DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIETY
Volume 46 | Number 3 | December 2017, 523-555
DOI 10.21588/dns/2017.46.3.007 **Article**

On the Ruins: Forgetting and Awakening Korean War Memories at Cheorwon*

Keunsik Jung | Seoul National University

This paper explores the dynamics of forgetting and silencing surrounding the memories of the Korean War as revealed by the rise of "security tourism" in Cheorwon, a small city on the North and South Korean border. Located just north of the 38th parallel, Cheorwon lies between the 1945 border that initially partitioned the Korean peninsula into the Soviet-occupied North and the US-occupied South and the inter-Korean border as it currently stands today, which was consolidated after the Korean War. From the South Korean perspective, Cheorwon is therefore a "recovered territory," wrested from the North during the war. The checkered past of the city has given rise to different senses of place—Cheorwon is at once a fierce battlefield of the past, a city on the frontline in the present, and a site of the complex history of recovery. Each coordinates a different type of memory, associated in turn with a different actor: the soldiers who fought in the battlefields of Cheorwon during the Korean War, the native residents who witnessed their hometown turn into these battlefields, and the new residents who moved to Cheorwon after the war. Moreover, the city's historical character as recovered territory has generated a unique dynamic of silencing, leading the residents to hide their identities for fear of reprisal or discrimination in postwar South Korea. By focusing on the changes that have occurred in the lives of these bearers of Korean War memory, the essay explains the paradox of security tourism and discusses how attending to the historical reflection occasioned by Cheorwon's ruins can heighten our sensitivity to the project of peacemaking. Taken as an allegory rather than a symbol, Cheorwon's ruins can inspire new life and revitalize a message of peace.

Keywords: *Cheorwon, security tourism, ruins, forgetting, silence, recovered territory*

*This work was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies (KSPS) Grant funded by the Korean Government (MOE) (AKS-2010-DZZ-3103).

A City in Gray

On August 18, 2016 on a field trip with the "Green Peace in the Korean Peninsula" research group of the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University, I visited Cheorwon for the first time. A small city near the DMZ, Cheorwon is one of the northernmost points in South Korea, and part of what is known as "recovered territory" (*subok chigu*): areas that belonged to North Korea at the time of the initial partition of the peninsula in 1945 but were claimed by the South by the war's end. We embarked on the field trip with following questions: In what ways do the memories of war continue to pertain to life in *Cheorwon*? How has the city become the site of what we might call "security tourism," and might the region support the transformation of security tourism into "peace tourism" instead?

With these questions in mind, I prepared a brief questionnaire for the participants of the field trip. The participants were asked to choose one color from the ten given choices that best corresponds to their image of Cheorwon before the departure, and were asked the same question again after the field trip. The respondents were also asked to describe in words particular places or buildings in Cheorwon that they found most memorable.

Our itinerary took us to two observatories within the DMZ, Victory Observatory and Peace Observatory, and Yangji-ri village and *Pyeonghwa* (Peace) Park in the Civilian Control Line (CCL), Woljeong-ri Station area, as well as the ruins placed outside the Civilian Control Line (CCL). Then we went up to Soe Mountain to take a view of the Cheorwon plain. The result of the survey revealed a stark contrast between the respondents' views of Cheorwon before the field trip and after.

Out of twenty-six responses for the survey taken before the field trip, the most popular answer was gray at ten, followed by green at eight. On the way back to Seoul, the same question yielded twenty-five out of twenty-six responses for green. The supplementary question about memorable places gave us a sense of why the respondents' views had changed so dramatically. Fifteen respondents stated that they found the Cheorwon plain as seen from Soe Mountain the most impressive, followed by five respondents who chose the Workers' Party Headquarters. A one-day field trip to the "city in gray" had clarified its obscure image, and imbued it with a vivid color associated with peace rather than war. Clearly, the view of endless fields of green stretching across the Cheorwon plain had contributed to the change in the

TABLE 1
COLORS ASSOCIATED WITH *CHERWON* (8.18/10.29)

Color	8.18 Summer		10.29 Fall	
	Before	After	Before	After
White	2		1	5
Gray	10		10	2
Black	1		1	
Red	1			2
Yellow	1		1	6
Green	8	25	5	4
Blue	1			1
Navy Blue	2	1	2	
Others			1	1
Total	26	26	21	21

participants' perspectives. The ruins remaining in Cheorwon did so as well, though to a lesser degree.

On October 29th, I revisited Cheorwon with a group of students attending the IPUS Peace Academy. This time, we left for the trip on a clear autumn day. The theme of our trip was announced as "Imagining Peace on the Ruins," and in addition to visiting various sites, the program included lectures by artists whose work addressed the theme of peace. The above-described survey conducted before the departure revealed that gray was once again the dominant color associated with Cheorwon—of the twenty-one responses, ten selected gray and five selected green. Unlike the previous trip in summer, however, the survey conducted after the trip revealed that the afterimage of Cheorwon was now bathed in yellow or white rather than green. It may be that the change in season—Cheorwon plains had turned autumnal yellow with the ripening rice harvest—had led to the difference in respondents' views between the two trips, but common to both was the transformation of Cheorwon's image from one predominantly associated with war to another infused by peace.

To be sure, the experiment is far too simple to serve as formal research data, but it would be safe to hypothesize that there is a tendency to associate Cheorwon with the color gray among Koreans who have never visited the

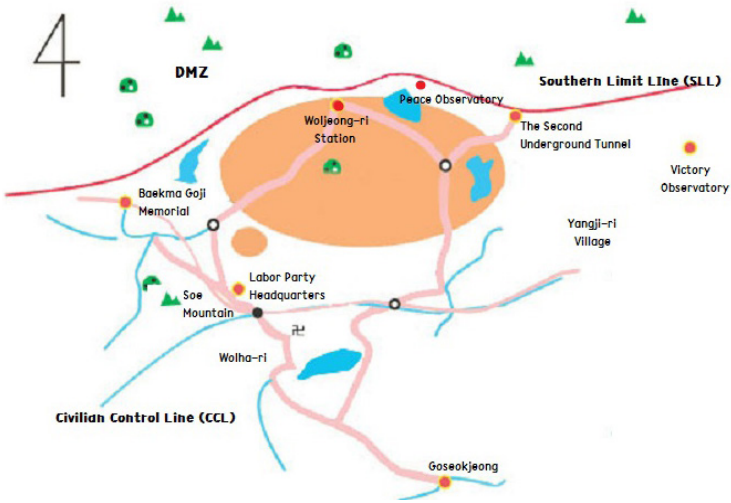

Fig. 1.—Map of Cheorwon

city, and that this image undergoes a change after the actual visit to the place. When it does, it tends to imprint a stronger image of peace than war. The difference between the image of Cheorwon as an abstract place and as a concrete one can be regarded as an effect of tourism. The specific effect depends on several factors including the season of the year, itinerary, and how the trip is framed., but it is for sure that the scenery of ruins like the Workers' Party Headquarters and the Waterworks Bureau, Icehouse, and Cheorwon Station are important places constituting the image of Cheorwon.

This paper explores the relationship between historical memory and the sense of place by focusing on processes of signification surrounding Cheorwon. Why the city is overwhelmingly imagined in a palette of gray by most Koreans and what kind of meaning it implies. Although the Korean War has been called a "forgotten war" by Americans (Fleming and Kaufman 1990; Shinn 1996; Miller 2001; Keene 2011; Ernsberger 2014), there has been a tendency to recall the memories of the Korean War around the year 1990 (Matray 2002). What about in Korea, which once had been the actual battlefield? What kind of dynamics of forgetting and silencing have been in place surrounding the memories of the Korean War, and how might such dynamics be dismantled? Like Benjamin's famous "angel of history" starting at the growing "rubble-heap" of the past while the wind hurls him toward the future, the presence of ruins enable historical introspection.[1] This study

[1] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History." See Jung (2013) for more detailed

tackles the ruins in Cheorwon by highlighting the changes that have taken place in the modes of existence for the memories' agents, in order to contemplate the conditions of possibility for battlefield tourism to enhance the public's sensitivity to peace.

The Place of Ruins in Security Tourism

1) Security Tourism and a Sense of Place

In South Korea today, Cheorwon's sense of place largely shaped by its "frontline" location. 'Frontline area' refers to a region in South Korea placed close to the North Korea. The divided system has reconstituted the Korean territory to a military place of frontline and the rear. Korea is divided into North and South, having the DMZ or NLL as the border.[2] The DMZ refers to Southern Border Line (SBL) and Northern Border Line (NBL), having the Military Demarcation Line as the center.[3] There is the Civilian Access Control Line (CACL) that controls the access of civilians between the places of 5-10km south from the SBL. Cheorwon, for example, is a military assignment much despised by South Korean soldiers and their families for its geographical proximity to the border with North Korea. The frontline is not merely an extension of the rear and contiguous to it, but rather activates an entirely different spatio-temporal sense. A key affect associated with this space is anxiety. "Anxious Night," a poem by Jung Chun-geun published in the seventh issue of the coterie journal published by Cheorwon Literary Society in 2000, well encapsulates the anxiety that attends life in Cheorwon, which appears even in the absence of the metallic sounds of bombs, guns, tanks, or trucks associated with military maneuvers In fact, silence does not bring about peace but only heightens anxiety: "a night when equilibrioception (alternatively a sense of balance) barks like a dog to the strange silence in my ears/ a night when sharp silence stabs every single cell in my body (p. 108)."

