"The Danger Anyone Can Encounter": *Security Education Films, Overseas Travelers, and the Location of Global Mobility in South Korea in the 1980s*

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Abstract

This study examines the mobility regulation and discipline that persisted amid the currents of internationalization and opening during the 1980s through the case of security education films for overseas travelers—an essential component of the education program for South Koreans going abroad. With the liberalization in the policy for overseas travel, attending this educational session before departure became a prerequisite for South Koreans traveling overseas. By analyzing the content and production process of two films produced by the National Film Production Center in the early 1980s, this study argues that the securitization of imagination regarding foreign spaces, overseas travel, and new mobile subjects was implemented by the authoritarian nation-state, facing a transition from immobility to global mobility. This project of regulation and discipline, rooted in the Cold War imagination, persisted as a shadow of internationalization. The conceptual framework suggested by this study, the securitization of imagination, facilitates an understanding of a conjuncture in which Cold War social-cultural history and the history of globalization overlapped in South Korea in the 1980s.

Keywords: securitization of imagination, security education films, Soyang-gyoyuk (Soyang education), the liberalization of overseas travel, 1980s in Korea, history of globalization

Introduction

The Liberalization Act on Overseas Travel of 1983 marked a critical juncture for South Korean citizens in their vision of going abroad. This legislation was enacted by the South Korean government as part of a series of top-down liberalization acts that affected the daily lives and recreational activities of South Koreans in the early 1980s. Additionally, it was enforced as a central initiative in the expansion plan for Koreans going abroad in 1981 aimed at encouraging various forms of overseas mobility, including overseas employment, emigration, study, and travel, aligning with the global trend of internationalization and opening up. However, amidst this wave of liberalization, certain regulatory and surveillance measures that had been in place since the 1960s persisted. Notable examples include background checks and mandatory education programs that were prerequisites for obtaining a passport. This study delves into these mechanisms of disciplinary power designed to educate prospective overseas travelers, particularly focusing on the mandatory education course known as *soyang gyoyuk*[1] and its primary visual materials referred to as *security film for overseas travelers*. It is noteworthy that Soyang education and security education films are relatively unexplored research areas, having received limited attention in previous studies of contemporary Korean history. Not only these educational programs but also the liberalization policy of overseas travel, as well as the antecedent policies related to overseas travel, have been lacking in the scholarship on global mobility in Korea.

The cultural politics of the 1980s in daily settings in South Korea have

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1. In Korean, the term "*soyang*" 素養 carries nuances of manners, knowledge, cultivation, courtesy, virtue, talent, and attitude. "*Soyang gyoyuk*" 素養教育 was established as the term to describe government-led cultural education. It has served as an official term for the education of various groups, including travelers, soldiers, government officers, official tour guides, employees, and volunteers for international events. In this study, "Soyang education" as a capitalized proper noun refers specifically to the mandatory education program/session for overseas travelers known in Korean as *soyang gyoyuk*, not to be confused with "*soyang* education" as a general expression referring to everyday manners training and education provided through other channels.

often been discussed through the conceptual framework of social politics. This framework implies the authoritarian governmentality embodied as restriction and policing, ranging from mundane levels to state coercion and the extortion of freedom (H. Park 2016, 2019). Recent scholarly efforts to restore unheard voices and unseen lives have led to active engagement with social histories of the 1980s as a collective academic practice. These efforts are evident in historical and social reinstatement research projects, such as those on Hyeongje bokjiwon (Brothers Home) and the Sabuk Incident. In terms of media control, studies on Gukpung 81 (J. Kim 2014), censorship (M. Lee 2001; B. Lee 2018), and the lifting of the ban on authors and books in 1988 (Jeong 2018) have critically examined the government's control and mobilization of mass media and culture in the politicized social space of South Korea in the 1980s. However, the micro histories of everyday experiences in the 1980s provide further space for investigation due to their multilayered and multifaceted nature, encompassing daily spaces and power dynamics. The alleviation acts or appeasement policy, often represented by the term "liberalization" serve as examples.[2] Aliyeva's (2017) work is a pioneering study on the liberalization of overseas travel in the 1980s, providing a comprehensive legal history of the passport policy in South Korea by tracing the alleviating process of overseas tourism. However, it barely touches upon the socio-cultural dynamics throughout the liberalization process or its broader connection to the history of global mobility in South Korea, including the geopolitical context. Global mobility in the 1980s is a theme rarely explored from a historical perspective. While not rooted in the tradition of social history, some media studies scholars have shed light on transnational cultural flows and media technology from a

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2. Song (2022) has pointed out that studies of contemporary history from the 1960s to 1980s have consistently overlooked the history of consumption and the history of the economy, which includes popular culture and leisure. This omission stems from a tendency to view consumption as purely private and inconsistent, therefore deeming it insignificant in comparison to labor and production, which were considered socially and politically significant. Histories of consumption, leisure, and popular culture warrant greater attention for in-depth and micro-level analysis in order to comprehend the complexity and political consciousness inherent in everyday lives.

historical perspective, focusing specifically on the reception of foreign exports, film spectatorship, undercurrent digital culture, and translocal intermediaries in the 1970s and 1980s (Jo 2019; Sang-Gil Lee 2019; Y. Kim 2011). In a different vein, previous works on the political and politicized events of visiting North Korea in the transitional setting of the Korean Cold War have engaged with the geopolitical context and security aspects of crossing borders in the 1980s (Lim 2022; S. Kim 2014; M. Kim 2016). These works are more directly linked to the field this study will examine.

This study delves into the realm of global mobility during the 1980s, using the case study of security education films for overseas travelers. It seeks to expand the scope of historical studies by exploring the intersection of social politics in the 1980s, mass re-education through media texts, and the global cultural Cold War in media culture, all within the context of mobility and tourism. Drawing upon previous historical research, this study aims to analyze the convergence of mobility policy and media policy amidst the transforming landscape of global mobility and Cold War geopolitics in the 1980s—an area that has not received thorough attention in previous Korean studies scholarship. By scrutinizing the production and representation of security education films, which were the fundamental component of mandatory Soyang education for all South Korean citizens traveling abroad, this research intends to shed light on the politics of imagination during the pivotal period of liberalization in overseas travel. Through this exploration, this research strives to shift the focus from overseas travel as the origin of mass tourism to a complex problem-space where the governance of mobility and immobility unfolds within political and geopolitical contexts.

