

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

ABC News, ABC News Network,

abcnews.go.com/Archives/video/oct-26-1979-south-korean-president-killed-11624053.

This is an ABC News broadcasting on Oct. 26, 1979, right after the assassination of Park Chung-hee. I used this broadcasting to capture how martial law was applied, how civilians were treated, and the panic that arose from the sudden loss of a significant leader. This also gave insight on how Park Chung-hee dealt with political dissents during his presidency.

This video was used on my Political Upheaval page.

ABC News, ABC News Network,

abcnews.go.com/Archives/video/dec-15-1987-south-koreas-direct-elections-12364755.

This broadcast was made by the ABC News on Dec. 15, 1987, when South Korea's election polls were opened. The video clip I used contains a quote by one of the voters that demonstrates the want for power to be given to the people instead of those already in a position of power. I also think that this broadcast highlights the delicate relationship between the United States and South Korea regarding the outcome of the 1987 election. I used this clip on the June Struggle page of my website.

ABC News, ABC News Network,

abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-administration-taking-aim-planned-parenthood-abortion-rule/story?id=55258164.

I used an image from the ABC News of protesters that opposed the recent proposal of defunding planned parenthood. I wanted to use this image as one of many in a gallery of recent protests to show how protests have been an essential method of expressing concern or want for a change. It is important to represent protests as a way of change instead of as violent rioters, in order to understand why the Gwangju Uprising was a triumph despite the tragedies of death.

ABC News, ABC News Network,

abcnews.go.com/Politics/years-black-lives-matter-inspires-protest-movements/story?id=56702439.

I used an image of people marching for the #BlackLivesMatter movement from this source. I chose this image because it is a very recent movement that is peaceful and it captures the idea that protests begin conversations and from those conversations, changes can be made. This concept is important to understand because if the Gwangju Uprising had not been suppressed, conversations regarding human rights and democracy would not have been brought up.

“The 6.10 Democracy Movement (6.10 민주항쟁).” *Koreabridge*,
koreabridge.net/post/610-democracy-movement-610-민주항쟁-intraman.

This source provided me with multiple images of the June Struggle; the memorialization and funeral of Park Jong Chul and Lee Han Yeol. I used these images on the June Struggle page in order to exhibit the large number of people that cared about the death of a few and to highlight the importance of those deaths in South Korea’s Democracy Movement.

ANDREW HORVAT | Times Staff Writer. “60,000 Rally for Direct Vote in South Korea.” *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times, 31 Mar. 1986,
articles.latimes.com/1986-03-31/news/mn-2052_1_president-chun-doo-hwan.

This article by Los Angeles Times covers South Korea’s Democracy Movement which caused direct elections in 1987. This article quotes Kim Dae Jung reasoning why the South Korean government accepted the protesters cry for direct election. I used this quote on the June Struggle page of my website to provide perspective on the important role of the 1988 Olympics in contributing to Korean democracy.

“ASIA-PACIFIC | Flashback: The Kwangju Massacre.” *BBC News*, BBC, 17 May 2000,
news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/752055.stm.

This article published by the BBC News presents a very strong image that captures the

Gwangju Uprising. This is the first image seen on the Gwangju Uprising page, it shows a protester bracing himself for a baton held by a soldier. It is a powerful picture to look at because it shows the endurance that the Gwangju citizens had during the uprising, taking each blow without crippling in fear.

Babu. "U.S. Involvement in the Gwangju Uprising." *SlideServe*, 5 Aug. 2012,
www.slideserve.com/babu/u-s-involvement-in-the-gwangju-uprising.

During my interview with George Katsiaficas, he recommended me this slideshow in order to gain insight into Washington's role in the Gwangju Uprising. This slideshow provided me with an announcement made by Hodding Carter on behalf of the Carter administration. This quote was used on the Gwangju Uprising page to that showed how Washington prioritized South Korea's national stability over liberalization.

Bhattacharya, Sudip. "Protesters Pack Supreme Court Grounds For Same-Sex Arguments - CNN Politics." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 28 Mar. 2013,
www.cnn.com/2013/03/26/politics/same-sex-protests/index.html.

This article provided me images of the protests for same-sex marriage. I used this image on my Conclusion page. I used this specific protest as an example of a successful one, while it was not as recent (2013) as others, it is one that has prompted the legalization of same-sex marriage across the nation.

CLYDE HABERMAN, Special to the New York Times. "SEOUL STUDENT'S TORTURE DEATH CHANGES POLITICAL LANDSCAPE." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 31 Jan. 1987, www.nytimes.com/1987/01/31/world/seoul-student-s-torture-death-changes-political-landscape.html.

This is a newspaper article published by the New York Times on Jan. 31, 1987 regarding the importance of Park Jong Chul death. Proving that Park Jong Chul's death was not isolated, was a sign to citizens that there was a fundamental issue in South Korea's government. I used this on the June Struggle page of my website to highlight the importance of his death.

"Crisis Management: Occupation of USIS in South Korea, 1985." *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, 16 Mar. 2018, adst.org/2017/02/crisis-management-occupation-usis-south-korea-1985/.

I used a quote from this source by Thomas P. Harry Dunlop, a political counselor at the United States Information Services in the Aftermath page of my website. I used this quote discussing the student reactions to the United States involvement to demonstrate how people remember the Gwangju Uprising even after May 27.

Ellis, Ralph. "Protesters across Globe Rally for Women's Rights." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 22 Jan. 2017, www.cnn.com/2017/01/21/politics/womens-march-wrap/index.html.

This article provided me with an image of people protesting for women's rights. I used this recent protest, because of how large it was and how it is ongoing today. The women's rights movement began in 1848 and is still fought for today. This image demonstrates how protests may be slow to cause change over time, similar to the long struggle for democracy after the Gwangju Uprising.

Email interview with Donald Kirk, February 7, 2019.

I interviewed Donald Kirk, a foreign correspondent in Seoul during the time of the uprising after I discovered his name among many articles I had read and I was able to contact him. Due to being in Seoul during the Gwangju Uprising, he was not able to witness the uprising, I ask him about the censorship in South Korea. He explained to me that while South Korea was strictly censored, foreign correspondents were not restricted, this surprised me as I expected the Gwangju Uprising would have been more well known if outside of Korea it was not censored.

Email communications with May 18th Foundation, January 28, 2019.

While there was no email on the May 18 Memorial Foundation website, I was able to find

the email of a smaller branch of the May 18 Organization. They gratefully directed me towards Jeong-hwa Hong, an archivist of the collection of primary sources at the May 18 Memorial Foundation. She directed me towards documentaries containing films of the Gwangju Uprising, which I used on the Gwangju Uprising and May 20-27 page of my website.

Email interview with Kim Newton, March 3, 2019.

I originally contact Kim Newton in order to receive permission to use his images on my website, however, because he was there to witness the event, I was given the opportunity to ask him some questions regarding the June Struggle. Many of my questions regarded the spirit of the protests, what the protesters were fighting for, and why they were fighting for it. He also helped me sum up the importance of the June Struggle.

