

INDEX

Page numbers in boldface type refer to illustrations.

Achiume, E. Tenday, 4, 6, 132

Act on Protection and Resettlement Support for the Residents Who Escaped from North Korea,
153

Act on Protection of Returned North Korean Brethren, 152–153, 156

Administrative Court, 113

Aerospace and Defense Exhibition, 167

Afghan evacuees, 1, 65, 130–132; constructing ideal refuge(e)s, 135–139, 166; under South
Korea's subimperial gaze, 134–135; “surrogate militarized labor” as recurring structural
role, 130–132; theater of rescue, 132–134

Afghanistan War, 14; South Korean military involvement in, 16–17

African asylum seekers, 145

Agamben, Giorgio, 4–5, 21, 39, 48, 169–170

Agier, Michel, 38

Albright, Madeleine, 143

Aleinikoff, T. Alexander, 78–79

alienage requirement, 78

Alien Enemies Act (of 1798), 170

All Women's Organization National Security Rally, 65

ambivalent embrace of North Korean “refugees”: and humanitarian imperialism, 142–151;

refugee-migrants in the disenchanted refugee landscape, 152–161; and South Korean

refugee landscape, 140–142

American Kor-Asian Foundation, 44, 193n14

Amin, Samir, 10

Anghie, Antony, 7, 15

appropriation of humanitarian discourse, 20

armistice agreement, 44, 46, 141

8201st Army Unit, 28

Asian asylum seekers, 145; families as tolerable refugees, 122–125

“Asian holocaust,” 120

asylum status determinations: cross-national differences in, 79–80; gender differences in, 80. *See*

also refugee status determination (RSD)

Australia, refugee protection in, 158

Australian tribunal, 158, 159–160

autoethnography, 191–192n9; and negotiated identity, 65–66

Bak Beomgye, 1–2

Balkhi, Abdul Qahar, 17, 132

Bangladesh, asylum seekers from, 194–195n9

bare life (zoē), Korean *pinanmin* as, 5, 20, 21, 38–42, 48, 170. *See also* qualified life (bios),

Korean *pinanmin* as

Bayh, Evan, 146

Behrman, Simon, 77, 115, 167, 168, 193n2 (Interlude)

Betts, Alexander, 85

Bhutan, refugees resettlement in the United States, 149

Biden, Joe, 17, 131

bios/zoē distinction, 5, 21

biracial children of US/ UN soldiers, 34

Blue Dragon (South Korean combat troops), 175, 181

boat people (1978): intrusion tactic, 144–145; public images of, 64; and refugee diplomacy, 56–59; resettlement of, 87–88. *See also* Indochinese refugee crisis; Vietnamese refugees

Bohmer, Carol, 80

Bonjour, Saskia, 195n10

Brazil, as a subempire, 73

Bricmont, Jean, 16

Brown, Winthrop G., 173, 178

Brownback, Sam, 144, 146

“brown savior,” 195n14

burden sharing: civilizational discourse as, 58–59; colonialist structure of, 86; core principle of, 82; designating surrogate refugees, 149–151; geographic expansion as, 92; onto the Global South, 75–76; and resettlement programs, 91–92

bureaucratic objectivity in international refugee regime, 77–83

Bureau of Economic Planning, 175

Bureau of Immigration, 168

Burr, Richard, 147

Busan refugee camps, 63; closure of, 64, 95; Foreigner Reception Center in, 67; LSTs (landing ship tank) in, 52, 53, 67, 68, 95; North Korean refugees in, 32; resettling of Vietnamese refugees in, 57, 126; as surrogate refuge, 63

Bush, George W., 15, 16–17, 20, 140, 143, 146, 195n1

calculated embrace, of South Korea: Afghan evacuees, 130–139; benevolence of a subempire and grateful refugees, 129–130; refugee resettlement pilot program (2015-2017), 117; resettlement as a, 90–92; selecting tolerable refugees, 118–119, 122–125; techniques of sanitizing refugees, 125–129; vying for subempire status in Asia, 119–122

“calculated kindness,” 36

Canada: asylum recognition rate, 80; North Koreans refugees in, 157

Cap Anamur (German medical aid group), 144

CARE packages, 41

case studies: disenchanted embrace: refugee temporality: Bantu’s story, 111–114; Yemeni

Refugee “Crisis,” 108–111

Central Refugee Relief Committee, 28

Cha Gyu-geun, 102, 105

chaebol (South Korean-style conglomerates), 175

Chang, Yoonok, 155

Charny, Joel R., 145

Chen, Kuan-Hsing, 11

Chetty, S. N., 96

Chimni, B. S., 86, 156

China: asylum seekers from, 194–195ⁿ⁹; defectors from, 97; European refugees in, 46; North Korean children in, 147; North Korean refugee-migrants in, 161; North Korean refugees in, 145; North Koreans escapees in, 142–143; People’s Liberation Army in Korean War, 27

