy

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} KOC, \textit{KOC in Fifty Years,} 302-303.
Sport not only affected Koreans at home, it had a great influence abroad too. Starting in the 1970s, South Korea attempted to develop better relations with communist countries. There was a thawing mood in Eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union. Indeed the "thaw" also reflected geopolitical realities. The United States' Nixon Doctrine, as designed by secretary of state Henry Kissinger, envisioned a peaceful co-existence with the Communists. President Jimmy Carter followed the general trend after Nixon's downfall and his election over Nixon's heir apparent, Gerald Ford. Indeed South Korea felt cut off by its political patron, the United States, and was forced to engage in its independent course of "defense" to protect its diplomatic flanks.74

International sports exchange emerged as a significant factor for international diplomacy. Sport diplomacy may have been the best way to improve diplomatic relationships with communist countries because international athletic competitions are predicated on principles of peace and mutual understanding. The scholarship of sport diplomacy is at an excellent juncture with the collapse of the Cold War and opening of Communist archives. Detailed political analysis of Cold War sport diplomacy is needed in order to guide future foreign policy in a tense world.

Minister of Culture and Information Kim Seong-Jin felt that through cultural events including sports "we can hope to develop broader perspective of the world in which we live and of our cultural differences."75 Despite receiving invitations, South

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74 In fact Carter proposed to remove all U.S. troops from South Korea although it never came to pass. Carter did lower troop levels but in the main, the occupational force still remained. Carter eventually established full diplomatic relations with Red China.

75 Kim Seong-Jin, as quoted in Korea Herald, March 18, 1978, 7. Minister Kim Seong-Jin made the statement at a luncheon at the University of Santa Clara, California. Although improving relations with non-hostile communist countries was important, South Korea still kept North Korea in mind. Throughout the 1970s and later, Seoul often invited Pyongyang to participate in sport and cultural events in South Korea, knowing that Pyongyang would normally reject the invitation.
Korea teams did not attend East European or Soviet events until 1973, because South Korea did not amend its anti-communist laws until the 1972-1973 period. In July 1973 at the inauguration of the Education Minister, the South Korean Minister of Justice stated that participation by athletes from communist countries was not contrary to the law according to Article 8 Clause 3 of the Entrance and Exit Law. This clause had allowed entry of a Yugoslav soccer team as early as 1961.

South Korea’s first sport exchange with the Soviet Union occurred in August 1973. Its attendance at the World University Games in Moscow marked a new epoch in sports relations. The Hong Kong Standard reported that:

> Those contacts will improve prospects for a slow break through in the frozen diplomatic ties between Seoul and Moscow. While South Korea would like to normalize its relations with the Soviet Union, Moscow is taking a more cautious line in view of its ties with North Korea.

South Korean athletes encountered none of the anticipated problems in acquiring visas or entry into Moscow. The Soviet officials, according to the South Korean newspaper, asked only for the team’s health cards and did not stamp entry permission on their passports. The latter action was in keeping with maintaining a stance of non-recognition of South Korea. The Soviet security police escorted the South Korean team out of the airport past the North Korean diplomats who were taking pictures.

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76 Ibid., July 14, 1973, 1. The law allowed any nation to enter South Korea, when its entry was essential to friendly international relations.
77 Ibid., May 29, June 20, 1973, 1. The invitation to the World University Games were routed through the Federation Internationale du Sport Universitaire (FISU, International University Sports Federation). The Eastern bloc and Soviet invitations were usually routed through international organizations. The KASA was also formally invited to attend a Moscow meeting of the FISU. The KASA sent two delegates to the August 1973 meeting.
78 Ibid., Hong Kong stated as knotted in Korean Herald June 24, 1973, 1.
79 Korea Times, May 29, 1973, 1 and Korea Herald, May 29, August 12, 1973, 1. Visas were issued by the Soviet Embassy in Japan, the first time that a South Korean national team had applied for visas. They traveled to and from the games via Tokyo.
no contact between the two groups of Koreans at the airport and probably only limited contact at the games since North Korea boycotted the contests.\textsuperscript{81}

After its participation in the 1973 Moscow World University Games, South Korea began full-fledged, sport-related exchanges with non-aligned and communist nations. Sport officials launched multilateral sport programs that extended and brought invitations for sport meetings, events, and exchanges for training South Koreans athletes to reaching world standards. The government-sponsored “Sports Promotion Fund” allowed establishment of long overdue international sport exchanges. In January 1977, the Korea Amateur Sports Association began an extensive support program for its athletes. South Korean athletes planned to participate in various events such as the 1977 World University Games, the 1978 Asian Games, and the 1980 Moscow Olympics as well as training in Moscow in preparation for the 1980 Olympic Games.\textsuperscript{82}

Some East European nations and the Soviet Union promised to help South Korea’s efforts to host future international events. They aided the training of South Korean athletes and attended events held in Seoul.\textsuperscript{83} In January 1976, Kim Kyu-Taek, executive member of the FISU, announced that South Korea would participate in the

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., August 12, 14, 25, 26, 1973, 1. According to the Korea Herald, North Korea’s boycott of the World University Games in Moscow was an act against the world trends for easing tensions. The North Korea boycott, because South Korea attended the Moscow Universiade Games, was one of the few instances which Pyongyang had openly opposed the Soviet Union. Korea Herald, August 19, 1973, 1.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., September 28, 1975, 1. In December 1976, the South Korea Olympic Committee said that it was inviting six foreign officials for an unspecified meeting including two unidentified East European officials. Ibid., December 24, 1976, 1; Ibid., January 6, 1977, 7. Kim Taik-Soo, Korean IOC member and president of KASA, announced that for the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games, KASA would give athletes “unstinting support and personalized coaching free of all financial worry.”

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., September 28, 1975, 7.
FISU Secretary General Nikolai Andonov addressed questions about South Korea’s attendance stating:

There has never been a problem because of the absence of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and South Korea. Competitors will be allowed to take part in the games as is common practice in sport events today.²⁵

In other words, the Communists bent over backward to affirm athletes’ participation regardless of national ideologies. In this way, the Communists de-politicized sport, in the sprint of participation. It was a noble effort: athletes came first, politics second. Between 1976 and 1978, there was a great activity in South Korea’s sport diplomacy. In 1976, South Korean teams sent only 238 athletes to international games, and 184 athletes from the non-aligned and communist countries visited South Korea. In 1978, KASA hosted 44 international events and dispatched 198 teams, totaling 2,395 athletes, to events in 33 countries, several of them communist. South Korea’s sport ties with the communists continued this successful trend through 1979. For instance, Mongolia granted visas for the South Korean team to take part in the sixth World Junior Wrestling Championships in Ulan Bator in July 1979. Participation at Ulan Bator was significant because up to that time South Korea had not participated in any sports meet in a purely Asian communist country. The Mongolian response hinted that China might be receptive to Seoul’s sport diplomacy; that North Korea’s international anti-South policy had reached its limit; and that South Korean sports activities would see unprecedented “golden days” in friendship and cooperation with ideologically different countries.

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²⁴ Ibid., January 8, 1976, 1. The skaters were invited to the 1976 Soviet Goodwill Games. Ibid., February 4, 1976, 1.
Mongolian government also said it would not oppose a trip by its wrestlers to South Korea.\(^\text{86}\)

A ten member South Korean team also entered Hungary for the first time in the summer of 1979 to attend the fifth World Weightlifting Championships. In November 1977, Tamas Ajan of Hungary, Secretary General of the International Weightlifting Federation (IWF), had offered the invitation as an official of that organization and not as a representative of the Hungarian government. Two reporters accompanied the team.\(^\text{87}\)

The same year, the Korean Alpinist Association (KAA) received an invitation to the 1980 World Alpinist Contest in the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegate to the Congress of the Union of International Alpinist Association held in the United States extended the invitation to Kim Yong-Do, president of KAA.\(^\text{88}\) Many of the South Korean teams attending international meets were closely associated with Korean companies, which permitted the latter to make trade contacts as sports meets. As an example, in November 1979, the Korea Table Tennis Association (KTTA) announced the possibility of hosting large-scale international open championships in 1980. A special task force of the Cheil

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\(^{86}\) Ibid., December 18, 1976, 7. Of the fifteen countries, three were communist, four were Middle Eastern, and eight were South and Central American; Ibid., January 5, 27, 1978, 7 and October 20, 1978, 1, 7; Actually the former USSR spanned across Asia, incorporating many Asian republics now independent; Foreign Broadcast Information Service—Asia and the Pacific (F.B.I.S.-APA), August 1, 1979, E 7. On September 4, 1979, the Korea Times reported that he People’s Republic of China renounced its right to sponsor the 21st Asian Youth Football Championships. This would allow China to avoid sanctions by the International Football Association (FIFA) for failing to allow South Korea attendance at the games. The Chinese decision was interpreted in Seoul as meaning that China had succumbed to North Korean pressure. It could also mean that China did not want to increase tensions in Northeast Asia or give the Soviet Union additional leverage with North Korea. South Korea did invite China to the Asian Weight Lifting Championships in April 1980. The invitation was extended in November 1979 by Kim Yong-Ho, president of the Korea Weight Lifting Federation. Korea Times, September, 1979, 5; F.B.I.S.-APA, August 17, 1979, E 4.

\(^{87}\) Hungary granted entry visas for the first time to a South Korea sports delegation for the 5th World Weightlifting Championships. Korea Herald, June 3, 1979, 1, 12, June 15, 1979, 7.

\(^{88}\) Ibid., October 20, 1979, 7. The Soviet delegate acknowledged South Korea’s conquest of Mount Everest in 1978 had led to the invitation.
Wool Textile company, along with the table tennis squad, flew to Vaesteras, Sweden for the 22nd Scandinavian Open International tournament. The task force extended invitations to the communist countries attending the tournament.89

By the end of the 1970s South Korean sport diplomacy had shown itself to be a useful tool in developing a broader perspective of the world. The appointment of sports personnel with diplomatic experience strengthened diplomatic ties and also provided what some observers believed was a non-political means for political figures to develop relationships. In January 1979, Park Chong-Kyu, president of KASA, had directed the 30 affiliated sports organizations to immediately appoint vice presidents exclusively in charge of international affairs. Park believed that international competitions would boost national prestige and nationalism to the people of South Korea. He promptly recommended Prime Minister Choi Kyu-Ha as honorary president and national assemblymen Chang Ji-Rang, Cho Sang-Ho, and Kim Se-Won as three new vice president of KASA.90 Leading business leaders and politicians, such as Roh Tae-Woo, a future South Korean president, headed other sports organizations and committees.91 Even a member of a weak opposition party was involved in South Korean sport diplomacy. Shin Do-Hwan of the opposition New Democratic Party in May 1979 met secretly with the vice president of the Russian Olympic committee, according to the Korea Herald, to

89 Ibid., November 8, 1979, 7.
90 Ibid., December 24, 1978, 7; Ibid., March 1979, 7. New council members included leading business leaders and So Young-Hee, a woman legislator.
91 Construction giant Choi Won-Suk, president of Dong-Ah Construction Co., was elected president of the KTTA. Ibid., August 10, 1979, 7. Representative Lee In-Keun was elected as president of the Korea Amateur Athletic Association (KAAA). Ibid., August 9, 1979, 7. Roh Tae-Woo headed up the four major sports organizations at the same time, including the KASA.
promote relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union. Shin was also chairman of the Korean Judo Association.\textsuperscript{92}

From 1978, South Korean officials showed an interest in hosting the Olympic Games. The first major announcement that Seoul would bid for the Olympic Games came from Kim Taik-Soo, South Korean IOC member. On his way to the IOC Session in May 1978, Kim Taik-soo said that South Korea would bid for the Olympic Games by the year 2000 after successfully staging major international sports events such as the Asian games. At the IOC Executive Board meeting with the NOCs in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in June 1979, Park Chong-Kyu indicated that official bids would be submitted for both the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games.\textsuperscript{93} Minister of Education Park Chan-Hyun was the first government official to make a public statement that the South Korean government intended to bid for the right to host the 1988 Games.\textsuperscript{94} Two months later on October 8, 1979, Seoul Mayor Chung Sang-Chun said that Seoul would officially propose to the IOC that the 24th Olympic Games be held in that city. The bid was a milestone in South Korea’s policy toward communist countries and sport diplomacy given that Korea invited the world – communist and capitalists – to its doorstep. The self-restricted “Hermit Kingdom” now applied only to the north.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{92} Korea Herald, May 30, 1979, 1. Note that the visit to the Soviet Union in May 1979 was by Shin Do-Hwan of the opposition New Democratic Party. This could indicate a possible New South Korean political party. Shin’s visit and the appointments of politicians as vice presidents in the various organizations would indicate government involvement. The appointments would allow political matters to be discussed under the cover of sports. In April 1979, two KASA officials entered the Soviet Union for the first time to take part in the International Ice Hockey Federation congress, which dealt with matters relating to Olympic Games schedules. Ibid., April 20, 1979, 7.

\textsuperscript{93} Korea Times, April 15, 1978, 5; Ibid., June 22, 1979, 7.

\textsuperscript{94} Korea Herald, August 15, 1979, 7.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., September 2, 1979, 1.
These facts are significant because South Korean athletes participated in sport events in communist countries, but there was little participation by communist countries in South Korea. The Soviet Union and other East European countries withdrew from the Eighth World Women’s Basketball Championships held in Seoul in 1979, citing the collapse of the South-North sports talks at Panmunjon. Kuri Hasler, honorary president of the Union Internationale de Tir (UIT, International Shooting Union), said the total absence of the Eastern bloc from the 42nd World Shooting Championships was a violation of UIT’s basic spirit and its constitution. North Korea’s decision to boycott the shooting championships and its efforts to foil sports relations between South Korea and the communist countries were only marginally successful. No communist countries attended, but the championships were nevertheless a success in the eyes of South Korean officials.96

South Korea was high in anticipating continuing its sport diplomacy by participating in the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. The Soviet Olympic Committee informed South Korea of its readiness to sign an agreement concerning the sale of tickets for the Moscow Olympics to South Korean tourists. And Seoul announced goals to aggressively pursue medals in archery and judo.97 Yet, after the hegemonic, in my opinion, movement led by the United States, South Korea followed its puppet master by joining the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games boycott with 62 other countries.98 Only 81 nations participated

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96 Ibid., October 8, 1979, 7. North and South Korea had sports talks to discuss forming a joint team for the Pyongyang world Championships in 1979; Ibid., June 29, 1977, 7.
97 Ibid., December 15, 1979, 7. The Korea Herald stated that “the Olympic gold medal may mean much to some Western develop nations, but for Korea, it bears extraordinary meaning with the gold medal winner being treated like a national hero.”
in the Games, and of these, 16 nations staged some type of symbolic protest. Even though South Korea pursued an independent foreign policy, the bigger picture showed its political patron always pulled the strings when important geopolitical concerns were at stake. Sport is a fine example of this practice.

The geopolitical struggle didn’t end in Moscow. It continued on its own terms on Korean turf. However, sports competition between South and North Korea reflected a severe political divide that could be more accurately described as battle of propaganda. Games became a yardstick for testing the efficacy of ideologies, so both political systems were eager to exhibit their legitimacy to defeating the other in sports. It is understandable that many countries in Asia would want to exhibit their national prestige through the Asian or Olympic Games. And quite a few countries in the world would dedicate their efforts to win as many medals as possible by tirelessly training and investing in sports science. International games would be an arena in which each country could show its national prestige, its cultural heritage and each would be eager to host other countries. However in the Korea’s case competition was war without guns, a battle of political wills, a test of the ideologies of two opposing systems.¹⁰⁰

Along with the general international trend, the Korean government began to consider the development of physical education as essential not only to achieve the improvement of the people’s physical conditioning but also to spread its national prestige

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in the overall international sphere. Therefore, the government came to establish the National Law to pave the way for the promotion of physical education.\textsuperscript{101}

3.3.5 Non-Governmental Sports Organizations

If sport was a tool for tyranny, then what were the structures of its power? In Korea, non-government sport organizations fronted for the politicians. Although formed with well-intentioned aims, non-governmental sports organizations possessed the vital structures soon usurped by politicians.

Korea has several non-governmental sports organizations, the Korea Amateur Sports Association and its affiliated bodies. These were the instruments through which Korea pursued sports policy.

The Korea Amateur Sports Association (KASA)

Formed in 1920 during Japanese colonization, the Chosun Amateur Sports Association, a purely private organization played a significant role in developing physical activities for national pride even in this gloomy period of the nation. The association, as a non-profit private organization, was further expected to play a pivotal role for the development of physical education. Eventually the association was developed into the Korea Amateur Sports Association. According to Article 1 of the association’s charter,\textsuperscript{102} modified in 1963, the Korea Amateur Sports Association was organized to improve the people’s physical strength and to stimulate a merry and sound spirit for physical well-

\textsuperscript{102} KASA, \textit{History of KASA}, 1965, 277.
being by developing nationwide activities to promote physical education in schools as well as in society. Moreover, Article 1 prescribed that the association was formulated to direct and manage amateur sports organizations, and to train athletes for sporting events in order to spread the nation's prestige abroad, to develop the nation's culture, and to promote world friendship and peace. As stated above, the Korea Amateur Sports Association defines its main function to revitalize national physical education.

As innocent as its beginning, KASA was not allowed to pursue an independent policy. The government successively nominated presidents to the association who were unqualified for their responsibilities. Most of the presidents, nominated after Korean restoration of independence, were not seasoned sport administrators or pure athletes, but politicians who were notable and powerful people in the society who took office as a result of political patronage. (see, Table 3.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General classification</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Previous KASA Position</th>
<th>Background of Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lee Cheol Seong</td>
<td>Jan. 28, 1961-May 15, 1961</td>
<td>Member, the National Assembly</td>
<td>Politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kim Tong-Ha</td>
<td>July 29, 1961-Jan. 9, 1962</td>
<td>Chairman, National Development</td>
<td>Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Min Kwan-Sik</td>
<td>Jan.19, 1964-July 10, 1971</td>
<td>Member, National Assembly</td>
<td>Politician</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5 Background of former Presidents of KASA\textsuperscript{103} (continued)

\textsuperscript{103} KASA, KASA in Seventy Years, 1990, 685-694.
The government blatantly secured its influence over athletic organizations, by nominating notable and powerful people who had relationships with high-ranking politicians. These were plum jobs for political lackeys. The government justified this policy as ‘regulation intention priority’ in planning special goals for physical education and achieving them. In other words, it was extending totalitarian control over sports. The policy was expected to facilitate the government’s control of social development. That is, the government wanted to acquire influence over athletic organizations in order to complete a specialized goal of the nation, which was to enhance the nation’s prestige abroad through the strategy of training athletes. The government’s policy of nominating presidents to the association was never confronted with objections from the members of the association because it had to acquiesce the government’s policy in order to secure operating funds.104

It is essential for an athletic organization to obtain sufficient funds to achieve its stated goals. As a result, the members of the association and the athletes were willing to welcome the nominees as presidents who they felt had political connections to secure sufficient operation funds. But the government made no funding commitments even
though it appointed presidents in order to exert influence over athletic organizations. Most presidents nominated by the government were figureheads. They remained in office as an honorary official, and lacked managerial ability to satisfy the association’s needs. This was due to the fact that the nominated presidents were not knowledgeable of the acute conditions of physical education, and they were equally ignorant on how to reliably guide physical education.\(^{105}\)

Having taken power by a military coup, the national administration steadily attempted various projects to reform social development, including physical education, so as to modernize the country. As stated above, the new government’s philosophy can be assessed by the National Athletic Promotion Law (1962), which extensively described the government’s plan to develop physical education.

In contrast to the many presidents who administered as honorary figureheads, Lee Hyo, Min Kwansik, and Kim Tacksoo, served under the military administration and took seriously the government’s policies. They believed the weight of words should have the iron fist of law. They were much more active presidents. They improved many fields of physical education. Among them, Lee Hyo, the 21\(^{st}\) president of the association, performed his leadership with zest and vigor emphasizing the function of the executive office in order to improve administrative authority of the association.\(^{106}\) As evidence, Lee initiated the construction of the Korea Amateur Sports Association Hall, which was essential for the performing primary activities of the association. On the other hand, Min,  

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\(^{104}\) Eung Keun Chung (professor of Seoul National University), Interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.  
the 22nd president of the association, completed building the Hall and reorganized the administrative structure of executive offices in the association. Furthermore, on the basis of the principles of sports science, these active presidents constructed Taenung Training Center as a sports complex for training athletes and the Coaching Academy for educating physical education leaders. This impressed the nation that these presidents were effective rather than just honorary administrators of the association.

However, the military administration’s influence on physical education, which was authoritative rather than democratic, was hardly different from that of previous administrations in planning national policies and nominating presidents to the association. Despite the associations’ presidents’ notable achievements under the military administration, it was unfortunate their policies were much more focused on investments in elite athletic training instead of supporting the overall public’s participation physical activities.107

Association-controlled Presidents of Athletic Organizations

Following the restoration of independence, each athletic organization was rehabilitated and initiated to energetically expand physical activities as a catalyst for the enhancement of all physical games. However, the Korea Amateur Sports Association, it has been cogently argued that most of the nominated presidents of the main athletic organizations were from politicians, bureaucrats, or enterprises rather than from athletics.108

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108 K ASA, Korea Amateur Sports Association in 70 years, 551-645.
It is understandable to assume that politicians wanted to take office as an honorary president of sports organization in order to gain public support for their own political agenda. In other words, their actions were self-serving. They recognized the power of sports. The impact on organizational membership was that each organization acquiesced to the politician-as president in order to obtain government financial support for management, while the government needed to secure influence over athletic organizations. If an entrepreneur was honorary president, it was much more practical for the organizations to raise funds through the entrepreneur’s organization. The presidents of the athletic organizations donated a large amount of money the organizations. The fact that 19 of 31 athletic organizations under the control of the Korea Amateur Sports Association relied on the presidents’ contribution to obtain a half of their incomes for management confirmed that it was much more practical for the organizations, without financial power secured from their own enterprises, to have people of wealth take office as president.\(^{109}\)

Moreover, members of the organizations evaluated the president’s leadership by their abilities to secure bigger budgets, resulting in the replacement of a number of presidents and member of executive committees. As long as the organizations relied on the presidents’ financial contribution for most of the estimated amount of revenue, his management was made possible.\(^{110}\)

Due to the fact above, it was unrealistic to expect nominated presidents to acknowledge the substandard conditions of physical education and lead physical

education development to be desirable and appropriate for the all the people. Since their success depended on results from management for a short period, they intensively invested training elite athletes for international games to get instant results, and to spread the nation’s prestige abroad.\textsuperscript{111}

3.3.6 Budget Policy for the Korea Amateur Sports Association

From 1961 to 1970, the government’s primary policy for physical education can be analyzed by incremental increases in public funding for the Korea Amateur Sports Association. The increments indicate that government struggled to promote physical education by supporting financial aid for the association. However, the analysis of the government’s increased funding conflicts with its primary intention to improve physical education for the people in general.

(Unit: Won)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & National funds & Note \\
\hline
1961 & 5,721,872 & \\
1962 & 31,154,511 & \\
1963 & 86,732,600 & \\
1964 & 117,240,900 & Tokyo Olympic Games \\
1965 & 105,424,000 & \\
1966 & 169,849,838 & The 5\textsuperscript{th} Asian Games \\
1967 & 127,754,311 & \\
1968 & 364,824,831 & Mexico Olympic Games \\
1969 & 238,702,100 & \\
1970 & 439,999,300 & The 6\textsuperscript{th} Bank Asian Games \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Table 3.6 National Funding, Korean Amateur Sports Association (1961-1970)\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., and Do-Kwang Oh, Former Sportswriter of Hankuk Ilbo, Interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.

\textsuperscript{112} KASA, the present condition fund aid for KASA, A Physical Education white paper, 1972, 366
As shown in Table 3.6, in 1962 when the government commenced emphasizing physical education intensively, national funds for the association increased six fold from the previous year. In theory, this well reflected the government’s desire to enhance physical education by raising funding for the private organization, ‘Korea Amateur Sports Association’ (KASA). In actuality, the figures tell a more sobering outcome for Korean physical education. These funding increased little to bring sports to people. Instead, the increases drove a wedge between elite sports development and popular sports. For example, the government increased funds for the association for the years when Korea hosted international games. Funding was decreased in subsequent years! Moreover, the reason that the funds reached 100 million won in 1964 was because the government needed to support training of athletes for the Tokyo Olympics. It was important for Korea to present itself positively as a player in the East Asian region. The following years the government saw fit to establish the Taenung Training Center\textsuperscript{113} and the Korea Amateur Sports Hall. The government also needed to raise the funds dramatically to train athletes for the Asian games in 1966 and for the Mexico Olympics in 1968. A presence at the Third World games site was important for developing Korea. In addition, in 1970, it was necessary for the government to increase funds to build the Taenung International Swimming Pool and Taenung International Skating Link.\textsuperscript{114}

3.3.7 Management the Physical Education Budget

\textsuperscript{113} The Taenung training center in Seoul, established in June, 1966, is the cradle for national athletes, where they train their skills to raise competitiveness. The center, which provides systematic and scientific training, has played a locomotive role in raising the nation’s international athletic level.