Passport Issuance and the Soyang Education Program

To gain insight into how the norms of global mobility for emerging mobile subjects were implemented through security education films, it is essential to first examine the overall process of passport issuance and the role of the Soyang education program within that process. South Korean citizens had to navigate several stages designed to filter and prepare potential travelers

applying for a passport. Obtaining a passport involved a complex procedure, which included the following steps: initiating a background check, attending an education program and obtaining a stamped document as proof of attendance, and submitting a passport application with the required documents (including the stamp, a pledge to return, a certification letter for the travel deposit, and the application form). Even if applicants were deemed eligible to go abroad, they were still required to report upon their return, and a confirmation letter of their return had to be issued. Remarkably, this intricate process continued into April 1988, just a few months before the Seoul Olympic Games in August 1988 and the full liberalization of overseas travel in January 1989 (S. Park 1988). Among the various components of this institutional regulatory system of passport issuance, the background checks and the Soyang education program stand out as elements that illustrate how overseas travelers, who were emerging as new mobile subjects, were subjected to surveillance and discipline. These two devices were adapted for political purposes within the geopolitical context of the Cold War division of the Korean Peninsula, and they persisted in the increasingly global atmosphere of the 1980s. This screening process and the rigorous examination of overseas travelers continued until the early 1990s, when background checks were eventually abolished.

Soyang education was a mandatory education course for passport applicants, regardless of their category, whether it be study-abroad, business, visiting relatives, migration, and tourism.[3] In the early 1970s, the guidelines clearly outlined the distinct roles of *soyang* education and *boan* (security)

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3. The Soyang education program for overseas travelers commenced in 1966 (Hanguk gwangwang hyeophoe 1992). In that year, "*soyang gyoyuk*" first appeared in a daily newspaper explaining an engineer dispatch. Two government documents from 1967, titled "Improvement of Security and Soyang Education before Overseas Departures" (1967) and "Announcement of Meeting of Authorities" (1967), both authored by the general affairs section of the Ministry of Science and Technology, were discovered to address the issue of Soyang education. According to "Improvement of Security Education upon Overseas Departure" (1973), the earliest document available in the National Archives, the foundational rationale of this education was "the rules of security-related work," based on presidential instructions announced in May 1969.

education. The primary topics covered in this educational program included national security, tourist consumption, the national economy, and gradually, internationalized etiquette. This foundational structure persisted, albeit with gradual changes aimed at simplification and modifications to its themes, durations, and the key organizations involved, as evident in subsequent revised versions of the guidelines. During the 1980s, the curriculum increasingly addressed additional aspects, such as tourists' attitudes and consumption, while maintaining an emphasis on national security.[4] As the education for overseas travelers became integrated with other government initiatives like the national tourism promotion policy, it became more essential to emphasize the significance of general tourism behaviors, international etiquette, and restraint from extravagance. Though the specifics of the education program changed, it remained in place until 1992. This program served as a space where disciplinary control over global mobility and internationalization education converged under the government's top-down implementation.[5] The program's topics also reflect its primary focus on educating travelers about the side-effects of going

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4. The guideline was revised several times and announced to the relevant government departments. The list of the guidelines are: "Improvement of Security Education upon Overseas Departure" (1973), "Announcement of the Revision of Education Guidelines for Overseas Travelers" (Ministry of Law, July 21, 1975), "Announcement of the Revision of Education Guideline for Overseas Travelers" (KCIA, July 1977), "Education Guideline for Overseas Travelers (Revision)" (Ministry of Education, March 1981), Revision (Ministry of Education, July 1981), "Countermeasures after the Liberalization of Overseas Travel" (Prime Minister's Office, 1983), "Countermeasures to Guide Sound National Tourism after the Liberalization of Overseas Travel" (Ministry of Transportation, 1988), and "Improvement of the Soyang Education System for Tourism" (April 1989).

5. Soyang education was administered by various institutions and organizations, including the Korea Information Services Inc., Ministry of Home Affairs, Headquarters of the National Police, Anticommunism League (1954–1989), Korean Freedom Federation (post-1989), Yejiwon (an institution for traditional culture and courtesy education, established in 1974 and still in operation), Tourism Training Institution, Korean Tourism Organization, Korean CIA (later the National Security Agency, National Intelligence Service), Ministry of Transportation, and the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. Until the late 1980s, the overall plan and guidelines were established by the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Culture and Public Information, and National Security Agency, while other organizations played roles in management and education.

abroad. As previously mentioned, "security education film for overseas travelers" served as the audio-visual material central to *bo-an* (security) education, screened for attendees of the Soyang education session.

Security Education Films for Overseas Travelers and *Shadows* of Going Abroad

Appendix 1 provides a list of cultural films and video clips directly related to the theme of overseas travel or global mobility, produced by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information of South Korea and the National Film Production Center from the 1960s to the 1990s.[6] This study specifically focuses on *Geurimja* (Shadow, 1980, 60 mins) and *Hamjeong* (Trap, *Geurimja 2,* 1983, 60 mins) among them, which are the only two cultural films in the 1980s that address the topic of overseas travel. These films were officially titled, "*haeoe yeohaengja boan gyoyuk yeonghwa*" (security education film for overseas travelers) from their pre-production stage and their records are also traceable in the archive. These two films are unique in terms of their production period and viewership. The target audience of these films was South Korean citizens planning to go abroad, in contrast to earlier cultural films aimed at overseas Koreans.[7] These films were shown

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6. Cultural film (*munhwa yeonghwa*) represents a sub-category of visual records for historical studies and an artifact reflecting specific historical eras. It is often defined as a genre distinct from feature films screened in commercial theaters, encompassing a wide array of categories such as educational films, enlightenment films, documentary films, science films, industrial films, and even fictional propaganda films ('Geukchang-eseo yeonghwa-reul bogi kkaji' [South Korea seen through cultural films], National Archives of Korea, accessed June 7, 2023, http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/movie/concept01.do). Previous studies have examined how these films contributed to the nation-building project and the molding of modern and national subjects through their thematic focus and representation, often by glorifying the national accomplishments of authoritarian leadership (Hana Lee 2010; Heo 2011; Ham 2014).

7. For example, earlier cultural films like *Joguk-eun meoleodo* (Far from the Homeland, 1976) and *Gobaek* (1976) targeted Korean Americans and Korean Japanese (see Appendix 1). Meanwhile, *Geurimja* (1980) was intended for South Korean overseas travelers in general. However, in reality, the right to travel abroad was restricted to specific groups, such as

exclusively at venues where Soyang education was conducted for passport issuance, unlike other state-sponsored cultural film or policy-related visual materials that were often screened at movie theaters for random audiences.[8] In other words, *Geurimja* and *Hamjeong* were specifically created to support the liberalization policy and its implementation initiated in the early 1980s, setting them apart from other state-sponsored and archived cultural films of the same decade.[9] Therefore, *Geurimja* and *Hamjeong* serve as illustrative cases to examine the intersection of global mobility policy and media policy within the particular conjuncture of evolving global mobility. In the subsequent sections, I will first delve into the production process and background of these two films based on government documents and scripts. I will then analyze the narrative and visual representation of *Hamjeong*.[10] As we will explore in the following sections, the security education film represents an emblematic case that illustrates how Cold War propaganda,

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Korean emigrants, study abroad students, seamen, and overseas employees, who were qualified to cross the border during that period.