Email communications with Matt VanVolkenburg, January 24 and February 7, 2019.

I received assistance from Matt VanVolkenburg when I located his extensive research on the Gwangju Uprising on his website, Guest of Popular Feelings. He emailed me and directed me towards a multitude of articles, written testimony, and documents personally given to him by Peace Corp volunteers that witnessed the Gwangju Uprising. He also answered many of my questions on how the 12:12 Insurrection shifted power towards Chun Doo-hwan, resulting in the Gwangju Uprising.

“The Ghosts of the Gwangju Uprising.” *Making Contact Radio*, 16 Feb. 2018,
www.radioproject.org/2017/09/ghosts-gwangju-uprising/.

This is a transcript of an interview of Lee Yoon Jung, President of the May Women's Association and Ahn Sung Rye, Nurse Superior at Gwangju Gidok Hospital during the Gwangju Uprising. I used Ahn Sung Rye's quote to describe the community that was built around the liberated Gwangju and how they helped one another on, this quote was used on the May 20-27 page of my website. I used a quote by Lee Yoon Jung to describe what Seoul Spring was, the period after Park Chung-hee's death, this quote was used in the Yushin Order page of my website.

"1980 Gwangju: A photo exhibition to the democracy movement in South Korea." The May 18 Memorial Foundation, 2016, www.koreaverband.de/downloads/.

This is a pamphlet created by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. This pamphlet is a photo exhibition of the Gwangju Uprising in chronological order. This pamphlet helped me date the images I used from this pamphlet and similar images I found on other websites. Because this pamphlet was released by the May 18 Memorial Foundation, I was able to find images that were not found online due to their extensive archives. I used these images on the May 20-27 pages of my website.

"Gwangju Presente! | MONEY DOESN't TALK, IT SWEARS." *Timshorrock.com*. N. p., 17,
May 2019. <http://timshorrock.com/2018/05/17/gwangju-presente/>.

This source provided me with many images of the early protests and the protests that occurred on May 20 on Gunnam Street. I used these images on the Gwangju Uprising and May 20-27 page of my website. These images showed that the beginning protests in Gwangju were small and primary composed of students. Then on the May 20-27 page of my website, the images it shows the dramatic increase and diversity of people after martial law was announced the student protesters were suppressed.

“Gwangju: Preserving the Vicious Nature of Martial Law, 1980.” *MONEY DOESN'T TALK, IT SWEARS*,
timshorrock.com/2016/05/31/gwangju-preserving-the-vicious-nature-of-military-rule-1980
/.

This article contains images of a recreated and preserved prison in Gwangju, a prison where arrested political dissents, student leaders, and protesters were sent off to during the Gwangju Uprising. It helped me understand what the arrested were put through and demonstrates how human rights were severed. While I didn't include these images on my website, I used these sources to provide me context to write from.

HENRY SCOTT STOKES Special to The New York Times. “7 Top Generals Are Held in Seoul

Military Power Struggle Is Seen Seven Key South Korean Generals Being Held in Seoul.”

The New York Times, The New York Times, 14 Dec. 1979,

www.nytimes.com/1979/12/14/archives/7-top-generals-are-held-in-seoul-military-power-struggle-is-seen.html.

This article published by the New York Times highlights the generals that held power after Park Chung-hee’s death. This article was published after the 12:12 Insurrection and shows how South Korea’s military was becoming involved in Korea’s political matters, this would later lead to the usage of military forces and martial law to suppress student demonstrators under the command of Chun Doo-hwan.

HENRY SCOTT STOKES Special to The New York Times. “Chun Formally Picked as

President In One-Candidate Election in Seoul; Hopes for Democracy Are Faint.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 27 Aug. 1980,

www.nytimes.com/1980/08/27/archives/chun-formally-picked-as-president-in-onecandidate-election-in-seoul.html.

I used the headlines from this New York Times article to explain how the Gwangju Uprising was a tragedy, with the election of Chun Doo-Hwan, a political figure similar to Park Chung-hee. I used this image on the Aftermath page of my website.

HENRY SCOTT STOKES; Special to The New York Times. “Korea's Generals Said to Agree to

Scrap Constitution Powers Were Formidable A 3-Month Freeze Power Brokers Seem Doomed Show of Solidarity.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 2 Nov. 1979, www.nytimes.com/1979/11/02/archives/koreas-generals-said-to-agree-to-scrap-constitution-powers-were.html.

This New York Times article was published a week after Park Chung-hee’s assassination, a politically turbulent time when many politicians pursued to dissolve the Yushin Constitution. I used a quote from this article to describe what the Yushin Constitution was and the amount of power it provided Park Chung-hee.

Haslett, Cheyenne. “Dreamers Protest on Capitol Hill on DACA Deadline Day.” ABC News, ABC News Network, 5 Mar. 2018, abcnews.go.com/Politics/dreamers-protest-capitol-hill-daca-deadline-day/story?id=535392

62

I used an image that depicted a crowd of people protesting the repeal of DACA, provided by this ABC News article. I used this on my Conclusion page as an example of one of many recent protests that were carried out to express the public's dissatisfaction with the repeal.

“Hong Kong Edition.” *South China Morning Post*, South China Morning Post, 20 July 2018, www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/1948476/i-saw-death-his-eyes-decades-later-re

porter-haunted-hero-bloody.

This article by the South China Morning Post provided me with interviews with American foreign correspondents that witnessed the Gwangju Uprising. This source provided me with images of troops dragging away the bodies of a killed protester on the final day of the uprising, May 27. I used this image on the May 20-27 page of my website.

“How Do You Solve a Problem like (South) Korea?” *National Security Archive*,
nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/korea/2017-06-01/how-do-you-solve-problem-south-korea

This source is a collection of declassified U.S documents regarding the status quo of South Korea’s political state during 1979 and 1980. I struggled to find Korean government documents, so these were very useful. I used a South Korea situation report created on Oct. 26, 1979, in order to provide the details of Park Chung-hee assassination, to the extent of the U.S’s knowledge. I also used a report created by Ambassador Gleysteen to provide me insight on the 12:12 Insurrection as well as the perception of the coup through the U.S. I used these documents on the Yushin Order and Political Upheaval page of my website.

“Hutchinson News Newspaper Archives, Oct 29, 1979, p. 54.” *NewspaperArchive*, A J, 29 Oct. 1979, newspaperarchive.com/hutchinson-news-oct-29-1979-p-54/.

This newspaper archive allowed me to uncover an article written by the Hutchinson News.

This newspaper focuses on who would succeed Park Chung-hee after his death, which was important for my Political Upheaval page. I wanted to highlight the struggle of power between different parties and the military after the demise of Park Chung-hee's tight grasped rule.

iminju79. “한국민주화운동사 - The Dynamic Development of Korean Democracy.” *YouTube*, YouTube, 10 May 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlCL9fiVgsc.

This documentary was created by the Korea Democracy Foundation. This documentary covers the development of democracy in Korea beginning with the establishment of the Republic of Korea (1945) to the declaration of direct elections (1987). This provided me with a recorded source of events and I used a declaration of direct elections by Roh Tae-woo on my June Struggle page.