Chinese citizenship, 147

Chinese People’s Liberation Army, 27

Cho, Byung Hyun, 116

Chosun Daily, 69–70, 179, 184

Christian refugees, 195ⁿ¹⁰

Chun Doo-hwan, 66–67, 96–97

citizen-making project, 127

Citizens’ Alliance for North Korean Human Rights (NKHR), 143

citizenship: Chinese, 147; modern, 191ⁿ²; to refugees, granting, 121; South Korean, 55–56, 147, 157–159

civilized saviors, 93

civil-society actors, 106–107

Clinton, Bill, 143

Cold War, 8–9; biopolitics, self-sufficiency as, 42–45, 56–57; changes to the North Korean refugee-migrant policies during, 152–153; defectors vs post-Cold War refugee-migrants, 154–156; ideology and refugee law, 84; imperialism, 14–15; internationalism, 11; post-Cold War refugees and the myth of difference, 153–156; propaganda infrastructure, resettlement as, 86–87; refugees, 73, 141, 165

colonial encounters, 18

Committee on Foreign Resident Policy, 118

Communist Others, 9

Communist spies, 64

Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA), 62, 88

Constitutional Court, 105, 168

contact zones, 18, 180; refugee camps as a militarized, 64–68; between South Korea and the
Western Other, refugee camps as, 71

Convention Plus Initiative, 85, 90

Conway-Lanz, Sahr, 30

corporate sponsorship, 55

Council of the European Union, 91

counseling, 127

COVID-19 pandemic, 133, 134, 153

critical refugee scholarship, 9–10, 18, 21

Cuba, voting against human-rights-related resolution, 148

Cuba Democracy Act 1992, 146

cultural assimilation programs, 126–127

cultural capital, loan words as, 184–186

Cumings, Bruce, 13

“decolonial solidarities,” 182

Denmark, on refugee issues in Asia, 121

Development Assistance Committee (DAC), 100

disenchanted embrace, of South Korea: accession to the UN Refugee Convention, 95–98; case studies, 107–114; enacting the 2013 Refugee Act, 98–103; and Ministry of Justice, 105–107; refugee status determination (RSD) procedures, 103–105

disenchantment of the refugee landscape: appearance of bureaucratic objectivity, 77–83; disenchantment with resettlement, 87–89; missingness of the sublime values, 83–86; resettlement as a calculated embrace, 90–92; resettlement as Cold War propaganda infrastructure, 86–87

displacement/uprootedness, 2, 4–5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 19, 20–21, 112. *See also* internally displaced persons (IDPs); *pinanmin* (“people escaping from disaster”)

Division of Immigration and Foreigner Policies, 104

domino theory, 12

Dong Choon Kim, 47

Dongin (South Korean-flagged vessel), 60

dual nationality and refugee status, 157–158. *See also* citizenship

due process, 169

Egypt, asylum seekers from, 194–195n9

Eighth US Army, Korea (EUSAK), 28

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 44

empire-centric perspectives, 11, 82–83, 86, 102

Employment Permit System, 102

employment support programs, 127, 128

end-user checks, 37, 38–39, 41

Espiritu, Yên Lê, 4, 8, 20, 32, 64–65, 125, 131

Ethiopia: asylum seekers from, 194–195ⁿ⁹; refugees from, 113

ethnicity and resettlement consideration, 124

ethnic Others, 164, 166

ethnic superiority, 183

EU resettlement programs, families in, 195ⁿ¹⁰

European imperial gaze, 134

European Union, naming-and-shaming North Korea, 147–148

European World War II refugees, 45–46, 87

evacuees, defined, 31–32

exilic bias, 75, 84, 86–87, 149

exit from democracy, 167–170

“fake” refugees, 103

families: in EU resettlement programs, 195ⁿ¹⁰; non-Muslim, as tolerable refugees, 122–125

female prostitutes during Vietnam War, 14, 35–36

Ferebee, K. M., 196ⁿ¹

first-asylum countries, 58, 62

Flowers, Petrice R., 97

“foreign civilians” vs. “*pinanmin*,” 46

Foreigners’ Shelter, 105

France, on refugee issues in Asia, 121

Freedom Act of 2003, 146

Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas, 75

Gandhi, Evyn Lê Espiritu, 182

García, Kilmar Ábrego, 168, 169

Gates, Robert M., 131

gaze: male, 171. *See also* imperial gaze; subimperial gaze

gendered dichotomy in media reporting, 69

gendered/sexualized hierarchy as imperial grammar, 184–186

genuine/non-genuine refugee binary, 91, 116; applied to North Koreans, 159–160; as a regulatory technology, 101–102

genuine refugees, 62, 64, 70, 88, 89, 98; identification for refugee resettlement program, 119; resettlement considerations for, 125; resettlement of, 88, 91. *See also* non-genuine refugees

Geoje Island, refugees on, 32, 33, 192n7

geopolitical ideology as a surrogate for ethics, 83–85

Germany: army's experience with refugees, 27–28; asylum applications, 79; North Koreans refugees in, 157; US bases in, 131

“gift of freedom,” 9, 16, 173; and indebtedness towards US, 47–48, 173, 177; for North Korean refugees, 40–41; Syrian refugees, 124; Vietnamese war refugees vs Korean War *pinanmin*, 47; for Vietnam refugees, 47, 61, 73