\textsuperscript{114} KASA, \textit{The Physical Education White Paper}, 1972, 367.
After the restoration of independence, the government massively contributed to physical education even though the social and economic conditions were unfavorable for development. When the government’s contributions to physical education are assessed objectively, the analysis should not be focused only on the principles of its policies, laws, regulations and announcements. Rather, unlike an advanced country, Korea was a developing one, and the analysis might misrepresent its actual progress in achieving the results. Therefore, it is more accurate to examine the it’s actual achievements in order to analyze the efficacy of the government’s actual policies for physical education. In other words, action speaks louder than paltry words printed on paper of policy pronouncements. The proof is in the pudding, so to speak.

3.3.8 Physical Education Budget Management

Despite efforts to promote the development of physical education, the Third Republic failed miserably to effectively manage its policies for physical education as indicated above. It is more reasonable to analyze the government’s policies by investigating the annual national subsidy for physical education from the Department of Sport in the Ministry of Education during the last year of the Third Republic. It is noticeable that half of the national subsidy was assigned to sports facilities in elementary schools and 36% was assigned to the Korea Amateur Sports Association (see, Table 3.7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Projects</th>
<th>Budget (monetary unit: Won)</th>
<th>Percentage (%) of Budget</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management expense of national sports</td>
<td>7,877.0</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management expense of school sports</td>
<td>8,229.0</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities subsidy to local self-government groups</td>
<td>56,000.0</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports facilities subsidy of elementary school</td>
<td>531,549.0</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea Amateur Sports Association subsidy</td>
<td>387,573.0</td>
<td>36.32</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies to athletic association and the other athletic organizations</td>
<td>73,597.0</td>
<td>6.89</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sport groups’ subsidy</td>
<td>2,000.0</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,067,048.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7 Annual National subsidy for physical education, Department of Sport in the Ministry of Education (1971)\(^{116}\)

This shows clearly how poorly elementary schools were furnished with sports facilities, and how intensively the government preferred to support the Korea Amateur Sports Association for the purpose of training the elite athletes. In 1966 of the mid-term of the Third Republic, the Administration Reform Commission described some problematic aspects of the budget for physical education.

FY66 the Ministry of Education annual budget for physical education was about 337 million won, and 99.2% (335 million won) of which was assigned to fund the athletic organizations under the control of the Korea Amateur Sports Association, and to subsidize school lunches while only 2 million won of which (0.8%) was assigned to the required budget for the

\(^{116}\) The Ministry of Education, Budget for matter under the jurisdiction of Department of Physical Education, 1971
promotion of the national physical education, which was definitely insufficient to achieve the promotion of national physical education. As a result, the intended practice for the promotion of physical education was destined to be impoverished due to the partiality of the budget management.\footnote{A committee of inquiry of an administrative reform, A report of improvement of administrative of Physical Education, 1966, 26. [Kim Bang-Chool, translation]}

The commission further mentioned that the budget for physical education assigned to local boards of education was extremely limited, and most of the budget was a mere subsidy for athletic organizations. Moreover, the financial resources for the promotion of physical education appeared to remain nominal rather than realistic.\footnote{Ibid., 27.}

Now, it is necessary to analyze the Korea Amateur Sports Association’s management of the budget from the government’s financial support. As shown in Table 3.8, the association definitely invested most of the budget in training athletes in order to realize elite athletic training. The fact is that 58% of the total budget was spent on building sports facilities essential for training elite athletes. On the other hand, 40% of the budget was intensively invested in training elite athletes. The government also focused on elite training by raising national funds for operating the Coaching Academy in preparation for the annual plan and for training athletes, than for promoting physical activities in society overall.\footnote{Jongweon Lee, “A Study on the Physical Education Policy and Expansion of the Third Government of the Republic of Korea,” (master’s thesis: Seoul National University, 1997), 50.}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Project & Budget & Percentage (%) & Rank \\
\hline
Promotion of School sport & 12,070,300 & 3.11 & 6 \\
\hline
Promotion of participatory sport & 2,105,700 & 0.54 & 11 \\
\hline
National Sports Festival & 24,587,000 & 6.34 & 3 \\
\hline
Sport Promotion & 1,050,000 & 0.27 & 12 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Budget of activities for KASA (national assistance, 1971)\footnote{Data of parliamentary inspection of the administration, KASA, 1971, 59-60} (continued)}
\end{table}
Table 3.8 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elite sport training</td>
<td>65,000,000</td>
<td>16.77</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coaching academy operations</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport Facilities</td>
<td>225,000,000</td>
<td>58.31</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Meeting Travel</td>
<td>15,752,200</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Games' Travel</td>
<td>6,585,000</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Sport Organizations</td>
<td>19,020,000</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics for Investigation</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOC Operational Expenses</td>
<td>6,952,600</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter Olympic Games Support</td>
<td>5,950,000</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>387,573,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During The Third Republic, the conditions of the budget management clearly show how the association spent its annual budget on enhancing elite training. The association’s annual expenditures operational expenses can be classified into six categories: training athletes, maintaining sports facilities, hosting athletic sports, dispatching athletes abroad, supporting local athletic organizations, and promoting physical education (see, Table 3.8). According to Table 3.8, it is clear that expenses for promoting physical education were extremely limited while the expenses for training elite athletes were tremendously high. And the cost to the people was perilous. This runs totally contradictory to any effort to improve the condition of physical education in the country. Elite athleticism took the day.

Table 3.9 Annual (1961-1970) expenditures (activities) for KASA (monetary unit: Won) (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working expense</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Training athletes</td>
<td>500,433,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport facilities</td>
<td>561,678,107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>113,922,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegation Travel</td>
<td>324,995,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Sports Support</td>
<td>90,175,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other activities</td>
<td>193,843,614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because the government funded the association’s entire budget, it had no choice but to concede to the government’s main policies for physical education, which were to preferentially enhance elite athletic training rather than to promote the people’s physical activities.\(^{123}\) This aligned the association the government’s objective to spread the nation’s prestige abroad through the strategy of training elite athletes and to ignore the sounder goal of improving the condition of physical education in the country.

3.3.9 Physical Education Diplomacy

The Third Republic, taking power by a military coup, set a national goal for physical education on the basis of the political doctrine for the “national restoration.” This was to encourage the peoples’ spirit so they would be willing to cooperate with the government’s policies.\(^{124}\) Moreover, the government was very active in sports exchanges with other countries in order to achieve the significant national goal to spread the nation’s power and prestige through the rehabilitation of physical education.

Along with the intention to achieve the national goal, the government established a more positive circumstance in dispatching athletes to international games and representatives to international conferences concerning athletic training. More

importantly, the government was willing to dispatch athletes to even Communist
countries when athletic meets were of international importance. It was surprising that the
government was willing to send athletes to Communist countries despite its anti-
Communist ideology. This demonstrates how intensively the government strived to
improve the conditions of elite athletes through sports exchanges with other countries.
The government sold out its ideological integrity. Pure athleticism ruled the day.

On the other hand, in terms of hosting players from other countries, the number of
players as well as the frequency of sending them abroad in 1970 by more than doubled
that in 1966. This clearly shows the government’s intention to improve the diplomacy
through sports was highly emphasized. Accordingly, these figures clearly show the
government’s primary interest in sports was inclined to exhibit the nation’s strength to
the world through the development of elite athletic training. Sport was a showcase of
Korean talent that legitimized the leaders in power. That Korea could field strong teams
symbolized a modern, strong nation to the eyes of the world. Only the eyes of the world
were blinded to the rot that festered at the core of Korea’s political system.

3.3.10 Foreign Countries’ Policies

In the decade of the 1960’s, sports for the people became an international
movement as evident in policy and social changes in individual countries. If Korea was
part of this trend, how do we describe this trend in general? What were the problematic
aspects of these national policies? In this part, it is worth investigating the policies of

West Germany, and Japan which organized and practiced national policies for enhancing the national physical education in 1960's.

**West German Policies for Physical Education**

As a result of its defeat in World War II, West Germany was left devastated with the enormous number of the killed/wounded, displaced, orphaned, and wandering people. The impoverished condition of the country in politics, economy, and culture caused the people to grow physically weak. In order to improve the condition, presidents of the Ministry of Education in each local state, the Deutsche Sports Body (D.S.B), presidents of local self-governing bodies agreed to initiate the movement to the rehabilitate physical education, and published 'Recommendation of School Physical Education' as a guide for the movement. The contents of this document consisted of four main categories. 1) establishment of school physical education, 2) training of physical education teachers, 3) construction of sports facilities, 4) cooperation between school physical education and social physical education.

In order to realize its efforts to promote physical education in earnest, the Deutsche Olympic Committee announced the Golden Plan in 1956. The Golden Plan can be classified by two means. Means 1 was to train representative players for the Olympic Games, and Means 2 was to spread physical activities to all the people. Means 2 was very attractive to physical education directors and the participating public. The contents of Means 2 was organized by six main categories: 1) emphasis of the significance of sports, 2) encouragement of organizing local sports clubs, 3) building plan of sports facilities, 4)
establishment of the Sports Science Institute, 5) literary writing contest about sports for young boys and girls, and, 6) inducement of the peoples’ entrance into sports clubs.

Since the announcement of the plan in 1956, the D.O.G revised the Golden Plan in 1960, whose primary content was to establish the sports complex within 15 years. Originally the plan was designed by the Deutsche Olympic Committee, a purely private organization, but the necessity and the practice of the plan were so detailed and clear that it could be followed by local people who were interested in rehabilitating physical education. The significance of the plan in West Germany was that it suggested practical programs, which were richly detailed. Moreover, with constructive support from the government as well as from each local government, the plan had a sound chance to form a positive atmosphere for realizing the policy for the promotion of physical education. For example, the plan was designed to expand sports facilities for the people’s physical activities, economical and reasonable disposition of sports (based on the conditions of location), illustrated the sizes and types of sports facilities according to the sizes of self-governing organizations, synthesized social and school sports facilities for the promotion of physical education, and carefully considered equal opportunities to each age group.

Although the historical tradition, political, social and economic conditions were different from those in Korea, three points capture the significance of Golden Plan: First, the Plan was a ground-up participatory approach that reflected the finest of civil society

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126 Ibid., 169.
processes. In other words, it succeeded because people took ownership of problem and solved it. Second, practical programs of the plan were so detailed and clarified that the programs could be implemented rather than being merely symbolic to contribute to promotion of physical education for the public at-large without limiting training to a few elite athletes. It served both ends of the spectrum. Finally, the plan was not improvised, but established as a long-term effort on the basis of discussions that had actually started from 1920s but had never materialized due to political strife. A void in the post-Hitler society brought it front and center. It could not do so earlier because National Socialist agenda to build a master (white) race usurped other popular paradigms for physical fitness.

**Japanese Physical Education Policies**

It is worth recognizing that the Japanese Ministry of Education published in 1946 the program for implementing participatory sport. This is significant, given the flames of war had barely extinguished, yet the country aspired to social development. The ministry made efforts by directing the central and local governments in charge of the administration of social physical education. As the Social Education Law was instituted in 1949, the legal status of physical education as a part of social education was enhanced sufficiently to support the promotion of physical activities at workplaces, outdoor sports (especially for camping), and education of physical education. Moreover, in 1957, for the promotion of local physical education, the government selected honorary civil servants from each administrative district or 20,000 total nationally, to have them
cooperate with other local civil servants to contribute to the development of social physical education.\textsuperscript{130}

From 1960, the government began to improve the conditions of physical education for the promotion of it. In order to enhance the people’s physical conditioning, the government as well organized the Nation Physical Strength Evolution Enterprise Conference consisting of 168 representatives from private organizations and 11 governmental organizations. The latter included the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Welfare.\textsuperscript{131} This conference selected the seventh day of the month as ‘Health Day’ in order to encourage the public to improve their physical strength, and further strived to provide the people with guidance to encourage them to achieve improvement. This was a shrewd promotional move, given the group orientation of Japanese society and the deference the culture gives to hierarchical authority. Imposing a national day was the logical way to guarantee participation. Moreover, the government itself instituted the Health and Physical Education Council as an advisory organ within the cabinet, and instructed the council to assist the government for the promotion of the peoples’ physical conditioning and health. In order to complete the national policies for the promotion, the council proposed some meaningful practices: the expansion and improvement of sports facilities, the training and effective disposition of physical education leaders, the issuance

\textsuperscript{129} Lak-Seo Ju, “Problems in the Policy of Physical Education in Korea and the Remedy,” (master’s thesis: Yonsei University, 1976), 17.
\textsuperscript{131} Lak-Seo Ju, “Problems in the Policy of Physical Education in Korea and the Remedy,” (master’s thesis: Yonsei University, 1976), 16.
of necessary funds, the promotion of sports at workplaces, the systematization of
unorganized sports for the young, and the rearing of athletic organizations.

At this point, let us pause to assess the management of the annual budget of the
Japanese Physical Education Conference in comparison to the Korean Amateur Sports
Association. These comparable bodies had similar responsibilities in promoting physical
and sporting activities in their respective countries. Yet the data will show a more
concerted effort to bring sports to the people in Japan. In fact Japan achieved twin goals:
bringing sport to the people and supporting training of world-class athletes.

As indicated in Table 3.10, contrary to the Korea Amateur Sports Association that
invested in training elite athletes and building sports facilities, the Japanese Physical
Education Conference spent more than 60% of the annual budget on supporting physical
activities for the general public and on extending social physical education. In other
words, the efforts of the Japanese Physical Education Conference to enhance national
physical education were more practical than those of the Korea Amateur Sports
Association. At least Japan put its money where its mouth was. Taken to another level,
the Japanese program was more effective because the policy was backed by commitment,
not just words on scraps of paper. Furthermore Japan simultaneously achieved elite
athletic results by a separately funding this training. (Unit: Won)

| Working expenses of Sport for All Promotion | 1,348,064 won |
| Working expenses of the improvement of Elite athletes | 486,561 won |
| Operational Expenses | 266,000 won |
| Total | 21,000,625 won |

Table 3.10 Annual Budget, Japanese Physical Education Conference, 1971


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Japan succeeded in designing more detailed and practical programs to promote national physical education and sports for all. The Japanese Physical Education Conference successfully managed an annual budget and spread physical sporting activities through the whole nation and on extending social physical education. When Japan succeeded, Korea only left dry words in the mouths of politicians.
4.1 Introduction

The last half of the 20th Century witnessed the remarkable development of sports in South Korea from the virtual ash-heap of World War II. Korea began the second half-century with no sports establishment in terms of systematic programs to develop athletic talents, professional leagues, industrial and commercial base for equipment, school and general public participation. In the intervening years a sports sector was perfected into a science. Korea would rank 10th on average in international games. The question is what was the nature of this sector? In terms of development the masses came last. Participatory sports to involve the populace regardless of ability or skill level were belatedly activated after 1988 following years of policy struggle to make it the “peoples’ business.” Because the Korean government rushed to develop the country, it hardly assessed effectiveness of its policies despite plans in place for participatory sports. The government thus ignored evaluating any shortcomings to its performance even though
such analysis would have been beneficial to direct the course of the peoples’ well-being. And no wonder! Politicians grasped the peoples’ fancy through sports glamour, and they didn’t want to let go lest they lose their steely grip. The kind of sports activated by public policy was an alluring showcase of national talents to captivate the public’s attention and distract the public from pressing civic matters. Sport was a diversion, not a direction to a higher purpose.

Korean sports in the 1980s was a form of elite commercialization. In these years, professional sports were given birth, and people’s appetite about international elite sports such as the Olympics grew to insatiable levels of drunkenness. During this process, Korean sport as a cultural practice was supported by state monopoly capitalism, which in itself was a cultural reinvention of a worldwide economic trend. Since the modernization period, Korea’s state monopoly capitalism can be characterized as a system in which politics and economy have been closely associated with each other. They were indistinguishable. In fact they were one, a “political-economy,” in Marxian terms. In other words, Korean politics structured a class-based economic order of exploitation. This state monopoly capitalism did not develop alone, but was possible due to the political, economic, and cultural dependency on wealthy foreign countries with extraordinarily high standards of living, including Korea’s patron, the United States, and not surprisingly, its former colonial master Japan. Korean modern sports have imitated those in the United States, and Japan. Thus sports not only tyrannized the people, it tyrannized the soul of their culture, replacing indigenous forms with foreign substitutes.

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call this international sports colonialism.

This chapter investigates the social and political environment, the public awareness of sports, and to analyze the structure of physical education in Korea. I will discuss the characteristics of the government impact by looking at the stated policy for the development of the sports, the fundamental direction of governmental policy, and the reality of the development of sports. Although the winds blew one way, the kite bobbed to another course. I will examine procedures for selecting leaders of sports groups, and the development of diplomatic policy for sports and how Korea’s pitiless leaders kowtowed to worldwide hegemonic interests, rather than pursue a pure indigenous spirit of sport.


On March 3, 1981, Chun Doo Hwan inaugurated his seven-year presidency as the head of the Fifth Republic, by outlining his policies and program, pledging to build a just society guaranteeing welfare of all citizens—and to create an era of economic progress and social justice. Chun’s ascendance to power, however, was not without its attendant difficulties. During the transitional period from Park’s assassination in October 1979 to Chun’s inauguration in March 1981, he had to walk a tightrope to pave the way for his own rise to power. First, he had to eliminate the general officers within the military who stood in his way. They included the incumbent army chief of staff, Gen. Chung Sung-hwa and his followers, whom he succeeded in rounding up with a show of force provided

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by tanks of Maj. Gen. Roh Tae Woo's Ninth Division on the grounds that Gen. Chung had been involved in the assassination of the late President Park.³

Chun then established a terrorized atmosphere in an attempt to silence criticisms and to remove potential presidential aspirants. To that end, Martial Law Decree No. 10 was proclaimed to ban all forms of political activities and labor strikes, closed all universities and colleges, and imposed censorship on the press and television. Kim Jong-pil, Lee Hu-rak, Park Chong-kyu and seven other prominent leaders of the Park era were arrested on charge of corruption.⁴

Kim Dae Jung was arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiring to overthrow the government, and Kim Yong Sam was placed under house arrest. The National Assembly was also closed. However, student demonstrations demanding liberalization and ouster of the political general started to escalate in the spring of 1980, which alarmed Chun and his fellow generals, and Kim Dae Jung's arrest touched off violent demonstrations in Kwangju, the traditional stronghold of the politician hailing from that region. The subsequent nine-day bloody demonstrations were finally put down by all-out assault launched by army paratroopers backed by tanks, which resulted in several hundred casualties by an official count.⁵

During Chun Doo Hwan's administration, many outdated and cumbersome regulations and laws were either eliminated or simplified. The midnight to 4 a.m. curfew which had been in effect for 36 years was lifted and restrictions on international travels were relaxed. Inflation was brought down to an annual rate of less than 5 percent. The

⁴ Ibid.;
⁵ Ibid.
Fifth Five-Year Economic Development Plan, which was drawn up during his administration to cover the period from 1982 to 1986, projected a growth rate of 7.6 percent in real GNP.\(^6\)

Perhaps the one most valuable legacy Chun left as Chief of State was his voluntary surrender of power as he had repeatedly sworn to do. It was quite remarkable in view of the fact there was no precedent in which a head of state relinquished his power at the end of his term in the 50-year history since the end of World War II. The tradition Chun established was carried on by Roh Tae Woo when he peacefully transferred power to his lawful successor, Kim Yong Sam, in 1992.\(^7\)

4.3 Sport Policy of the State

Influenced by the dramatic changes in politics and society, physical education flourished in the Fifth Republic. The first major goal the Fifth Republic planned was to host the Olympic games. Korea succeeded in its Olympic bid as result its astute political maneuverings at the conference of the International Olympic Committee held in Baden-Baden, West Germany on September 30, 1981. The Korean bid defeated Nagoya, Japan by the incredible margin of 52 to 27. Given the advanced state of the Japanese economy, Korea triumph over its former master incredible. The Korean government then established the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee on November 2, 1981, and on March 20, 1982, the Ministry of Sports was established to realize the development of physical education. Thus sports was on par with other important governmental functions.

\(^{7}\) Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, Seymour Martin, Politics in Developing Countries: comparing experiences with democracy (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995), 382-388; Yonhap news Agency, Korea Annual, 300.
In administrative parlance, sport was at the same level as Defense, Foreign Affairs, etc, quite a status for a function often considered nothing more than “fun and games.” It is more stunning in that the politicians erected a sports establishment to purely amuse and entertain the public. In reality sports propagandist mission was institutionalized now in the national bureaucracy.

From 1981 to 1988, a series of laws and administrative changes altered the content, structure, and significance of physical education (Table 4.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 30, 1981</td>
<td>Selected to host the 24th Summer Olympic games in Seoul in 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2, 1981</td>
<td>Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC) formed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 26, 1981</td>
<td>Selected to host the 10th Asian Games, Seoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 1981</td>
<td>Korean Baseball Organization (KBO) formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1982</td>
<td>Ministry of Physical Education instituted by the National Government Organization Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 13, 1982</td>
<td>National Sports Promotion Law, Article 3612, revised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 4, 1983</td>
<td>Ministry of Physical Education reorganized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 8, 1985</td>
<td>North Korea turns down request to hold a bilateral conference (to discuss a unified team for the Seoul Olympic games in 1988, and co-host the Olympics)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<Table 4.1> Physical Education Administration Developments (1981-1988)

In September 1981, the Korean people witnessed a turning point in the history of physical education. It seemed Korea’s success on the economic front inspired confidence to commit to bigger and bigger sports projects. This confidence can be attributed to the economy. During the 1960s and 1970s, Korea achieved remarkable economic growth. Economists designated Korea as a “NIC” a Newly Industrialized Country, elevating it to

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the esteemed status of an Asian Tiger. The tigers were four: Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea, joining Japan in an east Asian phenomenon that startled Weberian sociologists. These were the Confusion capitalists. This motivated the Korean government as well as the people to dedicate all efforts to hold the Olympic games in Korea. Korea brimmed with confidence and planned to first host the Asian games in 1986 as a test-run for the ultimate event.

4.3.1 Organization of the 1988 Seoul Olympics

The idea of Seoul hosting the 24th Olympic Games was first floated proudly after Park Jong-Kyu was elected as the 25th president of the Korea Sports Council and the president of the Korean Olympic Committee in 1979. He personally gained confidence in pushing for bidding for the Olympics after successfully hosting the world shooting championships at the Taenung shooting range in 1978, when he was the president of the Korea Shooting Federation (KSF). After Park Jong-Kyu was inaugurated as KOC and KSC presidents in February 1979, he instructed Cho Sang-Ho and Kim Se-Won, then ambassador-turned-KOC vice presidents, to exert their diplomatic influence upon international sports figures in a bid to win the right to host the Olympic Games. He also formed a working commission within the KOC to deal with matters related to the bidding

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10 Macdonald, The Koreans, 18-21; It was Max Weber who theorized that capitalist development was a product of Protestant world view which confucian cultures could never emulate or be able to achieve.
11 KOC, KOC 50 Years (1946-1996), 478.
12 At the time, the KOC was under the KASA. Park Jong-Kyu was president of the KASA, he was also the president of KOC. The south Korea Olympic Committee if officially the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC). KOC will be used throughout the dissertation.
13 In 1974, South Korea earned the right to host the 42nd world Shooting championships at the General Assembly of the International Shooting Federation in Berne. One of the main reasons for its success was that South Korea offered board-and-lodging for the competitor of $5 a head per day, while Mexico City offered $10 per day. David Miller, Olympic Revolution: the Olympic Biography of Juan Antonio Samaranch, (England: Pavilion Books, 1992), 125.
for the 1988 Olympic Games. Park not only had the political will, he had honed a diplomatic savvy to push the right buttons.