“The inside Story of the Park Chung Hee Killing.” *Korea JoongAng Daily*, koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=3011054.

This article interviews Kim Jong-pil, a prime minister, regarding his conversations with Kim Gye-won and Kim Jae-gyu before the dinner of Park Chung-hee's assassination. I used this quote spoken by Kim Jae-gyu to establish that his annoyance with how Park Chung-hee handled the protests in Busan and Masan. This would lead to the assassination

of Park later that day.

JAMES P. STERBA Special to The New York Times. "Park Foe Calls for Korea Election Bids U.S. Keep Army Out of Vote Chief Park Critic Calls for Election Bids U.S. Keep Army Out of Vote United Press International." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 3 Nov. 1979, www.nytimes.com/1979/11/03/archives/park-foe-calls-for-korea-election-bids-us-keep-army-out-of-vote.html.

This New York Times article was written on Nov. 3, 1979, soon after Park Chung-hee's assassination. This article quotes Kim Dae Jung and his thoughts on what subsequent steps needed to be taken after Park Chung-hee's death. I used this quote on the Political Upheaval page of my website to show South Korea's need for U.S support towards liberalization to prevent the military from intervening in politics especially during this politically turbulent time.

JAMES P. STERBA Special to The New York Times. "TOUGH STEPS TAKEN BY SEOUL TO QUELL STUDENTS' PROTESTS; MARTIAL LAW POWER WIDENED Campuses Are Closed, Censorship Set and Gatherings Curbed -- Critics of Regime Seized Meeting Stormed by Riot Police South Korea Acts to Curb Protests." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 18 May 1980, www.nytimes.com/1980/05/18/archives/tough-steps-taken-by-seoul-to-quell-students-prot

ests-martial-law.html.

This New York Time article was published on May 18, 1980, the day martial law was declared to the entire nation. I used the headlines of this article on the Political Upheaval page of my website in order to show that there were other students outside of Gwangju protesting in South Korea. I also used this article to explain how the Gwangju Uprising did not become a nation-wide protest, as demonstrations in Seoul settled down due to constant student suppression.

Katsiaficas, George N. *Asia's Unknown Uprisings: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century*. PM Press, 2012.

This book was given to me by George Katsiaficas, himself and provided me with many quotes from George Katsiaficas' personal interviews. His book provided me with details of the smaller uprisings such as the Busan and Masan protest, which I struggled to find any information online. I used his quotes on my Yushin Order page to show the brutal quell of students as well as providing an outline of the impressive organization of citizens once Gwangju was liberated.

Katsiaficas, George N. *Asia's Unknown Uprisings: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century*. PM Press, 2012.

This book was sent to me by George Katsiaficas himself. This book was very extensive on the Gwangju Uprising and especially helped me understand how Koreans have used the protest to make major political changes, for example, the exemption of Syngman Rhee during the April Revolution. It gave me specific statistics to implement into my website and explained how the Gwangju citizens were organized when Gwangju was liberated.

“Key Witness Testifies That DSC Commander Chun Doo-Hwan Was Responsible for the Decision to Open Fire on Citizens in May 18 Movement.” *Income Inequality in South Korea the Most Severe in Asia : National : News : The Hankyoreh*,
http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/844358.html.

This article was direct to me by Matt VanVolkenburg. This was published by the Hankyoreh and quotes Heo Jang-hwan, an investigator with the Gwangju 505 Security Unit during the Gwangju Uprising. I used this article to substantiate the orders that the military forces in Gwangju were given. The order that they were to open fire on the citizens by the presentation of live ammunition on May 27. The quote was used on the May 20-27 page of my website.

Kim Newton, www.kimnewton.com/south-korea/south-korean-democracy-movement/.

These are pictures that capture South Korea's Democracy Movement by Kim Newton, which I received permission from Kim Newton to use within my website. I used images

that highlighted the strength of the protesters and the length they would go for democracy such as burning the gear of riot control and the usage of Molotov cocktails. I also used images that portrayed the campaigns of the three main candidates of the 1987 election, Kim Dae Jung, Kim Young-sam, and Roh Tae-woo. These images were on the June Struggle page of my website.

Kim Newton, www.kimnewton.com/south-korea/south-korea-impeachment-2017/.

These pictures show the protests people engaged in to impeach Park Geun-Hye in 2017. These were captured by Kim Newton, which I had received permission to use on my site. I wanted to show the relevance of the Gwangju Uprising today by showing that large scale protests have been used to make massive changes in South Korea's government in order to quell authoritarianism and preserve democracy. I used these images on the Conclusion page of my website.

“Korea Has Reformed Its Electoral System.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 25 May 1985,
www.nytimes.com/1985/05/25/opinion/l-korea-has-reformed-its-electoral-system-003835.html.

This article was published by the New York Times in 1985. It quotes Sung Il Choi criticizing the democratic system in South Korea. Especially pointing out the flaws in the

Yushin Constitution and how it does not serve the people. I used this quote to show how Park Chung-hee manipulated the constitution to ensure him a long term presidency and gain power.

Koreatimes. "How Korea's Democracy Grows: 1987 Vs 2017 [PHOTOS]." *Koreatimes*, 8 June 2017, www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2017/10/356_230844.html.

This article provided me with an image that compares downtown Seoul today to Seoul during the June Struggle. I used this image on my Conclusion page to show the progression that South Korea has made in multiple ways; economically, security-wise, in relations, and democratically.

Koreatimes. "Korea's History of Arrested Ex-Presidents." *Koreatimes*, 30 Mar. 2017, www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2017/03/356_226661.html.

I used an image of Roh Tae-woo and Chun Doo-hwan on trial on Aug. 26, 1996, and a quote by Roh Tae-woo, taking the responsibility for the brutal suppression during the uprising. I used these sources on the Conclusion page of my website to show that some justice was served to the families of victims.

"Kwangju Declassified/Pdfs Of Key Documents | MONEY DOESN't TALK, IT SWEARS."
Timshorrock.com. N. p., 2019.

<http://timshorrock.com/documents/korea-the-cherokee-files-part-one/kwangju-declassified-pdfs-of-key-documents/>

Tim Shorrock is an investigative journalist in East Asia Politics and the U.S foreign policy. On his blog, he released many unclassified FOIA documents and Cherokee files, a code name for the Gwangju Uprising. I used State FOIA #5, a summary of South Korea's political situation written by Gleysteen on May 17, to prove that the United States was aware of the deployment of military forces to suppress students and had made an agreement to not intervene.

Kwangju Turmoil: Facts vs. Rumors. Korean Overseas Information Service, 1980

This book was given to me by Matt VanVolkenburg, which he received from a Peace Corp volunteer that witness the uprising. It is a collection of lies and quotes that the government published and are not facts at all. I used a quote released by the press on my website to compare how the protesters in the Gwangju Uprising are portrayed by the government versus how the protesters actually acted.

Lee, Jae-eui, et al. *Gwangju Diary: beyond Death, beyond the Darkness of the Age.* May 18 Memorial Foundation, 2017.