8. The educative purpose of cultural films was closely intertwined with the film's spectatorship (Wee 2010; Nho 2015). In South Korean film theaters until the early 1990s, the audience was subjected to advertisements for approximately four minutes, *Daehan News* for nine minutes, cultural films for ten minutes, public campaign advertisements for seventy seconds, and the national anthem for eighty seconds—amounting to approximately half an hour before the main feature film began ('Geukchang-eseo yeonghwa-reul bogi kkaji' [South Korea seen through cultural films], National Archives of Korea, accessed June 7, 2023, http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/movie/concept01.do).

9. For each decade from the 1950s to 1990s, cultural films were released in varying numbers: 66 pieces of in the 1950s, 200 pieces in the 1960s, 114 pieces in the 1970s, 146 pieces in the 1980s, and 81 pieces in the 1990s (National Archives of Korea, accessed June 7, 2023, http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/movie/movieList.do). Despite the frequent production of cultural films in the 1980s and 1990s, the visual politics of cultural films during the 1980s have received limited examination in comparison to previous regimes. Additionally, the societal particularities and geopolitical context of the 1980s as a backdrop to cultural films have been less scrutinized in comparison to the well-established criticism of authoritarian political culture embedded in visual texts and the institutionalization of cultural films during the 1960s and 1970s.

10. To the best of my knowledge, *Hamjeong* is the sole traceable film material from the audio-visual archive. The film *Hamjeong* is archived in two clips within the KTV e-Visual History Archive, titled "Bukhan-ui hamjeong (1)" (North Korean Trap [1]) and 'Bukhan-ui hamjeong (2)' (North Korean Trap [2]).

practiced by the authoritarian nation-state, persisted in the implementation of internationalization and opening in South Korea during the 1980s.

The Production Process

To understand the production process of these two security education films, the key institutional players need to be addressed first. The prominent agencies involved were the National Film Production Center, Korean CIA (1961–1981), Agency of National Security Planning (ANSP 1981–1999), and Ministry of Culture and Public Information (MCPI).[11] The production followed this sequence: first, ANSP requested MCPI for film production then MCPI provided detailed guidelines to the National Film Production Center for film creation, and MCPI as well as ANSP examined and approved ongoing production. ANSP also financed the production costs. However, starting with the production of *Hamjeong,* ANSP was responsible only for encouragement and film material payments, as the sponsorship of production costs shifted to the institutions conducting Soyang education sessions (Anticommunism League, Yejiwon, and the Korean Overseas Development Corporation). The directors, Lee Ji-Wan (*Geurimja*) and Kim Ki-Pung (*Hamjeong*), were film directors and government officials working for the National Film Production Center. They were responsible for producing numerous national cultural films, propaganda footages, and newsreels from the 1960s to 1980s.[12] In essence, the production system,

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11. The National Film Production Center operated as a government-affiliated organization under the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. It commenced the production of cultural films in 1948 when it functioned as "film division" under the Bureau of Public Information (National Archives of Korea, accessed by June 17, 2023, https://theme. archives.go.kr//next/photo/movieList.do?subNo=02).

12. The principle director of *The Shadow*, Lee Ji-Wan, was also involved in the production of official documentary films for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics. He also participated in the production of *The Scenery of Korea* series in 1967. Lee Ji-Wan was a former production director at the National Film Production Center (Ham 2014, 200). In 1980, the year *The Shadow* was produced, a total of seventy-four cultural films were created, and Lee directed seven of them. His portfolio encompassed various cultural films, including propaganda footage, and documentary films, featuring themes such as

including the production stakeholders and relevant government bodies, inherited the existing system of producing cultural films from earlier periods.

Specifically, what were the objectives of these security education films? *Geurimja* was produced from February to May 1980 and was intended "to instill overseas travelers with counter-communism consciousness" through audio-visual education.[13] The films content had to achieve the following: 1) "remind of the objective of security education"; 2) "dramatize the North Korean puppet's goals, agent-training methods, detours, and tactics for persuasion and kidnapping, targeting our students abroad, overseas employees, and ordinary travelers in third countries such as Japan and Europe"; 3) "include subtitles providing general precautions for our travelers to follow in various situations, such as gift deliveries, consultation requests, stopovers in communist countries, and communications security." Upon accepting the request, the National Film Production Center rephrased the film's production aim as "to safeguard the *gungmin* (people), instill security awareness in individuals going abroad for leisure travel, long-term stays, and emigration through educational means, and provide education on the North Korean puppet's tactics of maneuvering and essential security information." The content also needed to encompass the development of South Korea, with seven different cases specified, including South Korean university students, journalists, and professors.

In a nearly identical manner, *Hamjeong* was produced from November 1983 to February 1984 following a similar procedure.[14] One of the

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traditional culture, national heritage, anticommunism, the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, the state funeral of Park Chung-hee and condolences, and the Asian Games and Olympic Games. The primary director of *The Trap*, Kim Ki-Pung, was also an employee of the National Film Production Center who had previously participated in the production of numerous cultural films, *Daehan News*, and the President's tour films since the 1970s. These films covered topics such as national industries, national heritage, anticommunism, and the Saemaul Movement.

13. "Yeonghwa jejak uiro-e hyeopjo hoesin" (Request for Cooperation in Film Production: Reply), February 25, 1980, National Archives of Korea, BA0793088.

14. The significance of the year 1983 cannot be understated. It was the first year of the official liberalization of overseas travel through the issuance of "passport for tourism purposes" (as

differences from the previous version was that ANSP additionally requested "to enhance the effectiveness of audio-visual education by providing a more realistic and dynamic dimension" and "to cast unknown actors." As per the request, most of the actors were not widely recognized figures, and the narrative became more dramatic compared to *Geurimja*, particularly noticeable in the final episode, which adopted the style of action films (see Appendix 2). A few episodes were added and updated, which will be addressed in the following section. Despite some differences in episodes, both films shared the same thematic orientation and production process. From the planning stages, it was predetermined how to visualize, select situations, targets, and regions, and construct narratives. Built on this top-down strategy, producer groups visualized these narratives. Therefore, the brief history of security education films illustrates the fundamental production structure, expected outcomes, decision-making processes, roles of key players, and work assignments involving the nation-state, directors, educational institutions, individual actors/actresses, and audiences. The concept of educating potential travelers was intertwined with the government's perception of *education* during that era. The government viewed the minds and spirit of the populace as reformable and amenable to arming through education and guidance.[15] The authoritarian regime

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of January 1, 1983), although these were limited to senior citizens over the age of fifty. To clarify, at the time when the revised guidance plan was announced, and the second security education film of the 1980s was being produced, overseas travel was still restricted based on the traveler's occupation and place of residence. Due to age restrictions and budget constraints, these limited forms of global mobility remained predominant even after 1983. Moreover, the year 1983 was marked by rapidly changing stages in the Cold War, including incidents abroad (such as the Rangoon Bombing in October 1983 and the shooting down of KAL 007 in September 1983) that complicated South Korea-North Korea relations. M. Kim (2016, 156) explains such peculiarities of 1983 as the exact opposite of 1988 in terms of the unification issue.