In March 1979, the KOC submitted a proposal to the Ministry of Education to seek to host the 24th Olympic Games, since at this time it was in charge of sports affairs. The Education Ministry then instructed the KOC to supplement the proposal in light of necessary stadiums and lodging facilities, etc., and also to review the feasibility of the bid. The ministry also collected opinions from the Economic Planning Board and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Education Ministry gathered data on the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games from the Korean Embassy in Japan. It then referred the issue of bidding for the Olympic Games to the national sports promotion committee on August 3, 1979, which then formed a seven-member sub-committee to review the proposal in detail. The sub-committee convened its first meeting on August 22, 1979, where, it reviewed the performance and results of the 42nd World Shooting Championships held in Seoul, and concluded that it was feasible to push ahead with plans to host the 24th Olympic Games in Seoul.14

The national sports promotion committee approved the proposal to bid for the 24th Olympic Games in writing and got the go-ahead from President Park Chung Hee on September 21. The President specified Korea's aims in hosting the Olympics in convincing terms: To demonstrate Korea's economic growth and national power; to

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14 KOC, *KOC in fifty Years*, 60; Sin Hyon-Hwack, Economics Planning Minister, was the Chairman of the Council. Other member were Education Minister Park Dong-Jin, Seoul Mayor Chung Sang-Chun, Central Intelligence Agency Deputy Yoo Il-Kyun, KASA president Park Jong-Kyu, and IOC member Kim Taek-soo. SLOOC, *Official report Organization and Planning Report Games of the 24th Olympiad Seoul 1988*, Vol. 34; Se-Jik Park, *The Seoul Olympics: The Inside Story* (London: Bellew Publishing, 1991), 5. According to Kim Un-Yong, most the members of council were negative on the Olympic bid. For instance, Kim Taek-Soo, South Korean IOC member at the time, said South Korea would get only one vote which
improve Korea’s status in the international sporting community; to promote friendship with foreign countries through sports; to create favorable conditions for establishing diplomatic relations with both communist and non-aligned nations; to consolidate national consensus through these international sports events, primarily the Olympic Games. Seoul Mayor Jeong Sang Chun announced at a news conference on October 8, 1979, that Seoul would make a bid for the 24th Olympic Games. Because of political turmoil after the news conference, the Olympic bidding issue was overshadowed with extreme skepticism. The preparation of the Olympic bid was going well until President Park’s assassination on October 26, 1979, ended the Fourth Republic. The assassination created major upheavals in South Korean society. KASA president Park Jong-Kyu, who had been playing the major role in the Olympic bid as well as Asian Games bid, had to resign from his position for political reasons. As a result, the international sports bids were virtually suspended.

It was impossible to formally discuss the Olympic bid or any other sport bids for more than a year during the period of upheaval. Finally, after Chun Doo Hwan was inaugurated as president on September 1, 1980, the issue was again brought to the forefront. Cho Sang-Ho, who succeeded Park as KOC president, created a committee to coordinate public input on the Olympic Games bidding plan. The committee had its first

13 Ibid., 5-6. Kim, The Greatest Olympics, 54. There was no clear evidence surrounding Park’s resignation from his political and sport positions. The only reason, provided by the press, was a political reason. It might be one more piece of evidence of how sport was closely tied to politics in South Korea. Cho Sang-Ho, vice-president of KOC, became Park’s successor.
14 Chun Doo Hwan became an Acting President on August 22, 1980 and was elected the President on February 25, 1981 by the electoral college. U.S. Congress, U.S. Presidential Delegation to the Inauguration of the President of the R.O.K., 97th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1981, 33.
meeting on September 29. On November 6, the KOC ranking officials reviewed the feasibility and timelines of the plan, and agreed that if the 1988 Olympic Games, was held in Seoul it would enhance the international image of Korea. It would provide a decisive occasion to seize a diplomatic "coup" to boost exchanges with Communist bloc countries, including North Korea. Even if Korea failed to win the bid, the publicity surrounding the process itself would elevate the nation to the honor of being an Olympic Games candidate. By all account it was a win-win situation. In other words, national prestige and pride were valued more highly than peoples' participatory sports. A good, proper international face was all that mattered. There were pros and cons to be deliberated. When the committee finally concluded that hosting the Olympics would greatly serve the national interest, the KOC decided to recommend that the government submit the application. The possible gains and losses specified at this meeting had been carefully studied. Committee members pointed out four major potential gains. First, because South Korea also wanted to host the Asian Games, in 1986, its effort would be aided by an Olympic bid. Second, even if the application was rejected, South Korea would be honored as a candidate to be a host nation. Third, the task of preparing the application would provide valuable experience to South Korea and it would even learn from its failing, if any. Fourth, if it became necessary, conceding to another country at the last minute might bring future benefits not immediately apparent. Last, this was possibly the last opportunity for any nation to apply for hosting the Games, because the IOC was considering a proposal to institute a permanent venue. Korea needed to be on the map, and fast.\(^\text{18}\)

The KOC decided to submit bidding documents to the IOC, sought approval from the Ministry of Education regarding the decision, and Lee Kyu-Ho, then education minister, welcomed the KOC decision. However, Seoul City opposed it with serious reservations. The city government notified the ministry: “The final decision to bid for the Olympic Games was up to the central government, but considering the financial conditions of Seoul, it was unable to host the 24th Olympic Games because it would be difficult to complete all preparations by 1988.” The ministry made a report to President Chun on the Olympic bidding plan, and Seoul’s deep apprehension forged on. He instructed the ministry to push the plan, saying: “the decision made by former President Park and announced at home and abroad cannot be retracted without major justifications… I cannot back off with defeatism from the beginning even without starting the historic task.” In cultural parlance, Chun’s “face” was at stake. Not just his but Korea’s. To Pull out would be a national disgrace, humiliation, a loss of face.

The ministry then instructed the KOC to notify the IOC of its plan to bid for the 24th Olympic Games, saying that the government policy had not changed. It also called on the KOC to cooperate with the Seoul City government. KOC officials working on the plan telexed to its president Cho Sang-Ho, who was attending the New Delhi Asian Games Federation (AGF) General Assembly, for his approval to send a telegram to the IOC secretary-general on its intention to bid for the 1988 Olympic Games. The telegram

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read "The KOC decided to endorse Seoul as a candidate city for the 1988 24th Olympiad and will submit formal applications later."  

On December 4, 1980, the IOC announced that Seoul, the capital of Korea, made a bid to host the 24th Olympic Games. Nagoya, Japan had earlier submitted its application for the Games. On December 15, 1980, the IOC headquarters sent a letter to the KOC along with a questionnaire of 150 items concerning preparations to host the Olympic Games, such as plans on stadiums, financing and operations. It asked for a reply to the inquiry by February 28, 1981. On January 6, 1981, the Ministry of Education, the Seoul city government and the KOC formed a working team to prepare the Olympic Games bidding documents.  

The team, led by the KOC members, prepared written answers to the questionnaire for over 40 days. It published a 350-page written response to the inquiry, 190 pages in English and 160 pages in French per volume, on February 24, just few days before the deadline. With great energy and enthusiasm, the committee worked to meet the deadline. Why couldn’t such effort go towards preparing participatory sports for the people?  

The Lausanne-based IOC headquarters notified the KOC by telegram on March 11 that it would dispatch a team to Seoul composed of IOC members, the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) and the International Sporting Federation to inspect preparations for the Games. It asked the KOC to provide data on the existing sports and lodging facilities, transportation and stadia under construction to host national

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20 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 61.  
21 Sin Dong A, 114; KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 61-62.
teams while members were on an inspection tour on Seoul. The team of the United States NOC secretary general (Don Miller) and British NOC secretary general (Richard Palmer) visited Seoul on March 28, that year. The team looked around the Olympic main stadium under construction, the Taenung international shooting range and training camp and had a trial ride in the new subway along with KOC guides. They were amazed at the vitality of Seoul and convinced that Korea had the capability to host the Olympic Games.  

Under President Chun’s fierce dictatorial determination to host the Olympics, the sports circles stepped up their bidding efforts. There were two months left to deal with bidding preparation before the IOC Session on September 30, 1981 in Baden-Baden, Germany. The KOC dispatched Chun Sang-Jin, vice president of the committee, and a career diplomat, to Caracas, Venezuela, to lobby to the general assembly of a pan-American NOC Association meeting in July of 1981. On July 12, Dr. Kim Un-Yong, president of the World Taekwondo Federation, embarked on a visit to North and Central Americas, and to Europe to seek support for the Olympic bid. He met with 13 IOC members during his visits, asking for their endorsements. The IOC members, who thought that Korea substantially revoked its Olympic bid, advised Kim that unless Korea intensified its bidding efforts shortly, it might lose to Nagoya in bidding competition.  

On July 30, KOC President Cho Sang-Ho attended the ANOC General Assembly in Milan, Italy, where he made an address appealing for support from ANOC members. The ANOC General Assembly drew delegates from 147 member nations, including IOC president Samaranch and other IOC members. In the General Assembly, a Japanese

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22 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 62.
23 Ibid., 62.
24 Ibid., 62
delegate made a stunning short address for two or three minutes, asking for their support. Cho, meanwhile, made a detailed and sincere address on the Korean Olympic bid, winning attention from the participants. Korea would not be outdone by its former colonial master!

Without being noticed by the Nagoya bidding team, the “Baden Baden drama” of bidding war began as Dr. Kim Un-Yong and Chun Sang-Jin left Seoul on September 3 as an advance team. Dr. Kim, toured North and Central America, The Netherlands, Britain and Belgium, appealing to IOC members there for their support for Korea’s Olympic bid. Chun Sang-Jin, ambassador to Cameroon in the early 1970s played the African card. He went from Kenya to Egypt to Tunisia to Spain to Portugal to Baden-Baden, asking for endorsement from senior government officials in charge of sports affairs as well as IOC members. From September, 1979 to May, 1981, Nagoya sent officials overseas to meet with IOC members or invited them to Japan, while Seoul was weaker on the diplomatic and promotional side. At that time, Japan was full of confidence, while even some Korean ministers were skeptical of its effort to win the prize.

The Olympic bidding group began to work on the creation of an on-the-spot lobbying team who would be dispatched to Baden-Baden to persuade the IOC members during the bid review session. The lobbying group was formed three weeks before the opening of the Baden-Baden IOC Session. Korea pulled out the “big guns” for this job. Prominent politicians and business leaders were enlisted to do their part for the motherland. The group was officially led by Seoul Mayor Park Young-Soo and had five

25 Ibid., 62-63.
members – KOC president Cho Sang-Ho, chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries; Chung Ju-Young, permanent KOC adviser; Lee Won-Kyung, president of the Korea International Trade Association; Yoo Chang-Soo, and president of Korea Broadcasting System Lee Won-Hong.\(^27\)

In addition, there were four lobbying support teams – a team of seven business group owners, a team of nine KOC officials, a team of 21 government officials, and a team of 16 civilians including former KOC president Park Jong-Kyu. The lobbyists clearly outnumbered Korea’s official delegation. Korea’s “other” or official delegation to the IOC Session were Kim Taek-Soo, the Korean IOC member, Dr. Kim Un-Yong, president of the World Taekwondo Federation, Chun Sang-Jin, KOC vice president and Choi Msn-Lip, honorary Secretary General of the KOC administration. Selling Korea was the cornerstone to the Olympic bid.\(^28\)

The Korean lobby arrived in Baden-Baden on September 20. To its dismay, the mood in Baden-Baden was overwhelmed by lobbying group from Nagoya. Could Korea outdo them? The stakes were high. Local news reports turned a cold shoulder to the Korean lobby group. The media were skeptical of how many IOC members Seoul would able to win over. Even some of the leading IOC members seemed to regard Nagoya as likely to be selected as the host city. However, the unfavorable situation for Korea began to change with the opening of exhibition pavilions of candidate cities. History was on Korea’s side, as well as savvy marketing involving the art of seduction.\(^29\)

\(^{26}\) Ibid., 63-64.

\(^{27}\) Ilgan Sports (Korean Sports Newspaper name), September 17, 1981. Ibid., 63.

\(^{28}\) KOC, KOC Fifty Years (1946-1997), 63.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 63.
The pavilions, which opened in a gala ceremony near an ancient railway station in Baden Baden on August 22, drew higher-than-anticipated interest. Among the pavilions of the five candidate cities, including Calgary, which made a bid for the Olympic Winter Games, the Korean one was the most popular. A miniature of the main stadium for the Seoul Olympic Games was on display in the 99-square-meter pavilion, along with panels depicting the Korean culture and its development. Videos were also played showing modern Seoul.\(^{30}\)

As popular as the displays were five Korean Air flight attendants, all of whom could speak English, French and Spanish, as well as three former Miss Koreas-turned-guides. Wearing elegant Korean traditional dress, the ladies seductively introduced Korea to the visitors to the pavilion. The allure of Korean sensuality captivated the audience, largely consisting of middle-aged men. By comparison, the Nagoya pavilion, consisted mainly of photos. Flight attendants worked in company uniform in the pavilion, and the exhibit seemed rather trite compared to the Korean extravangza. Sport officials, among the 107-strong Olympic bidding group, played a leading role in persuading IOC members already softened by the pavilion exhibit, and high-profile figures in international sportsdom. KOC president Cho Sang-Ho, president of the world Taekwondo Federation, Dr. Kim Un-Yong, Chun Sang-Jin, KOC honorary secretary-general Choy Man-Lip, and former KOC president Park Jong-Kyi, all had a good command of foreign languages and were charismatic and energetic in carrying out the laborious lobby. They made full use of all their connections with international sports figures, and left no stone unturned.\(^{31}\)

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 64.
\(^{31}\) Ibid., 64.
Cho Sang-Ho visited Samaranch on September 23, two days after arriving in Baden Baden in an effort to assure the IOC leaders that the hosting of the Olympic Games in Seoul ran little risk in light of international politics that pitted east against west. He then met with the NOC president of Kuwait, de facto sports leader in the Middle East, to seek support from Arab IOC members. Their bidding effort led to a successful reception hosted by Chun on September 28, which attracted 50 IOC members, including those from South America and Portugal. At the reception, the Korean bidding team got a tip from a Norwegian IOC member that North Korea had lobbied against the Seoul Olympic bid. The stakes were mounting. The Korean bidding team’s successful lobby led to the “Baden-Baden drama.” The candidate city briefing session on the eve of the IOC Session was crucial in winning over undecided IOC members. Seoul and Nagoya each showed quite different attitudes to the briefing. The Japanese bidding officials, already buoyant as if they had won the right to host the Olympic Games, didn’t give much weight to the briefing. They were overconfident. Meanwhile, the Korean delegation showed a determined attitude as if it was waiting for the Last Judgment. Overturning its former colonial master, the thief of the 1936 Marathon gold medal, was utmost on their minds. They were on a course of righteousness.\(^{32}\)

The Seoul bidding team had prepared for the expected post-briefing questions from IOC members and observers. They were not just prepared, they were thorough, inside and out. They had rehearsed several times with about 150 pairs of possible questions and answers. The Korean briefing followed that for Nagoya. Seoul Mayor Park Young-Soo greeted the gathering as mayor of a candidate city. Then Cho Sang-Ho, KOC

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 64-65.
president, explained to the participants the justifications for the hosting of the Olympic Games. A 16-minute film titled “Seoul, the capital of Korea to host the Olympic Games” was shown after Cho’s explanation. Then, questions poured in from 13 IOC members and presidents of international sports federations. After the briefing, about 20 IOC members sympathetic with the Seoul bid approached the officials and said: “You did a very good job of briefing.”

Finally, on September 30, at 2 p.m., the moment came. Eighty IOC members gathered in a seclude conference room because they wanted no distractions for the important decision. One hour and 40 minutes later, Samaranch announced the results: “Fifty two for Seoul, 27 for Nagoya.” It was an upset for the Koreans! The historical declaration, which surprised the sport world, was exciting not only for those delegates on the spot, but for sportsmen who cheer for the “underdog.” Of course the Korean people went ballistic back home. A news conference was overwhelmed by shouts of manse (long live Korea) and applause, with many Korean national flags waving. It was a signal of the start of the seven-year Korean Olympic preparations. IOC President Samaranch told reporters after the venue of the 1988 Olympic Games was settled: “It was a victory of Olympic sprit for the IOC to award the right to host the Games to Korea. So much important will be the Seoul Olympic Games."

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33 Ibid., 65.
4.3.2 Organization of the 1986 Asian Games

The KOC held the 10th Asian Games in Seoul in 1986 for the first time in Korea. The Games raised the international athletic status of Korea, which acquired know-how regarding planning, preparations, protocol and operations of large-scale meets. It also gave international sportsman a peek at the world-class athletic facilities in what was once a pawn-of a nation in the grips of international political powers, i.e. Japan and the United States. It took 35 years for Korea to hold the Asiad after the Games had been inaugurated in New Delhi, India, 1951. The experience was a great help in hosting the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul. The Asian Games are a kind of the Olympic Games to Asian nations, which the KOC regards as the second most important after the Olympiad.35

The Asiad was the creative idea of G.D. Sondhi, then Indian IOC member, during the 1948 London Olympic Games. In the throes of India’s new found independence Sondh conceived of an indigenous format for Asian countries to display their national athletic talent. Korea was one of the six funding nations. The others were India, Republic of China (Taiwan), the Philippines, then-Burma (Myanmar) and then-Ceylon (Sri Lanka). It is a credit to Sondhirs for teaching vision that Asia hosts world-class events that equal or surpass the quality of any international venue. The Asian Games Federation (AGF) was established in New Delhi in February 1949, as its charter was approved by the IOC. The first Asian Games were held in New Delhi March 4 - 11 1951. The KOC, though a founder, couldn’t participate in the inaugural Asiad due to the three-year Korean War

35 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 67.
which took place on June 25, 1950. However, from the second Asiad to the 12th Hiroshima Asiad it has never failed to take part.\(^36\)

Chang Ki-Young, then KOC president, launched a bidding committee on July 19, 1966, for the 6th Asian Games. Candidates for the Sixth Asiad were expected to come from China, Iran, Malaysia, Israel and Sri Lanka. Owing to diplomatic efforts by a KOC mission, Malaysia and Iran withdrew their bids, leaving Korea and Sri Lanka on the bidders' list. Sri Lanka retracted its bid shortly before the opening of the AGF General Assembly held in December 1966, in Bangkok, and Korea was unanimously elected to host the Sixth Asian Games in 1970. It turned out to be a gesture in vain.\(^37\)

Korea failed to make sufficient preparations to host the Games. News media reported at that time that the failure was due to financial difficulties and possible terrorist attacks by North Korea. On March 27, 1967, the KOC officially notified the member countries of the AGF and its executives that it would return its right to the Sixth Asiad. The KOC convened an extraordinary General Assembly of the AGF in Seoul on May 1, 1968, to explain why it returned the right to host the Games. Thailand, host country for the fifth Asiad, took over. The KOC paid $250,000 to Thailand to make up for deficits.\(^38\)

4.3.3 KOC Hosts the 10th Asiad

The KOC announced its plan to host the 10th Asian Games in Seoul on October 8, 1979. On April 24, 1980, it submitted its bidding documents to the AGF secretariat in accordance with the AGF rules and regulations.\(^39\) The bid aimed at clearing the shame

\(^{36}\) Ibid., 67-68.
\(^{37}\) Ibid., 68.
\(^{38}\) Dong A Il Bo, November 26, November 27, 1981; KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 67-68
\(^{39}\) KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 68.
and dishonor of returning the hostship of the Sixth Asiad, and at promoting friendship among Asian countries. As time passed, the Korean economy grew quickly so financing was no object. Also behind the bid was the public aspiration to join the rank of sports powers by hosting the 1988 Olympic Games. The Korean people expected that the 1986 Asian and the 1988 Olympic Games would result in huge investments in up-to-date sports facilities, enhance the athletic status of Korea and unite them. The totalitarian government's strategy was working. Korea's dictatorship had manipulated public opinion by offering the country the chance to host the world's premiere sporting event. In the excitement the people forgot their loss. Korea would "win" the Olympics, the dictators would "win" their power, but participatory sports for the people would be set back due to the massive public outlays required for the dictators' precious Games. Sports became the opiate of the masses, to paraphrase Marx.\footnote{Macdonald, \textit{The Koreans}, 200-203.}

The KOC got actively involved in international conferences and meets in efforts to make its bids successful. The IOC session in Baden Baden, West Germany on September 30, 1981 selected Seoul as the host city for the 1988 Olympic Games, raising the possibility of the successful KOC bid for the 1986 Asian Games. The AGF General Assembly expected to discuss the issue of selecting the host country for the Sixth Asiad was late November 1981. Sixth-eight delegates from 26 countries attended. Raja Balindhra Singh, AGF president, declared that Korea would host the Asian Games because Iraq and North Korea withdrew their bids. The delegation passed his declaration by acclamation. With Seoul selected as host city, Korea wiped out its disgrace of returning the right to host the Sixth Asiad. Korea surmounted financial problems and its
northern neighbor’s terror. Koreans had a right to be justly proud. History vindicated Korea.  

4.3.4 Founding of Korean Baseball Organization

In Korea, professional baseball has been blossoming since the early 1980’s. We can only understand this development in a modern geopolitical context. Modern history of South Korea was that of a military dictatorship politically, foreign military dominance of the United States, and the dire drive for export-dependent economic growth based on the forced sacrifice of the working class. Modern Korean culture was propounded, shaped and unalterably molded under such political and economic terrain. It is of note the United States has been a pivotal part in many aspects of the last 50 years of Korean history due mainly to two reasons. First, America’s pernicious pursuit to dominate and defeat communism denying many countries the basic right of self-determination albeit under Marxist aegis. Second, Korean dictators’ demand for a diplomatic alliance with the United States in search of world recognition as a democratic country. I term this “implication by association.” As such, it is not surprising that most of the popular cultural imports today’s Korea are those of American origin. For example, movie, sport, TV, music, and even the sex industry. America’s decadence equals “democracy” in the eyes of many Koreans.

On the other hand, Korea’s only influence on the United States can be seen in the few kimchee products sold at neighborhood groceries. The “partnership” is extraordinarily tilted toward America. The dictatorship used culture as a very effective

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41 Dong A Il Bo, November 27, 1981; KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 68-69.
means of controlling people. In particular, after the massive slaughter in the city of Kwangju in 1980, the coup-based military regime had to find a way to nullify and de-legitimize Korean peoples’ growing anger against the government. In this regard, national cultural events such as Kukp’ung 81, a Korean song festival, were organized and professional sports such as baseball were introduced. Thus the government expanded sport from its goals merely to achieve significant propaganda effect and to spread prestige abroad. The Korean dictators promoted sport to mollify, to pacify an anger-driven public from seeking legitimate human rights demands. The question, scholars will have to answer, is how is sport propaganda in capitalist Korea different from sport propaganda in the Communist and fascist states of yore? At an analytical level, it is obvious sport is tool to control the masses. Sport altered the peoples’ consciousness, the self-awareness of their immediate plight. The deification of sport played a similar role as religion in old imperial Europe. As Marx claimed, it was the “opiate of the masses.” In modern capitalist states, sports serves a similar role – put the masses to sleep as commerce swipes an easy “buck.” A soft mind is easy prey.42

The tragedy in Kwangju forced Korean people to reconsider the relationship between Korea and America. Much to the Korean peoples’ dismay, they came to observe that the coup and slaughter by a government Korean people faithfully believed the to be the defender of democracy and human rights. Koreans were forced to ponder over the status of Korea in the global context of the conflict between different political ideologies and the rather chilling reality of economic competition between capitalistic monsters.
During the 1980s when professional baseball started to blossom, Korean students were very critical as they correctly viewed professional baseball an imperialist cultural invasion from the Western world, in particular, from America. To some extent, such an unfriendly attitude toward professional baseball can be traced to the then widely-spread anti-American sentiment among the students. This anti-American attitude together with pro-workers' emotion climaxed with anti-Olympic demonstrations in 1988 when the 24th summer Olympic Games were held in Korea, though the demonstrations were not large in scale. On the other hand, it was also true that Korean students became exposed to and were familiarized with professional baseball more and more in the 1980s to the extent that many of them became loyal fans of Korean professional baseball. This growing number of fans became the basis of a marked success of Korean professional baseball later.\(^{43}\)

While South Korea made amazing strides in attracting international sports events, there was major internal change as well. Although there is no clear written history regarding the creation of professional baseball in South Korea, public opinion generally credited the Chun Doo Hwan government for it. Let us review the scanty evidence. According to Oh Do-Kwang, a former sportswriter for Hankuk Il Bo, the issue of creating a baseball league arose in mid-1981. Some government officials and baseball leaders had met frequently during that period. It is not surprising that the first baseball commissioner

\(^{42}\) Korea Herald, December 12, 1981, 7; A comprehensive description of the events of Kukp'ung 81 may be found in the Korea Newsreview for June 6, 1981. Held over a five-day period from May 28 to June 1, 1981, there were over 13,000 performers including 6000 students from high schools and universities.

\(^{43}\) Do-Kwang Oh, Interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.
was Suh Chong-Chul, a former four-star general, who was one of President Chun’s colleagues in helping him seize political power.  