I used a quote from this book on the Political Upheaval page of my website. This was

written by Lee Jae-eui a Chonnam University student during the Gwangju Uprising. I used a quote of him describing the spirit of the early protests that had begun in Seoul. It is also important for the reader to understand that early protests were composed primarily of students to show how it grew.

Love, Elizabeth. "I'm a Teenager. And I'm Fed up with Adults' Excuses for Weak Gun Laws." "

Vox.com, Vox Media, 21 Feb. 2018,

www.vox.com/first-person/2018/2/20/17032364/parkland-florida-school-shooting-teens-protests.

This article provided me with an image of a recent protest to improve gun laws due to the Parkland shooting and the deaths that occurred during that event. I used this image in my Conclusion page as an example of a protest that erupted from the death of individuals, similar to the June Struggle. The protests for gun reforms is also a triumph and tragedy in of itself.

The May 18 Memorial Foundation. *May 18th: South Korea's democracy movement - a chronicle*.

The May 18 Memorial Foundation, 2016, p.154. KoreaVerband,

www.koreaverband.de/downloads/.

This booklet was released by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. It provided me with images of the early protests and captions that provided context to each image. I used many

images that express the community that was built around the uprising. On the May 20-27 page of my website I used an image of the Citizen Army, the distribution of arms, hospital staff treating the wounded, and food being made and shared with one another. These images well captured the triumphs of the Gwangju Uprising.

The May 18th History Compilation Committee of Gwangju City. Photographic Records of the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising. Gwangju: 2007. Print.

I used images of students protesting in the USIS and setting smoke bombs within the building on the Aftermath of the page of my website to show the student bitter attitudes to the United States and how the situation in Gwangju was handled. This pamphlet contained photographic records archived and released by the May 18th Memorial Foundation.

The May 18 Memorial Foundation. "광주mbc 518기념재단 공동기획 다큐멘터리 518."

This documentary was given to me by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. These are archived films taken by foreign correspondents during the Gwangju Uprising. I used these films to show the clashes between demonstrators and the military forces each day of the uprising and the sorrow it brought to people. These clips were used on the Gwangju Uprising page of my website. This documentary also provided me with the ranks of the military forces sent.

The May 18 Memorial Foundation. "유네스코가 말하는 518의 진실."

This documentary was given to me by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. This was translated to English, regarding the actions taken to preserve the Gwangju Uprising and its aftermath. This documentary helped me sculpt the conclusion page of my website. This documentary also provided me with a quote by Kim Gil-ja, a parent and protester during the time. I used this quote on the May 20-27 page in order to explain why the populace had begun to join the protest.

“Michigan to Halt Aid to Flint, Ceasing Distribution of Bottled Water.” *The Hill News*, 5 Oct.

2018,

thehillnews.org/news/nichollegotham/michigan-halt-aid-flint-ceasing-distribution-bottled-water.

This article provided me with an image of protesters opposing Michigan discontinuing aid through bottle water to Flint. I placed this image on the Conclusion page of my website as an example of recent protests.

National Geographic Society. “MapMaker 1-Page Maps.” *National Geographic Society*,

National Geographic,

www.nationalgeographic.org/education/mapping/outline-map/?map=South_Korea.

This source is an image of South Korea’s peninsula that notes important locations

pertaining to my history topics: Busan, Masan, Seoul, and Gwangju. I then manually gave emphasis to Busan, Masan, and Gwangju on the map located on the Yushin Order page to aid the reader in the geographical range of the protests.

National Museum of Korean Contemporary History. "Construction plan overview of the national key expressway." Economy & Industry >> Construction (Civil Engineering), 2014004811.
<http://www.much.go.kr/en/user/contentView.do>

This a construction plan for a national expressway provided by the archives of the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History. This image exemplifies the increasing economic development throughout Park Chung-hee's presidential regime. I used this image on the Yushin Order page of my website because this image shows the focus of economic development over liberalization.

National Museum of Korean Contemporary History. "Official guide map for the venues of the Seoul Olympic Games for distinguished guests." Culture & Art >> Sports, 2014004359.
<http://www.much.go.kr/en/user/contentView.do>

This is a guide map given to distinguished guest during the 1988 Seoul Olympics. I used this image on the June Struggle page of my website in order to provide context on the importance the Seoul Olympics had on South Korea's Democracy Movement and how the Olympics lead to direct elections.

newstapa. “뉴스타파 목격자들 - 5.18 사라진 사람들.” *YouTube*, YouTube, 29 Dec. 2017,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=32sLhiEppjU.

This documentary published by Newtapa covers the Gwangju Uprising and quotes Kim Gil Geo, a protester during the uprising and provided me with images of the uprising. These quotes were also translated from Korean. I used this source to show how brutally the protesters were suppressed, from being loaded onto trucks to be buried in mass graves and being tied up to be sent to prison. This source was used on the Gwangju Uprising page of my website.

“The Nobel Peace Prize 2000.” *Nobelprize.org*,
www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2000/dae-jung/biographical/.

I used an image of Kim Dae Jung on the Gwangju Uprising page of my website. I used his portrait to familiarize the reader to who Kim Dae Jung, which is relevant to his arrest on May 18. It also helps them recognize his position in 1979 and then his presidential campaign in 1987 to once again show the growth of democratic politicians.

“OPEN ARCHIVES.” *오픈아카이브*, db.kdemocracy.or.kr/contents/view/252.

This source provided me with martial law guidelines for May 17. I used this image on my

Gwangju Uprising page to prove that there were direct instructions for military deployment and martial law to be imposed. These instructions would cause the opposition of student leaders asking to lift martial law and would slowly escalate to clashes between the residents of Gwangju and the military.

Oberdorfer, Don, and Robert Carlin. *The Two Koreas: a Contemporary History*. Basic Books, 2014.

I used this book primarily as a secondary source, this book was helpful in developing a complex political perspective to South Korea's Democracy Movement. I used a quote from Chun Doo-hwan on the June Struggle page of my website. This quote shows that Chun Doo-hwan was willing to allow direct elections, however, the difficulties he had with exchanging political power to the populace.

“Park Chung-Hee Unlawfully Sent Airborne Troops to Quash Bu-Ma Democratic Movement.”

Income Inequality in South Korea the Most Severe in Asia : National : News : The Hankyoreh, english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/833067.html.

In this source, I used an image of military forces sent by Park Chung-hee to suppress the protests in Busan and Masan on my Yushin Order page. I used this image to show how Park Chung-hee dealt with political protesters. This is important to understand how Park Chung-hee dealt with these protests because of the head of KCIA, Kim Jae Gyu's

disagreement with him lead to Park's assassination.

“Park Geun-Hye's Presidential Impeachment Verdict Looms.” *The Washington Times*, The Washington Times, 9 Mar. 2017, www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/mar/9/park-geun-hye-south-korea-president-impeachment-ve/.

I used an image of demonstrators supporting the impeachment of the Park Geun-Hye. I used this image on my Conclusion page to show the correlation between the protesters in 1979 and 1987 to the one in 2017 to rid South Korea of those that abuse power. I also felt this image of demonstrators holding candles is reminiscent of the candlelight/torch marches during May 16, which can be found on the Gwangju Uprising page of my website.