Another sense of place associated with Cheorwon has to do with the fact

---

discussion on the trends of research regarding historical memory in Korea.

[2] The boundary of a divided state is different from the border between states. The boundary between the South and North Korea can be called as demarcation composed of the DMZ on land, neutral zone in the lower Han River, and NLL of the Yellow Sea.

[3] If the DMZ is a military buffer zone, the Civilian Control area can be referred to as a mitigated concept of the second buffer zone. The entrances of the DMZ and the CCL are controlled by the UN Command and the Korean army, respectively.

that it is located between the 38th parallel, the temporary line of demarcation initially set by the U.S. and the Soviet armies in August of 1945, and the inter-Korean border that exists today. Cheorwon's location north of the 38th parallel made it initially a part of North Korean territory. In July 1953, when the Korean War ended in a ceasefire and the Military Demarcation Line (MDL) was set as the new border dividing the two Koreas, most of Cheorwon became South Korean territory, with only a small portion remaining in the North. But because most of Cheorwon now lies in what is known as the Civilian Access Control Area, it has become the proverbial "verboten land," or the forbidden zone.

The Civilian Control Zone (CCZ) is an area restricted to civilian access on account of security maintenance and military operations. The Civilian Control Line (CCL) was first established in February, 1954, just after the signing of the armistice, when the US Eighth Army cordoned off an area near the demarcation line to forbid civilians from farming near military facilities or security outposts. People were permitted to farm only to the south of CCL. Then, in June 1958, after the transfer of MDL defense to the Korean army, farmers were once again allowed to live and farm in the CCZ, as long as they do not disturb military operations or compromise the maintenance of security. In 1972, the enactment of Military Facility Protection Act brought the regulation of the area under a legal framework, and several revisions of the law since have reduced the total size of the area to which civilians have access. Today, Cheorwon is regulated by the Military Bases and Facilities Protection Law.

Finally, since the 1980s at least, Cheorwon has developed another sense of place as a destination for "security tourism." On such a trip, the typical itinerary in Cheorwon includes a pair of underground tunnels dug by North Koreans in the 1970s in preparation for another war, Peace Observatory and Victory Observatory in DMZ, the Battle of Baekma Goji Memorial, and broken railway tracks of the Gyeong-won Line that once ran between Seoul and the North Korean city of Wonsan.

Security tourism in Cheorwon started in earnest in the 1980s, the major impetus was actually provided in the 1970s by the discovery of the second underground tunnel North Koreans had dug across the 38th parallel. The discovery led to the first development plan for the Iron Triangle Battlefield[4] in

[4] It was a key communist Chinese and North Korean concentration area and communications junction during the Korean War, located in the central sector between Cheorwon and Gimhwa-eup in the south and Pyongyang in the north.

1975. For the authoritarian government of Park Chung Hee, which used the rhetoric of national security as the rationale for pervasive curtailment of civil liberties and political oppression, Cheorwon was an important physical site that could materialize the sense of security crisis that it sought to foster. Various battlefields of the Korean War were designated by Cheorwon County as national security sites and folded into recommended travel itineraries, along with famed scenic sites such as Goseokjeong. Approximately 8,000 people lived in Cheorwon at the time, and with only 5% of its land area lying south of the Civilian Control Line, 80% of the farming population in Cheorwon crossed the CCL daily to farm their lands north of the CCL. The second initiative to develop security tourism in Cheorwon occurred in August 1983 in connection with the government's objective of strengthening anti-communist education. The plan called for opening up a route connecting the former headquarters of the Korean Workers' Party, Woljeong-ri Station, and the Second Underground Tunnel, all located north of the CCL entry control post, with Goseokjeong located just south of the CCL.

Additional areas were opened up to tourism in 1986 and 1988 as the awareness of the importance of tourism industry grew ahead of the Asian Games and the Seoul Olympics. Cheorwon County and the South Korean military cooperated on various excavation and preservation projects focusing on security sites and battlefields. In 1989, the entire Iron Triangle was opened up as a security tourist destination. The Iron Triangle included seven sites, thirteen of which were battlefields such as w Goji. As a result, Cheorwon, which used-to-be a small community closed off to the world, began to transform into a more open regional city.

The process of developing Cheorwon into a security tourist site inevitably accompanied the work of recalling the memories of the Korean War. During the Korean War, Cheorwon was a place of paramount strategic importance, as it represented a junction of a major road and a railway connecting Seoul and the port of Wonsan. As war shifted from a war of movements to a war of position, the area saw some of the heaviest fighting of the entire war, as suggested by the name, "Iron Triangle." The multiple cycles of victory, defeat, occupation, and loss that the area witnessed has given rise to the term "hacksaw war," as a way of describing the back-and-forth transfer of control between the belligerents. Within this cycle, Baekma Goji became the most famous battlefield of the Iron Triangle. During the ten-days of ferocious fighting from October 6th to 15th in 1952, twelve battles took place between the South Korean and Chinese armies there, and the control of the area changed hands no less than seven times. The total casualty from both

sides combined numbered 13,000. In the end, the South Korean Army emerged victorious and managed to secure Cheorwon Plain.

Before these battles, Baekma Goji was just one among the many nameless hills that dot the Korean countryside. The 395 meter-high hill, however, gained its name in the midst of a fierce battle when a troop leader compared the hill, now bare of all trees after days of intense shelling, with a white horse. Within military history, the memory of these battles of the White Horse Hill became the stuff of legends. Baekma Goji was first monumentalized in 1957, five years after the fierce battles there. In December 1974, at the height of Park Chung Hee's Yusin regime, the monument was augmented and expanded as part of the national campaign to heighten awareness of national security. A monument for the fallen soldiers commemorating the "patriotic spirit of the noble souls who died defending the nation" (*Hoguk yeongnyeong chunghon bi*)'was erected. Another memorial dedicated to the 844 fallen dead of the Korean army was erected in 1985 as security tourism began in earnest. In 1990, Baekma Goji Park opened its doors. Four years later, a monument celebrating South Korea's victory was built. As these monuments suggest, Baekma Goji has been remembered through a different lens at different times, with the focus resting on the site of the battle itself, the soldiers who died there, or the fact of victory. We can thus chart the evolution of war memories from recollections of the battlefield to mourning the victims, and finally to celebrating victory.

The memory of the battle is reconstructed in the process of emphasizing the tradition of each military camp that was the main actor in the actual conduct of the war, and there is a tendency for the memory of victory to become invigorated while that of defeat gets diluted or erased altogether. The constitution of the memory of victory, in particular, frequently involves stories of the enemy's defeat. In the case of Baekma Goji, it has become habitual to mention "Kim Il-Sung Hill," facing Baekma Goji. The hill's original name is Goamsan Mountain (780m), but came to be known by the new epithet based on an unconfirmed rumor that after the battles there resulted in South Korean victory, Kim Il-Sung looked over the Cheorwon plain from this hill and abstained from eating and drinking. Despite the efforts of Cheorwon County, a study in 1991 found that that the greatest factor limiting tourism to Iron Triangle was its difficult access[5] To alleviate

[5] A preliminary application for a visit to this place is required because it is inevitable to pass the CCL on the way. At the time, a 20-day prior permission was required for 'course A' to visit the second tunnel while B and C courses visiting Unification observatory and Baekma Goji required a 7-day prior permission.

the situation in an effort to fuel security tourism, the county simplified the procedure for entering the Second Underground Tunnel.

2) The Ruins as a Paradox

For tourists, Cheorwon offers a strange set of attractions, none of which provides pleasure in a conventional sense: battlefields that recall stories of agony and losses of life, the underground tunnel that the North Koreans built to attack South Korea, iron railings and barbed wires that serve as reminders that the Korean War ended in a ceasefire, not peace, collapsed railroad tracks that bring home the fact of division in a palpable way. In many ways, security tourism serves as a social device to induce both public vigilance against the "enemy" and aspiration for unification. The architectural ruins included in Cheorwon's security tourism can be understood in the same manner, as designed to alert the public about the horrors of war and to serve as cautionary tales about its destructive powers.

However, for the tourists gazing at them, the ruins do not merely create the alarmist effect intended by security tourism. The ruins in fact are suggestive clues that can lead tourists to imagine the landscape that no longer exists. From the ruins of a few buildings that remain, the city that was destroyed by the war may be conjured up, and meaningful also is the fact that no attempt was made to restore these ruins for more than sixty years after the war. Contradicting the narrative of modernization and development dominant and pervasive in Korean society as a whole, the ruins imprint themselves in the tourist's mind as a crystallization of Cheorwon's distinct landscape.

Far from being an empty place, the ruins attest to the powerful presence of the absent by materializing the passage of time and the accretion of neglect by society. In this sense, the ruins are themselves a deeply social product.[6] Cheorwon's ruins include the Workers' Party Headquarters, the Waterworks Bureau Building,[7] Icehouse,[8] the Financial Association Building, and the

[6] Schonle (2006) identifies four major approaches to ruins: the ruin as a site of freedom from social norms and practices; the ruin as a reconciliation with nature; the ruin as the affirmation of modernity at the expense of the past; and the ruin as the emblem of on-going historical decay.