15. It is necessary to consider two distinct yet interconnected concepts of *education* during that era—Reunification and Security Education and Spiritual Education of Gungmin (people)—to contextualize the concept of education as a tool of disciplinary power. Spiritual Education of Gungmin was a government-imposed program during the 1980s intended to guide and educate the population. The idea of "*gyedo*" (guidance/ enlightenment) for the people was deeply ingrained and normalized within this initiative.

wielded its disciplining power throughout this process of subject formation, employing state-sponsored cultural films to advance anticommunism education. The following section will delve into how these guidelines were manifested and visualized in the film *Hamjeong,* in particular.

Narrative and Representation

The *Geurimja* series consists of omnibus films comprised of short episodes, each lasting 5–10 minutes. *Hamjeong (Geurimja 2)* is a mosaic of nine cases, each dealing with different locations, settings, characters, and their various status as overseas travelers (see Appendix 2). The narrative structure and visualization methods are straightforward and explicit. The plot of each episode bears similarities to the others. Typically, they begin with an aerial view of the destination and a depiction of the cityscape, followed by the introduction of the main character who will soon find themselves ensnared in a predicament. These main characters possess their own desires and vulnerabilities, such as a female character's desire to prolong her stay due to "vanity" (as stated in the narration), the loneliness of living abroad, economic hardships tied to their stay and studies, yearning for mother and other family members in North Korea, romantic entanglements in a foreign country, curiosity about North Korea, and the greed for money. While these main characters find themselves in precarious situations, intermediaries lead them into traps, overseas North Koreans directly approach them, or seditious materials like booklets or unexpected phone calls disrupt their routines and private space. The outcomes of these abrupt encounters diverge based on the individual's choices and actions. In some cases, characters become embroiled in espionage and then subsequently face arrest, while others bravely confront the threats and overcome dangerous situations. In certain episodes, the conclusion remains open, simply depicting the characters ensnared while the camera zooms out.

1) Audio-Visual Strategies for Efficient and Explicit Delivery

The production's aim and the plan to "dramatize" in "realistic and dynamic"

forms, as addressed in the production documents, were materialized and
visualized through various audio and visual techniques, including narration,
subtitles, camerawork, sound effect, and genre styles. From the opening
sequence, the film projected subtitles and narration in a vivid and
minimalized manner with high contrast, clearly stating the production's
purpose: "in pursuit of the personal safety of travelers in accordance with
the government's Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel" (see Fig. 1). The
subsequent subtitles and narration provided additional information that the
stories were based on real events, akin to non-fictional documentaries and
as directed in the initial pre-production stage. The film reinforced anticom-
munism by adopting a re-enactment format and combining dramatized
episodes depicting what could happen to ordinary South Korean individuals
traveling abroad.[16] In parallel, the camerawork (utilizing close-ups and
zooming), flashbacks, and sound effects were employed in a straightforward
and lucid manner, seemingly for more effective message delivery to help
viewers comprehend the narrative structure better and grasp the overt
anticommunist message. Music and sound effects played a central role in
dramatizing the stories and heightening tension. The title sequence of
Hamjeong (see Fig. 1) resembled that of Hitchcock-style thrillers, and its
piercing sound effects served as a warning.[17] Narration by an omniscient

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16. A very similar style can be observed in the preceding film, *Gobaek* (Confession, 1976),
    which is categorized as "a documentary record film" in government documents. *Gobaek*
    emphasizes that the film was based on a true story of North Korean espionage and that the
    person involved in the actual incident is reenacting their role in the film. The utilization of
    a reenactment format in these films served to enhance their impact as propaganda films
    through visual means from the pre-production stage.
17. Alfred Hitchcock's films, such as *The Birds* (1963), *Rebecca* (1940), *Spellbound* (1945),
    North by Northwest (1959), *Torn Curtain* (1966), *Notorious* (1959), *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* (1941),
    Dial M for Murder (1954), *Marnie* (1964), *Under Capricorn* (1949), *To Catch a Thief* (1955),
    and *The 39 Steps* (1935), were broadcast on nationwide television channels like KBS and
    TBC (MBC) in South Korea from 1970 to the early 1980s (Naver News Library, accessed
    September 30, 2023, https://newslibrary.naver.com). Some news articles referred to Alfred
    Hitchcock as a distinguished film director who contributed to anticommunist film in the
    thriller and spy genre formats ('Bangong yeonghwa jil hyangsang tturyeot' [Obvious
    Improvement in the Quality of Anticommunist Film], *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, February 12,
    1976). These examples presumably demonstrate the influence and connection between

male speaker was used consistently throughout the film, as if representing a potent authority that passed judgment on inappropriate traveler behaviors. The overall visual and audio techniques in the film accentuated its descriptive yet enlightening tone and style.

On the other hand, grounded in the spy narrative, each episode borrowed genre conventions from action films, thrillers, melodramas, and family dramas. The genre conventions in these omnibus films were supposedly employed to compensate for the limited screen time and resources, maximizing the educational purpose by relying on existing narrative structures already familiar to the audience. For instance, the narrative of family reunion within the spy thriller genre was a characteristic of Korean Cold War cinema. Oh (2009) highlights how family narratives, such as bonding, yearning for family, family as a motive, and dramatic family reunion moments, became a stereotype of Korean spy thrillers and frequently appeared in the 1960s and 1970s as cliché. The narrative of family reunion served as a cinematic device to reconcile the South-North divide and address war trauma; however, through this narrative, "anticommunism ideology was slowly internalized in the spectators, regardless of the
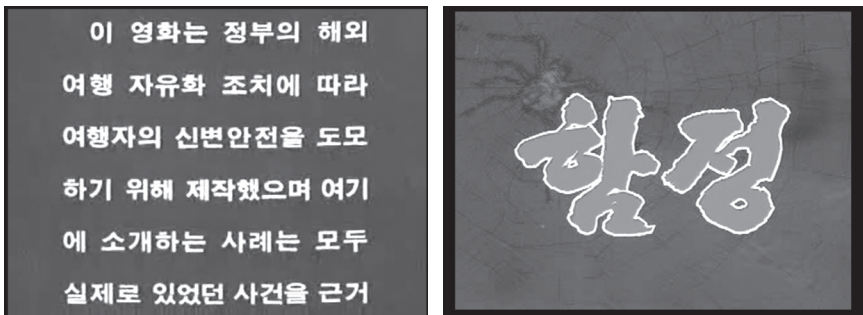

Figure 1. Opening sequence (left) and title sequence (right) of *Hamjeong* (1983)

Source: "Bukhan-ui *Hamjeong* (1)" (North Korean Trap [1]). KTV e-Visual History Archive.