With less than six months’ preparation, the first Korean professional baseball league was launched in a formal ceremony on December 11, 1981. The league consisted of six teams with the clubs being owned by major business groups in South Korea. Suh Chong-Chul, a future defense minister, as the commissioner of the Korean professional baseball league, the Korea Baseball Organization (KBO) was established. Six pro-baseball teams organized in early 1982. The six teams, owned by six major business companies—Samsung Group, Lotte Group, Haitai Group, the Doosan Group, the Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), and Sammisa, were the MBC Blue Dragon (Seoul), Taejon and Chungchong Province for the Doosan Bears, Pusan and South Kyongsang Province for the Lotte Giants, Taegu and North Kyongsang Province for the Samsung Lions, Kwangju for the Haitai Tigers, and Inchon for the Sammi Tigers.  

Korean baseball adopted a region-oriented recruiting system. High school baseball teams were the sole suppliers of players for the professional game. Each ball club made it a rule to scout and hire only those graduates of high schools in the neighborhood of its home ground. Why did the KBO adopt such a system? To answer the question, it is necessary to know something about how high school ball games excited millions of people around South Korea. So passionate were the “armies” of baseball aficionados that when the high school championships took place, it was almost as though

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45 It is common Korean cultural business practice for companies to own many unrelated business. The concept is known as chaebol; Korea Herald, December 12, 1981, 7, March 27, 1982, 7; Hankuk Ilbo, December 13, 1989.
those provinces represented by the participating teams were at war with each other. Professional baseball shrewdly took advantage of Korea’s undying institution—regionalism. In fact so ingrained is regionalism national political loyalties and constituencies follow this pattern. Obviously this is a distinct Korean cultural practice.

On March 27, 1982, the first professional baseball game took place in the Seoul Stadium. President Chun not only watched the contest, but threw out the first ball of the professional baseball league, crudely imitating the American custom. During the opening ceremony, Prime Minister Yoo Chaang-Soon stated that he expected the inauguration of professional baseball teams to create momentum to enhance national solidarity and harmony, transcending the dimension of professional sports. Yoo said that the inauguration would also enable the people to make good use of their leisure, fulfill many boyhood, ergo fantasy, dreams and pave the way for self-reliance and welfare for those engaged in baseball.

Professional baseball had become the dominant topic of conversation not only among primary and middle school boys, but among most South Korean’s. Many of the students wore baseball uniforms to school, and some said they would only associate with friends who shared their interest in the games. They became cliquish. The mood infected others too. High school and college students, as well as a large number of young businessmen in suits and ties could be seen taking a few practice swings from automatic pitching machines during their lunch breaks. Professional baseball became popular immediately, and it quickly turned into a national pastime in South Korean society. In the

six major cities where professional baseball teams were franchised, more than 2.26 million spectators enjoyed the games at the scene in 1983.\textsuperscript{48}

The Chun government believed that pro baseball could beneficially influence the nation. Attuned to Korea's cultural nuances, he used a Confucian framework to justify his remarks. As Prime Minister Yoo Chang-Soon said in the opening day address, the government hoped the league would promote a national esprit de corps by allowing sport to set an example that would teach the people to abide by laws and regulations, creating a cheerful society.\textsuperscript{49} As the prime minister said, if pro-baseball taught some kind of obedience to the people, Chun and his government could benefit the most from the new league. In view of the 1980s internal political situation, the Chun government drastically and cruelly needed the peoples' submission to the government. Yet, it is clear the new professional baseball was not an inspiration for improving society but an opiate diversion to cover up social, economic, and political problems.

The background of the creation of a professional baseball league in 1981 still remains an unanswered, but, it is reasonable to conclude that the Chun government created the new professional league as an instrument to strengthen the totalitarian system by weakening the anti-government sentiment and to suppress the movement for democratization. Despite its relatively young life, however, baseball in South Korea was quickly turning into a national pastime.\textsuperscript{50}

Sport is never without political implications. In the case of the South Korea the political use of sport as a conscious government policy has been clear from its very

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50}
establishment by the state. Government policy toward folk customs and sports had helped to foster a new national pride in the country. Similarly, Korean government support for Western-style sport has not only been used to provide Korea's an entree onto the world stage, but has been used as part of a long-term diplomatic initiative to gain recognition and support from formerly hostile nations. As a political tool, it has been shown to have had great international success.51

4.3.5 Organization of the Ministry of Physical Education

The Korean government organized the Ministry of Physical Education because it was necessary to promote physical activities in a systematic fashion. Therefore, the government could achieve its national policies to encourage people to improve their physical conditioning, promote their health and welfare, and to spread the nation's prestige abroad. Moreover, the government established the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC) and the Seoul Asian Games Organizing Committee (SAGOC) in order to prepare for the successful conduct of these events. Table 4.2 shows the frame of the Ministry of Physical Education, which was designed to achieve the promotion of physical in a programmatic way.52

Figure 4.1 Ministry of Physical Education Direct Management System (officially announced on March 20th 1982)
However the establishment of these committees must be understood in the geopolitical context of those times. The issues weren't just sports. It was politics deep and thick too. The successful athletic meetings such as the Seoul Asian games in 1986 and the Seoul Olympic games in 1988 allowed the Korean government to promote the nation's prestige in the world. It was also viewed that the successful meetings could be a motivation to develop all sectors such as politics, economics, society, culture, and diplomacy. The establishment of the Ministry of Physical Education in March 20, 1982 as a central governmental organization was intended to prepare for the Olympic games and other international games by securing and effectively managing the sufficient funds necessary for the games. In order to secure sufficient funds, the government would lull the people into becoming interested in the games so that they would participate in fundraising as well as in governmental or non-governmental organizations. In addition,
the ministry was expected to analyze previous Olympics so it could hold the games more successfully without suffering any economic crisis.\(^3\)

The main purposes the government intended to achieve through the Olympic games are categorized as following. First, in terms of politics and diplomacy it intended to unite the people, paper over popular disenchantment, enhance the relationship with friendly nations, and promote the nation's prestige in the world by improving the diplomatic conditions with non-aligned and communist nations. Second, the government tried to impose upon the people to respect public morality, regularity, and generosity in a lame attempt to shape the people's consciousness. That is, the whole process was a sort of mind control, to keep a loyal, obedient followings to the national dictatorship. The public's attention would be on games, not the dirty political situation. Unfortunately Korean politicians were poor role models to set the example. Moreover, the government desired to transfer Korean traditional values and culture to the next generation more systematically by improving the standard of living. We can call this cultural reproduction, which in itself isn't bad. But the dictators viewed it as legitimization of an inherent right to rule. Finally, relevant to economics, the Korean government wanted to improve international balance-of-payments by developing the commercial sector related to industry, natural resource exploitation abroad, and the Olympic games was viewed as opening the doors to the opportunities by presenting a cosmopolitan image to attract investment. All these goals were related to pushing Korea in to the modern arena of nations.\(^4\)

\(^3\) Ministry of Physical Education in Korea, Physical Education of Korea. (Seoul: Physical Education Press, 1984), 306.  
\(^4\) KOC, KOC 50 Years (1946-1996), 59-67.
On the other hand, as motivated by the successful meeting of the Tenth Asian games in Seoul, the people's interest in physical activities was gradually coming into blossom. The government's policies and campaigns also accelerated the people's interest. In addition to that, the government went on the offensive to generate the boom of physical activities, and improve the athletes' competitive abilities as well as the conditions of leisure sports industries. For example, the political pawn, the Korea Amateur Sports Association, organized the Sports Science Institute and the Institute of Sports Research in some universities to perform research on physical education. Korea was "on a roll" in terms of athletic development. The future seemed bright, no challenge too large for Koreans to take their sport to the international "playing fields."

The National Sports Promotion Law, fully revised in 1982, set as a national goal to promote the people's physical conditioning and spirit, to lead a merry life through healthful activities, and to spread the nation's prestige abroad. Korea was ready for the international stage, inside the hearts and minds of the people and outside on the fields of battle. Koreans were ready to host the world. Despite progress, there was one stumbling block or the road to the Olympics, the communist dictatorship of North Korea.

4.3.6 The South-North meeting Regarding the Seoul Olympics

In a February 1, 1985 correspondence, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch wrote to both the South and North Koreas that he would be willing to arbitrate another


56 National Athlete Promotion Law, Article 1 (purpose); The 114th National Assembly Report, The committee of the 24th Seoul Olympic Game Supporting (6th), The Secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1982, 3.
meeting to negotiate the Seoul Olympics. On March 1, the South responded positively to the offer. The North remained silent until July 6, when it finally agreed to the meeting.57

Samaranch then announced that the meeting would take place under the authority of the IOC in Lausanne, Switzerland on October 8 and 9. Shortly after the announcement, Chung Joon-Ki, the prime Minister of State Affairs of North Korea, demanded the following: 1) The North and South should co-host the 24th Olympic Games; 2) The event should be referred to as the “Chosun, Pyongyang-Seoul Olympic Games,”; 3) The sites for the competitions should be equally divided between Seoul and Pyongyang; and, 4) one team should represent the two Koreas. In response President Samaranch declared that co-hosting the Olympic was not possible according to provisions of the Olympic charter. However, in the hopes of attaining the participation of the largest number of Koreans as possible, the IOC would consider the possibility of transferring some events to the North after discussions with the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee. At a practical level, this left little to discuss at the impending October parley. Nevertheless, in the interest of good sportsmanship, the IOC urged the North and South to participate in the proposed meeting. In attendance were six IOC representatives including Samaranch, eight North Korean representatives headed by Kim Yu-Sun, and eight South Korean representatives headed by Kim Chong-Ha.58

Samaranch presided over the first round of negotiations. The South urged the North to participate in the Olympics, saying that the Olympics was open to any country. However, South Korea clearly stated that co-hosting was impossible since the Olympic

57 KOC, KOC 50 Years (1946-1997), 86-87.
Charter and IOC decision was to be respected. Concluding the first meeting, the IOC expressed its desire to involve more Korean participants in the Olympic Games.59

The IOC proposed the following as the agenda for the second round of the meetings: 1) South and North teams would jointly march into the opening ceremony; 2) Transfer certain events to the North; and, 3) the North’s participation in related cultural events for the Olympics. It was decided at the second meeting that if the North respected the Olympic Charter and the IOC’s decision, South Korea would be willing to concede the following: 1) The South and North Korean athletes would march in together during the opening ceremony, 2) Preliminary handball, volleyball and soccer rounds would take place in the North, 3) related cultural events would be conducted by a joint South-North Korean organization. However, in response to these offers, the North requested that all stages of 11 of 23 total events be held in the North, and that the creation of unified team be put on the agenda. The North stood firm. The Seoul Olympiad would be a true “Korean” Olympiad in their view.60

Having narrowed the focus of the meetings, the next gathering really had nothing to discuss and ended almost as soon as it was gavelled to convene. Acknowledging that this meeting had been convened to discuss only the North’s participation, the IOC stated that the issues proposed by the North were bilateral matters. They could not be put on the IOC agenda. This ended the second meeting abruptly. Negotiations continued to the third round on June 10 and 11, 1986. To support its ultimate goal of co-hosting the event, the North offered the following agenda: 1) All rounds of six specified events should be held

59 Dong A Il Bo, October 11, 1985; KOC, KOC 50 Years (1946-1997), 87.
60 Dong A Il Bo, January 10, 1986; KOC, KOC Fifty Years (1946-1997), 87-88.
in the North; 2) the Olympic Games should be called the "Seoul Olympics" in Seoul and "Pyongyang Olympics" in Pyongyang; 3) Organizing committees would be independently set up by both sides; 4) the South-North delegation would separately and alphabetically march in the opening ceremony, 5) both sides would also independently set up related cultural events.⁶¹

South Korea offered a revised proposal conceding all stages of the table tennis and volleyball events that were discussed at the second meeting. Korea also proposed that during the opening ceremony both teams would be divided into three rows of athletes per side to march parallel in together as six rows in a group. After evaluating both proposals, the IOC developed a compromise version and requested that both parties to respond by June 30. The IOC then announced that if either side rejected the proposal, the entire negotiation process would officially end. The compromise worked out by the IOC listed the following: 1) In respect of the Olympic Charter and the consensus reached at the IOC session, table tennis and archery competitions would be completely entrusted with the North Korean NOC; 2) North Korea would allow free traffic to all related to the Olympic Games; 3) the road cycling competition would extend through both territories; 4) one preliminary round of the soccer games would take place in North Korea; and 5) related cultural events would be conducted separately by both side. The question that remained was how the reclusive Hermit Kingdom could prepare facilities and tourist accommodations in such a short time. How could Korea’s secluded cousin prepare transport facilities for thousands of spectators expected for the events? Keeping the enormity of the challenge in mind, one must conclude the North had no serious intention

⁶¹ KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 88; Dong A Il Bo, June 12, 1986; KOC, KOC Fifty Years (1946-1997), 88.
to participate. Rather it engaged in the talks as a propaganda ploy to besmirch the South Korean effort anyway it could.  

South Korea said it would accept the IOC conditions. North Korea accepted hosting the table tennis and archery events, but demanded that discussions for additional events to be hosted by the North be included on the agenda for the fourth meeting. The IOC issued letters to the North on two occasions requesting that it either accept or reject the entire IOC proposal, but the North refused to send a definite response. The silence from Pyongyang spoke as loud and clear as a roar from a lion. The north was an irritant to the south’s endeavors.

The fourth meeting took place on July 14 and 15, 1987, following time-consuming efforts by the IOC to reach consensus from both sides. On February 12, 1987, the IOC called in North Korean representatives to its headquarters for consultations, and then called in South Korean representatives on April 22. The IOC also dispatched teams to both Pyongyang and Seoul. Time was running out. In response, South Korea officially accepted the IOC’s proposal, but the North requested that eight events be conceded to its control, proportional to the population of both sides in the spirit of sharing the Games. It also asked that both sides be treated equally when making decisions regarding the official name of the event, the formation of the organizing committees, and the opening and closing ceremonies.

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62 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 88-89; National Unification Board, A White Paper on South-North Dialogue in Korea, 319;
63 KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 89.
The negotiations hit another snag, and the IOC sent another revised proposal, requesting that both parties reply by September 17, 1987, which was the deadline for issuing invitations for the Olympics. The revised proposal called for the following events to take place in North Korea: 1) men and women’s archery competitions, 2) men and women’s table tennis competitions, 3) women’s volleyball competitions, 4) One group of preliminary soccer competitions, 5) men’s individual road cycling competition. The IOC’s second revised proposal shocked South Korea, but for the sake of gaining the North’s participation, the South accepted the proposal on August 17 on the condition that this latest proposal would be final. However, the North sent another letter requesting the following additional concessions: 1) men’s and women’s table tennis and archery competitions were accepted, 2) The entire soccer competition should be held in the North an enormous demand, given its intense popularity as a would sport, 3) The cycling event must be replaced with another sport 4) One more event must be transferred to the North. 65

The IOC declared North Korea’s demands as unrealistic and unfounded, and offered to conduct separate negotiations with the North before September 17. But North Korea rejected this offer and requested that invitations for the Olympics be delayed. It also requested that the IOC cease arbitrating the ongoing negotiations with South Korea. Instead, it suggested that the two NOCs iron out their differences, and then later request IOC arbitration. South Korea countered that North Korea should unconditionally accept the IOC’s terms, and that direct negotiations between the two sides without the IOC was possible on the condition that basic issues were first resolved at a fifth round of

65 Obviously the North wanted to confine Olympic activities to Pyongyang proper. Rural conditions were too poor to allow the international event to peek in on the peasants’ meager standard of living. Again it is doubtful at all that North Korea really wanted Olympic events on its soil, given comparisons to the highly
negotiations. South Korea tried to convince the North to agree to a fifth round of negotiations, but the meeting never took place.  

4.4 The Fifth Republic, a “Sports Republic”

The Fifth Republic tried to control Korean sports more strongly than previous republics. So much so, that it was popularly considered a “sports republic.” As Chun Doo Hwan, who was a passionate sports advocate, took office as president in September 1980, sports affairs were given central focus in national policy. Chun had a clear vision for sports and an iron political will to see it through at any cost or odds.

On September 30th 1981, one year after the Fifth Republic was established, the IOC, selected Seoul as the host city for the 1988 Olympic games. The selection thoroughly surprised the Fifth Republic. The IOC decision gave the republic justification to tighten its steel grip on sports affairs. The Fifth Republic’s success in capturing the Olympic games was appreciated as an administrative achievement of the republic itself. The exacting bureaucratic skills were a technical process overcoming many hurdles. But opposition parties and out-of-power politicians criticized the republic in its management of the Olympic games.

Regardless of the political argument, the Olympic games profoundly affected a number of sectors in the country such as economic, social, cultural, and so on. A number of social and cultural events were held in recognition of the Olympic games. Many


KOC, KOC Fifty Years, 90.

Hnakuk II Bo, December 13, 1989; South Korea’s nationalism in sports rapidly increased during the seven years that saw President Chun Doo Hwan in the Blue House (February 1981-February 1988), the presidential mansion in Seoul.

Dong A Il Bo, October 1, 1981.
companies competed against each another to secure contracts to serve the Olympic games. As governmental organizations such as the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee were created, the administrative branches and other relevant organizations had to hire a number of people to manage the Olympic games. Consequently the Olympic games affected every part of Korean society. Moreover, without mentioning the visible changes, the people's attitudes responded to the government's campaign to exalt the nation's spirit.  

The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee invited a number of people from diverse fields to host the biggest national event ever held in modern, republican Korea. Among the invited people, the majorities were from the military or political circles. This demonstrated well that political power was closely connected to the sports world in Korea. In fact, sports and politics was the same thing. Whenever administrative positions were necessary to play an active part in politics or in the military, the Fifth Republic corrupted the process by instituting governmental organizations to appoint political lackeys to positions of privilege. The Fifth Republic can rightly be criticized for offering administrative positions to political and military cronies to work in governmental organizations relevant to the Olympic games. In fact, the Fifth Republic, at the beginning, utilized the Olympic Games to secure power by pacifying the political opposition's complaints. As a result, the Republic paved the way for military authorities

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69 Tae Seoung Lim, "The Influence on the Social change of Korea through Seoul Olympic," (Ph.D. diss.: Hanyang University, 1993), i-v.
to grease their hands in politics. This solidified the connection between the political power and the sports world in Korea.\textsuperscript{70}

In 1983, Rho Tae Woo, later to be elected as president of the Sixth Republic, took office as the second chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee following Kim Yong Sik. His inauguration followed by Park Se Jik's sent a signal that military authorities would grip tightly the power over the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee. Rho, the second chairman of the committee, was chosen as the first minister of the Ministry of Sports political cronies followed him. They were Lee Won Kyoung, Lee Young Ho, Park Se Jik, Lee Se Gee, and Cho Sang Ho who succeeded the ministerial position consecutively. That each of these ministers were former presidential assistants in previous governments indicates the fifth republic’s desire to take over the power of the sports world as well as politics by nominating them as minister of the Ministry of Sports.\textsuperscript{71}

Since the characteristics of the officials in charge of sports affairs were authoritative and exclusive, it appeared that they would enjoy extraterritorial rights. As high-ranking officials, mainly from the military, took over the Ministry of Sports, the Korean Amateur Sports Association, and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, it seemed that the human element in sports turned to a military of sports. During the presidential election campaign in 1987, a candidate from the opposition party severely charged that the Seoul Olympic games took on the characteristics of the Berlin Olympic

\textsuperscript{70} Kap Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean Basketball Association) and Do Kwang Oh (Former sportwriter of Hankuk Il Bo), Interview with authors in Seoul, Dec. 1999.

\textsuperscript{71} Korea Amateur Sports Association (KASA), \textit{KASA in Seventy Years} (Seoul: The Korea Hearld, 1990), 685-698.
games under Nazi dictatorship. The candidate's criticism explained the truth: that sports were misused to sustain the power of the Fifth Republic for seven years.72

**Fifth Republic, the “Sports Republic”**

Let us now examine the personnel rosters of the Sports Republic. The roster reads like a military roll call at revile. Only this bugle was a call to shame, not to duty. At that time (1982-1988) all of the chairmen of the Ministry of Sports, the Korea Amateur Sports Association, and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee were from the military, working for either Park Chung Hee’s or Chun Doo Hwan’s administration. Cho Sang Ho, the minister of Ministry of Sports, was a reserve lieutenant colonel. He was chief for the president of the Fifth Republic. He was also the Korean ambassador to Italy, and was a member of the national assembly.73

Kim Jong Ha, a reserve army captain included in the 14th graduation of the Korean Military Academy, attended the sports conference between South and North Koreas as a representative of the Fifth Republic. When he attended, he was the chairman of the Sponsoring Committee of the Democratic Justice Party. In 1988, he worked as the president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association. Having been spotlighted from the period in the military service, Park Se Jik, a reserve army major general included in the 12th graduation of the Korean Military Academy had a brilliant career prior to his presidency of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee. After being discharged from the military service in August 1981, he was as a member of the consultative body of the Ministry of Energy-Resources as well as the chief vice-president of the Korea Electric

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Power Corporation. He also worked as the second vice-chief of the Agency for National Security Planning as well as the Minister of Government Administration. His hands were greasy from many pots—governmental, corporate and military. His energetic greed had no bounds.\textsuperscript{74}

One of the favorite sports organizations, the Korea Baseball Organization nominated Seo Jong Chul as its chairman, who was a reserve army general included in the first graduation class of the military academy. After being discharged from the military in May 1972, he worked as a presidential aide in charge of security, minister of National Defense, and the presidential aide in charge of security again.\textsuperscript{75} Imagine, a national defense strategist as chief of baseball league! Korean baseball is not a strategic or national security issue anywhere else except Korea! The true reason for this appointment was to pick plum jobs while they were available to the old political and military friends.

As one of the favorite leisure sports organizations, the Korean Horse Affairs Association nominated Lee Keon Young as its president, who was a reserve army lieutenant general discharged from the military service in 1980. He took the position two years after discharge, and in 1988, he had the position of the president of the Korea Equestrian Federation as well as assuming presidency of the association (Feb. 1985-Oct. 1988).\textsuperscript{76} Again a plum retirement job to a select crony. Meanwhile qualified equestrian personnel were overlooked for jobs they could have excelled in. Although outside the

\textsuperscript{73} KOC, \textit{KOC 50 Years (1946-1996)}, 297.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, 297-298; Gap-Jin Chang (former executive director of Korean Basketball Association), interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.
\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Korea Herald}, Dec. 12, 1981, 7.
\textsuperscript{76} KASA, \textit{KASA 70 years}, 603-606.
scope of this dissertation, a key research question for the new century is how military
cronyism affected the professional development of Korean sporting organizations.

4.4.1 Fifth Republic’s newly established Ministry of Sports

To manage major national undertakings such as the Olympic games, the Korean
government established the Ministry of Sports in March 1982. Rho Tae Woo was
nominated as the Minister of Sports. President Chun Doo Hwan offered the nomination
as a gift to Rho Tae Woo, one of his classmates, in order to lead the Seoul Olympic
games. Rho, previous background was a stint as elected second Minister of State for
Political Affairs after being discharge from the military. He became a reserve army
general in July 1981, who was included in the 11th graduation of the military academy.
After appointment to minister, Rho held two offices at the same time, as he was also the
chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee. However, Rho’s career as the
first Minister of Sports did not last long. At the end of March in 1982, a drunken love
forlorn police officer named Woo Beom Kon broke into a town in Eu-Ryoung,
KyongBook at night, and shot 55 people to death in a crazed rage. This shocking news
unsettled the government’s stability, so President Chun replaced Seo Jeung Hwa with
Roh as Minister of Internal Affairs in order to restore peoples’ confidence in public
security. Perhaps Rho found a calling more appropriate to his credentials as a result of
this tragedy. Unfortunately it was a tragedy that moved him from his unqualified
ministerial position.77

77 Dong A Il Bo, March 22, 1982; KOC, KOC 50 years (1946-1996), 297, 478-481; Gap Jin Chang (Former
Lee Won Kyoung, the second minister of the Ministry of Sports (from April 28, 1982, to October 14, 1983), was a typical diplomat. Having graduated from business school at Seoul National University, he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a junior officer. His career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ranged from the head of a section, the director of a bureau, the vice president, and the minister. When he retired from the directorship of the Bureau of Protocol in November 1960, he made an astute observation that without bribery, none of the directors of bureaus could survive with the salary. Contrary to that saying, he was a man of integrity. He was never bribed. He also became involved in the sports world by working for the Korean Amateur Sports Association as the vice-president. In addition, he worked for the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee as an emeritus chairman. When he worked for the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee as the secretary general, he was nominated as the Minister of Sports in May 1982. At that time, President Chun Doo Hwan nominated him secretary-general to succeed Rho Tae Woo because he considered him a man of integrity after President Chun had read an exclusive interview of Lee in a popular newspaper.78

Lee Young Ho, the third Minister of Sports (from October 15, 1983 to January 7, 1986), was promoted from the first vice-minister of the ministry. He was born in Ui-Sung Kyoung Buk, and graduated from Yeon Se University with bachelor’s degree in political science and diplomacy. He received a Ph.D. in political science from Yale University in the United States. He worked for the University of Georgia as an assistant professor, and then for Ehwa Women’s University as an associate professor of the Department of Political Science. He also worked for a newspaper as an editorial writer.