[7] In 1938, Cheorwon-eup was a small city with 20,000 populations among which 1,200 people, 500 households were provided with water supplies.

[8] The Icehouse located in Woechon-ri, Cheorwon is a one-story concrete building built for a private business by the owner of a restaurant managed by a Japanese person in 1930s under Japanese rule. Although the building is destroyed, it has a strong power of testifying the past with an expression of red letters on the wall that says, "We, the people, demand a free and happy...lives..."

Methodist Church.[9] The fact that the basic structures survived the heavy bombing tells us something about how strongly they were built, which in turn suggests that they were seats of wealth or power, or essential to people's everyday lives in some way.

Among these ruins in Cheorwon, the most eye- catching are the remnants of the Workers' Party Headquarters, which is interestingly the only building among the ruins to be built after the end of the colonial era, in 1946.[10] The rest were all built during the Japanese occupation. To complete this building, the National People's Congress (NPC) collected 200 bags of white rice per village, and mobilized manpower and resources. The socialistic style of architecture relied on the Soviet's technical support.[11] For this reason, the Workers' Party Headquarters can be differentiated from other remnants as a conceptual ruin that implies how the ideology of socialism after the emancipation has become old and useless.[12]

The Workers' Party Headquarters, as an element of security tourism, was used by the South Korean state as a symbol of human rights violation of the residents. Cheorwon County dedicated a large budget to maintaining and controlling the access to the facility in order to turn the building into "a school for vivid anticommunism education." In the context of security tourism, the building's basement was recommended since it was the site representing human rights violation. We might say that the tour of the building was designed to bring about the experience of being "awakened from ideological dream-states (Stephens 2007, p. 155)." Because no further explanation is needed for the fact that the Workers' Party Headquarters is a meaningful text, most tourists do not just pass by the building and in many

[9] A picture of ruins' original figure was discovered, which provided a clear contrast between the past and the present. It has a great power to produce a narrative in that it is based on anticommunist religious foundation.

[10] What we acknowledge as North Korea's workers' party should be separated into the 'North Korean workers' party,' established in August 1946 and the 'Korean Workers' Party,' established in June 1949. North Korea celebrates the 10th of October, 1945, the date when Kim Il-sung gave a speech at the general meeting of the members devoted to and responsible for five North Korean Provinces, as the anniversary of the Korean Workers' Party. The Workers' Party Headquarters in Cheorwon was probably built as a branch office of North Korean Workers' Party established in August 1946 (Suh 2005).

[11] It expresses the authority of ruling power based on the usage of stereo bate using a slope, symmetry flat surface, and a proportionate elevation.

[12] The ruins are classified into ruins of war, catastrophe, and development depending on their causes, and the ruins resulted from shutdown and negligence for a long period of time—called the ruins of division—can also be included to this classification.

cases take a commemorative photograph.[13] Taking a photo in front of a certain landscape signifies acknowledging that it is a memorable place.

As a symbolic place, however, ruin is a multi-layered and complex text whose meaning cannot fully be controlled according to the ideological aims of security tourism. An example is the ironic effect created by the name of the store located next to the ruins of the Workers' Party Headquarters. "Having the courage" to name itself the "Workers' Party Headquarters Kiosk," the store represents the living annex to the dead Workers' Party Headquarters. The subject of much political censorship in South Korea, the Workers' Party remains a forbidden reference in South Korea, and the store would not have been allowed to use it in his name in anywhere in South Korea other than Cheorwon.

The Icehouse presents a clear contrast to the Workers' Party Headquarters. The building itself was built under the Japanese occupation, and red letters that form parts of a slogan written by North Koreans just after the liberation from colonial rule still remains on its walls. These letters do not have a complete meaning due to the missing letters, but the word 'people' seems to reproduce the voice of the mobilized people at the time. If the Workers' Party Headquarters testifies this period in a spatial form, the Icehouse seems to give an auditory evidence.

The "tourist gaze," according to John Urry, is a way of seeing what is visible but also of apprehending blind spots in an introspective fashion. In other words, gazing involves the act of imagining the invisible scenery beyond the surface of the actual, sensuously apprehended scenery, the real world scenery seen from a state of enlightenment, and scenery of the past and future beyond the scenery of the present. The ruins allow us to look back upon the past having ourselves as a parameter.

Here, we might recall Walter Benjamin's differentiation between "symbol" and "allegory" in his discussion of ruins. "Allegories are, in the realm of thoughts, what ruins are in the realm of things" (Benjamin 1977, p. 178)… If the ruins signifying the collapse are a symbol, those signifying a new start from an empty void are an allegory (Lee 2012, p. 411).[14] The ruins as an

[13] It is well shown in a poet called, <In front of the Workers' Party Headquarters>.

[14] Benjamin provides an interesting discussion on the image of ruins from Baroque period in his <Study on Baroque drama in German>. According to his semiotic classification, a ruin can be read as a 'symbol' or 'allegory.' If perceived as a symbol, it is simply a sign of symbolizing collapse and destruction. However, if a ruin can be read as an allegory, it can be interpreted not just as a simple sign of a certain concept but as indicating various possibilities existing between destruction and a new start.

allegory do not only provide an emptiness but also a fierce aspiration for novelty. Benjamin privileged the fragmentary form of representation in allegory over the false unity of the artistic symbol.

The ruin as a subject of gazing has a spatial aspect as well as a visual aspect. People realize the spatial emptiness of the ruin and imagine the process for a complete building to become a ruin. Although it is empty now, it was not empty from the first time but rather has the traces of what once existed but now disappeared. The debris ruins are not just the ruins but the passage of time is embedded, showing the process of becoming the ruins. The ruination refers to the process of a physical object getting disappeared and this object moves its existing domain from the reality to an ideological conceptual space.

The tourist gaze as it rests upon ruins may be classified as telescopic and microscopic. If the telescopic gaze focuses on the empty space of the ruin, the microscopic gaze pays attention to the specific traces of the past that still cling to the ruins or living things that they sustain. The empty space produced by the ruins often becomes a mirror that reflects the subject gazing at the void. This may be the reason why so many tourists to the ruins engage in self-examination and introspection. Lee Jinoo, a photographer who participated in the field trip to Cheorwon, confessed to "seeing himself in the ruins" when discussing a photo he took in front of the Workers' Party Headquarters.

When the tourist gaze fixes upon ruins in this microscopic way, what often enters the foreground is the violence that created the destruction or the force of life that seeks to overcome death. Drawing on Benjamin's theoretical work on ruins, Kim Hong-Joong introduces the concept of *pasangnyeok* (破像力), the capacity to recognize the fantastic characteristics of present objects, as opposed to imagination, which is the capacity to make absent objects present. Put another way, *pasangnyeok* connotes the iconoclastic capacity to destroy the ideological effects of real images, contrary to imagination which designates the inner epistemological capacity of the cognitive subject.[15] In this sense, *pasangnyeok* involves the work of counter-imagination. When we activate such counter-imagination in looking at the

[15] In Kim, Hong-joong's words (2007), the experience of gazing at ruins is more deeply associated with the experience of what he calls 'counter-imagination,' rather than 'imagination.' "If imagination is a cognitive ability of enabling the absent object to exist, counter-imagination, which means the power to destruct the image, is the power to sensuously experience the fact that existing object does not have substance, is hallucinating, and will disappear in time and thereby relativizing the reality of the image. Counter-imagination, therefore, implies that everything can become the ruins."

Workers' Party Headquarters in Cheorwon, the building becomes a fragmented allegory of emptiness rather than a unified symbol of power, with light, bullet holes, and overgrown grass all conveying the present state of ruin, which in turn imply the destructions of the past. These elements can inspire aesthetic reconstructions in cultural texts such as paintings, photographs, and poems.

It is precisely in this regard that we might speak of the beauty of ruins. I believe that such beauty comes from the tension between the ruins as a form of destruction and the ruins as a form of production, and it reaches the climax when the two are in balance.[16] We can turn to three poems related to the Workers' Party Headquarters in the seventh volume of literary works published by Cheorwon Literary Association as examples. Common to these poems is the looming presence of the Workers' Party Headquarters as an object of the poets' gaze. "Grass: Workers' Party Headquarters," contains the line: "Light shimmers on the grass, whose roots have found cracks on pockmarked walls with bullet holes." Similarly, the other poems sing of the renewal of life that takes place amid the ruins. Interestingly, a reference to the smell of gunpowder that clings to the landscape of Cheorwon appears in all three poems.

As such examples reveal, the ruins offer a multi-layered experience to the security tourist. A remnant of both the Korean War and the fierce ideological conflict that preceded it, it testifies to the hostilities that shaped Korea's division system and the continuing security crisis that envelopes the peninsula. At the same time, the ruins can heighten the onlooker's sensitivity toward peace by occasioning meditations on disappearances and absences that mark history, and how such discontinuities might be restored and reconstructed. The ruins thus highlight a paradox implicit in security tourism.