Pike, John. “Military.” *Texas Revolution*, www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rok/president-kim-young-sam.htm.

I used an image of Kim Young-sam on the Gwangju Uprising page of my website. I used this image so the reader was familiar with Kim Young-sam an important politician during the time. This image of him along with his arrest on May 17 shows the progress of South Korea's political situation as Kim Young-sam becomes one of the main candidates for the 1987 election.

“8 Protests That Are Changing the World Right Now.” *Global Citizen*,

www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/8-protests-changing-the-world-now/.

This article provided me with images of recent protests outside of the United States and the changes being made because of them had. I used these images on the Conclusion page of my website. These protests present parallels to the Gwangju Uprising, protesting anti-authoritarianism and starting protests from the death of few.

Sang-hun, Choe. “South Korea Removes President Park Geun-Hye.” *The New York Times*, The

New York Times, 10 Mar. 2017,

www.nytimes.com/2017/03/09/world/asia/park-geun-hye-impeached-south-korea.html.

The sources provided me with images of people celebrating the impeachment of Park Geun-Hye and it quotes Ahn Byong-jin, rector of the Global Academy of Future Civilization at Kyung Hee University. She describes the impeachment of Park Geun-Hye as the end of authoritarianism and greed, two prominent issues in 1979, the cause of the Gwangju Uprising. I used this in my Conclusion page to demonstrate the relevance the Gwangju Uprising has in South Korea’s society and the parallels it draws to recent events.

Scott-Stokes, Henry, and Jai-eui Lee. *The Kwangju Uprising Eyewitness Press Accounts of*

Korea's Tiananmen. M. E. Sharpe, 2000.

This book contains written testimony by foreign correspondents and Korean reporters that witnessed the Gwangju Uprising. I had originally struggled to find eyewitness testimony in English, but when I reached out to Iowa State University Parks Library, I was able to locate this book. The testimony of Bradley Martin well summarizes the spirit of the Citizens Army, Lee Jae Eui described how the protest grew on May 20, and Norman Thorpe helped visualize the situation in Gwangju on the 27. This book also provided me with maps of the areas of protests and clashes with the military on different days as well as the spread of protests along the Cholla Province. I used these quotes and maps on my May 20-27 page.

Shorrock, Tim. "The Gwangju Uprising and American Hypocrisy: One Reporter's Quest for Truth and Justice in Korea." *The Nation*, 4 May 2017, www.thenation.com/article/kwangju-uprising-and-american-hypocrisy-one-reporters-quest-truth-and-justice-korea/.

I used a mural of liberated Gwangju provided in this article as the first image that is seen on May 20-27. I used this mural because it shows the joy and community that is expressed, however it also captures the somber looks of some, aware that military forces would return. I also used an image of thousands of protesters holding the Korean flag in Province Square as the first image on the website as the first image seen on my website, which was from the May 18 Memorial Foundation. This image provides the reader with an idea of what my

history topic is about.

“South Korea GDP per Capita.” *Kenya Government Debt to GDP | 1960-1980 | Data | Chart | Calendar*, TRADING ECONOMICS, tradingeconomics.com/south-korea/gdp-per-capita.

I used a table of South Korea’s GDP from 1960-1980. I used this table in the Yushin Order page of my website to visually demonstrate the rapid economic growth that occurred during Park Chung-hee’s presidency. I pointed out this economic growth to explain how economic growth was the focus of Park Chung-hee’s regime.

“South Korea Discovers Soldiers Raped Women in 1980 pro-Democracy Protest.” UPI, UPI, 31 Oct. 2018, www.upi.com/South-Korea-discovers-soldiers-raped-women-in-1980-pro-democracy-protest/3271540965749/.

I used this as a primary and secondary source. It contained an image of many military troops surrounding and beating a citizen. I used this image on my May 20-27 page to show the extent that the military took to suppress the protesters and the number of troops that took over the streets of Gwangju.

Stateline. “#MeToo Movement Has Lawmakers Talking About Consent.” *The Huffington Post*, [TheHuffingtonPost.com](https://www.huffpost.com), 24 Jan. 2018,

www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/metoo-movement-has-lawmakers-talking-about-consent_us_5a6758dfe4b06bd14be5067f.

I used an image of demonstrators marching in support of the #MeToo movement on my Conclusion page as an example of a recent protest. This recent protest also has caused lawmakers to reconsider consent, this protest, similar to the Gwangju Uprising, was also creating change and beginning conversations.

Szczepanski, Kallie. "The History of the Gwangju Massacre in South Korea." *Thoughtco.*, Dotdash, 23 Jan. 2019, www.thoughtco.com/the-gwangju-massacre-1980-195726.

I used this as a primary and secondary source. I utilized an image of tied up protesters being led away by the military to show the visual exhaustion of the protesters and how they succumbed to the military after a 10-day long uprising.

"Tank Man | 100 Photographs | The Most Influential Images of All Time." *Time*, Time, 100photos.time.com/photos/jeff-widener-tank-man.

This is a famous image named tank man, it is of a man standing in front of a line of tanks during the Tiananmen Square massacre. The Tiananmen Square massacre was China's democracy movement in 1989, however, it was halted due to the amount of military suppression ordered by the government. I used this image because the Gwangju Uprising

and its successes may have inspired democracy movements to surrounding Asian countries. China's democracy movement was not successful but similar to the Gwangju Uprising, it may just be gaining people's spirits and desires for change. I used this image on the Conclusion page of my website.

Totenberg, Nina. "In Intense Arguments, Supreme Court Appears Ready To Side With Trump On Travel Ban." *NPR*, NPR, 25 Apr. 2018, www.npr.org/2018/04/25/604477703/the-supreme-court-s-grand-finale-trump-s-travel-ban

I used an image of demonstrators opposing the Travel Ban, proposed by Donald Trump, on the Conclusion page of my website. I used this protest as an example of a recent successful protest. The dissatisfaction expressed by the protesters prevented a Travel Ban from being enacted.

Translation and Informal Interview with Jungsue Kwon

I had asked my Mother to assist me in translating signs and banners that were held up during the protest to provide context to the reader. I used her help to translate the banners held up on the Gwangju page of my website. She also helped translate some of the video clips of Gwangju to ensure that I had the correct understanding of what was being said. While I did not formally interview her, she provided me with the historical context that

helped me build my website. For example, in the early protests, many people were wearing dotted/leopard print clothing, she told me that those were a common student uniform. This helped me conclude and enforce that fact that many of the earlier protests were composed of students.

Wickham, John Adams. *Korea on the Brink: from the "12/12 Incident" to the Kwangju Uprising, 1979-1980*. National Defense University Press, 1999.

This book provided me with a quote released by Choi Kyu Hah which I used on the Gwangju Uprising page of my website. This quote shows why Choi Kyu Hah had placed martial law on the entire nation and it helped me understand how the government perceived the protesters.

Wilson Center Digital Archive. *Wilson Center Digital Archive*,
digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/122098.