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commercial films and popular genre style with cultural films and their improvision.

ideological logic" (Oh 2009, 62). Thus, this security education film explicitly conveyed its ideological message of caution and national security by employing diverse audio and visual techniques.

2) Foreign Spaces as Frontlines of Ideological Contamination

Each episodes demonstrates a commonality in its portrayal of foreign spaces, South Korean and North Korean people, and mobile subjects. The aforementioned production intent is vividly evident in this standardized representation of foreign locales, South Korean and North Korean individuals, and those on the move. Regarding the representation of foreign spaces, the countries and cities depicted in the films were, in reality, the primary destinations for outbound travelers at the time. According to 1983 statistics, Japan ranked first (with a total of 155,727 travelers, representing a 31.6 percent share); followed by the United States in second place (84,649, 17.2%); Taiwan (referred to as 'Free China,' 20,951, 4.2%), Hong Kong (17,900, 3.6%), Libya (16,925, 3.4%), Singapore (14,616, 3%), and then Iraq, France, and Thailand.[18] However, the film's representation of foreign space was limited to a highly restricted set of locations, which ultimately served as the main stage for encounters with North Koreans—the ideological contact zone. For example, regardless of the actual city, Japan was portrayed solely as a place inhabited by troublesome Korean-Japanese people from the Chongryeon community (a pro-North Korea organization in Japan). While scenes of Tokyo, including landmarks like Tokyo Tower and the Imperial Palace, initially indicated the setting as Tokyo, the neon signs and marketplaces primarily highlighted the everyday spaces where members of the overseas Korean community (especially Chongryeon-gye) worked and lived. According to the film's narration, these Chongryeon-gye individuals "are abetted by the North Korean puppet and are attempting to disrupt the overseas Korean community in Japan as well as infiltrate South Korea."

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18. Regarding the purpose of their visits, 40.7 percent of all South Korean overseas travelers went for employment, 25 percent for commerce, 6.7 percent for emigration, and 4.5 percent for inspection tours (Gukje gwangwang yeonguso 1984).

Within this frame, Japan was neither linked to a collective memory of colonialism nor the contemporary Japan of the 1980s, as often portrayed in other travel accounts in mass media, travel essays, and guidebooks of the era. In the episodes of Japan, the most-visited destination of South Korean tourists and home to 700,000 Koreans, overseas travelers were depicted as precariously exposed to the omnipresent threat of North Korea. Thus, in the 1980s, Japan was still considered "suspiciously pro-communist or seen as a gateway to pro-communism from the perspective of governing authorities" (Chang 2018, 211).

The suspicious portrayal of foreign space was repeated in other episodes set in neighboring Asian regions as well. Similarly, the United States and West Germany were depicted as open yet perilous places where overseas travelers could encounter Koreans abroad who had been "contaminated" by North Korea, as well as North Korean operatives in everyday situations. For instance, countries like Libya and Singapore, where South Korean companies were actively expanding their businesses, were also described as potentially hazardous due to the presence of North Korean embassies. The South Korean embassy was assumed to be the only safe haven, while the traveler's private spaces or routine workplaces were considered highly vulnerable.[19] The film did not pay attention to other historical contexts and various local attractions. The depiction of foreign cultures in general or the exoticism of tourist destinations was absent in this politicized imagination of global mobility and foreign spaces. In the film, foreign locales and popular destinations were not viewed as politically neutral but rather as the frontlines of ideological contamination.

3) Omnipresent Dangers of North Korean Individuals and Collaborators

South Korean (us) and North Korean people (others) were portrayed in a dichotomy. South Korean individuals in the film, often referred to as "our

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19. Production costs might have influenced the choice of shooting locations. The budget records indicate that most scenes set in offices and accommodations were actually filmed within South Korea.

Koreans," were depicted as naive and vulnerable, susceptible to "cunning tricks." They represented ordinary citizens with various weaknesses driven by human desires, making them susceptible to "the trap" in their daily lives due to the astute skills of North Korean people and deceptions by trusted acquaintances. The film categorizes South Korean people into two main groups based on their reactions: 1) those who were ingenuous, easily deceived, and child-like, and 2) those who were confident, brave, and sometimes heroic.

On the other hand, North Korean people and their collaborators were portrayed as significant others encountered by South Korean citizens in foreign countries. North Korean individuals and collaborators were not easily identifiable by their appearances, as they did not even use North Korean intonation. They sometimes wore suits and displayed a well-mannered attitude when first encountered. However, most commonly, they were depicted as villains who would approach South Korean travelers with various elaborate "cunning tricks" before the travelers recognized the danger. Borrowing the main characters' words, North Korean people were portrayed as "filthy red commies" and "North Korean puppets." The behavior and self-identification of the North Korean individuals fell into two categories. Some initially concealed their origin and affiliation to ease the tension, often asserting that they were neither "commies" nor "communists." Others openly revealed their North Korean background and suggested having "a conversation" while emphasizing that "we are all part of a homogeneous unity." The former case usually resulted in negative consequences, while the latter often led to the main characters overcoming the danger (see Appendix 2). Overseas Korean individuals and networks played a pivotal role in mediating both sides and exacerbating the conflict. Overseas Korean communities and networks, including South Korean companies abroad, the Korean diaspora, colleagues, the Red Cross, and overseas consulate offices, were widely dispersed and omnipresent, in line with the increasing population of overseas South Koreans. The portrayal of overseas Koreans reflects the government document on the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel, which highlighted the growing role of overseas Korean in South-North relations and warned that "North Korea was eager to penetrate the

Korean network abroad."[20] Once again, from the perspective of the South Korean authorities, foreign spaces were considered contagious and overseas Koreans were assumed to be intermediaries in such ideological contamination.

As such, the film clarified situations involving unexpected encounters that travelers (*we*) should be alert to and suggested guidelines for staying safe in foreign countries. In no episode of the film was there any reconciliation between South Korean and North Korean people. Instead, a straightforward guideline on how to escape from danger was outlined: individuals must report to the South Korean embassy and behave confidently, displaying strong convictions.[21] Since these situations typically occurred without warning or expectation, maintaining self-protection and awareness was deemed of utmost importance. Any inappropriate desires and frivolous behaviors could lead to irreparable consequences that might ruin one's life. The purpose of the security education was to provide such a warning. As emphasized in the concluding narration, the outcome always depended on "your behavior as the traveler." In its closing sequence, the film stated: "If you unavoidably come into contact with them [North Korean people and collaborators], don't be scared, but handle the situation confidently. In case of emergency, don't forget that informing our embassy will resolve every problem. Best wishes for your pleasant overseas travel." In contrast to the well-wishes for a "pleasant travel" in the ending sequence, the film primarily highlighted the negative aspects of overseas travel, specifically the shadow and trap, which complicated the overall goals of the opening and liberalizing policy for individual overseas travel. The film did not even

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20. "Haeoe yeohaengja boan gyoyukyong yeonghwa jejak uiroe" (Request for the Production of a Security Education Film for Overseas Travelers), August 3, 1983, National Archives of Korea, BA0793378.