Amnesia and Silence: Questions Left Unasked

1) Dynamics of Forgetting and Silencing

Given the importance of the ruins in Cheorwon's security tourism, there is a

[16] Although it is unclear when the concept of 'the beauty of ruins' was established, it is evaluated in Korea that the photo collection of Kim, Miroo well represents the concept. Her work embraces the existence of one's body projected onto the scenery of ruins as her theme.

surprising dearth of information imparted to the public about the history of these structures. Only the most basic information about who built them is relayed to the tourists. More in-depth questions about how they were destroyed are glossed over. Why is this the case?

The answer has to do with the checkered history of Cheorwon and the layers of different social memories that were created over time among the different groups of people who inhabit the area: soldiers on duty in the "frontline" region, residents of the area from the prewar days, and the residents who moved into the region after the war. Each group maintains a different sense of time and space.

The soldiers serving their military duty in Cheorwon are not considered as residents, strictly speaking, because of the preset limit placed on their time of sojourn. Because it is only a weary race of time for the soldiers serving their military duty, the sense of place of Cheorwon is not so much important to them. For them, the battle memory depends on the level of discipline. They hold second-order memories of the Korean War centered on the actions of the military, passed down to them as part of the military history or lore. Like the CCL that cuts across Cheorwon, soldiers and civilians are clearly divided in the social memories of Cheorwon they hold. The "original" residents from prewar days have memories of battles that differ in significant ways from the soldiers'. Understandably, these memories revolve less on military exploits than on the devastating changes wrought by the violent war on the homes, peoples, and farms that constituted their community. The scale of that destruction can be glimpsed in the very low percentage of original residents that now make up the population of Cheorwon. Most civilians living in Cheorwon have moved into the area after the war, and their memories of Korean War battles, to the extent that they have them, are of other places. For these residents, Cheorwon is more of a frontier than a frontline, a place where they sought to build a new home base.

What this means is that much of the memories of Cheorwon from before security tourism's reconstitution of the place as a famous battlefield of the Korean War have been destroyed. Cheorwon's transformations within the Cold War division of the Korean peninsula, first as a battlefield and then as a military base on the border have erased the memories of the place where people used to carry on the ordinary business of daily living. . After the war, Cheorwon was newly signified according to the defense needs of South Korea within the division system. The new wave of residents moved into the area to build a new life within this context.

The creation of ruins involves both a process of physical destruction and

the process of forgetting. Forgetting occurs a certain object or an event can easily happen when those are not appeared for a long period of time or when a change to approach them is deprived. It is in this regard that we can say the original residents' memories of the battles that took place in Cheorwon have been forgotten. The biggest reason is that the agent of memory has disappeared. According to *The 60 years of local administration of Cheorwon County*, an estimated 70 to 80% of Cheorwon's residents moved North and 10% moved South during the Korean War, so that only around 10% remained in Cheorwon (Kim, Y. 2013, p. 547). As earlier discussed, Cheorwon was North Korean territory before October of 1950 when the South Korean and UN forces occupied the area, and during this time, Cheorwon's residents lived under the North Korean regime. Then the residents were introduced to the South Korean and the US army, before the area was reclaimed by the Chinese army in December 1950. Cheorwon became the site of fierce battle as the UN army and Korean army started to re-march north in May 1951. The exodus of the majority of Cheorwon's original population as a result of such "hacksaw action" left only a few in the region who could recall memories of the place that predate the war or during the war itself.

The second reason for the forgotten memories of Cheorwon's battlefield is the separation of the agent of the memory from the physical site of memory by the restricted access to the area. Even though some of the residents went back to Cheorwon after the end of the war in 1953, they could only live outside the CCL, which made it difficult for them to approach the ruins. The memory of Cheorwon's battles was neglected and forgotten, like the ruins, for at least thirty years.

Forgetting is thus an active and mediated process, rather than a natural given condition.[17] Whether a certain memory is allowed to perish without being subjected to reconstruction involves operations of power that enforces the maintenance of silence. The fact that a certain being or an event is not reconstructed can happen due to the amnesia or the silence. But there is a memory that exists but cannot be reconstructed. And this memory constitutes the world of silence. Here, it may be instructive to reflect on the notion of "passive memory" formulated by Aleida Assmann. Assmann (1999) distinguishes between two types of memory: memory as *ars* (art or technology) and memory as *vis* (force and its potentiality to change and

[17] As it is well shown in Mihov's photograph collection (2015), the phase written on the ruins of Soviet army commemorative facility of the in Bulgaria that says 'Forget your past.' For Bulgarians today, the Soviet domination is represented as the past unforgotten but to be forgotten.

transform) and she emphasizes the intersectionality between active functional memory and passive storing memory.

Silence often results from the active suppression of memories. As mentioned earlier, for example, the question of who destroyed the living space of Cheorwon is rarely raised. Even if it is, the answer would be difficult for agents of memories to articulate. It is because this question regards a kind of order-making violence, in other words the violence that structures a new order of life, and the authority that is socially justified and long persisted with unquestioned legitimacy.[18]

Silence occurs when the act of reconstructing certain memory is prohibited, or when repeated suppression accompanies the act of remembering. Silence can be voluntary or compulsory, profound or superficial. Silence can be enforced by various levels of violence and fear and also by ethical guilt. The order-making violence produces in-depth silence, and this in-depth silence can easily be extended to forgetting. Given the division of the peninsula and persisting confrontations between the South and North, questions that might lay the blame for the destruction the friendly side are not pursued. The newcomers to a territory are especially cautious about referring to experiences that may contradict what they perceive to be the unwritten rules of life in the territory. But silence always includes within it the opposite, desire to speak. Dormant memories may rise to the surface again when changes in political and social conditions allow such recovery.

Silence, in fact, cannot be recognized as such within the dichotomization of remembering and forgetting, memory and amnesia. Because both amnesia and silence cannot be reconstructed empirically, it is impossible to differentiate the two, and the difference becomes visible only when an event or a new social configuration allows the memory to be rekindled. In a state where amnesia and silence coexist, silenced memory can find expression only when the social antagonisms that gave rise to the suppression of the memory in the first place are sufficiently recognized and resolved.

In Cheorwon, the experiences relegated to the realm of silence for decades after the Korean War had to do both with the process by which the city was razed to the ground during the Korean War and the period during which the area was ruled by North Korea. The city of Cheorwon was leveled in Mid-August of 1950 as a make-or-break battle was unfolding at Naktonggang River front. In order to block logistic support from reaching

[18] Benjamin uses the concept of lawmaking violence (*Die rechtsetzende Gewalt*) in his book, "Critique of Violence," written in 1921. See Kim (2013) for detailed discussions.

North Korean People's Army, the US bombers struck Cheorwon, a key post in the supply route, on August 14th and 16th—the latter represented the biggest air raid since WWII. The city was carpet-bombed again in early December, 1950, as the US evacuated from North Korea following the entry into the war of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army. B-29 bombers heavily strafed the Iron Triangle and downtown Cheorwon.

The U.S. and Korean Army, which repeatedly allowed Seoul to be taken by North Korean and Chinese forces, retook Seoul in March 1951. On March 24th, General MacArthur ordered his troops to cross the 38th parallel again and push into North Korea. MacArthur was replaced as the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command on April 11th, but the U.S. Army conducted a massive bombardment of Cheorwon from April to May to retake Cheorwon and Gimhwa on the 10th of June. The final series of U.S. air raids over Cheorwon occurred in spring, 1952 with the war deadlocked at the frontline near the 38th parallel. These bombardments over the span of two years completely obliterated the small city of Cheorwon, but because the air raids were conducted by the U.S., a South Korean ally rather than an enemy, it was not easy for Cheorwon's residents to recount the experience of living through the destruction of their homes. The reconstruction of these memories would have to wait until the late 1980s when the end of the Cold War and the democratization of South Korea lifted the taboo.

2) Fragmentation and Hybridization of War Memories

For the former residents of Cheorwon, the end of the Korean War in a ceasefire did not bring about a return to ordinary life in their native hometown. The establishment of the DMZ and CCL turned the area into a militarily strategic zone, subject to special restrictions and regulations; the history of resettlement of the area offers a glimpse of the complex interplay of governing powers in post-war South Korea. On August 3, 1953, immediately after the signing of the ceasefire agreement, Gijong-dong village on the North Korean side of the new border and Daesung-dong village on the South Korea side were established to serve as deterrents for possible military conflicts within the DMZ. The South Korean government relocated 4,600 households from the refugee camp in Wonju, Gangwon-do province where Cheorwon's natives had been housed, into the newly created village. Then, in February of 1954, the Eighth U.S. Army established an agricultural line. They removed the agricultural line through the fifth Korean Army, announced to establish military administration, and collected applications from returning farmers

(Kim, Y. 2013, p.282). Some of the farmers stayed outside the CCL and obtained an entry permission for farming.

In addition to a limited number of returnees, Cheorwon was also populated by the new residents. After the ceasefire, the Department of Interior planned to return the old administrative district of recovered area and the military planned for a new administrative organization. Gimhwa, Cheorwon, and Yeoncheon were incorporated into the renamed Pocheon-gun County. In November 1954, "The Law Regarding Temporary Administration of Recovered Territory" transferred the jurisdiction of Yeoncheon to Gyeonggi-do Province, while other areas in the recovered territory including Cheorwon became part of Gangwon-do Province. The administrative authority over the recovered territory was transferred from the Eighth U.S. Army to the Korean government at this time. From 1955, some of the refugees started returning to their home. In the case of Cheorwon, 1,343 households (7,040 people) moved back to the County in May, 1955. A village for disabled veterans was established in Dongon-dong, Cheorwon in 1956, and these veterans cultivated the wasteland and turned it into arable farmland. In addition, the South Korean government built ninety-eight villages north of CCL in 1959 to further reinforce security. These were followed by the reconstruction of twelve villages from 1968 to 1973, and the establishment of two "unification villages" in 1973. Total of 112 villages were established in the region since the end of the Korean War.