78 Hee Duk Rho (Professor Emeritus Seoul National University), interview with author in Seoul, 1999.
However, people involved in the sports world in Korea had never expected him to become the first vice-minister of the Ministry of Sports when he was nominated. They believed that he was nominated because he had a close relationship with Kim Sang Ku, who was a member of the national assembly and the husband of President Chun’s sister-in-law. Otherwise, he could speak English well and handle the international diplomacy, so he did have a few qualifications to be put in charge of organizing the Seoul Olympic games. Nevertheless, I argue cronyism outdistanced the conventional wisdom in making these important appointments.  

Park Se Jik, the fourth minister of the Ministry of Sports (from January 8, 1986 to August 26, 1986), was one year behind President Rho Tae Woo in the military academy. He was also the hand-picked successor of President Rho for the position of a supreme commander of Headquarters, Seoul Defense Corps. Park was so coercive in leading the Ministry of Sports that quite a few of his subordinates complained against his management style. When Rho was the chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, Park Se Jik was the second assistant director of the Agency for National Security Planning. Park Se Jik would report to Rho to inform him of government business every Friday afternoon. Like this, Park Se Jik had legitimate responsibility in assisting Rho. As Rho Tae Woo simultaneously held two offices (the chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee and the president of Korean Amateur Sports

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79 Gap Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean Basketball Association), Interview with Author, December 1999 in Seoul.
Association), Park Se Jik also held two offices at the same time, the chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee and Minister of Sports.\footnote{Gap-Jin Chang (Former executive director Korean Basketball Association), interview with author in Seoul, 1999.}

Lee Se Ki, the fifth Minister of Sports (from August 27, 1986 to July 13, 1987), commenced his political career with a close relationship with President Chun Doo Hwan. He worked for the Democratic Justice Party as a member of the national assembly, for the perfunctory National Unification Board as a chairman, and as the Minister of Sports. In October 1971, Lee Se Ki, who was the executive secretary for the president of Korea University, built a friendship with Chun Doo Hwan as a result of their collaboration to quell campus disturbances.\footnote{Ibid.} In suppression, both were masters. In sports they mastered the people as icons of strength. These were powerful men no matter where the doorstep led.

4.4.2 Military Authorities Rooted in the Korean Amateur Sports Association

The presidents of the Korean Amateur Sports Association were mainly from powerful and wealthy families. Park Jong Kyu, the 15th president of the association (February 15, 1979~to July 12, 1980), was the chief of the Presidential Security Force. Cho Sang Ho, 16th president of the association (July 14, 1980~to July 11, 1982\footnote{Ibid.}), was chief of Protocol for the President. Chung Ju Yung, the 17th president (July 12, 1982~to October 1, 1984), was the chairman of Hyundai Business Group. The 18th president (October 2, 1984~to April 25, 1985) was Rho Tae Woo, who was President of Korea. President Rho was a reserve army general as well as the Minister of Home Affairs. Kim
Chong Ha, in 1988, as the 19th president, was the assistant chief of the Association for the Democratic Justice Party.82

In August 1974 the first lady of Korea, named Yook Young Soo, was assassinated. Park Jong Kyu resigned his office as the chief of the office of Presidential Security Force. After that, he focused on his duties as the vice-president of the International Shooting Federation, and was elected as a member of the national assembly in 1979. He also became the president of Korean Amateur Sports Association. It seemed he was not favored by Korean people on the basis of the fact that a popular weekly sports magazine hardly sold 40% of the printed magazines with the cover of Park Jong Kyu. This shows how poorly Park impressed people interested in the sports world in Korea. When Park Jong Kyu was nominated a member of IOC (International Olympic Committee), he was the first member from the military. In spite of his brilliant career, he drank heavily for several months and died from cirrhosis of the liver in December 1985.83

A good example of how the Korean government took the power over the sports world was when Chung Ju Yung, the 17th president of the association, was replaced. Chung Ju Yung was nominated as the president of Korean Amateur Sports Association to succeed Cho Sang Ho in July 1982. He was really active in leading the association, and managed the association similar to how he managed his business group. Chung spent a large amount of money on sponsoring the Korean national teams for the Los Angeles Olympic games in 1984. Under his tutelage, the Korean national teams ranked tenth with six gold medals among 141 countries.84

82 KOC, KOC 50 Years (1946-1996), 297-298.
83 Ibid.; Eung Keun Chung (Professor of Seoul National University), Interview with Author in Seoul, 1999.
4.4.3 Chung Ju Yung’s Reluctant Resignation

People in the sports world in Korea suspected that Chung Ju Yung reluctantly resigned the presidency of the Korea Amateur Sports Association in October 1984. Before his resignation, his sixth son, Chung Mong Joon, resigned as president of the Korea Archery Association and went abroad for study. Mong Joon’s role was critical in improving the Korean national archery teams to advanced levels for world competition. Chung Ju Yung encouraged Mong Joon to run for the 11th election for the national assembly as representative of Wool San, which annoyed the high-ranking officials. As president of Hyundai Heavy Industry with 50,000 employees, Mong Joon would have had the highest possibility to win the election if he had run for the election.

The conventional wisdom also assumed that Chung Ju Yung resigned his office for the fact that he could not get along with Lee Young Ho, the Minister of Sports. Chung Ju Young severely argued with Minister Lee over organizing the national teams for the Los Angeles Olympic games in 1984, and for wasting the funds of the Korea Sports Promotion Corporation. He argued that Lee mismanaged the Korea Amateur Sports association because the Ministry of Sports was senior to the Association in rank. When Rho Tae Woo, the chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, heard the argument against Minister Lee, sympathetic to Chung Ju Yung. During the party for the national athletes returning from the Los Angeles Olympic games, Rho Tae Woo advised Chung with a displeased voice that he should pay for the party with the money from the Korea Sports Promotion Funds. In Korean culture, Rho’s public humiliation cast the dice. Chung was shamed at the hands of the dealer. The sports world in Korea
agreed that even Chung Ju Young, who was the president of the biggest business company, had to accept his defeat in a power struggle of righteous cause against the political authorities. This consensus was based on the fact that Rho Tae Woo usurped Chung’s position as the president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association. At that time, he was also the chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee as well. After succeeding Chung in April 1985, Rho Tae Woo served as association president for only six months. He also resigned that post and the office of chairman of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee giving up four-year management to stress his political loyalty as the representative chief of the Democratic Justice Party, and his disdain for Rho’s little games that had grave impacts.85

When Kim Jong Ha (president of Korea Synthetic Fiber Co.) took office as the 28th president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association, people of the sports world in Korea were stunned. On one hand, he did bring sports management experience to the job as he had been president of the Korea Handball Association in 1981. As a deputy of the Sponsoring Council of Minjong Party, he also attended the sports negotiations between South and North Korea in 1984, which well demonstrated how powerful he had been in Korean politics. However, it was stunning news because the Korea Amateur Sports Association was in charge of managing the Seoul Olympic Games. The influential Rho Tae Woo actually pressured Chun Doo Hwan to nominate Kim Jim the president of KASA. President Chun resisted though. He thought long and hard then nominated Kim Jong Ha as the president of KASA. At the time, people of the sports world in Korea

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85 Gap Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean Basketball Association), Interview with Author, December 1999 in Seoul.
assumed that Kim Jong Ha had been in Chun Doo Hwan’s favor, while Kim Jib had been in Rho Tae Woo’s favor. It was further assumed that Kim Jong Ha felt sorry for defeating Kim Jib in the nomination, so he begged President Chun to nominate him as candidate for a House seat elected from the national constituency. At another level, this situation showed how crony politics reigned supreme. Kim Jong Ha was President Chun’s junior in the Korea Army Academy by two years. While in the Academy with Chun, Kim Jong Ha impressed him favorably, and continued the close relationship with Chun. In the military, the senior commander always rules. In crony-politics, the mentor finds cozy office space for his changes.86

In September 1984, President Chun invited all medalists from the Los Angeles Olympic games to Chongwadae (Korea Blue House) for a party to liberally imbibe Soju (Korean liquor). During the party spirits reigned high. Chun was in a gregarious mood, offering glass of Soju to Kim Jong Ha, the president of the Korea Handball Association at that time, by saying that “Drink a glass of Soju, Jong Ha”. When President Chun said this Kim Jong Ha took it as an insult, as it implied Chun’s superior social position. Kim responded, “it is not appropriate to call me by name since I have a child who goes to a college” indicating a similar elder status. This was enough to remind President Chun and Kim Jong Ha of the school days in the military Academy where Chun was in command, and Kim was his obedient servant. The audience were surprised by his bold response to Chun, and the lively ambiance of the party became quietly tense. However, President Chun laughed loudly and patted Kim Jong Ha on his shoulder with saying “it is not good, but a good job for the Olympic games.” When Rho Tae Woo was elected the sixth

86 KOC, KOC 50 years (1946-1996), 297-298; Gap Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean
president of Korea, Kim Jong Ha had planned to resign from the president of the Korea Amateur Sports Association. He had lost his patron.87

4.4.4 High Rank Military Officials Control Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee

The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC) was instituted on November 2, 1981. The first chief director was Kim Yong Sik, who held office from November 2, 1981, to July 10, 1983. He was chosen for his communication skills to publicize the committee's efforts at securing a successful event.88

When 100 days were left until the start of the Olympic Games, the secretaries-general organizing committee had had four different chief directors and four different secretaries-general. SLOOC became active in performing its affairs after Rho Tae Woo was nominated to succeed Kim Yong Sik in July 11th 1983. In May 1986, Park Se Jik who was the reserve major general and the Minister of Government Administration succeeded Rho Tae Woo, in 1988.89

The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee would be considered a dinosaur, a cumbersome species unadapted to its environment and destined to become extinct. First of all, the committee used a budget of 2 trillion won to prepare for the Seoul Olympic games. Considering this fact, it is more accurate to call the committee something much bigger than a dinosaur perhaps an insatiable gargantuan monster devouring everything in its path. The committee consisted of 1,300 officers, so it was a huge encumbered mosaic.

Basketball Association), Interview with Author, December 1999 in Seoul.
87 Ibid.
88 KOC, KOC 50 Years (1946-1996), 478; KASA, KASA 70 Years, 694-695.
89 KASA, KASA 70 Years, 695; Kyunghyung Digital News, April 3, 1989.
However, people from the high ranks of the military occupied most of the significant positions of the committee.\(^90\)

As mentioned before, Park Se Jik was Rho Tae Woo’s junior by one year at the Military Academy. He succeeded Rho Tae Woo as the supreme commander of the Army Capital Garrison Command. It is worth noting that Park Se Jik’s hometown, which was Kumi, Kyoungbuk, neighbored Rho Tae Woo’s hometown. This is significant given Korea’s regional political culture. In terms of leadership in sports, his only experience was that he managed the basketball club and was president of the sports association in the Military Academy. There were two stories to explain how Park Se Jik secured official positions as the chief director of the Olympic Organizing Committee and the Minister of Sports. When Rho Tae Woo returned to the political world as the representative member of Minjong Party, he nominated Park as the chief director of the committee. The other story was that Juan Samaranch, the president of International Olympic Committee, advised Chun Doo Hwan to direct the Ministry of Sports and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee to collaborate.\(^91\)

While the reason for Park’s selection is not uncertain, what is certain is that he could hardly manage the ministry and the committee together very well. Therefore, he resigned from the office of the minister only seven months later in order to devote full time as chief director of the committee. There were some rumors that could explain his resignation from office. Chun Doo Hwan encouraged Se Jik to dedicate all his efforts to manage the Seoul Asian games (from September 20\(^{th}\) to October 5\(^{th}\) 1986). This is why

\(^90\) Gap Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean Basketball Association), Interview with Author, December 1999 in Seoul.

\(^91\)
Se Jik resigned from the office of the Minister of Sports. However, this is not acceptable because the Seoul Asian games opened several months before his resignation from the Minister of Sports. More plausible explanation was that high ranking politicians disliked Park Se Jik because he was too talkative. Otherwise, Park Se Jik was somewhat honest and confident in conducting his duties.92

4.4.5 Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee Disharmony

Briefly and to the point, we can say the position of the secretary-general of SLOOC was like that of the traditional manager of a rich Korean family. He exuded all the cultural traits expressive of the position. The secretary-general was in charge of managing all the activities of the committee. Therefore, the official position of the general was to function as eyeballs of the committee. The first secretary-general was Lee Won Kyoung (formerly, Korean ambassador to Japan), and the second secretary-general was Cho Sang Ho (formerly, Minister of Sports). Along with this fact, it is true that the official position of the secretary general was absolutely significant in the committee.93

On July 5th 1985, Lee Ha Woo was nominated as the third secretary general, which was surprising enough to stir the nation. He started his political career as president of the General Student Association of Seoul National University. After graduation from the university, he obtained Ph.D. degree in political science in the United States. He also worked for the conglomerate, Chonwadae as a press secretary, and for the Chairman of the National Assembly as a chief secretary. It is also worth noting that before selected as

91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
the secretary-general, he was an English tutor to Lee Soon Ja, who was the First Lady of Korea. The facts are clear Lee Ha Woo was close to the president in sight and mind.\(^9^4\)

Once he turned secretary-general into the most power position in managing the committee, he became creative and arbitrary in running its affairs. This caused a lot of quibbling and quarreling among members committee. During his term of office for 10 months, Lee assisted those directors of departments of the committee to perform their duties best, but, it seem that he did not get along with those from the high ranks of military service.\(^9^5\)

In May 1986 when Park Se Jik took the office of the chief director of the committee, he would have a power bout with Lee Ha Woo. Since Park did his best in dealing with his duties, he was unlikely to embrace Lee’s arbitrary attitude in managing the Committee. Often Park Se Jik would ignore those officers close to Lee Ha Woo, who were not patient enough to overlook Park’s attitude to his confidants. The tension between Se Jik and Ha Woo made the committee a keg of powder. When someone reported this tension to President Chun Doo Hwan, he tipped his hand to enhance the power of Park Se Jik’s. As the result, Lee ended his 17-month term office of the secretary-general with a 17-month term in the committee. Lee Ha Woo acquiesced in Doo Hwan’s decision, and started working for Kim Jong Pil, the leader of Gonghwa Party, as a special adviser. He ran for the assembly in order to restore his political power. It seemed he strongly felt the frailty of the political power.\(^9^6\)

\(^{94}\) Ibid.
\(^{95}\) Ibid.
\(^{96}\) Ibid.
Lee Ha Woo's successor, Kim Ok Jin, the fourth secretary-general, was without doubt a crony of Park Se Jik. Kim Ok Jin's hometown was Jinju, and he graduated from Yonsei University. Thus Korea's culture of regional politics reigned supreme in his appointment. In May 1984, Kim Ok Jin was nominated as vice minister of government administration after serving as the chief of the public relations section in the national assembly, a professor at Myoung Ji University, and a press secretary of a diplomatic office in a foreign country. When Kim was vice minister of government administration, Park Se Jik was its minister. Kim Ok Jin was a close reliable confidante whose advice Park Se Jik trusted in performing his duties. In spite of a career not related to the affairs of the ministry of government administration, Kim became its vice-minister due to Park's help. Pundits in politics and sports anticipated that Park would nominate Kim as Lee's successor. Obviously Park Se Jik trusted Ok Jin in dealing with the affairs of planning for and managing the Seoul Olympic games.97

4.4.6 Rho Tae Woo's showing off his confidants in the sports world in Korea

The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee consisted of vice chiefs of the administration, game management, and international affairs. All were top-level executive positions, but the vice-chief of administration played a most crucial role. The administration consisted mostly of Rho Tae Woo's confidantes. The vice-chief of the administration had executed authority of managing the budget of the committee. The vice chief of the administration controlled the executive office which secured all financing for the Olympic games including, the office which requisitioned all supplies for

97 Ibid.
the Olympic games, and the scheduling office which managed all facilities related to the games. Among 24 departments of SLOOC, the 13 core departments belonged to the administration. Power was in the core, and the core was administration. That's where the action was.98

In May 1988, vice chief of the administration was Choi Ye Sub, a reserve army lieutenant general, who worked at the Defense Security Command as the chief of staff. Choi was the chief of staff when Rho Tae Woo was Supreme Commander of the Defense Security Command in 1980s. Choi, whose hometown was Hambuk, was a military cadet and he's job performance impressed the autocratic Rho Tae Woo, when he was Supreme Commander of the Defense Security Command. Rho considered Choi to be ironclad, vigilant, and devotedly faithful to duty. Because of Rho’s absolute power, the prideful, arrogant Choi was the most infamous person on the committee. The executive members of the committee were convinced Choi Ye Sub obtained the promotion as an opportunist, stepping in the foot prints of Rho as a lackey ever faithful to duty. Choi refused to release his resume and portrait, out of arrogant habit formed during his office in the Defense Security Command. He was secretive by the nature of military culture.99 Yet he held a key SLOOC position that would open Korea’s doors to the world. These choices were ironic, if not misplaced to say the least! No wonder North Korea resisted efforts to reconcile temporarily for the Games. They were being asked to collaborate with the South’s army!

98 SinDongga, 1988, 279.

99 Ibid.
In 1985 when Cho Young Seung was promoted to the chief director of the section of human agency (a first-grade official) from a chief of a section (a fourth grade official), members of the committee were shocked. The promotion was really exceptional. Born in Dalseong Kyoungbuk, Cho graduated from the graduate school of Yonsei University, and became the chief director of the section of Human Agency only five years later. That was rapid advancement for a man who started his political career as a section chief. His promotion was legally acceptable, but it usually took ten years for politicians to achieve such a promotion. When Rho was the chief director of the SLOOC he put Cho on the fast-track in order to mobilize his power as soon as possible. At that time, Cho was the youngest executive among the high-powered positions on the committee. Rho wasted no time to build an empire, and SLOOC was the castle.100

In fact, the management of the committee was criticized, especially in terms of personnel management administration, based on the principle that positions were specially arranged to reward figures for their service to the government in previous days. Because of such cronyism, the committee was not strong enough to sustain its organizing ability. Members left as quickly as they came on board. For example, Rho replaced Kim Yong Sik, the first chief director, two years after he took the office. Even Rho Tae Woo could not manage the affairs of the committee since he was so busy conducting his duties as the representative member of the ruling party, Minjeong. Because of this, the SLOOC established the policy that the vice chief director could become the executive chief

100 Ibid.
director. However, Lee Young Ho resigned from this position after eight months to assume the office of the Minister of Sports.\textsuperscript{101}

The committee had had three different chief directors after it was instituted in November 1981. This is evidence the government ruled the sports world in Korea. It used to be typical for the chief director of the committee, who became right before the national teams were formed for the Olympic games including the Los Angeles Olympic games, would manage the national teams. In regard to the position of the secretary-general, there were frequent replacements; Lee Won Kyoung, replaced by Cho Sang Ho who was replaced by Lee Ha Woo, replaced by Kim Ok Jin.

Some governors held a secret meeting in Chongwadae to nominate Suh Jong Chul, the first chief director of the Korea Baseball Organization. He was a reserve general. He ended his military career as the aide of security working for Chun Doo Hwan. When he was nominated as the first chief director of the Korea Baseball Organization, no one in the sports world anticipated it. Chun Doo Hwan was the chief aide working for Suh Jong Chul, the Army Chief of Staff.\textsuperscript{102}

It is Lee Kun Young who for six years has managed the Korean Horse Affairs Association whose market value in 1987 reached 24 billion won. Lee, considered a man of integrity and rectitude, was, as a major general, the Supreme Commander of the Third Army in 1979. Chun Doo Hwan, the Supreme Commander of the Defense Security Command, asked Lee Kun Young to help him succeed the military coup on December 12\textsuperscript{th} 1979. However, Lee Kun Young denied Chun Doo Hwan by saying he had not

\textsuperscript{101} Minjung means mass or people’s, referring to theology and similar to liberation theology; SinDonga, 1988, 279.
\textsuperscript{102} Korea Herald, Dec. 12, 1981, 7.
received any order from his senior officer to whom he directly reported. When Chun was victorious in the military coup on January 20, 1980, Lee Kun Young, was compelled to end his military career without choice.\textsuperscript{103}

Lee Kun Young worked for the Central Intelligence Agency of Korea as a chief secretary (in June 1965), as the 6\textsuperscript{th} Division commander (in May 1968), as the vice supreme commander (in July 1969) for the division in Vietnam, for the Military Staff College as the dean (in January 1972), as the division commander (in December 1974) for the 5\textsuperscript{th} Division, as the vice chief director (in January 1977) for the Central Intelligence Agency of Korea, and as the Army vice chief of staff. Because of his brilliant military career, all believed that he would easily become the chief of staff of the Army. However, a brilliant future fell short because he upset Chun Doo Hwan by obeying the senior officer to whom he directly reported.\textsuperscript{104}

When he became the president of the Korean Horse Affairs Association in 1982, his relationship with Chun Doo Hwan warmed. As a result, Lee tried not to disclose any information about Chun Doo Hwan’s involvement in the military coup relationship with Chun Doo Hwan. Since Chun Doo Hwan valued Lee Kun Young’s loyalty, he helped prolong his tenure as the president of the Korean Horse Affairs Association.\textsuperscript{105}

Chun Doo Hwan’s love for sports was impressive. During his school days in the Military Academy, he played on a soccer team. Because of his love for sports, the director of the national soccer team extended his position for five years. Due to his love for sports, it was also possible to discuss affairs related boxing and the marathon with

\textsuperscript{103} SinDonga, 1988, 280.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{105}
Chun Doo Hwan, the President of Korea. During his presidency of Korea, and without advance notice, Chun Doo Hwan visited Taenung Training Center with a few of his close confidantes on dawn on a winter day. The staff of the Training Center had to turn on the lights on a narrow path, which startled the female athletes.\textsuperscript{106}

During his office term for seven years, President Chun Doo Hwan visited all the athletic facilities. He also invited all the elite athletes to Chongwadae. When he invited elite athletes to the Blue House, he ordered the staff to prepare the best food for them, demonstrating how much he loved the athletes. Chun Doo Hwan visited Taenung Training Center 15 times during his office term for seven years. However as he gripped the hands of budding national sports stars, the peoples’ grip for his loyalty loosened for they had no place to play. They were left out of the national picture as Chun Doo Hean hobnobbed with the strong, the best and the brightest.\textsuperscript{107}

Sports policies with their main focus on elite sports were emphasized from the beginning of the Fifth Republic. During the Fifth republics, the main goal of sports policies was designed to enhance elite sports in order to achieve excellent results at the Olympic games and international games, which would help Korea to spread abroad national prestige and nobility. It would demonstrate to the world the “political” and “ideological” superiority of South Korea over the Democratic Republic of Korea. (DRK) The Korean government would devote considerable attention to establishing various sports policies to improve sports techniques, as hosting the Asian Games in 1986, and the Olympic Games in 1988. The idea was to be a show case of talent against which the

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} KOC, KOC 50 years (1946-1996), 1996, 478-482
world would judge the pitfalls of the DRK. In the 1970s and 1980s, the government instituted a number of educational systems that enhanced elite sports. These systems included helping elite players enter upper grade schools; pension system that would motivate players to improve their sports techniques; rewards to excellent players and directors; and exempting elite players from military service, or provide them privileged status so they could develop athletic skills in the military.\textsuperscript{108}

Under the new system, the government achieved results quickly and remarkably, as the medal standings of major international meets reveal. As shown in Table 4.4, Korea ranked second in the Asian games in 1986, fourth in the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988. Like this, Korea succeeded in establishing to the world the impression that Korea is excellent at physical education. From the ashes of war four decades earlier, Korea was a phoenix of the sporting world. Korea came of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Host Place</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Numbers of participatory Nation</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Gold Medal</th>
<th>Silver Medal</th>
<th>Bronze Medal</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Helsinki</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 The Present condition and rank of Korean Team Olympic participation\textsuperscript{109} (continued)

\textsuperscript{107} Yong-Chul Cho (Korean Olympic bronze medalist-men's Judo (the 24\textsuperscript{th} Seoul Olympic Games, 1988), interview with the author in Columbus, Ohio, 1999.