21. More detailed words of caution and security guidelines were found in the earlier film outline, including: not sending letters to North Korea, exercising caution when approached by Koreans abroad, recognizing the importance of communication security, staying alert for letters and presents that may be delivered, double-checking during stopovers, avoiding illegal activities related to passports and foreign currency, and remembering one's role as a citizen envoy.

mention "the necessity of internalization and opening," a concept often emphasized in the documents related to the liberalization act of overseas travel in 1983. Many other *others*, including local people, foreign travelers, and workers in the tourism industry, were not included in this narrative of overseas travel. The ideological tension was centered on the films, and "North Korea" was considered non-negotiable as the sole *other* that overseas travelers might occasionally encounter.

4) Emerging Overseas Travelers and the Vulnerability of New Mobile
   Subjects

In the meantime, beyond the divide in the representation of South Korean and North Korean people as collectivity, the differences within South Korean characters unveiled the most vulnerable mobile subject by whom the objective of the security education film became clearer. As addressed above, unlike the preceding cultural films about the Korean diaspora in the 1960s and 1970s, *Geurimja* and *Hamjeong* were produced for South Korean citizens planning to go abroad after the 1980s. However, as briefly mentioned, only limited groups of people, such as Korean emigrants, study abroad students, seamen, and overseas employees, were allowed to go abroad, as categorized as main characters in these films (see Appendix 2). Given this background, two episodes in *Hamjeong* stand out as very distinctive and significant in their selection and description of the characters. These two episodes, the first and the fifth, identified new types of overseas travelers in the 1980s—Korean women in their twenties and thirties visiting their close relatives. These two cases are furthermore representative in the sense that they first appeared in the film in 1983, coinciding with the kick-off of the liberalization act on overseas travel.[22] In other words, the female cases of visiting relatives were the most recent and representative cases that exemplified new types of overseas travel, presumably to increase in the near future.

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22. From July 1982, the passport law permitted individual travel for the purpose of visiting
    relatives.

Interestingly, among the nine episodes, only these two episodes depicted female characters as the main protagonists. These episodes are built upon a melodramatic narrative structure. The female characters were highly dependent on Korean men who were closely connected to them both economically and psychologically, as they also guaranteed the women's visa status as *visiting*. In the first episode, an unmarried former factory worker, Kim Yeong Hee, goes to Tokyo to visit her uncle but refuses to return to South Korea even after her visa expires. Her uncle, who actually belonged to the Chongryeon community after his own son was repatriated to North Korea in 1963, introduces her to work at a Korean nightclub owned by a Korean-Japanese man. She lives together with this man and finds him reading a prohibited book from North Korea. She is shocked at first but becomes persuaded by his offer to bring her parents to Japan if she were to spend three months in North Korea. She is eventually trained as a spy in North Korea and ends up being arrested upon her arrival at Gimpo Airport. In the film, Yeong Hee is depicted as an innocent young lady at the beginning but dramatically changes into a depraved and extravagant woman (see Fig. 2). By contrast, the fifth episode introduces another vulnerable South Korean woman who was also exposed to the North Korean threat but evaded it with the rescue by a South Korean man. She (Mrs. Park) goes to Libya to visit her husband, a Taekwondo instructor, where a North Korean male stranger in a hotel approaches her. She bravely escapes this attempted seduction and throws herself into the arms of her husband, in contrast to the woman Yeong Hee in Japan.

Figure 2. How Kim Yeong Hee changes in the premier episode of *Hamjeong*.

Source: "Bukhan-ui *Hamjeong* (1)" (North Korean Trap [1]). KTV e-Visual History Archive.

These stories of vulnerable South Korean women contrast with the sixth episode about the failed romance of a South Korean male student in West Germany. The student is almost seduced by a female pro-North Korea Korean-Japanese student, and he receives an offer to travel together to Moscow and Pyongyang. But he then comes to his senses, chastises her, and leaves the place without hesitation. The original scenario ended with him being beaten by North Korean men who were hiding in the room. It is not clear why the ending was changed in the film from the original scenario, but in the new ending, the symbolic meaning of this episode becomes more evident. The brave and strong South Korean man represented an ideal example of a proper reaction against the seduction and ideological contamination abroad, in contrast with the dependent and unprepared young Korean women. Considering the simplification of the episodes and each episode's short running time, the features in the above-mentioned episodes are notable. In this binary setting of reactions, the female South Korean characters embodied the vulnerability of overseas travelers at the time of impending opening.

Female spies were a popular theme of the spy and espionage narrative in Korean media and publications during the Cold War. Hana Lee (2015) explains that the female spy in popular culture was portrayed as a mixed image of temptation and fear and was objectified under the gaze of anti-North Korean orientalism that made communism and communists into hostile others. The female spy is a vulnerable actor who cannot think on her own, and this often symbolizes the North Korean regime that cannot stand on its own (Hana Lee 2015). In a similar vein, female characters in the security education film for overseas travelers of the 1980s were portrayed as vulnerable and fragile agents who could not stand on their own and were exposed to the persuasion and seduction of North Korea. Their mobility was also restrained by the male characters as their uncle, husband, and male owner and was conditionally prolonged if she served as a spy. This representation of female subjects implies the insecure and unstable status of overseas travelers in unidentified foreign spaces outside their own safe nation-state. In this narrative structure, the overseas traveler, a new type of mobile subject along with the liberalization of overseas travel, was allocated

as a feminized object and vulnerable human being to be protected by the masculine protector of the nation-state.

Dual Face of Globalization in the 1980s and the Securitization of Global Imagination

This study explores the case of security education films for overseas travelers and the broader reorientation program to understand how state power leveraged visual media, specifically film, to shape individual behavior and gaze. The regulation on the imagination of global mobility was influenced by the prevailing trends of liberalization and internationalization, but it was infused with anticommunist ideology. The security education films for overseas travelers serve as a crucial case study for examining the government's role in controlling global mobility and shaping collective imagination. There are two key reasons for this: 1) these films served as a conduit connecting mobility and media policies, allowing disciplinary power to be exerted on mobile individuals, 2) they illustrated how disciplinary power manifested both in tangible actions like passport control and attendance at educational sessions, and in the intangible realm of shaping people's perceptions of global mobility, otherness, and the outside world.[23]

To elucidate the process of politicized globalization, this study suggests an analytic framework, the *securitization of imagination*. This framework is

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23. This interpretation is rooted in Foucault's ideas about governmentality and the technology of power. In his genealogical investigations and problematization on microphysics of power, Foucault (2011, 2020) developed analyses of disciplinary practices and technologies of power that continued to shape specific subjectivities and knowledge-discourse systems within evolving historical contexts. This process of governmentality often operated through visual mechanisms to internalize surveillant gaze, thereby guiding individuals toward particular forms of subjectivity. Foucault also introduced the notion of *conduct of conduct* to explain how disciplinary power guides individuals ('docile bodies') to self-discipline by internalizing norms and gazes. Foucault's ideas of governmentality and conduct of conduct are instrumental in understanding how disciplinary programs like Soyang education session and security education films were conceived and contributed to molding subjectivities in the context of both internationalization and anticommunism.