The recovered territory north of the 38th parallel and south of the CCL officially became South Korean territory by law in April 1958 with the enactment of "Special Law Regarding the Reform of Farmland in Recovered Territory," which built upon the Farmland Reform Act of 1949. The 1958 law began a period of competition between the original residents and the new settlers for exclusive possession of available farmland. In 1962, for example, although it may be quite confusing, there was a case of fraud involving 300 people from Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do moving into the village built by the government. There were many slash-and-burn farmers in the frontline region including Cheorwon. When the right to cultivate the farmlands north of CCL was given to Dongho pioneer group in 1964, complaints of farmers entering the CCL escalated to even hold a rally. The conflict between farmers and military authorities continued as the farmers persistently demanded moving to the north of CCL in order to cultivate the land they owned, while the military authorities refused to accept their demand for security.

From Wolha-ri, Cheorwon-eup in 1959 to Daema-ri[19] in 1967 and Egil-ri, Dongsong-eup in 1979, total of 14 villages were built in Cheorwon region. People moved into these "strategic hamlets" and became new residents of Cheorwon who made their living by farming. Important to the livelihood of these residents, therefore, was to secure stable cultivation rights to farmland and increase production. But as agricultural production returned to normal in this area, original landowners began to claim their rights, leading to conflicts with the new settlers. As the frequency of these conflicts over the rights of cultivation and ownership increased, the government put in place the "Act Concerning Special Measures of Restoration, Preservation and Registration of Unclaimed Lands Within the Recovered Territory" in July 1983. The act stayed in effect until 1991.

The new residents within the CCL consisted of discharged soldiers or people from other regions. Of the latter group, a sizable number were displaced people from North Korea who were encouraged to reclaim land that had gone to waste for farming and increase food production. These new residents did not possess memories of battles that ravaged Cheorwon. The restoration of integrated life-world in Cheorwon, which was destructed by the battles, was pursued from the 1980s. Restoration, however, was pursued in a limited fashion in economic and military realms only, while the experiences from the past remained largely unrecuperated.

Thus, the separation of the residents of Cheorwon who witnessed the destruction of the Korean War from the physical space where that history unfolded brought about the fragmentation of war memories. The dispersal and dislocation of the bearers of these memories, the destruction of their life-worlds, and the neglect of the ruins as the physical repository of such memories, were accompanied by the influx of new groups of people to Cheorwon, leading to increasing hybridization of war memories.

---

[19] Daema-ri, a strategic hamlet located in the CCL, is a land of minefield and wasteland pioneered by veteran residents and the support of military camp at the risk of their lives with the purpose of defense power reinforcement, anticommunist psychological warfare, and expansion of food production based on the cooperation of Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defense. In March 1967, under the construction plan for reconstruction, 150 'convinced anticommunist' veterans (80 from Cheorwon, 70 from Yeonchun) temporarily moved into the lives of military tent. This village is also called veterans village in a sense that it was a region destructed by the Korean War and later pioneered by the veterans. The veterans pioneered the village by working at farmland during the day and standing on the guard at night. In the late 1970s, a unification village was built in Daesungdong, Paju and Yugok-ri, Cheorwon.

Recalling the Battlefield Memory

1) Rediscovering the Value of Ruins

Given the foregoing discussion, it may be possible to speak of ruins as either living or dead, hinging on whether the ruins can produce meaning. If the dead ruin is in the field of silence and forgetting, the living ruin animates latent memories of war and projects them onto a field of new imagination. The process of transforming the former into the latter can be seen as awakening the ruin. Some of the most powerful vehicles for such awakening are cultural or artistic in nature.

Regarding Cheorwon's ruins, the start of this process may be traced back to 1994 when a famous pop musician named Seo Taiji and Boys chose the ruins of Workers' Party Headquarters as the backdrop for their music video, "Dreaming of Barhae." Why did he use the Workers' Party Headquarters as its background? We may not know the answer. But perhaps he wanted to express the reality of Korea's division and express a hope for future unification. The ruins in Cheorwon clearly served as an inspiration for Seo Taeji for writing a song that meditates on the reality of the Korean division. Barhae, the name of both the long lost northern empire in the history of the Korean people and the Korean pronunciation of Bohai Gulf, the sea east of Liaodong Peninsula in China, is a reference that animates the imagination of an ancient past when a northern Korean kingdom stretched far into what is today northeast China. To dream of Barhae is to project into the future and contemplate the reality of Korean unification that is not yet.

"Dreaming of Barhae" was released in 1994, a time when South Korean society was undergoing radical democratization in the context of the post-Cold War transformation of the world order. Just two years earlier, South Korea had established diplomatic ties with China, and signed the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement with North Korea, thereby engaging its former enemies. Then with the launch in 1993 of the Kim Young-sam administration, the first civilian government since 1961, discussions about holding the inter-Korean gained traction. In addition to these changes at the state or regional level, local changes in Cheorwon were also observed. The biggest change was that the CCL was moved northward, thereby reducing the total area under the military control.

Following the ceasefire, the civilian control area in South Korea was set roughly at twenty to forty kilometers (including the DMZ) south of MDL.

But the range of area was broad because each military camp built their guard post individually. A clear delineation of the area did not take place until the revision of the Military Protection Act in January 1983. At that time, there were eighty-one villages within the CCL, consisting of 8,799 households and 39,725 residents (*Yonhap news* March 9, 2014). The number of villages within the CCL continued to increase until 1985; total of 112 villages (with the exception of Daesungdong village in DMZ), including thirty-one in Gangwon-do province and eighty-one in Gyeonggi-do Province, were constructed.

In December 1993, under the new Kim Young-sam administration, CCL was moved to ten to twenty kilometers south of the MDL. For Wolha-ri, Gwanjeon-ri, Galmal-eup, CCL was lifted altogether and civilians were allowed free entrance. (Kim, Y. 2013, p. 372). In 1994, when Seo Taiji and Boys filmed their music video, CCL had just been lifted for the area where the Workers' Party Headquarters is located.

In January 1997, the CCL was once again adjusted to five to fifteen kilometers south from the MDL, and this is when the old town and the ruins in Cheorwon became completely open to the outside for the first time in nearly half a century since the Korean War. Anyone with the permission from the government and the landowner could now farm in the area, with the removal of the ban on proxy cultivation that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had maintained for decades. In 2001, Haemaruchon was built in Paju as a village of displaced residents hoping for unification. In September 2001, the CCL was moved to five to ten kilometers south of the MDL. Due to the three successive northward relocations of the CCL, the number of villages within the civilian control zone was sharply reduced from 112 at the height down to nine in Gyeong-gi Province today (including two in Paju, one in Yeoncheon, and six in Cheorwon). 970 households and 2,400 people make their home in the area.

The relocation of the CCL opened up previously restricted parts of old Cheorwon to the public. For the first time in decades, native residents were allowed to visit the ruins on the grounds where they used to live. These visits naturally brought back memories of the war, which were reconstructed collectively and through cultural venues. The Cheorwon Literary Society began publishing poetry anthologies annually in 1993: *Autumn River* (1993), *The Misty Road* (1994), *Hantan River* (1995), *Walking Towards the Flaming Sunset* (1996), *Mine Flower* (1997) *On the Forty-Third Highway* (1999), and aforementioned *Anxious Night* in 2000. On June 24, 2000, on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War, the Cheorwon

Literary Society held a poetry reading event in front of the Workers' Party Headquarters. In the atmosphere of heightened excitement on account of the historic inter-Korean summit that had taken place earlier that month, Kang Sin-ae recited, "the name of Cheorwon smells like gunpowder," and confessed that "at the first sight of the Workers' Party Headquarters, [she] was sucked into the place stripped to the bone by the wounds of history" (Cheorwon Literary Society *Dong-in* 2000, p.146)." Today, in the square outside the Workers' Party Headquarters which serves as the face of Cheorwon, a monument stands in which is engraved a line from Jung Chun-geun's "Mine Flower"—"When the flowers are picked the detonator will explode at my feet with the smell of gunpowder."

The ruins in Cheorwon, which were designated as a component of security tourism in the early 1980s, received further recognition for its cultural and historical value in the early 2000s. In May of 2002, the Workers' Party Headquarters in Cheorwon was designated an important modern architecture representing the tragedy and calamity of the Korean division and registered as the Modern Cultural Heritage No. 22, along with Cheorwon First Methodist Church (No. 23), the Ice House (No. 24), Cheorwon Agricultural Products Inspection Center (No. 25),[20] Seung-il Bridge (No. 26). Interestingly, the easing of political tensions between the two Koreas and the monumentalization of war ruins as cultural heritage happened simultaneously after the inter-Korean Summit. Additional structures were designated in subsequent years: Geumgang-san Electric Railroad Bridge (No. 112) and the Second Financial Association Building Site (No. 137) in September 2004, and the Water Tower (No. 160) in April 2005.