\textsuperscript{108} Korea Sport Science Institute (KSCI), \textit{21\textsuperscript{st} Century Korean Sports Development Model and Implementation Strategy} (Seoul: TaeChang MunHwaSa, 1998), 160-161.

\textsuperscript{109} KOC, KOC in fifty Years (1946-1997), 142-166.
Even though the policies for elite sports contributed to spreading national prestige abroad and unified the people, did the government’s policies contributed to the peoples’ health, morale, welfare and living standards? Unfortunately the other side of this shine coin is tarnished. Athletic achievement was a hollow symbol of national progress. An unsound culture of physical education was formed as sports became commercialized, leaving little opportunity for the public to participate in physical activities. The government’s development of elite sports tool precedence over organizing and improving human, material, and institutional resources necessary for the development of participatory sports. This deterred the public from participation in physical activities simply because programs and facilities did not exist.\textsuperscript{110}

On the other hand, policies for participatory sports were being written during the period when the policies for elite sports were being fully implemented. In fact, the National Physical Education Promotion Law for reinforcing participatory sports was
instituted more than two decades before the Seoul Olympic Games, in 1962 but the law was ineffective. Policies for participatory sports were barely performed at the expense of reinforcing elite sports in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{111}

The policies for the promotion of participatory sports were not spotlighted until 1981, when the IOC announced that Korea would host the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988. The Ministry of Sports was organized after the announcement, and the National Physical Education Promotion Law revised on Jan. 31, 1982, was officially promulgated as Law 3612. In 1985, the Korea Participatory Sports Promotion Association, a non-governmental organization for participatory sports and the Korea Participatory Sports Center were formulated to activate participatory sports. The primary movement for the promotion of participatory sports now in Korea is “Sports for All,” which was initiated from the conference with ministers of the Ministry of Sports in European countries in 1972. The movement of “Sports for All” was programmed to guide countries in planning for leisure and adjusting to the changing conditions of physical education. Moreover, it was further designed to improve the people’s health and welfare.\textsuperscript{112} However, for political purposes participatory sports in Korea had been ignored until the end of 1980s. The Korean government mainly emphasized elite sports for the purpose of spreading the national prestige until the Seoul Olympic games in 1988.

On the other hand, Korean sports policies did not reform the conditions of school sports. School sports was mainly programmed to train elite sports players. Under its policy, the Ministry of Education was responsible for school physical education curricula,

\textsuperscript{110} Do-Kwang Oh (former sports editor for Hankook Ilbo, Interview with the author in Korea. 1999.
while the Ministry of Sports was in charge of training elite sports players. In actuality a school sport involved both educational and training functions for elite sports players. However, school sports failed to achieve its primary goal.113

Granted, it was not an easy task to unify and develop school sports since school sports was under the control of the bicameral system. As mentioned above, the Ministry of Education was responsible of physical education while the Ministry of Culture and information was in charge of training elite players. Although school sports contributed to increasing the number of participants in sports by training elite players, introducing and activating participatory sports, and achieving lifelong physical education, its contribution to the development of physical education was minor. School sports was programmed to help students develop physical strength and self-discipline, so it might have had a good relationship with the development of participatory sports. However, the development of school sports was too limited for some problems; among them were school sports teachers’ lack of qualifications and professional techniques, the insufficiency of facilities for participatory sports, and the people’s ignorance of physical education.114

As a result, the problematic aspects of sports policies were basically caused by the lack of long-range plans. In detail, it failed to establish systematic plans for sports policies, and to unify the functions of the departments in charge of school sports. Moreover, the government should have strived to organize more reasonable plans for the development of participatory sports, and to realize the plans constantly. Furthermore, the

113 Gap-Jin Chang (Former executive director of Korean Basketball Association), Interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.
114 Nam Song Kim (Principal of Seoul physical Education High School), Interview with the author in Seoul, 1999.
government should have established and implemented sports policies that were programmed to lead the public to emphasize participatory sports much more than elite sports.

4.5 The Seoul Olympic Games: A Social and Political approach to understanding contemporary cultural change in Korea

Koreans were surprised, pleased and proud when they heard that the 1988 Olympics would be held in Seoul. They were especially pleased, because Korea’s former colonial master and regional economic power, Japan, was one of the competitors which sought to host the Games. Thus, Koreans were even more happy and excited when they beat their formidable neighbor, Japan, which has had a very complex relationship with Korea historically and economically.115

Despite the joy over being able to host the games, there were many people who were worried about many aspects of the Games. For example, who would be responsible for the enormous expense of the Games? Koreans recognized that they could not avoid the tremendous economic duty of the Games. They even doubted if they could manage that kind of important international ceremony demanded for the Games. They were also worried whether that ceremony might stimulate North Korea to break a tenuous truce into another Korean War. Finally, politicians of the Korean military government might use the Games for political purposes, thus, the Korean political situation could become worse.116

The Seoul Olympic Games ended as one of the most successful Olympic Games in history, even though there had been worries and expectations of failure among Koreans. The number of countries and players in the Seoul Olympic Games was more than at any Olympic Game in history until then. The Seoul Olympic games were evaluated as the most successful Olympic games to overcome any kind of discrimination among human beings and to accomplish the harmony between Eastern and Western countries. As a result, the tensions among the nations were mitigated.\textsuperscript{117}

Especially, important was that the Seoul Olympic games were held when Korea was undergoing rapid economic development. Therefore, the Games influenced Korea in every aspect in many ways. Likewise Korea influenced the Games in many ways. This part of my dissertation will discuss the linkages of these relationship in a socio-historical contest.

4.5.1 Geopolitical Meaning of the Seoul Olympics

Korea was a developing country and there was tension between South and North Korea when the Seoul Olympics were held. That Korea could be recognized by international society was a matter of prime importance for Korean people. They hoped that Korea would gain a good reputation in the world community by demonstrating the miraculous achievement she had achieved independence. Korea would become the second country Asian that would hold the Olympics following Japan. It turned out that it was Korea that applied hold the Olympics, not larger countries such as China or India, nor more economically developed countries such as Taiwan, Singapore or Japan. Only

the economic powerhouse, Japan, stood in little Korea’s way. The fact that Korea was chosen among formidable contenders was regarded as evidence of Korea's established status, not only economically, but also in geopolitical and cultural aspects. Korea was a central player on the world stage.\textsuperscript{118}

As shown above, the Seoul Olympics made Koreans proud of themselves, for Korea was now well known virtually everywhere in the world. The three major international-political goals of the Seoul Olympics were (1) amelioration of the foreign relations with Communist countries, except North Korea, without diplomatic ties; (2) increase in the opportunities of contact with Third World countries; and, (3) enhancement of the diplomatic status of Korea. Of particular importance is that the Seoul Olympics were an opportune event in that served as a cornerstone for a peace settlement in the Korean peninsula in the midst of the dismantlement of the cold-war era. Considering those goals, the significance of the Seoul Olympics can be summarized as following:\textsuperscript{119}

First, the Seoul Olympics were a great success in the development of diplomatic ties with major Communist countries. The Soviet Union, China, and East European countries participated in the games and this rendered the formerly "half Olympics"\textsuperscript{120} intact. In addition, taking this opportunity, Koreans would accomplish an economic cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union; they would sign a treaty of amity with Hungary; they exchanged a trade mission and would establish a body of trade representatives in Yugoslavia; they would also come up with an agreement on a full-scale


\textsuperscript{119} Seung-Jo Han et al., “Succession of the Seoul Olympic mind and analysis of the status of Korea in international society”, National Physical Education promotion institute for the commemoration of the Seoul Olympics, 1990, 39-64.

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economic exchange. As such, the Olympic games brought about a dramatic change in
Korean foreign policy. In many ways, yes, Korea realized the dreams of the modern
Olympic movement, to serve as a model for world peace, friendship and cooperation.

It was a big surprise for Korean people that the Soviet Union sent a large number
of athletes and an enormous cultural delegation to Seoul as well as many Korean
specialists. The Soviet Union was the very country which took control of North Korea for
three years in 1945 and helped to set up a Communist regime, which later became the
cause of the division of the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, it was the Soviet Union that
shot down a Korean civil passenger airplane in 1983. That a country with such historical
antagonisms would send a large team and begin conversation on economic exchange was
indeed revolutionary. Again I emphasize the historic ramifications in terms of the modern
Olympic movement were realized.\textsuperscript{121}

In this respect, the biggest international political achievement made in the 1988
Seoul Olympic Games was that Korea achieved so many successes in international policy
in such a short period of time due to the Olympic event. This was a prevailing view
among other countries. Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said, in an
interview with one of Korean daily newspapers, that an incidental effect of the Seoul
Olympics was that travel became easier between Korea and Communist countries expect
for North Korea. As a result, said Kissinger, various kinds of exchanges such as trade

\textsuperscript{120} The 1980 Moscow Olympics and 1984 LA Olympics were held in its half form due to the Cold War
antagonism.
\textsuperscript{121} The total numbers of the Soviet team was 784: among them 625 were athletes, 159 were staff. This was
the largest team in the Soviet Olympic history and it was the second largest team in the Seoul Olympic
games following the US team. Particularly, the Bolshoi Ballet and the Moscow Philharmonic orchestra's
visit made a substantial contribution to familiarize Korean people with the culture of the Soviet Union. The
negotiation between South Korea and those communist countries became an open possibility.\footnote{122 Only as a result of President Kim, Dae-Joong's "open door" policy the Korea's allowed family visitation and reopened the Seoul-Pyongyang rail link in 2000; \textit{Dong-A Ilbo}, September 3, 1988.}

Second, the Olympic Games did not enable South Korea to reach its goal to foster a favorable climate for unification. One of the prime goals of the Seoul Olympics was to construct mutual trust and to develop a foundation of inter-Korean amity and eventually build a climate favorable for unification. However, the outcome was the opposite: inter-Korean relations became worse due to North Korea's absence from the Games and its interference in its ultimate successful staging. The two Koreas' contrasting effort—one to hold the Olympics successfully and the other to hinder it—ended up with South Korea's diplomatic triumph and this, in turn, resulted in the aggravation of and the isolation of North Korea in international society. In the long-term, North Korea became even more isolated with the Soviet Union collapse, whereas South Korea had established amicable relations with former Communist countries because the north actively participated in Non-Aligned movement.\footnote{123 Sang-Jin Chun, \textit{The World to Seoul: My Seoul Olympic Games} (Seoul: Bung-Yang, 1989), 514; The list of North Korea's interference against the success of Seoul Olympics would be a) their demand to hold the games in both Koreas, b) a bombing terror on a passenger flight, c) a bombing terror at Kim-po}

Third, the Seoul Olympic successfully built a foundation for South Korean cooperation with Third World countries. Until the Seoul Olympic Games, South Korea politically dominated by the United States hegemonic interests and it lacked the capacity to deal with international affairs independent of U.S. interference. In addition the fierce rivalry between the two Koreas hindered South Korea from establishing diplomatic relations with the Third World countries. Among the total 160 countries that attended the
Olympic games were 15 countries without diplomatic relation, 23 "First World" countries, and the remaining 121 were the countries that could be classified as developing countries. There were 21 countries who had diplomatic relations with North Korea but not with South Korea, and three countries who had diplomatic ties with both Koreas. In this situation, the Seoul Olympics was a great opportunity for acquainting those Third World countries with Korea.\(^{124}\)

Fourth, the Seoul Olympic games resulted in a partial deterioration of the relationship between South Korea and the United States, which was unpredicted. The United States supported South Korea in many ways for the success of Seoul Olympics. The United States made a substantial effort to encourage Communist countries to attend the games. In addition, the United States helped to get rid of worries about the threat of war in the Korean peninsula by reinforcing its troops in South Korea. Nevertheless, the American broadcasting company, NBC, had the sole television rights to the Games and irritated Korean people by its biased attitude. This stirred up a high level of anti-American feeling in Korea. On the other hand, the hospitality Koreans showed to Communist country athletes got on Americans' nerves.\(^{125}\)

4.5.2 The Socio-Cultural Meaning

There is some difficulty in finding out how the Seoul Olympics had a long-term, long-standing influence on Korean society and culture, because the effect of the Games was not immediately obvious and many things interacted with complex phenomena at international airport, d) a threat to invade during the games, e) an indirect support for the anti-Olympic demonstration activity.

\(^{124}\) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1988; Chun, The world to Seoul, 505.

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that time. Therefore, it may be too soon to review the definitive influence of the Games on Korean society and culture. However, we can make some tentative conjectures. For example, we have discussed how the Seoul Olympics played an important political role in Korea as well as in many other countries in the world. Thus, let us review its influence on Korean society and culture development by examining literature in this area.

First, the Seoul Olympics made South Koreans feel unified and harmony.\textsuperscript{126} The Games made Koreans proud of themselves. As a result, Koreans had to overcome humiliation caused by the Japanese occupation and the Korean War. Still the division of the Korean peninsula into North and South left a longing for more progress. Loy and Kenyon state that international sport events like the Olympics intentionally or unintentionally give or reinforce the self-identity of the host nation. Such events also improve the status of the country in the world by demonstrating its ability to organize a world-event. This is the reason that the national government was involved in inviting and preparing the events from the beginning to the end, even though a certain designated city held the event. The Seoul Olympics was no exception. The government planned and took care of the Games. However, the games were not a "magic bullet" to solving all of Korea's problems. The did not help problems in the structure of society, such as the enormous gap between the rich and poor and the conflicts between rival areas. In fact, one could argue that Korea ignored important social and political issues because it was preoccupied with staging the Games.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Sin-Dong A} 350, November, 1988, 332-346.
The literature counters, though, that Seoul Olympics played an important role for improving not only political democracy but also social democracy. This stems from the fact that Koreans began to have a globalized view of the world and became friendly with Communist countries after the Games. Koreans also overcame the ideologies of Communism and capitalism predominant in the Cold War Era. As a result, the invisible weapon that the power elites used to control the masses for a long time lost its power. The ruling elites had used the ideology of Communism to threaten and control masses gaining and sustaining power. This means that Koreans could expand their ideological freedom and political freedom. In addition, Koreans began to ask for change of the rules and ruling system.\textsuperscript{128}

Third, the Seoul Olympics contributed to the value system of public rules and cooperation related to social order. Before the Games, the Korean government, the Olympics Association, and other private groups tried to invoke the consciousness of Koreans about social and public rules or orders. This movement focused on keeping the traffic rules and public politeness to one another. As a result, Koreans were found to obey traffic rules better than before the Games, and they used their cars by taking turns according to their number: even-numbered cars on even numbered days and odd-numbered cars on odd numbered days. Kim et al. report, however, that Koreans returned to their old driving habits orders right after the Games. This fact shows us that a value system and attitude toward social rules can not be changed in a short time. Also it is hard to push people to keep the traffic rules without any improvement of the traffic conditions. There have been some criticisms that Koreans began to be spendthrift after the Games,

\textsuperscript{128} Sin-Pyo Kang, "Korea, the Nationalism of Korea, the Seoul Olympics, and Modern Anthropology," The...
contradicting their cultural value for frugality. The reason that they spent more than
before the Olympics and sometimes more than they earned is partly the government's
responsibility. The Korean government advertised that Korea would be a developed
country after the Games. Consequently, Koreans began to admire the decadence and
style of foreign countries. Another criticism is that some researchers insist that even
AIDS were introduced into Korea during the Olympics, public health dimension to the
problem of social change.129

Fourth, the Seoul Olympics boosted the people's interest in everyday sport. Thus,
they began participate in sports and leisure time more often. According to a study by the
Ministry of Culture-Sport, more and more Koreans participated in regular sport activity
more than two-three times a week: 19.4 % in 1986, 27.2 % in 1989, and 34.7 % in 1991.
The 1986 Asian Games as well as the Seoul Olympic Games provided Koreans with
more chances to see sport games and to get interested in other sports. As a result, a
number of Koreans were introduced to activities and were inspired to partake
afterwards.130

Fifth, Koreans became more aware of their own culture and arts as result of the
Games and they wanted to show it to the international audience. There were many
exhibitions of art, including ceremonies of the opening and closing games in which
Korean arts and culture were introduced to the people. Many kinds of programs were

Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (1990); Shin-Dong A 350, November, 1988, 341-342
129 Jong-Ki Kim et al, “The meaning and consequences of the Seoul Olympics,” The Korea Development
Institute (1989), Hyup Chio, “The Seoul Olympics and their ideals: social health, group harmony, and
international understand,” The Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (1990); Dong-A-Il bo, September 3,
130 The Ministry of Culture and Sports, “Survey of the civic participation in the public life-sport activity,”
developed in culture and arts around the Games for about 50 days. In addition, Won Woo-Hyeon tells us that more than 3,000 artists from about 80 countries participated in the culture and art exhibition during the Games. It was an excellent moment to exchange artistic techniques and styles between cultures on world scale. Artists from Eastern Europe introduced their culture and artists. As a result, the Korean view of culture and arts expanded, and Koreans became more open to Eastern Europe and the Third World. Consequently, the Seoul Olympic Games were a chance for Koreans to experience the arts and culture of Eastern Europe and the Third World, and for the peoples to put all the Eastern and Western arts and culture. The world had come to Korea, and Korea had come to the World.131

4.5.3 Seoul Olympics and Political Meanings

The Korean government, officially, had no intention to use the Seoul Olympic Games for keeping domestic political stability and development. That is, when Seoul was chosen as the site of the 1988 Olympic Games in 1981, the purpose of holding the Seoul Olympic games was to display economic development and the national power of Korea, the enhancement of the international position of Korean sports, the expansion of good friendship with other countries, the creation of the friendly situation in the diplomatic relationship with Communist countries and non-aligned nations, and the inspiration of the united mind of people. In other words, the Korean government had intended to use the Seoul Olympic games for diplomatic-security, social and economic

development. However, the 5th Republic, which held the Seoul Olympic games, encountered troubles of legitimacy, integration, and distorted development which were further complicated by the Cold War geopolitics. So Korea faced two dilemmas: 1) internal stability and development and 2) its international status.\(^{132}\)

First of all, the crisis of legitimacy came from not adhering to democratic norms and procedures. Therefore, the arguments about the problems of the legitimacy of the system hardened the political situation and aggravated the government oppression of the people. Ultimately, opposing power groups consolidated power into one body: the dictatorship of the Fifth Republic. Secondly, the crisis of integration came from the effect of the Kwangju People's Movement in May 1980, due to the problems of regional sentiments, and the division and the confrontation between South and North Korea. Moreover, the holding of the Olympic Games in Seoul brought the status of North Korea into the domestic political picture. Students and out-of-power political groups doubted that the Korean government had made efforts to involve North Korea in participating in the Seoul Olympic games. Thus these domestics denounced the Seoul Olympic Games because it was not truly a “national” festival. In contrast to criticism, the Korean government and ruling party emphasized that the Seoul Olympic Games were the greatest festival in the 5,000-year history of Korea, and holding the Seoul Olympic Games had helped to integrate people in at least the southern part of the peninsula and the enhanced the nation' prestige. In other words, half of a peninsula was better than nothing they argued. But students and out-of-power groups argued that the Seoul Olympic Games had

\(^{132}\) Seung-Jo Han et al., “Succession of the Seoul Olympic mind and Analysis of the Status of Korea in International Society”, National Physical education promotion institute for the commemoration of the Seoul Olympics (1990); Byeongyoung Ann, “The overcoming of systemic crisis and the renovation of policy
been misused by the military regime's security apparatus and perpetuated a divided Korea. In this case the Olympics did not unify Korea, but only exposed the political sore of sore division in this conflicted country.

Thirdly, the crisis of distorted development came from the outward economic policies during the previous 20 years and the political absurdities and irregularities in 1980s. The Korean government led developmental strategies that created an imbalance of industrial sectors, classes and regions. This had brought about political-economic units of huge industrial conglomerates, *chae-bol*, the alienation of people, and consolidation of trade-oriented policies.

The three systemic crises of the Fifth Military Regime, closely interacted on the sports front. The Seoul Olympic games was shrouded by the domestic political conflicts of democratization, welfare socialization and harmonization. These conflicts were aptly reflected in the regime's special slogans, "a harmonious Olympic games", "the cultural Olympic games", "the welfare of the Olympic games", "a hopeful Olympic games".

From this point of view, the process of holding the Olympic games could fester political instabilities had become even greater than the economic liabilities similar to the Mexican Olympics. Holding the Olympic games did not help accomplish political development in Mexico, even if there had been strong aspirations for democratization by the people. The case of Korea was different. There was the political and administrative improvement in the view of democratization, the opening toward overseas, integration,

132 Ibid.
liberalization, and internationalization. If the Seoul Olympic games, like Mexico, had been not successfully held, the Korean government and Koreans would have been denounced from abroad and greatly damaged politically, economically, and diplomatically. For the same reason, the people's strong aspiration through demonstrations was a decisive turning point of democratizing Korea before and after holding the Seoul Olympic games. In Mexico, although there had been aspiration through demonstrations before the Mexico City games, most middle class Mexicans would not have helped by protesting the violence of the dictatorship because of the coming Olympic games. However, in Korea, because the aspiration for democratization had exploded 15 months before holding the Seoul Olympic games, middle class effectively held the military dictatorship “hostage” in regards to the Games success. Therefore, the middle class and moderate of political groups created a peoples’ consensus that offered to cooperate for a successful Games only if the government eased up on its dictatorship and provided true reform.

4.5.4 The Meaning of the Seoul Olympics in Economic Development

The Seoul Olympic Games were evaluated as successful not only in the socio-cultural area, but also in economic terms. According to government documents, Korea did not spend an exorbitant amount of money to hold the Games. To save costs, many existing facilities were used. In addition, the Korean government received money from other countries for broadcasting the Games, and also took in revenues from the number of tourists who visited during the Games. Also the Seoul Olympics influenced industrial markets. As a result of the Games, the name and image of Korean products such as
Samsung, Hyundai, and Daewoo were spread to world markets. The Seoul Olympics had many positive effects which are intangible, indirect and cannot be measured quantitatively, but qualitatively life seemed different in outlook for Korea. After the Games, the Korean government opened the markets of trade and foreign exchange which enhanced commerce. Also, the Korean government began to trade with some Communist countries after the Games. Even though reunification with North Korea remains illusive as of this writing.\footnote{Kim et al., “The meaning and consequences of the Seoul Olympics,” 165-166; Tae Seoung Lim, “The Influence on the Social change of Korea through Seoul Olympics,” (Ph.D. diss.: Hanyang University, 1993), 12-13.}

However, the economic development of Korea brought new complexity to its world position as result of its newfound status. Therefore, responsibility as a developed nation was thrust upon Korea, even though Korea’s economy was still struggling. Other developed countries forced Korea to open its market more. Also more than 20 countries in Africa and South America asked for economic assistance from the Korean government, and some other countries considered Korea as a competitor in manufacturing, and commerce. Thus Korea went from being a foreign aid recipient to a foreign aid donor, while emerging as an economic powerhouse in world capitalist markets.
CHAPTER 5

POST-SEOUL OLYMPICS: DEMOCRACY, MATURATION OF MODERN SPORT,
1988-1992

5.1 Introduction

As we have seen, sport policy was integrated in politics, the economy, society, and culture for the purpose of expediting national development throughout post-world war II era in Korea. The effect was uneven, depending on the sphere of society. Political leaders always laid out great plans for sport. Some, like President Park Chung Hee, even provided convincing slogans, “Strong people make a strong country.” In the end, these policies were built of false words and empty promises for the people. The empirical results showed little progress for the people but great strides the elite athletes.

Since the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games the situation began to change as sport start to make slight contributions to national development. Let us look at South Korea in the world context. Most of the developed world has a firmly established sport policy. Governments may have grounded their policies in very different philosophical legitimations, which may generate subtle yet telling differences in policy implementation.
For example, Canada’s concerns for national prestige generated a focus on Olympic sports and the development of elite competitors. On the other hand, several European governments have sought to promote public health and well-being through the physical activity that sports generate. They have therefore applied substantial resources to the promotion of sport-for-all programs rather than to the development of programs to select and train a few elite competitors.¹

Historically sport policy in Korea emphasized elite sport by cultivating athletic talent. Sport for a healthy public and its well-being regardless of talent was disregarded. Despite worldly trends in sport policy emphasizing sport for life and national well-being, in South Korea, elite sport was stressed to the limit. In Korea, sport was not part of the package to promote national prosperity, although other countries regarded it as an important concern for future society. These countries put sport policy on the front agenda, top and center.