Wilson Center Digital Archives provided me with U.S political reports during the Gwangju Uprising. These included transcribed discussion regarding how the Gwangju Uprising should be handled, while I did not place any of these documents on my website, I used these documents to understand the U.S did not want South Korea to become another “Iran Crisis” by meddling in their political affairs.

“60 Years of the Republic: The Yushin Constitution.” *The Chosun Ilbo (English Edition): Daily News from Korea - Business/Sci-Tech > Business*,
english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/08/28/2008082861026.html.

This article by the Chosun Ilbo provided me with an image of Park Chung-hee being inaugurated for the eighth time, which was the same year the Yushin Constitution was promulgated. I had a very difficult time find any primary sources regarding the Yushin Constitution, but I think this images along with the context that it was Park Chung-hee’s eighth inauguration demonstrates how his long term regime that helped him acquire power.

“택시운전사 그 장면 진짜네!...5·18 참상 알린 힌츠페터 기록전.” *SBS NEWS*, SBS뉴스, 10 Aug. 2017, news.sbs.co.kr/news/endPage.do?news_id=N1004339247.

These images were given to SBS News by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. I used multiple images from this source to capture the tragedies of the Gwangju Uprising. This includes the images of piles of dead bodies, protesters kneeling on the cement, and people arrested at gunpoint. This helped me communicate a direct link between military forces and the death of protests.

“진실' 끝내 묻어둔채...최규하 전 대통령 별세.” *한겨레*, 22 Oct. 2006,
www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/bluehouse/166433.html.

This source contained an image of Chun Doo-hwan being promoted. I used this image on the political upheaval page in order to visually show how the 12:12 Insurrection allowed Chun Doo-hwan to gain more power, this is essential to understand how he gained the authority to understand how he deployed military forces to Gwangju.

“1980년 인권기록유산 5·18 광주 민주화운동 기록물 | 유네스코와 유산.” *유네스코와유산*, heritage.unesco.or.kr/mows/human-rights-documentary-heritage-1980-archives-for-the-may-18th-democratic-uprising-against-military-regime-in-gwangju/.

This source contains images taken during the Gwangju Uprising and released by the UNESCO World Record Heritage. I used an image of citizens transferring a wounded protester to safety. I used this image on the May 20-27 page of my website in order to show how the citizens helped one another.

“[12·12 군사 반란 33년]한국대선, 다시 그날이후 유신잔당 回歸.” *데일리메일*, dailymail.kr/news/article.html?no=5507.

This source provided me with an image of Chun Doo-hwan, announcing his uncoverings when investigating Park Chung-hee's assassination. It is important to understand the Chun Doo-hwan was the head of the investigation looking into Park Chung-hee's assassination because this allowed him to arrest those with enough power that could oppose him, which

would be the case in the 12:12 Insurrection.

“[민주화운동기념사업회]오늘의 사진 - 10.26사태로 비상계엄령이 내려진 가운데 중앙청 앞에 배치된 탱크와 계엄군의 모습이 중앙청의 위용을 누리는 듯 보인다.”

민주화운동기념사업회, www.kdemo.or.kr/photo/105/00711168#.

This source contains a gallery of tanks and troops stationed around South Korea and in the everyday life of civilians after martial law was declared. This is helpful to understand the type of martial law that was declared after the death of Park Chung-hee. I used these image on my Political Upheaval page.

“[시대의 기억] 12·12 쿠데타의 주역들.” *한국일보*, 11 Dec. 2014,

www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/201412111997728238.

This article included a commemorative photo taken by Chun Doo-hwan and the graduating class of Korea’s Military Academy. I used this image on the Political Upheaval to show the members of those that assisted the 12:12 Insurrection and the number of people that partook in this illegal surge of power.

민주화운동기념사업회 . “6월항쟁 공식홈페이지.” *6월항쟁 30주년*,

www.610.or.kr/610/about.

This article by the 6.10 Organization provided me with an image of a protester holding the Korean flag during the June Struggle. I used this image on the June Struggle page of my website. This image captured the spirit of protests.

“부마민주항쟁 국가기념일 10월16일 지정 추진에 합의.” *한겨레*, 21 Sept. 2018,

www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/863145.html.

This article by the Korean Hankyoreh provided me with an image of tanks stationed around citizens during the Busan and Masan protest. I used this image on the Yushin Order page of my website. Deployed tanks and military forces were used to suppress the Busan and Masan protest, which demonstrates how Park Chung-hee dealt with the protest and how it lead to his assassination.

“자동등록방지를 위해 보안절차를 거치고 있습니다.” *518.Org*,

www.518.org/sub.php?PID=030003&page=&category=&searchText=&searchType=&action=Read&idx=9.

This article written by the May 18 Memorial Foundation quotes instructions given to the military force in handling the protests in Gwangju on the 19th day of May. I used this quote on the Gwangju Uprising part of my website to explain how military forces were told to approach the protests and despite the orders to not be fatal, it explains how the situation had escalated to become as violent as it did.

“6월항쟁 이브, 역사를 뒤바꾼 사진 한 장.” 표표스스, 15 June 2018, ppss.kr/archives/22304.

I used an image of a demonstrator holding a portrait of Park Jong Chul with several others around him on my June Struggle page. I used this image to show how the death of Park Jong Chul increased the turnout of people that rallied around to memorialize and fight for his death.

“자동등록방지를 위해 보안절차를 거치고 있습니다.” *Eng.518.Org*,

<http://eng.518.org/sub.php?PID=0403&page=3&category=&searchText=&searchType=&action=Read&idx=329&ckattempt=1>

The May 18 Memorial Foundation website provided me with images of block prints which were created by Hong Sung Dam, a Korean artist. These block prints depict the candlelight/torch march that citizens participated in during the Gwangju Uprising. Candlelights and torches were used to metaphorically castaway Park Chung-hee's authoritative regime. I used this block print on the thesis page of my website.

Secondary Sources

Constitution of the Republic of Korea < Resources < The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea, korea.assembly.go.kr/int/his_09.jsp.

This source summarizes the 9th National Assembly during 1973-1979, the most politically turbulent of Park Chung-hee's presidency. I used this document to give me context on the reaction by the National Assembly by the promulgation of the Yushin Constitution.

DeSilver, Drew. "U.S. Trails Most Developed Countries in Voter Turnout." *Pew Research Center*, Pew Research Center, 21 May 2018, www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/05/21/u-s-voter-turnout-trails-most-developed-countries/.

I used this graph of all countries voter turnout and noted that South Korea had an impressive voter turnout at 77%, while the United States had a comparatively much lower voter turnout. I used this graph on the Conclusion page of my website to highlight how far South Korea's democracy has come and how much its citizens prioritize their right to vote.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chun Doo Hwan." *Encyclopædia Britannica*,

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 14 Jan. 2019,
www.britannica.com/biography/Chun-Doo-Hwan.