Among these structures, Seung-il Bridge has a unique story different from the rest. Cheorwon County offers the following: "The construction of bridge was started in August 1948 by the North Korean government for the purpose of military transport. The foundation for two pillars and a platform was built in the early months of the Korean War, so the north part of the bridge was almost completed while the south part remained incomplete. Later, when the region was claimed by the South, a temporary wood bridge was built by the military. Ten years after the construction was first begun, the construction of the bridge was finally completed in December 1958." Because the bridge was built by both South and North Korea at different time periods, the small arch supporting the deck on the top of the big arch looks different. The bridge was originally called Hantan Bridge, but the new name Seung-il

[20] After the Liberation, this building was used as a branch office of the North Korean prosecution.

Bridge was reportedly taken from the names of North and South Korean leaders—"Seung" from Syngman Rhee (Yi Seung-man) and "Il" from Kim Il-sung—in order to emphasize the co-construction of the bridge.[21]

The change in the regional identity of Cheorwon can also be glimpsed in the increasing frequency with which the word "security" has been supplanted by "peace" in association with Cheorwon. The call for a peaceful utilization of the DMZ, in fact, was first proposed decades ago. A joint ROK-US study of the ecology of the DMZ was proposed first in 1966 and then in 1971, and the two Koreas also discussed possible ways to put the DMZ to peaceful use. However, in the midst of the Cold War, this discussion did not result in anything tangible.

In 1989, along with the development of Iron Triangle for tourism, the restoration plan for Gyeongwon Railway Line and Hyundai's joint development plan for Geumgangsan tours were announced. And as the discussion over the road and railroad connecting the South and North continued in 1991, the discussion for peace started to yield concrete results. When the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North was adopted in 1992, real estate prices deals in the borderline area jumped. Following the development of the areas adjacent to the border and surrounding railroad connections in 1994, "Border Area Development Promotion Act" started to be discussion in 1996. After a period of protracted discussion, "Border Area Support Act" was enacted in October 2011.

Beginning in 1998, a proposal to restore Geumgangsan Railway was presented as part of the attempt to construct "Peace City," which probably served as the trigger for the appearance of peace discourse. Peace-building and the development of Cheorwon were symbolized by the reconnected railroad. Cheorwon was an important station in the Gyeongwon Line that ran between Seoul and Wonju, as well as a nodal point between the Gyeongwon Line and Geumgangsan Line. The railroad, which had been vital as the foundation for urban development of Cheorwon, was disconnected during the Korean War between Shintanri station in Yeoncheon and Pyeonggang Station in North Korea, and Cheorwon declined as well. With the improvement of inter-Korean relationship, the plan to reconnect the Gyeongwon Line was completed in 1999. People in Cheorwon harbored the

[21] The other claim is that the name of bridge was inspired from colonel Baek, Seung-il who built the bridge. This arch bridge stands 35 meters tall, 120 meters long, and 8 meters wide, and is now prohibited for passing. The Hantan Bridge next to Seungil Bridge replaces the bridge for passing.

hope that the reconnection of the railroad would lead to regional revival, but this project did not make the rapid progress that was expected in the climate of inter-Korean reconciliation. In November 2012, Gyeongwon Line was extended from Shintanri to Baekmagosi station in Cheorwon, which became the last station in South Korea.

As discussed above, the old downtown of Cheorwon-eup became freely accessible to civilians in 1999 when CCL was moved north of Gwanjeon-ri. Daema-ri was also released from Minbuk Village north of the CCL and reborn as traditionally-themed Crane Peace Village in 2003. Crane Peace Observatory was built at the site of the Workers' Party Headquarters in Gwanjeon-ri and is now run as a tourist facility. The resignification of Cheorwon provides an empirical case that proves the ruins' allegorical function. At the start of security tourism, the Workers' Party Headquarters which served as the centerpiece of the itinerary, was seen as a symbol of oppression. However, the emptiness of its ruins became newly reinterpreted in terms of peace and has now been transformed into a model representing identity of the village.

In the first decade of the new millennium, several projects have sought to reinvigorate Cheorwon as a place of peace, based on the aspiration of promoting tourism. The projects are not only ideological but also ecological. The DMZ International Peace Marathon in Cheorwon was proposed in 2004. The Ministry of Environment and Gangwon-do Province held a proclamation ceremony of DMZ Ecology-Peace Vision in Cheorwon in September, 2008. Cheorwon Peace Culture Plaza was constructed in 2009 and in 2010, Soedulle-gil was named "Cheorwon Peace Trail" and designated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism as "Storied Cultural-Ecological Trail." Crane Peace Village was designated by the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs as an "Information Village." In July 2013, "Peace Concert," was held in front of the Workers' Party Headquarters in commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the armistice. Such developments led to a thorough transformation of the image of Cheorwon; an optimistic news report published in 2014 claimed that the civilian control area is gradually becoming the "outpost" for preparing the unification era and shedding its old security-related identity as a "second buffer zone" (*Yonhap news* March 9, 2014). Peace has become a product consumed daily and ritually.

2) The Sense of Place and Oral History in Recovered Territory

The launch of Kim Dae-jung administration in 1998 heralded substantial changes to the CCL area. The administration's so-called Sunshine Policy, under which inter-Korean exchanges cooperation projects such as Geumgang Mountain tourism and Gaeseong Industrial Complex thrived, changed the perception of the CCL from "a military buffer zone" to an "outpost of inter-Korean exchange." As the civilian control area decreased in size, the lost life-world of the original residents began to be recovered. What followed was the recounting of wartime experiences by the original residents of the area.

Foremost among the experiences that were treated to silence were those that had to with wartime cooperation with the North Korean enemy, living under the "enemy's rule" that lasted from August, 1945 to October, 1950. Due to their silence, Cheorwon's modern history could not be reconstructed for a long time. In order to construct a view of the broader scope of history beyond the mosaic of fragmentary episodes, the silenced memory must be rekindled.

Here, the question of Cheorwon's sense of place needs to be raised again in relation to its status as "recovered territory."[22] As noted, from August 1945 to September 1950, the original residents of Cheorwon were governed by North Korea. This experience became traumatic memory after the ceasefire that needed to be suppressed in anti-communist South Korea. The risk of suffering collective disgrace as "commies" was to be avoided as much as possible.

It was only after the registration of the ruins as cultural heritage and considerable accumulation of the peace discourse that these memories could begin to be expressed. In 2006, widely seen as the year when South Korean democracy became stabilized, testimonies of native residents began to be preserved by local historians. As part of the oral history project at the National Institute of Korea History, Kim Young-gyu recorded and collected these accounts. Testimonies of twelve Cheorwon residents were included in

[22] The area, once included in North Korea before the Korean War and incorporated to South Korea after the War is called a 'recovered zone' in South Korea. From North Korean perspective, this area could be called a 'lost zone,' but the term does not exist in reality. In contrast, North Korea names the area that used to be South Korean territory but incorporated into North Korea after the War as a 'newly liberated zone,' and this area also does not have a name in South Korea. What is earned is named but the lost one is not. Yoon (2017), in her study of oral history of the residents in Gaesung, the lost zone, called the residents 'people of un-recovered Gyeonggi-do area.'

60 Years of Local Administration in Cheorwon County.

These testimonies allow us to reconstitute the missing five years of Cheorwon's local history from 1945-1950. At the time of Korea's liberation from Japanese rule, there were around 20,000 residents living in Cheorwon. Immediately after the liberation, people's committee was organized in Cheorwon County and Lee Bong-hae was selected as the chair of the committee. On August 22nd, Soviet troops rolled into Geumgyo Station near Cheorwon and on 23rd, the troops occupied Gaeseong, located south of the 38th parallel.[23] The Soviet army then began an inspection process for people crossing over the 38th parallel and stopped the operation of south-bound train service on *Gyeongwon* Line.

On October 8th, the Soviet army convened a general meeting of the representatives of North Korea's five provinces, where the Provisional People's Committee was launched. The Committee was then reorganized into the Five Province Administrative Bureau on the 28th of October. In January 1946, the first reorganization of administrative districts was carried out, which led to the incorporation Yeoncheon-gun into Gyeonggi-do Province and Wonsan-si in Hamgyeongnam-do Province to Gangwon-do Province. Cheorwon became the seat of a provincial government of North Gangwon-do Province in January 1946. The provincial government building, a newspaper company, and a courthouse were built in Sayo-ri, Cheorwon-eup.[24] The first chair of People's Committee in North Gangwon-do Province was Lee Bong-ha from Cheorwon (Kim, Y. 2013, p. 163). The construction of Workers' Party Headquarters was begun in February and completed by the end of the year. The construction of the building was financed by the Workers' Party with collection of 100 bags of white rice from each village. When Major Pyo Mu-won and Major Kang Tae-mu from South Korean Army defected to North Korea with their battalions in 1948, the welcoming ceremony was held at the Workers' Party Headquarters.

The North Korean authorities carried out land reform on March 5th, 1946, and the People's Committee was elected on July 25th, 1947.[25] The provincial government building was then moved to Wonsan. Based on residents' meeting, a donation campaign of residents was organized in 1948

[23] The US Army rolled into Gaesung in September 10th 1945.