Theoretically then the Korean government did not respond to the welfare and well-being of the people who paid taxes to support it. The Korean government only acted to maintain its power. This reality was opposed to the democracy that Korean people aspired to for all these years. At some perilous point the people even fought, bled, and died for it. The politicians only thought about using sport to legitimize their own well-being: How they could win the next election was their overriding concern. Their policy was self-serving.

This chapter investigates the social and political environment, the public awareness of sports, as these factors relate to development physical education policy in the four years after the Seoul Olympics. I will discuss the characteristics of the government impact by looking at the stated policy for the development of sport, the fundamental direction of governmental policy, and the reality of the development of sports. I will examine the non-governmental sports organizations’ influence on sports development due to government negligence. All these conditions will relate to the level of physical education development during that period.

5.2 Overview of Society

On February 25, 1988, Roh Tae Woo was sworn in as president of Korea’s Sixth Republic. The opposition group managed to split up again and ran both Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam against the ruling party candidate in the December 1987 elections. This devastating failure allowed Roh to win the presidency with a plurality, in the most pronounced pattern of regional voting in Korea’s history, and perhaps any other nation’s history. However, it was the first peaceful transfer of power to a newly elected president in the Republic’s history. During his presidency, Chun Doo Hwan repeatedly promised to be the first chief executive with a seven-year term, and he retired as promised on February 26, 1988. Rho, Chun’s chosen successor, was inaugurated after winning a plurality in a direct popular election. It symbolized a new precedent for law, order, and public opinion over personal ambition and autocratic tradition. Therefore, although the opposition leaders acted in a manner that may be termed petulant—and later resigned
from the leadership of their parties—the general population, if not the students, were clearly ready to give Roh a chance.²

The problems for Roh were twofold: how to distance himself from the negative image of Chun and his regime, and how to establish himself as the people’s leader when a majority did not elect him. Roh’s easy manner during the first months were viewed as a welcome change over the stiffness of Chun. On April 1, he publicly expressed regret (but stopping short of an apology) over the Kwangju massacre in 1980. This was the first government admission that its action had not been right, and he promised compensation to the relatives of victims of the massacre. Although Roh retained many members of the Chun cabinet, he scheduled the National Assembly elections to follow the inauguration—in opposition to Chun’s purported wishes. Chun could have played a major role on the choice of candidates had the elections been held while he was still in power. On April 13, Chun resigned from his role on the Advisory Council of Elder Statesmen and as honorary president of his political party, Democratic Justice Party (DJP). These resignations officially ended his ties to government and politics. He did this to take the blame for his brother’s involvement in a Saemaul scandal. This eventuality gave Roh the needed distance from Chun.³

The national assembly elections were held on April 26. The results and format were different than previous elections. The voting was in single candidate’s constituency, a departure from the recent past. The results followed returns of presidential elections,

but only in part. Although there were charges of vote buying, the close results indicated a
great degree of fairness. Out of a total of 299 seats, the government DJP received only
33.9 percent of the popular vote and was able to obtain 125 seats, including 38 as a result
of a proportionally derived formula. Kim Dae Jung's Peace and Democracy Party
received 23.6 percent, while the New Democratic Republican Party of Kim Jong Pil
garnered 15.5 percent of the vote. Thus the total opposition gained 174 seats in the new
National Assembly making them a formidable force in legislative debates.\(^4\)

This election established several precedents. For the first time, the ruling party
was a minority in the legislature, although it was the largest single party. The DJP
attempted to woo opposition legislators from their political affiliations and increase DJP
representation in the assembly as well as tried to form coalitions through various
inducements. The Sixth Republic was in a very weak political position, and political
turmoil was expected following the Olympics.\(^5\)

An unstable political situation was in the making with much vying for loyalties.
The pluralism of the Korean political system was being demonstrated. What remained
problematic was the ability of the society to coalesce internally on critical issues, and the
development of the concept of the loyal opposition.\(^6\)

In its first two years, the revised political system of the Sixth Republic responded
in part to the popular demand for more freedom and participation. This partial success
was evidenced by the shift in radicals' demands away from the 1987 cry for
democratization to a new focus on reunification and anti-Americanism. However, as was

\(^4\) Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing
\(^5\) Steinberg, *The Republic of Korea*, 68.
to be expected, the new system could not immediately meet the conflicting demands of newly emerging interest groups. The executive branch, which continued to be the center of government power, sought the high ground between liberal calls for freedom and conservative demands for order. The latter element focused largely keeping control on radical students, workers, and the former on dissident activity that the conservatives linked with subversion from North Korea. Both extremes remained unsatisfied.  

President Roh took many measures and steps with the aim of liberalizing and democratizing the national life and institutions. These included laws and regulations, release of many political detainees and discontinuation of the government’s intelligence agents’ surveillance of the news rooms of major press organizations including radio and television stations. In the area of human rights, however, the Roh administration stopped short of thorough reform. Although the press enjoyed new freedom, the restrictive National Security Law and other legislation of previous regimes were still largely unchanged. The laws were vigorously enforced against students, workers, and other groups challenging the regime in power. Complaints of security agencies and unjustified arrests and detentions continued. President Roh, had promised but then postponed indefinitely some kind of midterm referendum or evaluation of his administration.

Some of the anomie that afflicted the early Roh years arose from his international assumption of a lower profile presidency. After a generation of military strongmen, the comparatively soft touch of Roh Tae-Woo was taken for indecision and weakness. He was referred to derisively as “Mul Tae Woo ("Watery," meaning "Wishy-Washy" Tae

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6 Ibid., 66-68.
7 Macdonald, The Koreans, 123.
Woo), and people remarked on the disarray in the ranks of his followers in the ruling DJP. There was renewed talk of constitutional revision and criticism both of growing crime and disorder at the same time that there was criticism of government moves against students and other dissidents. Long-suppressed worker demands erupted during the Roh years, causing strikes and work stoppages that led to substantial wage increases, on the one hand, while threatening the economic growth rate, which had been a major element of political stability since 1960, on the other.9

An important reorganization of South Korea’s political leadership occurred in January 1990 when three of the country’s four political parties merged, creating the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), a clear reference to Japan’s ruling Liberal Democratic Party, whose leaders have been ruling and holding the prime ministership in Japan since the mid-1950s. The DLP was designed to command a majority in the National Assembly and to isolate the main opposition under Kim Dae-Jung. Though it was ostensibly intended to increase political stability, it clearly served the political ambitions of its three proponents, Roh, Kim Young Sam, and former Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil.10

During the Roh years South Korean political institutions evolved in several significant ways. In March 1991 local elections were held for the first time to elect representatives to city, county, and district assemblies. Candidates ran ostensibly without party labels. Candidates supporting the ruling DLP were seen as having won a strong majority of the races. This took South Korea closer to the ideal of local democracy, overcoming a generation of centrally controlled appointments to local offices.

The next step in the process came in 1995 when local candidates with party affiliations were allowed to run for mayor and county chief positions. Once again, government candidates won many races. The results highlighted a worrisome trend toward division within South Korea associating the government party with the Southeastern Yongnam region, and the opposition with the disaffected Southwestern Honam region. Greater local autonomy, therefore, merged with endemic regional rivalries as a dynamic force in South Korean politics.11

5.3 Sport policy of the State

When the president of the Sixth Republic campaigned for election, he promised to reduce the size of the administration. Therefore, the Committee for Reform of Government Organization suggested the abolition of the Ministry of Physical Education should be abolished. It regarded affairs for youth and sports as inappropriate for a governmental organization. Conference members also considered that although the affairs for the youth and sports were necessary, it was preferable to assign them to non-governmental organizations' under the control of local self-governing bodies. Along with the proposed reform of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education, the members further suggested the Ministry of Culture and Public Information was insufficient to attend to affairs relevant to culture only. In terms of the Ministry of Education, the committee recommended that the general affairs for education might be assigned to local self-governing bodies of education in cities and provinces under the

10 Ibid.
Local Autonomy Law. Moreover, the roles of the Ministry of Education could be reduced since the Ministry would allow universities autonomy according to this line of thinking.\footnote{Gap Jin Chang, Interview with Author in Seoul, 1999.}

However, the affairs of the Ministry of Physical Education were expanded, not abolished. The Sixth Republic realized it had to make good on the political slogan that the administration would advanced the welfare of the people. Moreover, the affairs of youth and sports led by the Ministry of Physical Education had a successful track record. It seemed reasonable enough and still necessary to have central government systematically perform these affairs through the ministry.\footnote{The Ministry of Sports and Youth, \textit{10 Years of Administration for Sports and Youth} (Seoul: The Ministry of Sports and Youth, 1992), 32.}

It was necessary to expand the functions of the ministry because the mission of affairs for youth was characteristically so general and required the cooperation with other organizations. Therefore, the government expanded the Bureau of Youth, renamed the Office of Planning and Management of Youth Affairs, increasing its staff from 42 officers to 62 officers according to the reform of governmental organizations on September 10, 1990. On December 27, 1990, the government reorganized the Ministry of Physical Education into the Ministry of Sports and Youth according to the National Government Organization Act. This was intended to manage the affairs of sports and youth more systematically and effectively.\footnote{The 155\textsuperscript{th} National Assembly records of Committee for Sport and Youth (3\textsuperscript{rd} edit) (Seoul: the Secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1991), 1-11.}

In terms of sports affairs, the government emphasized that the policy was designed to motivate the people to participate in physical activities in daily life after the
Seoul Olympic Games. It was expected that daily physical activities would facilitate the people to lead merry and sound lives. The government came to form the General Plan for National Sports Participate Promotion, named ‘Hodori Plan’ in March 1990, in order to guide the whole nation to enjoy participatory sports. Moreover, the government intended to organize some programs designed to involve usually marginalized social groups such as working-class young people, children, women, senior citizens, and handicapped people. It was epoch-making policy. The government organized guidelines for measuring body strength as well as offering free national gymnastics, applicable to all provinces in Korea. These policies were predicated on a December 1988 survey of the people’s involvement in participatory sports. The government began to reflect on the survey results and used the data to plan policies for national sports promotion annually from 1989.15

To effectively promote participatory sports in local communities, the government activated, literally, “sports lovers’ societies.” These were the foundation for sports events such as the National Folk Sports Festival and health running competitions. These programs were intended to motivate community members to improve their health. The programs didn’t stop there. The government also developed the plan to activate participatory sports in workshops and some programs like athletic meetings to facilitate workshop factory workers to improve their physical strength and conditioning. It is worth noting that the government published the guidebook, The Sports Guide at Workshop, and provided the book to working personnel. With the national policy of localization, the government found it necessary to establish a governmental organization

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15 http://www.sport-net.or.kr/
that could manage sports facilities and direct participatory sports programs in cities and provinces in 1989. Ironically the objective to reduce bureaucracy through local control only increased it! To complete the goal, the government expanded an administrative organization into the Department of Participatory Sports in order to activate participation in local communities. Moreover, in January 1991, the government established the National Council of Sport for All with branches in cities and provinces in order to foster non-governmental organizations to direct local communities in participatory sports.16

In addition, the government directed local governments and schools to open public sports facilities to local communities so local people could utilize sufficient sports facilities. Instead of expanding facilities for domestic and international sports, the government steadily carried out the plan to build at least one playground and one gym for each city or town in order to promote participatory sports. In order to encourage local communities to participate in physical activities, the government planned to expand small sports facilities in local communities by building 306 sports facilities in the country in 1991. In 1992, the government almost met half the goal by building 150 facilities and renovated old facilities. Finally, Korean participatory sports was on the move after the creation of the new nation in 1945!17

The Korean government instituted a law concerning management of sports facilities on March 31, 1989, to give the people access to leisure sports by providing them with better facilities. According to the law, the ministry would inspect facilities such as

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16 The Ministry of Sport and Youth, 10 years of Administration of Sport and Youth; The National Conference of Participatory Sport (Seoul: Articles of Association of the National Conference of Participatory Sport, 1992), 3.
golf courses, skiing grounds, swimming pools, and gyms that had been controlled by the Ministry of Transportation and the Ministry of Education. "When the law was instituted, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries protested the plan to transfer management of the Korean Horse Affairs Association to the Ministry of Sports and Youth. According to the National Government Organization Act, the management of the association was to be transferred to the Ministry of Sports and Youth on January 1, 1992, after a one-year grace period."

In the meantime, the government continued to build on Korea's successes in the international arena. Korea had displayed its power in sports at the Los Angeles Olympic Games in 1984, and the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988. In order to continue improving athletes' competitiveness, the government made a lot of efforts to scout for talented prospects, and to support universities with excellent athletic programs. Furthermore, the government revised and emphasized the system of elite sports that was formulated in 1972 to scout for promising athletes. It was necessary to nurture excellent physical education directors in order to scout for excellent athletes, so the government organized a program to train first-degree directors in 1989. Moreover, in training the Korean national team, the government stressed improving the conditions of training centers with financial and administrative supports so that both athletes and directors could concentrate on practice. In July 1989, the Institute of Sports Science under the management of the Korea Amateur Sports Association was promoted to the status of the Institute of Physical Education Science as a juridical foundation in order to improve the practice of sports science. At the same time, the institute contributed to the development of sports science.

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by applying theory to practice. Moreover, in order to promote sports exchanges with other countries, the government developed mutual academic programs in sports with other developed countries, and encouraged sports directors and players to attend or hold sports conferences.\footnote{Ibid.}

Due to the government’s efforts, Korea achieved better results than age-old rival and former colonizer Japan in the Beijing Asian Games in 1990, building upon earlier, steadier successes in the Seoul Asian Games in 1986, as well as in the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988. In the Beijing Asian games, it is remarkable that overall Korea won second place following host country China. Moreover, Korea achieved other outstanding results in international games including seventh position in the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992. In fact, Hwang Young Cho, settled Korea’s age-old score with Japan left by the 1936 Berlin Olympics. At Berlin, the Korean winner wore the uniform of colonizer Japan. In 1992, Korea showed its athletic and political prowess when Hwang Young Cho took the gold in the marathon. In order to continue raising its status, Korea has emphasized the sports exchanges and other kinds of cooperation with other countries on the basis of its highly developed diplomatic talent who reaped valuable experience from the successful meetings of the Asian and Olympic games in Seoul. Especially, Korea succeeded in reaching out to communist non-aligned countries such as Vietnam and Laos, and lead the world in sport exchanges with 170 countries registered as members of the International Olympic Committee. On the other hand, Korea has tried to attract many international games in order to play its newfound leading role in sports and

\footnote{Sport and Youth, 1991, 8-12.}
to efficiently utilize the state of the art sports facilities built for the Asian and Olympic games in Seoul. As an example, Korea dedicated an all-out and meticulous effort to prepare for the World Cup soccer games to be jointly hosted between Seoul and Tokyo in 2002. Unfortunately the former colonial master will hold the find championship game. However coordination of such a high-level international event requires tremendous skill and planning achieved from holding similar class events in the past two decades. Korea is a stage for the World!  

After the Seoul Asian and Olympic games, the Korean government established the Corporation of National Sports Promotion on April 20, 1989, to manage and utilize the sports facilities built for the games more efficiently and systematically. The government intended the sports facilities to succeed as historical national property to future generations. Moreover, this venture into the sports management business allowed the government to funds for the national sports promotion, so that the government could promote peoples’ participation in physical activities, the enhancement of athletes’ competitive abilities, and the development of sporting programs for youth. In other words, finally public-sponsored sports was a self-sustaining venture. Money was now available to bring sports to the people. In order to remember honorable events of the Olympic games, the government built national buildings in memory of the games in each city and province with the funds gathered from the Asian and the Olympic games. 

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20 Korean Olympic Committee, *KOC in Fifty Years (1946-1997)* (Seoul: KOC, 1997), 334-341; The successful reconciliation with former enemy Vietnam cannot be emphasized as Korea contributed combat troops who fought in the American war in that country. By the 1980’s the United States had little, if any, official contact with Vietnam, while Korea sought ways to engage in a relationship; *Dong A Il Bo*, October 3, 1988.

21 The 145th National Assembly report, Education official report of committee members (8th & 9th), Seoul: The Secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea. 10-11, 39, 65.
As a sports event for the memory of the Olympic Games, the government held the
erial meeting titled 'Hanminjok Chejon' twice in 1989 and in 1991 to invite all the
Koreans abroad back to Korea. The meeting inspired Koreans from all walks of life a
sense of cultural pride and a sense of solidarity. Sports made all Koreans a unified
people. Unfortunately it will require direct political engagement with the Communist
north to finalize this dream. But the inspired leadership of Nobel Peace Prize winner
President Kim Dae Jung is making treat strides in that regard.

On the basis of its highly developed diplomatic talent from the experience of
hosting the Seoul Olympic games, the Korean government held a conference with North
Korea on September 23, 1990, to compose a unified national team for the Beijing Asian
games in 1990. Although the meeting failed to form a unified team, the conference
between Chung Dongsung from South Korea and Kim Yusoon from North Korea
contributed to restoring confidence for more cooperation between South and North
Korea. As an example, the people from South as well as from North Korea together
cheered both national teams during the Beijing games. But more concrete results were in
the offing. After several negotiations, the Korean governments agreed to hold a soccer
match between the Koreas which occurred in October 1990.

Having mutually visited each other for soccer, the Koreas negotiated unified
national teams, with good results, for the 41st World Table-Tennis Games and the Sixth
World Youth Soccer Championship, held in 1991. The agreement to form unified teams

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22 However North Korea did not allow its citizens to attend this event; Korean Olympic Committee, KOC
50 Years (1946-1996), 481-482.
demonstrated that cooperation was possible, laying the foundation for momentous strides for the historic meeting of both Korea’s presidents in July 2000.\textsuperscript{24}

Meanwhile the post-Olympic era brought considerable progress in bringing sport to youth. Concerned it was essential for the nation to nurture the youth for the next century, the Ministry of Sport effected the Law for Youth Nurturance on November 28, 1987, to prepare systematic foundations to that cause. In June 1988, the Ministry of Sport organized the Bureau of Youth to combine several departments within the ministry. As the result, the ministry founded departments of youth, located in each city and province, and promoted the Juvenile Guidance Committee to the status of the Committee for Nurturing Youth. Stressing the well-being of youth, the committee planned and managed affairs relevant to this age group as well as coordinating activities with other governmental organizations.\textsuperscript{25}

The committee further propelled plans for youth welfare that were established by the office of the Prime Minister. To support long-term plans, the committee increased the number of officers in the Bureau of Youth, and promoted the bureau to the status of the Office of Planning and Management for Youth Affairs in September 1990. Korea had finally made concrete, substantial progress in linking sports with youth welfare.\textsuperscript{26}

In order to implement the Law of Nurturing Youth, the government instituted the Korea Research Center for the Youth built the Youth Training Center, the Youth Training Town, and the Youth Training Institute, the number which reached 14 in Seoul and other main cities and provinces. As of this writing the government is still working on the

\textsuperscript{24} KOC, \textit{KOC in Fifty Years (1946-1997)}, 342-344.
Moreover, the government has offered the training programs designed for the directors of youth organizations, civil servants in charge of youth affairs, and juvenile guidance committee members, as well as volunteers in cities and towns.\(^27\)

The government incorporated the National Committee of Youth Affair Organizations in November 1988 as a consultation body with the goal of supporting the specialized organizations. Along with that goal, the committee managed and supported 31 registered organizations to encourage youth to participate in group activities through which they could create and enjoy fellowship with one another. In December 1990, the government unified the affairs for youth by transferring the Korea Youth Association, Korean Boy Scouts, Korean Girl Scouts, and Maritime Youth Association from the Ministry of Education and the Korea Maritime and Port Administration, respectively, all to the Ministry of Sports. This was expected to facilitate the Ministry of Sports to nurture and guide the organizations more effectively while allowing them autonomy as well.\(^28\)

Furthermore, the Ministry of Education tried to control violence, pornography, and degenerate social values in the mass media with the cooperation of other organizations. To accomplish this, the ministry put the Council on Mass Media to work on youth issues in concert with these goals. The ministry further regulated the area around schools to prevent youth from being exposed to drugs and alcohol. In concert with the government’s intention to offer general counseling to youth for personal

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\(^{25}\) The 137\(^{th}\) National Assembly report, Education official report of committee members (the 5\(^{th}\)), Seoul: the Secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1987, 136-150; The Ministry of Sports and Youth, 10 years of Administration of Sport and Youth, 34-36.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., 34-36.

\(^{27}\) The 150\(^{th}\) National Assembly report committee (5\(^{th}\)), the Secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1990, 23; The Ministry of Sport and Youth, News of Sport and Youth 13, 1992, 3.

\(^{28}\) The 148\(^{th}\) National Assembly records, Committee official report of the Education (5\(^{th}\)), Seoul: the secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1990, 3-9, 23-24.
development, the Ministry of Sports instituted the General Counseling Center for Youth in February 1990, changed the center's name to the Square for Youth Conversation, and secured more officials and departments in order to meet the demand for Youth and parental counseling. The ministry completed a number of projects such as improvement of sports facilities, the expansion of funds for orphans, the establishment of sisterhood relationships between orphans and other families, and job training for the youth. The ministry further established 140 study rooms in cities and provinces for youth.29

The pre- and post-Olympic sports "boom" brought Korean youth in continual contact with youth of foreign lands. With the necessity to lead youth to understand cultures and languages of the world, the government sought to facilitate their interaction and friendship with youth of other countries. For this goal, the government supported affairs involving international academic conferences, youth sport training programs abroad and hosting youth athletes from other countries more actively with a project initiated in 1991 on the basis of cooperation with other countries. Moreover, the government tried sport exchanges for youth with North Korea in order to teach them to remember that the Koreas were founded on the same peninsula, culture, and historic values. After the Koreas had been divided for 50 years, the government was concerned that youth, who will be in charge of running their country in the future, might lose those values.30 They chose sport to facilitate this process.

After the Seoul Olympic Games, Korea had a chance to host the 17th International Jamboree Festival, the biggest international youth festival in the world. The

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29 The Ministry of Sport, Past and Future for Youth Policies, 24.
30 The 155th National Assembly records, records of Committee for Sport and Youth (3rd), Seoul: the Secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1991, 2-11.
government formed and supported the Jamboree Organizing Committee, the Kangwondo Jamboree Planning Committee, the Governmental Jamboree Supporting Committee, and the National Assembly Jamboree Supporting Committee. In April 1989, the government allotted official duties for the Jamboree with the Korean Boy Scout Association and Kangwon Province by organizing the General Plan for the International Jamboree Festival. Along with the Plan, the Association took charge of organizing programs for and managing the Festival while Kangwon Province would build and arrange the site for the Festival. It was the Ministry of Sports and Youth that supported the Association and Kangwon Province by securing the needs for the Festival from the central governments.

In 1990, the ministry held the Korean Jamboree Festival in Sinpyong Kosong Kangwon designated for the International Jamboree. This was intended to examine whether the programs and facilities for the international festival would be appropriate to make the festival successful. With the slogan “the world is one,” Korea hosted 19,081 people from 133 countries, and lead the festival to success. The festival held in Korea was recorded as the biggest Jamboree Festival in world history. This successful festival was possible for the facts as following: First, the Korean government strongly publicized activities on the festival nationwide. Second, Korean people became interested in activities for youth such as those represented by the festival. Finally, Korea had already enhanced the nation’s image to attract people by holding the Seoul Olympic games in 1988.

Since the government found it necessary to establish more systematic and consistent national policies for youth, it modified policies to focus on general activities
rather than on programs for juvenile delinquents. On that basis, the government organized the Youth Affairs Planning Committee for 10-Year Periods in June 1990 to compose more long-term plans for goals of nurturing youth. In September 1990, the government also appointed researchers to study youth activities, experts for nurturing youth, and officers for planning national policies for youth. The contents of the plans can be categorized as following. First, the affairs of physical activities were designed to motivate youth to participate in physical activities. Second, the affairs for youth welfare were programmed to support poor youth, and to improve social conditions for youth. Third, the affairs for exchanging cultures and languages with other countries were intended to facilitate youth to experience other countries' cultures and languages in order to have them ready for globalization and the potential future unification of the Koreas.32

In conclusion, the administration of the Ministry of Sports and Youth could be summarized as following. As it was established in 1982, the ministry built the foundation for the administration of sports. In 1988, the Ministry succeeded remarkably in improving administration as the result of its preparations to hold a successful Seoul Olympic games. Moreover, the Ministry combined the affairs of youth with the sports affairs that had been improved remarkably at the beginning of 1990s. As a result, it is the Ministry of Sports and Youth not only implemented laws and regulations necessary for the administration of sports and youth affairs but also improved upon those laws and regulations. As an organ of the central government, the Ministry of Sports and Youth

31 The Ministry of Sport and Youth, 10 Years of Administration of Sport and Youth, 38-39.
32 The Ministry of Sport and Youth, 10 Years of Administration of Sport and Youth, 38-39.
contributed to the development of Korea by executing sports policies in concert with national legislation and by managing sports and youth affairs successfully.