This source published by Encyclopaedia Britannica, helped me understand what role Chun Doo-hwan had in South Korea and how he gained political power after Park Chung-hee's assassination. It was important for me to understand Chun Doo-hwan's political power to explain how Chun Doo-hwan received to authority to order the deployment of troops.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Park Chung Hee." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 24 Oct. 2018,
www.britannica.com/biography/Park-Chung-Hee.

This article published by Encyclopaedia Britannica summarized how Park Chung-hee ruled during his long-term presidency and the extent of his repressive rule. This article helped me conclude that Park Chung-hee ruled authoritatively. I used this source as a starting point to understand how Park Chung-hee was assassinated and create a timeline of events during his presidency.

"Gwangju Asian Human Rights Folk School." *Eyewitness Testimony of David Dolinger*,
518folkschool.blogspot.com/2005/11/eyewitness-testimony-of-david-dolinger.html.

This is a testimony written by David Dolinger, an eyewitness of the Gwangju Uprising,

published by Gwangju Asian Human Rights Folk School. This testimony provided me with the exact time and date when the military began to suppress the protesters as well as how they were suppressed based upon what David Dolinger witnessed.

Han, Chong-suk. "Kwangju Uprising." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 11 May 2018, www.britannica.com/event/Kwangju-Uprising.

This article published by Encyclopedia Britannica was one of the first articles that provided me with in-depth details about the Gwangju Uprising and provided me with enough information to begin further research. This source also helped me understand the significance of the Gwangju Uprising how it became a pivotal event for democracy though it was not successful.

Herald. "U.S. Half-Heartedly Accepted 1979 Military Coup." *The Korea Herald*, 11 Dec. 2012, www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20121211000801.

This article was published by The Korea Herald. This article quotes an interview with Cho Jung-kwan, a Korean Politics professor at Chonnam University as well as John A. Wickham, a Commander of the United States Forces in Korea. It was very difficult for me to find articles that explained what occurred during the 12:12 Insurrection, so this article helped me understand how the arrest of Chung Seung-hwan lead to Chun Doo-hwan seizing power and why it was detrimental for his political figure in South Korea and in the

United States.

“Human Rights Documentary Heritage 1980 Archives for the May 18th Democratic Uprising against Military Regime, in Gwangju, Republic of Korea.” *MOWCAP ARCHIVE*, www.mowcaparchives.org/items/show/78?tour=88&index=0.

This summary was published by the Regional Committee for Asia-Pacific Memory of the World which contained the number of people who died, who were arrested, and who were wounded. I used this published static rather than others because I wanted to ensure that the quantity of damage caused by the Gwangju Uprising was coming from a reliable and accurate source.

Im, Hyug-Baeg, et al. “South Korea.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 4 Apr. 2019, www.britannica.com/place/South-Korea.

This article by Britannica chronologically organized the history of South Korea, economically, politically, and cultural. This article was one of the first I read when I began my research. It helped me create a cause and effect timeline of South Korea's history and narrow down on which historical events I would need to include in my website to help the viewer understand how the Gwangju Uprising occurred.

Kim, Djun Kil. *The History of Korea, 2nd Edition*. ABC-CLIO, 2014.

This book was direct to me by Matt VanVolkenburg and covers the history of Korea beginning at the 8000 B.C.E to 1990. This book provided me with political context on South Korea's Democracy Movement in 1987, especially how Roh Tae-woo won the 1987 election, despite the popularity of a democratic candidate.

Kamiya, Fuji. "The Korean Peninsula after Park Chung Hee." , vol. 20, no. 7, 1980, pp. 744–753. , www.jstor.org/stable/2643926.

This journal article was published by the University of California Press and written by Kamiya Fuji. This journal analyzed how Park Chung-hee's regime has impact South Korea for the best and for the worst. I used this analysis to guide me on how I should represent Park Chung-hee on my website and include his economic successes along with his faults.

Kingston, Jeff. "Dying for Democracy: 1980 Gwangju Uprising Transformed South Korea." *The Japan Times*,
www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/05/17/asia-pacific/politics-diplomacy-asia-pacific/dying-democracy-1980-gwangju-uprising-transformed-south-korea/#.XEbiA4FKi03.

This article was published by the Japan Times. This article provided me with a brief summary of the Gwangju Uprising, but this article, more importantly, provided me with regionalism motivations towards why the Gwangju citizens fought back. Pointing out that

the main political dissents during 1979 and 1980 were from the Cholla Province, for example, Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae Jung. This article also helped me discover an eyewitness foreign correspondent Don Kirk, whom I was able to contact and interview.

Koreatimes. "Assassination of President Park Chung-Hee in 1979." *Koreatimes*, 24 Oct. 2010, www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/special/2012/09/178_75100.html.

This is an article published by Korea Times regarding details of Park Chung-hee's assassination and introduced the motives behinds Kim Jae-kyu's actions. This sources helped me understand that Park Chung-hee was unsatisfied with the inaction of KCIA regarding the anti-government protests in Busan and Masan. I was also given the exact context under which he was killed, during a dinner at the Blue House.

Koreatimes. "How Korea's Democracy Grows: 1987 Vs 2017 [PHOTOS]." *Koreatimes*, 8 June 2017, www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2017/10/356_230844.html.

This is an article published by Korea Times, which I used as a primary source and secondary source. This article was the few English sources I could find regarding the June Struggle. The article also introduced me towards the connection towards the democracy movement during 1987 to the recent impeachment of Park Geun-Hye. It also expressed the importance of the tortured death of Park Jong Chul and the death of Lee Han-yoel. It also gave me insight towards the direct elections that occurred as a result of the movement and

the major candidates during this election.

Koreatimes. "Remembering April 19, 1960 Student Revolution." *Koreatimes*, 16 Apr. 2014, www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2016/05/633_155532.html.

The article was published by Korea Times and summarized key events that lead to the political turmoil in 1979 and 1980. Beginning with the hungry for democracy demonstrated by protesters during the April Revolution, the adverse reactions to the Yushin Constitution and Park Chung-hee's repressive rule, and the Busan and Masan protests that followed in opposition.

Kwangju Turmoil: Facts vs. Rumors. Korean Overseas Information Service, 1980

This book was given to me by Matt VanVolkenburg, which he received from a Peace Corp volunteer that witnessed the uprising. It is a collection of lies that the government published and are all are not facts at all. I used this source to better understand how the government covered up the death of so many uprisings by labeling them as violent North Korean communists.

Lee, Jai-eui. *Kwangju Diary: beyond Death, beyond the Darkness of the Age*. Univ. of California, 1999.

I used this source as a primary and secondary source. This book was written by Lee

Jae-eui and a brief explanation to the relationship between the Citizens of Korea and the actions by politicians, written by East Asia Historian, former chairman of University of Chicago's History department and Washington's reaction to the Gwangju Uprising written by Tim Shorrock. This book captured the specific activities of the students and the day and time of each clash between protesters and the military from May 16 - May 27.

Oberdorfer, Don, and Robert Carlin. *The Two Koreas: a Contemporary History*. Basic Books, 2014.