viewed as both a consequence and an effect of a carefully orchestrated political strategy closely linked to the institutionalization of global mobility. The concept of the securitization of imagination draws inspiration from securitization theory and ideological geography, providing a valuable lens through which to examine these dynamics. Securitization theory, as developed by the Copenhagen School, delves into the interplay between the construction of reality and the microphysics of power. It provides insights into how the discursive process of securitization gives rise to security concerns and a sense of threat. Securitization theory challenges the fixed notion of national security in international relations and presents an alternative framework that can expand the meaning of *security* (Buzan et al. 1997). This framework encompasses various domains of securitization, categorizing them into military, environmental, economic, societal, and political sectors. These sectors are not mutually exclusive, but rather converge to form a synthesis in constructing *security*. This interdisciplinary approach unravels the process of governmentalization, shedding light on its consequences, agencies, and institutionalization, which are rooted in temporal and social contexts, as well as in political and cultural practices.

Furthermore, to delve into the imagination of global mobility in the South Korean contexts, this study also embraces the notion of ideological geography. This concept explains an ideological dimension permeating society's broader geographical imagination. Hye-Ryoung Lee (2012) provides this conceptual framework, combining imaginary geography with Cold War geopolitics. It implies a state where geopolitical boundaries serve as "an institutional and psychological disciplining system of expression" and indicates "the operation of power-knowledge that disposes and disciplines the imagination of place and movement/mobility" (Hye-Ryoung Lee 2012, 143–144). Lee elucidates that ideological geography transcends the realm of individual imagination, imposing its influence on human bodies suspected of affiliations with leftist groups and making them visible subjects of surveillance and ideological control. A quintessential example is the racial representation of "red commies" (*ppalgaeng-i*). Additionally, ideological geography normalizes the presumption of exclusive sovereignty. In essence, ideological geography can be viewed as "the discipline that encompasses the

trinity of idea-body-territory" (Hye-Ryoung Lee 2012, 144). Throughout contemporary South Korean history under the Division System, ideological geography has functioned as a primary mechanism of ideological control (B. Lee 2017).[24]

The case of the security education film and the Soyang education session reveals how ideological geography acted as a mechanism for othering at the level of imagination and discourse. It demonstrates how actual policies triggered securitization by disseminating images of the threatening other and an impending national security crisis abroad. This study interprets this process as the "securitization of global imagination," a process that constructed security concerns and generated a sense of imminent danger by intervening in collective social imaginaries, surpassing individual geographic imagination. This analytical framework helps to comprehend the ideological trajectory of (post-) Cold War globalization. This process was not confined to existing ideological geographies of the Korean Cold War; it persisted in shaping ideologically infused subjectivity and otherness as discursive effects. The audio-visual materials of security education films played a pivotal role in this securitization of imagination, enacted even before individuals embarked on tangible journeys abroad.

The case films examined in this study serve as evidence of the confluence of enlightening media policy and the global mobility policy aimed at new mobile subjects. They also signify a shift in the focus of state-sponsored films, from a focus on national territory to foreign territory, as was frequently observed in the 1960s and 1970s. Another notable aspect of the visual politics within state-sponsored films during the 1980s, exemplified by security education films for overseas travelers, is the emphasis on individual mobile subjectivity as a means of projecting ideological geogra-

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24. Bong-Beom Lee (2017) delves into the historical case of the ban on the kidnapped and defectors to North Korea and its subsequent lifting in July 1988. He explains that the ban imposed during the 1950s entrenched the ideological geography surrounding defectors to North Korea as a socio-cultural taboo. This restriction functioned as a means of exclusion, creating the divide between the period before and after its repeal. Lee argues that over the ensuing decades, the ideological geography associated with defection became institutionalized and institutionally, socially, and cognitively solidified.

phy. This emphasis contrasts with earlier state-sponsored films and newsreels that employed specific objects, sites, and spectacles to convey their messages (Han 2018; Nho 2015; Suengbeen Lee 2022). Additionally, these security education films incorporated commercial genre conventions and visual aesthetics to dramatize their narratives, thereby maximizing their impact.

In conclusion, the findings of this study reveal the intricate interplay between the securitization of global mobility and the securitization of imagination. Essentially, (the regulation of) mobility was closely intertwined with (the control of) imagination during this era of opening. The governance of imagination emerged as a pivotal component of the liberalizing policy of overseas travel in this (post-) Cold War conjuncture of the 1980s. Throughout this period, the securitization of global imagination took on two distinct aspects: the securitization of mobility, imagining global mobility as insecure and subversive, and the securitization of the world-others, depicting them as dangerous and enigmatic. This process continually constructed the perception of *dangerous others* while rationalizing state surveillance and the discipline of new types of mobile bodies, who were seen as potential intermediaries through which dangerous things could infiltrate society. While the nation's citizens were summoned and envisioned as the principal subjects of internationalization, the otherness was concurrently reconstructed through the ongoing operation of anticommunist governmentality, facilitated by established disciplinary mechanisms within authoritarian regimes.[25] Once again, security education films served as tools

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25. Previous scholarly examinations of the issue of governmentality and governance structures have depicted it as Cold War governmentality, transitioning from US military government and information agencies to the South Korean government and its bureaus (H. Kim 2011), authoritarian neo-liberal governmentality characterized by an underdeveloped political rationality (Il Joon Chung 2010), and nationalist governmentality, shaping anticommunist and economically oriented subjects (Hong 2019). In other words, the matter of governmentality in modern and contemporary Korea has been intricately interwoven with political, social, and cultural dynamics, and geopolitical contexts, including war, division, colonialism, and the Cold War. These elements provided the situational and genealogical backdrop essential for comprehending the technologies of governmentality that operated in the 1980s.

for the authorities to perpetuate anticommunism, with the overarching Soyang education program for overseas travelers functioning as a means of *conduct of conduct* to build mobile subjectivity while also serving as an apparatus that justified state discipline over global mobility.

Concluding Remarks

Following pioneering work by Torpey (1999) on the "invention" of the passport system and other identification tools as technologies employed by modern nation-states to govern their populations and territories, historical studies on global mobility and migration have reexamined the pivotal role of governing technologies. These technologies, for example, distinguishing between legal citizens and foreigners, have been instrumental in the formation of modern territorial states (McKeown 2008). In addition to devices that regulate population movement, this study delved into the deliberate incorporation of gaze and imagination into the management of global mobility. This adds a dimension to previous historical studies on mobility management.