Korea has several non-governmental sports organizations, the Korea Sports Council and its affiliated bodies, the National Council of Sport For All and its affiliated bodies, the Sports Promotion Public Corporation, and the Sports Science Institute. Along with the strong governmental influence cited in this chapter, non-governmental organizations and commercial interests contributed to bring sports to the people by sports clubs, sports facilities, sport programs and sport directors for Sport-for-All.

The National Council of Sport-for-All (NCSA)

The National Council of Sport-for-All (NCSA) was instituted in 1991 as a corporation to promote participatory sports. The NCSA manages 15 branches and 15 conferences, which are organized for each sports area. The NCSA in large cities and provinces is established to achieve the development of participatory sports, and to motivate the public to participate in physical activities. In other words, the NCSA manages and supports its branches. Moreover, the NCSA sponsors various sporting events, and manage sports classes and programs for the development of participatory sports. The NCSA is organized to introduce participatory sports to the public, which can educate the public about participation in physical activities for leisure time. Along with this, the NCSA can contribute to improving living conditions in society. Especially it is worth noticing that some parts of the administration of sports affairs for the development of participatory sports was transferred to local self-governing organizations and the NCSA from the central government. This transfer was predicated on the assumption that...
people can better influence and organize their affairs at the local level—a grass roots approach. In other words people develop solutions when they take ownership of problems. Through this modification, the cooperation between the government and the NCSA has been enhanced, and the NCSA, with its applied agenda has taken role to promote participatory sports.33

However, the NCSA’s role has been similar to the government’s, mainly focused on the development of elite sports. Even though the NCSA contributed to the promotion of participatory sports, I rate its success as low. The NCSA is operated currently with government subsidy, local finance, national sports promotion funds, membership fees, and financial contributions from members. Because the government plans to reduce financial aid to the NCSA, and the NCSA is a voluntary organization, the NCSA is expected to have difficult financial times in the future.

As a good example, Seoul city government has a difficulty operating on an annual fixed budget, because the Seoul municipality cannot acquire a fixed budget on the basis of administrative law, even though supported by a national government subsidy, local tax money, and national sports promotion funds. As a result, financial aids from the sports organizations’ subsidy to the Conference of Seoul has to be allocated solely on the Mayor’s own decision. This creates funding stress because, it is not an easy task for the conference to secure funds from other organizations, and it has to secure financial aids on its own.34

34 The NCPS can’t depend on Seoul because the mayor can change his mind on how much money to give them. Without a definite commitment it’s to hard for NCPS to budget and plan programs. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1998.
Along with this, it is urgent that the government should make an effort to assist the conference to secure financial assistance. Because the government has planned to improve conditions for participatory sports, it is expected that it would, with government support, be empowered to sufficiently perform its functions. It is further expected the government will increase the national sports promotion funds, so the committee’s project of improving the conditions of participatory sports may be achieved indeed.

On the other hand, the whole function Council of Sport for All may not be a good idea. It is at cross-purposes with the Korea Amateur Sports Association, which is organized to expand the practice of elite sports. It is necessary either to merge, or eliminate the competing purposes between the Korea Amateur Sports Association with the Conference of Participatory Sports in order to efficiently and effectively support participatory sports and to develop elite players. In addition, the development of elite sports is not contradictory to the aims of participatory sports. Up to now Korea has functioned in an unbalanced mode. Programs are weighed heavily in favor of elite athletics. However, a win-win approach would be to scout and select potential elite players from the results of national participatory sports events, and they can be developed in national training centers for the Olympic games and international games. Thus the apparent cross-purposes of these organizations can be organized toward common goals and not neglect the needs of the people as in past policies.

Furthermore, it is common practice for politicians to utilize the Conferences of Participatory Sports in order to propagandize their political affairs. Politicians use local events foe campaign vehicles to get elected, leaving people the impression they alone brought sports to the local community. In American parlance this is known as “pork
barrel politics.” This practice should be discarded in order to realize the effective functioning of the conferences. Especially, quite a few organizations with undesirable motives will be formed based on purely political aspirations as long as the activation of participatory sports is the main goal of sports policies. This is inefficient and ineffective in bringing sports to the people. For the development of participatory sports in the 21st century, it is essential to reform the systems of the organizations of participatory sports to overcome misuse by public officials.35

The National Sports Promotion Corporation (NSPC)

The National Sports Promotion Corporation (NSPC) traces its origins to the Seoul Olympic Committee on the basis of Article 24 of the National Sports Promotion Law. As an investor-owned company, the corporation manages cycling races, the Olympic Parktel, and owns the Korea Sports Industrial Development Company and Korea Sports Television. The corporation has also supported the promotion of national physical education, the development of sports events, and the campaign of enlightenment for youth by managing financial funds for the events for the memory of the Seoul Olympic games.36 As indicated in Table 5.1, the total amount of the funds in 1992 reached 50 billion won.

36 The 145th National Assembly records, Committee official report of the Education (8th & 9th), Seoul: the secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea, 1989, 39, 65.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount Accepted(^{37})</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual exports</td>
<td></td>
<td>320</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,521</td>
<td>4,201</td>
<td>4,703</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 National Sports promotion support\(^{38}\) (Unit: hundred million Won)

As shown in Table 5.2, national funds for the promotion of physical education are assigned to promotion of physical education, commemorative sports events of the Seoul Olympic games, and the campaign for enlightenment of youth. However, when the distribution of national funds is analyzed, it is obvious that the government values the practice of elite sports over participatory sports. In other words, money talks. That is, national funds for promoting physical education have been mainly spent on supporting organizations in charge of elite sports, even though by policy the funds should have been spent on establishing and promoting the performance of physical activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elite sports</td>
<td>4,773</td>
<td>4,322</td>
<td>8,980</td>
<td>18,574</td>
<td>36,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participatory sports</td>
<td>2,458</td>
<td>4,458</td>
<td>3,635</td>
<td>8,570</td>
<td>19,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign for enlightenment of youth</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,896</td>
<td>8,099</td>
<td>23,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemorative events of Seoul Olympic Games</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>14,032</td>
<td>4,532</td>
<td>21,635</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Supported the National Sports promotion\(^{39}\) (Unit: million Won)

\(^{37}\) Accepted amount is Surplus of Olympic 3,110+ the balance (amount of money) brought forward (from the previous account) of the National Sports Promotion Foundation 411.

\(^{38}\) The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1998

\(^{39}\) The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1998.
The chart shows funding greatly increased for elite sports, to the point (1993) where it was more than double the amount allocated for both participatory sports and the youth enlightenment campaign. The government’s stated policy to support sports for the people was “fact” in policy, but fantasy in action.

On the other hand there is some good news here. As sports policies are modified to promote participatory sports rather than elite sports, the amount of financial support from the national sports promotion funds to participatory sports has increased. The year 1991 is a case in point. The corporation’s policy of managing funds seems to be in line with the central government’s sports policies. However, this demonstrates how the corporation can function as an administrative organization as long as all the decisions on its policies and management are made by the Ministry of Sports and Youth.\(^{40}\) I argue what this reflects is Korean democratization. As Korean government is released from the gritty hands of dictators, it responds to the peoples’ needs. I argue this trend toward participatory support will continue as Korean democracy matures.

5.4 Current Conditions of Physical Education and Sports: Problematic Aspects

One can legitimately argue that the administration of sports policies led by the Sixth Republic was more successful than that of previous government. We have well established that the conditions of sports facilities and playing fields were remarkably developed during the Sixth Republic. Despite these developments, some grave deficiencies existed in the administration of physical education which we will describe in the coming paragraphs. It is the people in charge of organizing sports policies that should

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improve the problems. Thus, they should acknowledge the current problematic aspects to suggest more appropriate policies, which we will discuss in this chapter. However to date, they have not. They also need to judge and react to current trends in sports affairs so sports will be relevant to the peoples’ needs. Along with this, it is necessary to examine the current problems which each department face in effectively bringing sports to the people. These are all issues that will be addressed in this section.

**Elite Sports: Problematic Aspects**

Motivated by the Seoul Olympic games, the government’s reputation was on the line, so it dedicated tremendous efforts to the development of elite sports. After the Seoul Olympic games, elite sports began to decline for several reasons. The people’s interest in elite sport diminished, and because it would be difficult to obtain sufficient players to sustain the system of elite sports except for some few, select trained athletes. Especially, in swimming, athletic sports, and shooting it was really difficult to secure enough players to form national teams. The structure of the teams in basic fields such as those listed above was unusually shaped like a jar. While the number of registered athletes increased by 1.37%, the number of school athletes decreased, apparently for the lack of funds at the local level.\(^{41}\)

**Problematic Aspects of Participatory Sports**

As society industrializes and urbanizes, raw physical strength is no longer the prerequisite to make a living. Labor trends toward knowledge jobs, while even industrial workers save strength as they use automobiles to get to work. For this reason, people

have less time to exercise in order to remain healthy. Without sufficient exercise, people’s immune systems go bankrupt, suspecting them to disease and illness, not to mention mental fatigue. In fact, the proportion of deaths from disease in Korea is 55.9%. Therefore, the government has dedicated more efforts to activate participatory sports, for the sake of national productivity, and well-being. And the public well heeds the call in response to growing medical costs that continue to rise year by year.

In spite of the government’s efforts, participatory sports in Korea were in a desperate condition of want in the post-Olympic era. Decades of neglect are indicated in Table 5.3. Privately funded and corporate facilities were much more evident than publicly financed facilities in schools and municipalities. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of sports facilities</th>
<th>Public sports facilities</th>
<th>School sports facilities</th>
<th>Private sports facilities</th>
<th>Workplace sports facilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61,460 (100%)</td>
<td>917 (1.5%)</td>
<td>30,645 (33.5%)</td>
<td>29,034 (47.4%)</td>
<td>10,864 (17.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Sports Facilities in Korea (in 1990)

Most of public sports facilities consist of playgrounds and gyms. Because professional sports players use public facilities for training, the public hardly had opportunities use the facilities. In that way, the percentages are skewed towards elite. The number of sports parks built for the local communities was insufficient, compared to that of developed countries.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The number of cities and towns</th>
<th>Playgrounds</th>
<th>Gyms</th>
<th>Swimming pools</th>
<th>Indoor swimming pools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>110 (54%)</td>
<td>97 (48%)</td>
<td>40 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 The number of main public sports facilities (in 1990)

The government didn't consider that the number of sports facilities was insufficient to satisfy the peoples' need to enjoy leisure and participatory sports, which could facilitate them to build healthy lives. Planning for the future is vital, and the figures above showed a lot of work needed to be done.

It is anticipated that the number of people involved in participatory sports will increase in the 21st Century as their interest in participatory sports and living standards are enhanced. As people have more chances to interact with other community members, their need to utilize sports facilities will be increased. For this, it is necessary to expand sports facilities to accommodate them with good programs, in quality and quantity. It should be also considered that some sports facilities are limited to some specific areas or seasons, so other, multipurpose facilities should be available to people who are eager to enjoy participatory sports year-round.

On the other hand, more and more employers are becoming interested in activating participatory sports at workplaces as they acknowledge they need to keep their employees healthy and to control employees' insurance costs and maintain productivity. Along with the fact that the number of people involved in participatory sports, it is

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44 Korea Sport Science Institute, Sport Science 37, 1992, 5.

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necessary to expand sports facilities to satisfy people. It is further necessary to develop sports directors to guide them with diverse sports programs. In order to encourage as many people as possible to enjoy participatory sports, the government also needs to strengthen publicity on participatory sports. As the number of people who want to enjoy participatory sports is increasing remarkably, the government should organize more appropriate policies to inform them about available opportunities and the benefit to their health.

Problematic Aspects of Sports affairs exchanges

The Sixth Republic was much more active in sports exchange with North Korea and communist countries. Actually it was quite successful. But success on the diplomatic front, detracted from domestic aspects of sports policy. I argue this was the problematic aspect of sports exchanges. The republic tried to create unified national teams with North Korea while dedicating efforts to host international games. However, the exchange was mainly related to elite sports rather than participatory sports. In terms of elite sports, the republic relied on national funds or donations from companies for sports exchange with other countries. Very few teams were able to secure funds independently. In most cases, the exchange was limited to inviting sports players or officials. Because most international games were held in Seoul, it follows that government failed to accelerate people's interest in sports in local communities throughout the country.  

As sports exchange increased on the basis of the expanding national power and the open-door policy, the government dedicated more efforts in order to spread the nation's prestige abroad. As the economic conditions very much improved more people
contributed to sports exchange relevant to participatory sports by interacting with people from other countries. The government further tried to engage Korean officials in international sports organizations in order to secure influential positions in sports in the world. Still these positive aspects came at a price: ignoring sports needs of the people.

**The problematic aspects of sports science**

Most sports research institutes established by universities were mainly located in Seoul. Because of insufficient funds, the performance of research on sports was in chronically poor condition. Moreover, the number of researchers per institute was about one or two, which is low compared other developed countries (the average around 5). The quality of researchers in Korean sports institutes is suspect. The researchers do not have enough professional scholarship to perform knowledgeable research on sports.

Much available laboratory equipment were for measuring devices rather than experimental devices necessary for human performance research. Most institutes such as the Korea Sports Science Institute, one of the main sports research institutes in Korea so they were dependent on the Ministry of Education in securing research funds so they lacked the financial autonomy necessary for management and research. The status of the Institute also declined relative to institutes in other fields. And, it is essential that the government establish some policies to update the poor conditions of sports research institutes, as human performance science is becoming a significant force in national programs in the 21st century. As sports science becomes more important, the need to secure excellent sports players and researchers will increase. For this reason, people will

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45 KOC, KOC 50 years (1945-1996), 80-95.
46 The Committee of the Plan for Sport Department, A Plan for Sport Department, 1991, 77.
suggest that the practice of participatory sports should be activated as practical research, and sports science will be emphasized. It is crucial the government rewrite policy to assist sports institutes to obtain research materials in order to activate the performance of sports science.\(^\text{48}\)

The problematic aspects related to finance and administration in sports

Independent authorities, mayors of municipalities, governors of provinces and provincial boards of education, execute sports administration in local communities. In cities or provinces only the Department of Participatory Sports takes charge of sports administration, while the Department of Sports and Youth is in charge of sports affairs in cities, provinces, or towns. The officers who work for the administration are burdened with a large amount of work including organizing policies to promote participatory sports. On the other hand, the Department of Participatory Sports is under the Bureau of Domestic affairs, while the Department of Youth belongs to the authority of the Bureau of Women’s Welfare. Therefore, it is difficult for the departments to perform sports affairs for youth without permission from higher authorities. They are burdened by bureaucracy and the weight is heavy. Moreover, the Korea Amateur Sports Association administers most of sports affairs such as the promotion of national sports, scouting for and training elite athletes, and the management of central sports organizations and the branches of the association in cities and provinces. The roles of the association, and the Korea Olympic Committee are complementary in administering sports affairs. In terms of financial autonomy, the association relies on governmental funding without securing

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\(^{47}\) Seoul National University College of Education The Institute of Sports, *Korea Sport of after Olympic*, 45

sufficient budget, and other sports organizations obtain around 50% of the budget from the board of the committee. Along with this, the administration of sports affairs were revised to support the Olympic games, which satisfied the need for the current tendency of sports administration. According to the Local Autonomy Law, it is expected that the government will rearrange the functions of sports organizations in order to enhance the cooperation between the central and local organizations. But given the maze of bureaucratic shuffling and reshuffling in Korean sport history, I predict this “rearrangement” will not bring reform. It will only reorganize sport into an incommensurable labyrinth of offices.\textsuperscript{49}

In addition, as competition in sports world is increased, the functions and roles of the Korea Sport Council will be stressed. It is further probable that sports organizations should try to develop a sports industry in order to secure their financial autonomy as far as a number of people are becoming interested in physical activities. Therefore, the government should ensure that sports organizations could obtain their autonomy financially and administratively.

\textsuperscript{49} Soo Bok Park, “The Status and direction of Korea Sports Administration,” (Master thesis: Choongang University, 1988), 17.
CHAPTER 6


This study sought to explicate how the serious business of politics produced certain outcomes in the field of sport. The research reveals that the conditions and problems of sport and physical education confronted in the years between 1961 and 1992 was rooted in the misguided policies of the government. In particular the work focuses intensively on the policies of sport for physical education from the administration of Park Chung Hee to the overthrow of the military government in 1992. This was an important period because sport and physical education development was a trend of national policies as Korea built itself from the ashes of World War II, Korean War and subsequent Cold War antagonism of global geopolitics.

The dramatic development of Korean sport in post-colonial era leading up to the 1988 Seoul Olympics was in large part politically motivated. Politics and sport were related by the government’s aspirations to boost confidence in the nation, both at home
and abroad. Although politics and sport reciprocally influenced each other, in Korea politics became the dominant influence as the government-established policy defined national sporting goals and allocated resources to develop human talent. The political intentions imposed on sport were manifested in two critical ways. First, politicians used sport for its symbolic propaganda effect of enhancing Korea's image nationally and internationally. Second, sport was employed as a means to bind people under the cause of national unity. The Republic of Korea was a military government lacking in democratic institutions so propaganda was important to seal the public's loyalty to the totalitarian regime.

Since the restoration of independence, politicians in Korea have schemed to utilize the political characteristics of sports as a means of preserving their political regimes. Initially, the governing classes emphasized the function of sports as a device of completing the political unification in Korea. Indeed, they strove to unify public opinion and to stress the internal union of Korea by emphasizing anti-communism as the rightful ideology for one nation, as evident or empirically tested by the superiority of its sports to that of North Korea. Second, by formulating a sound spirit of the nation through the people's physical activities, the government encouraged the people's contribution to economic growth, and to utilize sports as a means of showing off the nation's economic might domestically and internationally.

The government failed even when it intended to energetically promote social development in all fields including the promotion of physical education. For example, the political decisions of the Third Republic government-initiated, top-down administrative directives ignored peoples' participation, and the sincere development of
physical education for the public at-large were hardly started, let alone completed. The end result was that politics of the Third Republic influenced remarkably the policies of the succeeding administrations for physical education.

The Third Republic planned to energetically develop all fields in society, but it adapted a dictatorial strategy of 'regulation intention priority' programmed to control every social affair. The government policy for physical education was also differentiated from those of the previous administrations in that it was designed to achieve of a general revolution. However, the policy was implemented in concert with the government’s contradictory national goals. Since the specific national goals intended to spread the nation’s prestige abroad through training the elite of athletes, the development of physical education for the citizenry at-large was ignored. Although the administration in 1962 formulated the National Physical Education Promotion Law to guide the development of physical education, it did not budget enough money to support the law.

The Third Republic’s focus on developing elite athletes was consistent with its procedure of nominating presidents to the Korea Amateur Sports Association (KASA). The government’s selection of KASA officers and those in athletic organizations under its control clearly points to its desire to control the management of these sporting groups. The governments profound influence over the finances of this organization pressured them into remaining passive and led them to unquestionably accept the government’s policies rather than being proactive in policy formulations to promote physical education. In addition, the government’s and the association’s allocation of the annual budget for physical education was spent intensively on training elite athletes to spread the nation’s prestige rather than to achieve physical education for the nation at-large. This is revealed
by the ever-increasing eagerness of the government since the 1960s to send athletes to international games while spending paltry sums on participatory sport.

During the 1970s, the third and fourth administrations planned to constitute the ideological and spiritual education of sports on the basis of the nation’s governing doctrine rather than on the basis of the public’s needs in Korea. This meant that the emphasis of the ideology of governing the nation was never modified after the 1950s. Instead of enabling the realization of self-improvement through physical activities, the government schemed to establish its dual goals of using sport to promote national prestige abroad and secure political stability at home.

In the 1980s, the Fifth Republic acknowledged that it had to justify its governing doctrines to mitigate the peoples’ concerns and needs about the government’s legitimacy to power. As a measure to completing the goal, the administration sought and achieved its goal of hosting the Olympic Games. With Seoul selected as the site for the 1988 Olympics, the government’s strong intentions dominated sports policies. Contrary to the previous policies simply programmed to acquire success in sports competition versus North Korea, increase the nation’s prestige, and improve the people’s body strength, the opportunity to host the Olympic games became the major goal of the Fifth Republic’s desire to use sports to expands its position globally. These policies naturally led the Fifth Republic to turn inward and utilize the Olympics and other sports for the purpose of justifying its legitimacy, which finally resulted in depreciating sports as a tool to governing the nation.¹

Sports, especially during the Fifth Republic, was structurally programmed to propagandize political activities. They intentionally introduced professional sports to the people in order to weaken their interest in politics. This could be illustrated by the content of the president's speech to the National Assembly in Jan. 18, 1983. The president of the Fifth Republic of Korea Chun Doo Hwan said:

The government constituted the Department of Athletics last year for the respect to the consideration that it is essential to emphasize physical education as much as industrialization in order to spread out the nation's prestige abroad, and continuously will develop this policy as one of the most significant national affairs in an active manner. Along with this, the government will manage this policy to be more diversified for the promotion of national physical education, which will facilitate the people to participate in daily physical activities and hobbies. The government will further aid new and elite athletes to improve their performance, and establish a perpetual policy that can contribute to their support after retirement, and secure them from any disasters during active membership.²

Because sport was misused for political affairs, it caused a number of problematic aspects for sport. To increase the political benefits, it was necessary to ignore players' human dignity, and to take over non-governmental sports organizations that should have been maintained in private management. Because private sports organizations had to subordinate their administration to the nation’s political objectives, they could not expect to establish pure goals for sports, and players in these organizations also had to sacrifice their private lives and ambitions to achieve political results.

As physical education in Korea focused on elite sports, it has produced a lot of problems for school and participatory sports without mentioning elite sports itself. Without solving these problems, it cannot be expected that physical education will be

adequate to meet the needs for Koreans in the twenty-first century. The result is a multiplicity of problems for physical education in Korea.

Several dramatic changes are required to improve this condition. First, the emphasis should be placed on school sports and school athletics teachers should acquire technical knowledge in education. Moreover, it is not necessary to imitate the Japanese or American educational system for physical education and ignore Korean traditional physical activities. Second, to stimulate participatory sports, financial support is urgent and it is necessary to improve sports facilities and programs, and to train sports directors who can effectively run sport programs for the people. Finally, the system of selection and training elite athletes must be reformed. In particular, it appears that many sports directors may lack professional knowledge in physical education. Also, the selection process of elite players must eliminate the corruption process which has prevented the best and most talented from assuming their rightful position.

The government's intention to achieve the nation's goals through elite sports also politicized participatory sports as well. As the Nazis in Germany during the 1930s utilized sports clubs to propagandize its legitimacy, the Korean government still attempts to promote participatory sports to propagandize a political program to the public. Now it is commonly expected that politicians and businessmen are eager to be nominated president of local organizations in charge of participatory sports as well as of organizations in charge of elite sports. This is because the president of the local organization, in charge of participatory sports, recognizes that he/she can enhance the possibility of winning an election with little financial assistance, as long as the organization is linked with sports participants who will vote for him/her. Is it reasonable
to expect that the president with such a selfish intention will devote his/her efforts to develop participatory sports in his/her governing district? Instead he/she will be much more motivated to achieve his/her political goals. Because the politicization of participatory sports is expected to worsen in the future, this situation will further degrade participatory sports to lower, corrupt decadent depths in the future.³

After the Cold War, Russia and even East European countries downplayed sports for political affairs, and only some less-developed countries and Cuba, a socialist country, intentionally managed sports to propagandize the nation’s ideology. Along with the perspective that even those countries now strive to develop participatory sports without political goals, it is anachronistic that the Korean government as a modern democratic nation emphasizes and sustains sports as a means of achieving political ends, which is more attuned practices in some communist countries like North Korea.⁴

I argue that emphasis on symbolic propaganda and national unity was done at expense of developing sports programs for the people. Instead what was created was a mirage of national progress at the expense of the people. It was an elite sport system that few common people could access, but placated their desire for mass entertainment. It was sort of an Orwellian turn of events. The people were satisfied with sport achievements. The politicians were satisfied with a national following. Only the people didn’t realize

³ Tony Mason, Only a game? Sport in the modern world (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); 46; Do-Kwang Oh, Sportswriter of Hankuk ilbo Interview with the author in Seoul, Korea, 1999.
⁴ Sports may also serve as a symbolic political platform to achieve peaceful ends too, i.e., witness the combined North and South Korean delegation that marched as a unified team into the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games; Tony Mason, Only a Game?, 52-54.
they were victims of political mass manipulation. Sports only diverted their minds from more truly important matters of national development.
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