This book focuses on the relation of North Korea and South Korea, explaining how the threat of North Korea was constantly a looming threat to South Korea and affected decisions made by the Korean government and why they dealt with the Gwangju Uprising how they did. While I didn't include much of North Korea's presence in my website, I included how South Korea used the idea of North Korea and communism to justify their brutal suppression despite there not being any confirmed reports of North Korea infiltration.

Seth, Michael J. "South Korea's Economic Development, 1948–1996." *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, 11 Dec. 2017, oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-271.

This article analyzing South Korea's Economic Development was published by the Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History. This article gave me insight towards the destitute state that the country of South Korea was in economically and how the economy began to take a turn for the better during Park Chung-hee's presidency, this was important to understand how the economic development was prioritized instead of the liberation that the people wanted and was demonstrated in the April Revolution that impeached the prior authoritative president.

Shin, and Kyung Moon. Hwang. *Contentious Kwangju: the May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

This book was given to me by Matt VanVolkenurg and introduced me to new important impacts of the Gwangju Uprising. This book helped me appreciate the less long term triumphs that occurred during the 8 days Gwangju was liberated, how the community was organized, peacefully negotiated with the military, and united to help one another, these smaller triumphs though it did not impact the prosperity of South Korea, was still a triumph in of itself.

Skype interview with George Katsiaficas, January 23, 2019.

George Katsiaficas was the author of "Asia's Unknown Uprising: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century." He was the first person that I interview. So he naturally

explained to me many basic questions I had regarding the motives for the Busan and Masan protests, why the Gwangju Uprising was contained in South Cholla, and why the government gave in to the demands of the protesters in 1987. Mr. Katsiaficas also introduced me to another triumph of the Gwangju Uprising I had not considered, true democracy. During the 6 days Gwangju was liberated, he expressed that the protesters self-governed themselves and practiced democracy without the control of an overseeing government.

Sohn, Donald G. *Chun Doo Hwan's Manipulation of the Kwangju Popular Uprising*. 1998.

I was directed this published thesis by Matt VanVolkenburg, which place the entirety of the blame on Chun Doo-hwan and disagrees with placing the blame on the United States. When I was interviewing a multitude of people, I found that many had varying opinions on the United States and so I had to make a chose on the amount of responsibility I placed on the United States. This thesis aided me to see the amount of damage that was caused by Chun Doo-hwan actions and I tried to balance the responsibilities of the Korean government and the United States, being a democracy influencer and in control many of the forces in South Korea.

“South Korea Discovers Soldiers Raped Women in 1980 pro-Democracy Protest.” *UPI*, UPI, 31

Oct. 2018,

www.upi.com/South-Korea-discovers-soldiers-raped-women-in-1980-pro-democracy-prot

est/3271540965749/.

This article is published by UPI, recently on Oct. 31, 2018. This article reported the recent discovery of rape and sexual assaults committed by the military. This article helped me conclude that victims have only been recently beginning to share their stories and demonstrated the recent actions taken to repair the broken human rights during the Gwangju Uprising.

“South Korean President Vows to Reopen Probe into Gwangju Massacre.” *South China Morning Post*, 20 July 2018,
[www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/2094789/south-korean-president-moon-jae-vo-
ws-reopen-probe-gwangju](http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/2094789/south-korean-president-moon-jae-vo-ws-reopen-probe-gwangju).

This secondary source announced the recent investigations into the Gwangju Uprising announced by South Korea’s current president, Moon Jae-in. This helped me understand that it was only until recently that the Korean government has taken action to clarify and preserve the history of the Gwangju Uprising.

“South Koreans Win Mass Campaign for Democracy, 1986-87.” *Global Nonviolent Action Database*,
nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-koreans-win-mass-campaign-democracy-1986-87.

This article was published by the Global Nonviolent Action Database. This article provided me with statistics on the number of people that participated in South Korea's Democracy Movement and the wide range of people that participate, the Roman Catholic Church, "white collar" (desk workers) groups, and middle class. It also provided me with the organizations that were established in order for democracy to be gained, the New Korea Democratic Party, National Student Coalition for Democracy Struggles, Peoples Movement Coalition for Democracy and Reunification, the New Korea Democratic Party, and the National Movement Headquarters for Democratic Constitution.

"Victims of 1980 Gwangju Uprising Buried Secretly during the Night, Witness Says." *Income Inequality in South Korea the Most Severe in Asia : National : News : The Hankyoreh*, english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/845443.html.

This article was published by The Hankyoreh, it reported the recent attempts to uncover mass graves of the victims of the Gwangju Uprisings. This was the first article I read that gave me insight to one of the many ways that South Korea's government had covered up the brutal quell of protests. This article prompted me to include that many bodies were buried in mass graves and understand that official death count may vary and could be underestimated.

Wickham, John Adams. *Korea on the Brink: from the "12/12 Incident" to the Kwangju Uprising*,

1979-1980. National Defense University Press, 1999.

This book is written by John A. Wickham, the commander of United States forces in South Korea during the 12:12 Insurrection and the Gwangju Uprising. This book gave me insight into the amount of information Washington was aware of and why they did not intervene. This book also provided me with communications between Wickham and important generals such as Chun Doo-hwan, Roh Tae-woo, and Choi Kyu Hah.

“부마민주항쟁 국가기념일 10월16일 지정 추진에 합의.” *한겨레*, 21 Sept. 2018,
www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/863145.html.

This article was written by the Korean Hankyoreh. While I struggled to find English sources about the Busan and Masan protests, I was able to find a couple that was written in Korean. The article gave me basic context on why people protesting in Busan and Masan and how it has recently on Oct. 21, 2018, been memorialized and celebrated to this day.

“자동등록방지를 위해 보안절차를 거치고 있습니다.” *518.Org*,
www.518.org/Mayzine/201606/subpage/sub0402.php?ckattempt=3.

The article was published by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. While I originally had believed that the public outside of South Korea was not aware of the suppression ongoing in Gwangju, the article clarified that people outside of South Korea did indeed recognize

that the brutal treatment and while they may not have known the extent, the photo gallery showed the support people had for the democratization of South Korea.

“자동등록방지를 위해 보안절차를 거치고 있습니다.” *Eng.518.Org*,
eng.518.org/sub.php?PID=0202.

This visual timeline was published by the May 18 Memorial Foundation. This timeline dates the protests going on in Seoul and the number of students protesting. This timeline also helped me realize that the first protests were begun by students of universities throughout Korea. It also allowed helped explain the spread of protests beginning in Seoul to then as the protests gained popularity, spreading to South Cholla and Gwangju.

“페이지 제목.” *대한민국역사박물관*, www.much.go.kr/en/contents.do?fid=03&cid=03_9.

This is a transcript of a documentary covering the progression beginning with the authoritarianism that emerged from Snyman Rhee’s regime to the June Struggle of 1987, released by the Nation Museum of Korea Contemporary History. The quotes by Political Professors from an array of Universities around Korea answered some of my questions regarding how power and distributed in Korea's Government and how the distribution of power change through the years. I used a quote by Kim Yong Ho on the June Struggle page of my website. This transcript lateral structure demonstrates the creation of democratization in South Korea and I used this struct help shape the flow of my website

and the order of the events that occurred.