In the context of Korea, certain studies have emphasized the Cold War aspects of mobility and immobility within Korean contexts, shedding light on the control and surveillance of mobile individuals by anticommunist regimes (B. Lee 2017; Lim 2014). Previous research has focused on specific cases where "the regime's apprehension of transnational mobility during the Cold War era" evolved into "incidents of state violence," primarily in the 1960s and 1970s (W. Kim 2022, 178). This study extends this perspective to the 1980s, demonstrating how such ideologically driven discipline of mobile subjects was intricately intertwined with the globalization process, even as global mobility expanded. Additionally, this study reexamined the localized Cold War culture of the 1980s, which manifested within the realm of global mobility and through the combination of media policy and mobility policy. In doing so, this study aims to contribute to the social and cultural history of the Korean Cold War.

In parallel with the growing emphasis on the right and freedom to

move and travel, there was a rising chorus of voices opposing the ongoing regulations and surveillance associated with passport issuance and ideological security education, deeming them outdated and ineffective (*Wolgan yeohaeng,* December 1988). Within this tension, one can discern both the aspiration for opening and the anxiety it generated—a duality that characterized globalization during that period. Consequently, security education gradually gave way to the distribution of manual booklets detailing how to travel abroad and conduct oneself as an internationalized citizen, as indicated by the documents from 1989. This transition signifies a shift from coercive regulation by the nation-state, encompassing monitoring and censorship, to self-regulation aimed at internalizing international norms. From the standpoint of the mobile subject's self-discipline, this shift potentially suggests a change in the gaze from an ideologically domestic gaze to one imported from the external *world*. In this context, a genealogical examination could reveal further insights, such as how global imaginations intersected with neo-liberal governmentality beyond the realm of anticommunist imagination, how another standard for global mobility was established within South Korean society, and how the new others and new mobile subjects emerged as the focus of mobility management, among other aspects. Meanwhile, as briefly mentioned earlier, following the initiation of liberalizing overseas travel in 1983, an unintended side effect, namely, excessive consumption of foreign goods, became a more significant issue. Consequently, the authorities altered their regulatory direction, focusing on tourist consumption and belongings. Simultaneously, due to the incidents in 1983, the original plan for full liberalization of overseas travel was delayed for a few years beyond its initial schedule. As such, the social history of global mobility in 1980s South Korea is comprised of a multilayered and multifaceted nature, encompassing both local and global dimensions, inviting further investigation into this complex and conjunctural era.

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Appendix 1: Government-produced Video Clips on Overseas Travel

Title	Production	Year	Category and Theme	Target	Material
[You Are Representing South Korea] "Overseas Travelers are Citizen Diplomats" (8:23)	National Film Production Center	1970	PR Film/Cultural Film	South Korean People (Potential Travelers)	Video Clip
[Daehan News 773] "Orientation for Overseas Travelers" (00:38)	National Film Production Center	1970	Newsreel, Individuals' Responsibility as Citizen Diplomats	South Korean People	Video Clip
Far Away from Homeland (60mins)	National Film Production Center	1976	Cultural Film (Security education), Patriotic mind, national pride, correct knowledge of home country	Koreans at home and abroad (U.S. residents)	Documents and Script
The Confession (50mins)	National Film Production Center	1976	Cultural Film (Security Education)	Koreans at Home and Abroad	Documents and Script, Video Clip
The Shadow (60mins)	National Film Production Center	1980	Cultural Film (Security education), Alert for the North Korean maneuver	Overseas South Korean Travelers (Domestic)	Documents, Script
The Trap (The Shadow 2, 60mins)	National Film Production Center	1983	Cultural Film (Security Education), Alert for the North Korean Maneuver	Overseas South Korean Travelers (Domestic)	Documents, Script, Video Clip
[Daehan News 1688] Central Government's Work Report	National Film Production Center	1988	Newsreel, Liberalization Policies "Authoritarianism is disappearing"		Video Clip
[Daehan News 1735] "Let's Learn Overseas Travel" (1:25)	National Film Production Center	1989	Newsreel, Increase of Overseas Travel and the Importance of Education	South Korean People (Potential Travelers)	Video Clip
[Daehan News 1792] "Traveling Frugally" (0:32)	National Film Production Center	1990	Newsreel, (Campaign) Emphasis on Frugal Travel	South Korean People (Potential Travelers)	Video Clip
[Daehan News 1873] "Campaign (Frugal Overseas Travel)" (0:36)	National Film Production Center	1991	Newsreel, (Campaign) Foreign Goods	South Korean people (Potential travelers)	Video Clip

Source: National Archives of Korea (www.archives.go.kr).
Note: The clips and information of the films were extracted from the online archives of The National Audio-Visual Information Service and National Archives of Korea. This does not mean that the list covers every audio-visual material relevant to overseas travel, but it includes the up-to-date search results by the author.

Appendix 2: The Characteristics of Each Episode from *Hamjeong* (1983)

Place	Purpose of Visit	Character (South Korean)	Character (Intermediary)	Character (North Korean)	Place of Encounter	Result
Japan (Tokyo)	Visiting Relatives (Short-term traveler)	Short-term traveler (Female, worked at a textile company in Daegu)	Uncle (Male, Japan Resident, Owner of Korean restaurant)	Zainichi, Owner of the Korean club (Male)	Korean restaurant	Imprisonment
U.S.A. (LA) (Change from the Original Scenario)	Business	Expatriate from South Korean trading company (Male)	Delivery of seditious booklets and old friend (Male, U.S. resident)	Acquaintance of friend (Male, South Korean, U.S. Citizen)	Hotel room and a house of North Korean Spy	Blackmailed (Due to reading North Korean materials)
Japan (Kyoto)	Business	Trainee (Male, Technology Training program)	None (Direct visit by the Zainichi couple)	Zainichi, Teachers of Chongryon school (Middle aged couple)	At his workplace	Entrapped (Debt)
Singapore	Business	Expatriate from South Korean trading company (Male)	Red Cross (a letter to his mother in North Korea was intercepted)	North Korean Ambassador (Male), Spy (Zainichi man)	At the North Korean embassy	Blackmailed and entrapped (for his mother's custody)
Libya	Visiting Relatives	Wife of a Taekwondo instructor (Female)	None	North Korean man	At the hotel (Phone call from the lobby)	Sent back North Korean man and reunion with husband
Singapore	Business	Construction Worker (Male)	Colleague (Male)	North Korean Ambassador (Male)	At his workplace and North Korean embassy	Entrapped
Busan, Japan (Kobe)	Seaman	Sailor (Male)	Old Friend (Male, Japan resident)	Executive of Chongryon (Male)	At friend's house and Chongryon office	Arrested at the Busan port
Pakistan (Karachi)	Seaman	Sailor (Male)	None	Two men following Park	Nearby the workplace	Scared away North Koreans (Heroic)

Source: ˝Bukhan-ui hamjeong˝ (1), (2) (North Korean Trap 1, 2), KTV e-Visual History Archive.