[24] Cho, Gyu-byung, 'Five years under the rule of communist,' *Cheorwon newspaper* May 24, 2016.

[25] There was a large scale protest by farmers against the land reform on March 12th, 1946 in Uheunmyun, Cheorwon. At this time, Kim Yoon-ok, the curate at Cheorwon Cheil Methodist Church, organized Shinhan Patriotic Youth Group and started the right wing political activities, and they were arrested at the end of August (Kim, Y. 2013, p. 171).

with the goal of strengthening national defense. Cheorwon's residents were mobilized for the construction project of Hantan River Bridge, but as discussed above the Korean War broke out before the construction was completed.[26] Just before the outbreak of the war, the 105th Tank Troop of the North Korean People's Army was stationed in Cheorwon. All residents of Cheorwon experienced recruitment into North Korean People's Army in 1949, witnessed myriads of war supplies moving to the South right before the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, and had to accept the conscription of the People's Army immediately after the war broke out.

By the time North Korean People's army retreated north in October, 1950, most residents of Cheorwon had been introduced to North Korean rule. Even when the South Korean army arrived at the Coast of Apnokgang River, remnants of defeated North Korean troops were encamped in parts of Cheorwon, Gimhwa, and Pyeonggang (Testimony of Hwang, Sunro in Kim, Y. 2013, p. 188). Cheorwon became a fierce battlefield in May 1951, which lasted until the ceasefire. Refugees from Cheorwon who were saved by the US army came to live under the South Korean system. Even the residents who came back to Cheorwon in 1954 could not go back to their native villages due to the Civilian Control Line. The residents in Cheorwon were dispersed to South and North due to the two large-scale military actions, and those in South Korea lost the opportunity to talk about the war and their experiences of witnessing the utter destruction of their life-worlds, an opportunity they would not regain until 50 years later.

Awakening the Ruins

For decades after the Korean War, Cheorwon was a place of historical neglect and imposed silence, and the memory of war it witnessed was not allowed to be reconstructed. The strategies of regional development in 1960-70s were to become a base for military, security, and food storage. The area's ruins began to attract attention in the 1980s and 1990s with the development of security tourist sites. The memories of war, especially of the fierce battles that took place in Cheorwon, started to be recalled when the CCL was moved northward and the ruins were newly exposed. After 2000, the ruins were recognized as valuable cultural heritage. The landscape of Cheorwon and the

[26] The bridge was completed by the US engineering battalion in 1952, and was named as Seungil-gyo after the names of Lee, Seungman and Kim, Il-sung.

surrounding area were re-signified in terms of peace. It is important to note that conducting the "oral history of the recovered territory," so long suppressed, has finally become possible.

Peace has recently been adopted as Cheorwon's regional identity, but most people who have not visited Cheorwon still associate it with the color gray. Cheorwon's image continues to be affected by vagaries of the inter-Korean relationship and also by the activation of battlefield tourism in Cheorwon. As is well-known, the inter-Korean exchange that was revitalized upon the inter-Korean Summit in 2000 was immediately frozen after the shooting of a South Korean tourist at Geumgangsan Mountain on July 11, 2008. The relationship has remained strained ever since. Even though Park Geun-hae administration promoted "DMZ World Peace Park" and set up a preparatory committee for unification directly responsible to the President, the actual relationship between the two Koreas took a turn for the worse.

Given the current situation, how might Cheorwon be able to contribute to peace? How can security tourism in Cheorwon be transformed into peace tourism? As I conducted a research on 'post-Cold war and Battlefield Tourism' in Jinmen,' Showing a clear difference in the landscape between the past and the present by opening up and publicly exhibiting the place that used to be barred in the past is an important strategy in cultivating sensitivity to peace (Jung and Oh 2016). While the battlefield tourism that goes on in Cheorwon today uses the ruins to revive war memory in various ways, but the effect of such tourism in producing peace has yet to be established clearly.

The residents' experiences of hostility and struggle for survival are part of the more general war memory, but these experiences remain fragmented and hybridized due to the long physical separation of the residents from the place. To produce a message of peace from the memory of war, we should pay attention to the paradox of the ruins. The allegory of the Workers' Party Headquarters and its mirror effect that stimulates historical introspection, the tenuously connected Gyeongwon Line and the Geumgangsan Railway, and the boundless Cheorwon Plain across the MDL arouse the imagination of peaceful unification.

From the ruins, the silenced memory of war can be awakened and the stories of peace can be relocated to important places. The sharing of visitors' impressions and accounts of Cheorwon can contribute to heightening the public sensitivity to peace.[27] Cultural and art projects also provide powerful

[27] The representative travel journals are Cheorwon cultural heritage of early modern times travel report 1(2015.8.17.), travel report 2(2015.8.18.) http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=004246

means of awakening the ruins in a march toward peace. Good examples of such projects include Seo Taiji's 1994 music video and the Real DMZ Project led by Art Sonjae Center, ongoing since 2012, which according to Kim Jong-gil, represent a "rogue aesthetic practice of crossing the DMZ" (Yu et al. 2014, pp. 94-123).

At the risk of being overly optimistic, one can even imagine a joint project of awakening Cheorwon's ruins that entails the cooperation of the North and South. What might it be like to excavate jointly the slumbering ruins of Gung Ye's ancient capital located in the DMZ, the enormous palace where the chief rival to Goryeo's founder dreamed of power everlasting? Remaining as a gray shadow, the ruins are a living testament to the division of the Korean peninsula. Might the two Koreas working together to excavate this ruin, as it has in the past on Manwoldae in Gaeseong, produce the conditions of possibility for green peace?

(*Submitted*: May 2, 2017; *Revised*: September 22, 2017; *Accepted*: October 20, 2017)

References

Alexander, Bevin. 2000. *Korea: The First War we lost*. New York: Hippocrene books.

Assmann, A. 1999. *Erinnerungsraume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedachtinisses*, Munchen: Verlag C.H.Beck.

Benjamin, Walter. 1921(1965). *Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Benjamin, Walter. 1977. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. London: NLB.

Boer, Roland. 2013. "A Totality of Ruins: Adorno on Kierkegaard. (Theodor W. Adorno; 'Kierkegaard's 'Construction of the Aesthetic')." *Cultural Critique* 83(30): 1-30.

Broadfoot, Lisa. 1991. *Allegory and the Ruins of Walter Benjamin*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Cheorwon Literary Society *Dong-in*. 1997. (In Korean*) Jiroekkot: cheorwonmunhakoe nebeonjjae donginji [Mine Flower: The 4th Dongin publication of Cheorwon Literary Society]*. Cheorwon: Cheorwon Books.

_____. 1999. (In Korean) 43beon *gukdoeseo: cheorwonmunhakoe yeoseotbeonjjae donginji [On the Route 43: The 6th Dongin publication of Cheorwon Literary Society]*. Cheorwon: Cheorwon Books.

_____. 2000. (In Korean) *Buranhan bam: cheorwonmunhakoe ilgopbeonjjae donginji*

&logNo=220453652968.

[Anxious night: The 7h Dongin publication of Cheorwon Literary Society]. Cheorwon: Cheorwon Books.

Cho, Grace M. 2008. *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c2008.

Cook, Glenn Steven. 1992. "Review Essay: Korea: No Longer the Forgotten War." *The Journal of Military History* 56(3): 489.

Ernsberger, R. Jr. 2014. "Why is Korea the 'Forgotten War'? Melinda Pash. (Interview)." *American History*, 49(2): 24-25.

Farbøl, Rosanna. 2015. "Commemoration of a Cold War: the Politics of History and Heritage at Cold War Memory Sites in Denmark." *Cold War History* 15(4): 471-490.

Featherstone, M. 2005. "Ruin Value." *Journal for Cultural Research* 9(3): 301-320.

Fleming, D. and B. Kaufman. 1990. "The Forgotten War: Korea." *Social Education* 54(1): 35-38.

Gyeonggi-do Province Art Museum. 2012. *DMZ peace painting & book project: winter, winter, winter, spring exhibition*. Ansan: Gyeonggi-do Province Art Museum.

Huebner, A. 2004. "Kilroy is Back: Images of American Soldiers in Korea, 1950-1963." *American Studies* 45(1): 103-129.

Institute for Art Movement (ed.) 1995. *The Past, Present, and Future of Demilitarized Zone*. Seoul: Council on art cultural movement in the Demilitarized zone.

Jang, Young Kwon. 2015. (In Korean) "Pyeonghwaui jonjaeronjeok uimiwa guchuk jeollyak: hanbando tDMZpyeonghwat gusangeul jungsimeuro [Ontological Meaning and Construction Strategy for Peace: Focusing on Constructing 'DMZ Peace' in the Korean Peninsula]." *Unification and Peace* 7(1): 3-48.

Jang, In-tae. 2001. (In Korean) "Misulmunhwahyeonjang3: jeopgyeongjiyeogui himanggwa pyeonghwaui mesiji-je3hoe mintongseon yesulje, 9.15-12.30 [Art Culture Scene 3: Messages for Hope and Peace in Frontline Area – The 3rd Civilian Control Line Art Festival, 9.15-12.30]." *World of Art* 203: 36-38.

Jung, Keunsik, 2013. "Trajectory of Social Memory Studies in Korea: in the Context of Multiple Transition and Global History." *Democracy and Human Rights* 13(2): 347-394.

Jung, Keunsik and Joon-bang Oh. 2016. (In Korean) "Tallaengjeongwa jeonjanggwangwangui jisokganeungseong: geummundoreul jungsimeuro [Sustainability of Post-Cold War and Battlefield Tourism: Focusing on Jinmen]." *Asian Review* 6(1): 251-292.

Jung, In-chul. 2014. (In Korean) "Minganintongjeseon buksanggwa hwangyeongyeonghyang [The Civilian Control Line Moving Upward and Environmental Effect]." *DMZ Issue Report* 2014.5.9. http://ecoin.or.kr/xe/115920

Jae, Sung Ho. 1997. (In Korean) *Hanbando bimujangjidaeron: DMZ (bimujangjidae) reul pyeonghwajidaero [A Theory of Demilitarization on the Korean Peninsula: DMZ (Demilitarized zone) to Zone of Peace]*. Seoul: Seoul Press.

Keene, J. 2011. "Lost to Public Commemoration: American Veterans of the "Forgotten" Korean War." *Journal of Social History* 44(4): 1095-1113.

Kim, Hong Jung. 2007. (In Korean) "Balter benyaminui pasangnyeok yeongu [A Study on Walter Benjamin's Counter-imagination]." *Economy & Society* 73: 269-296.

Kim, In Sin, et al. 2013. (In Korean) "Saengtaegwangwanggwa hanguk DMZui saengtaegwangwangji gaebal [Ecotourism and Development of DMZ Korea as an Ecotourism Destination]." *Hotel Tourism Studies* 49: 17-38.

Kim, Jae Ho. 2011. (In Korean) "Bimujangjidae (DMZ) irwon gwangwanggaegui gwangwangdonggi - gwangwangmokjeokji ganui bigyo [Comparative Analysis of DMZ Area Tourist Motivations by Destination]." *Tourism Studies* 35(4): 95-112.

Kim, Ji Young. 2012. (In Korean) "Benyaminui pongnyeokbipane daehayeo [Discussion on Benjamin's 'Critique on Violence]." *Critique & Theory* 18(2): 39-59.

Kim, Jong gil. 2013. (In Korean) "Bundansidaeui DMZ yesulsilcheongwa mihageoneo [The DMZ Aesthetic Practice and Language from the Period of Division]." *History for tomorrow* 53: 186-201.

Kim, Dong-hoon. 2010. "Collapse of the World and Heroic Melancholy: German Baroque Tragedy, Charles Baudelaire, and Walter Benjamin." *Urban Humanities Studies* 2(1): 9-52.

Kim, Sung Chull (ed.) 2015. (In Korean) *Jaenan gwa Pyonghwa* (Disaster and Peace). Seoul: Acanet.

Kim, Young gyu. 2012. (In Korean) *Cheorwonui yeoksawa munhwa [History and Culture of Cheorwon]*. Cheorwon: Gonggam

_____. 2013. (In Korean) *Cheorwongun jibanghaengjeong 60nyeonsa [The 60 years of Local Administration of Cheorwon County]*. Cheorwon Institute for History and Culture Studies.

Kim, Young Bong. 2010. (In Korean) "Noksaekpyeonghwaui sigageseo bon DMZui hwaryong [A Study on the Utilization of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) with a Conceptual Framework of Green-peace]." *Unification and Peace* 2(1): 75-103.

Korea Tourism Organization (ed.) 2004. (In Korean) *DMZ jeopgyeongjiyeok pyeonghwagwangwangbelteu gaebal gibongusang [A Basic Development Plan for Peace Tourism Belt in DMZ Frontline Area]*. Seoul: Korea Tourism Organization.

Kwon, Suk-hoon. 2014. (In Korean) *DMZ apeumui heunjeogi gwangwangjawoneuro* [*From Traces of DMZ Pain to Tourism Resources*]. Seoul: Kimundang.

Lavery, C., D. P. Dixon and H. Lee. 2014. "The Future of Ruins: The Baroque Melancholy of Hashima." *Environment and Planning* 46(11): 2569-2584.

Lee, Hae Yong and Byung Gil Lim. 2014. (In Korean) "Mintongseon 60nyeon: nambukdaechi je2wanchungjidae [The 60 Years of the Civilian Control Line: the Second Buffer Zone amid South-North Confrontation]." *Yonhap news*. March 9 2014. (http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2014/03/07/0200000000A

KR20140307064900060.HTML)

Lee, Jinoo. 1997. (In Korean) "Wonsaekwabo: ijinuui bundangihaeng-yeolhanbeonjjae; "pyeheoeseo nareul bomnida" -yet cheorwonguk nodongdangsaeseo [Photograph: Lee, Jinoo's Eleventh Division Travel: Looking at myself at the Ruin – at Old Labor Party Headquarters in Cheorwon]." *The Unified Korea* 167: 14-17.

Lee, Ji-young. 2014. (In Korean) "Real DMZ peurojekteu 2014, bundane daehan dongsidaejeok siseon [Real DMZ Project 2014: Contemporary Perspective on Division]." *World of Art* 357: 62-64.

Lee, Joo Eun. 2012. (In Korean) "Pyeheo imijireul tonghae bon barokeujeok allegori [Baroque Allegory Analyzed through Ruin Images]." *Comparative Studies of World Literature* 38: 411-433.

Lee, So-Hyun and Byung-hyun Kim. 2015. (In Korean) "Anbo gwangwangsaneobe daehan yeongu [A study on security tourism industry]." *Tourism Promotion Studies* 3(1): 67-83.

Matray, J.I. 2002. "Revisiting Korea: Exposing Myths of the Forgotten War." *Prologue* 34(2): 107-115.

Mihov, N. 2015. *Forget Your Past: Communist-Era Monuments in Bulgaria*. Janet 45 Publishing (Second Expanded Edition).

Miller, J. 2001. "Remembering the "Forgotten War"." *Korea Observer* 32(1): 167-172.

Min, Joo Sik. 2015. (In Korean) "Pyeheoui mijeokgyeongheom - iyagi eomneun jangsoui gieok, mihak [Aesthetic Experience of Ruins: Memory of the Place without Story]." *Aestetics* 81(1): 195-228.

Oh, Bonnie B. C. 1998. "The Korean War, No Longer Forgotten." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57(1): 156-160.

Patrik, Linda. 1986. "The Aesthetic Experience of Ruins." *Husserl Studies* 3(1): 31-55.

Schonle, Andreas. 2006. "Ruins and History: Observations on Russian Approaches to Destruction and Decay." *Slavic Review* 65(4): 649-669.

Shin, Chang-hyun and Seok-ki Hong. 2013. (In Korean) "DMZ gasangcheheomeul wihan on,opeurain yeongye jeonsidijain "DMZ Media Cube" [On and Off-line Connection Exhibition "DMZ Media Cube" for Virtual Experience of DMZ]." *Korea Science and Art Forum* 14.

Shinn, Bill. 1996. *The Forgotten War Remembered, Korea, 1950-1953: a War Correspondent's Notebook and Today's Danger in Korea.* Elizabeth, N.J.: Hollym International.

Son, Ki Woong. 2011. (In Korean) *DMZ pyeonghwajeok iyongui gukgajeok uimi [The National Meaning of Peaceful Utilization of the DMZ]*, Seoul: Korea Institute for National Unification.

Son, Ki Woong, et al. 2011. (In Korean) *DMZ chongnam: munhwatpgwangwang hyeonhwang [Comprehensive Survey of DMZ: Current State of Culture and Tourism]*. Seoul: Korea DMZ Council.

Sørensen, M. L. and D. Viejo-Rose (ed.) 2015. *War and Cultural Heritage: Biographies*

of Place. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Suh, Dong Man. 2005. *The History of Socialist System in North Korea 1945~1961*. Seoul: Sunin.
Stephens, B. 2007. "Reading Walter Benjamin's Concept of the Ruin in Victor Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris." *French Studies* 61(2): 155-166.
Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: SAGE Publications.
Varghese, Ricky. 2014. *Seeing what Remains: On the Enigma of the Look, between Mourning and Melancholia*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
Wu Hung. 2012. *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Yoon, Taek Lim. 2016. (In Korean) *Gusullo sseuneun yeoksa: misubokgyeonggidominui bundangwa isanui sam [Oral History: Life of Division and Separation of un-Reclaimed Gyeonggi-do Province]*. Hongchun: Arke
Yu, Miri, Yehre Suh, Gimjong gil and Seung-hoon Jeong. 2014. *DMZ-Stories of Today and Tomorrow*. Seoul: Space for Contemporary Art.
Zucker, Paul. 1961. "Ruins. An Aesthetic Hybrid Ruins." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20(2): 119-130.

KEUNSIK JUNG is Professor of Sociology and Director in the Institute of Unification and Peace Studies, Seoul National University. He is an author of several books including *Historical Sociology of Korean War Photography* (2016) and *Gaesung Industrial Complex and Social Change in North Korea* (2015). *Address*: Department of Sociology, Gwanakro 1, Gwanak Gu, Seoul, Korea [*E-mail*: ksjung@snu.ac.kr]