Gill, Peter, 175

Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Safe Migration, 84

Global Compact on Refugees, 84–86

global imaginary, 184

Grand National Party, 150

“grateful” refugees, 38–42, 129–130. *See also* indebtedness of refugees

Green, Jeffery E., 84

Guam: militarized refugees on, 32; resistance in refugee camps in, 68

Gwangju Uprising of 1980, 97

Hagerman, Margaret A., 116

Haggard, Stephan, 154

Haitian asylum seekers, 145

Hallett, Miranda Cady, 146–147

Hamlin, Rebecca, 80

Hammond, Andrew, 8

Hana Center, 154

Hanawon (Unity Center), 127; North Korean refugee-migrants, 153–154

Hanjin Corporation, 179–180

Hankyere 21 (political magazine), 197n7

Han Seung-Joo, 3

Hardt, Michael, 14–15

Hawai’i, militarized refugees on, 32

Hebeker, Dirk, 121–122

“Hell Joseon,” 162

heterosexual nuclear families and resettlement consideration, 124

Hirshberg, Lauren, 9

Holbrooke, Richard, 58–59, 72

Hong, Christine, 13, 30

Hong Il-pyo, 99–100

Hong Kong: accepting Vietnamese refugees, 62; resistance in refugee camps in, 68

humanitarian imperialism and the continuing relevance of war, 14–17

humanitarianism, 17, 18, 20, 21, 42, 58, 61, 82, 153, 191n8

“humanitarian stay” status, 109–110

Human Rights Forum, Korean National Assembly, 99

human rights lawyers, 119, 120

Hungarian “refugees,” 83

Hwang, Philkyu, 157

Hwang Hee-chul, 100, 101

Hwang Suk-Young, 182

Hwang Woo-yea, 99, 161

Hyeon, Yura, 111

Hyndman, Jennifer, 65

Hyundai, 175

ideal refuge(e)s, 129–130, 162; becoming, 165–167; constructing Afghan evacuees as, 135–139

ideological purity, 36

Ignatieff, Michael, 15

Immigration Control Act, 72, 98, 168; amendment, 106; refugee status determination system under, 98

Immigration Control and Enforcement (ICE), 168

Immigration Reception Center (IRC), 125

imperial dominations, 6, 132

imperial gaze, 15, 18; American, 183; European, 134; Korean War *pinanmin* under, 36–45; onto the North Korean children, 147. *See also* subimperial gaze

The Imperialist Eye, 11

indebtedness of refugees, 40–42, 71, 174, 177. *See also* “grateful” refugees

indochinese refugee crisis, 83, 85; and South Korea’s accession to UN Refugee Convention, 95–98. *See also* boat people (1978)

Indonesia: Indochinese refugees in, 58; refugee processing center in, 175

“inferior other,” 65

inoculation, 35

“integration potentiality,” 124

internally displaced persons (IDPs), 2, 76, 142. *See also* displacement/uprootedness

International Crisis Group, 160

internationalization of the North Korean refugee issue, 143–145, 156–157

International Law Division, South Korea, 96

International Organization for Migration (IOM), 117; role in refugee resettlement program, 118; sanitization of refugees, 125

International Red Cross, 46, 68, 71

International Refugee Organization (IRO), 45, 87

international refugee regime: early shaping of, 7–8; facilitating rivalry between South Korea and Japan, 120–121; paradigm shift in, 75–76; planned vs. unplanned refugee encounter, 49–51; 1975 refugees: from evacuees to refugees, 51–53; staging the rescue, 53, 55–57; US imperialism and critical refugee studies, 8–9

internment camp in North Korea, 46

intrusion tactic (“boat people tactic”), 144–145

Iraq: refugees resettlement in the United States, 149; US invasion of, 15–16

Iraq Liberation Act 1998, 146

Japan, 6; asylum applications, 79; asylum recognition rate, 80; evacuation plan in Afghanistan, 137; as first subempire, 12–13; naming-and-shaming of North Korea, 147–148; Refugee Convention adoption, 97; subimperial rivalry with South Korea, 119–122, 137

Jeju Bureau of Immigration 2018, 111

Jeju genocide of 1947, 192n9

Jeju Island, refugees on, 32, 33, 41, 108; war “orphans” on, 34

Jo-do Island, refugees on, 33

Johnson, Lyndon B., 172, 173, 179, 180

Jordan Response Plan, 122

Jo Yong Rok, 143

Kang Chol-hwan (North Korean refugee), 195n1

Karen (ethnic group) refugees, 124, 125

Kazakhstani asylum seekers, 194–195n9

KCIA (Korea Central Intelligence Agency), 106

Kennedy, Ted, 58, 121

Khalil, Mahmoud, 169

Kim Dae-jung, 130

Kim Il-oong, 136–137

Kim Il Sung, 152, 153

Kim Jong Il, 140, 143, 146, 195ⁿ¹

Kim Moon Soo, 151

Kim Young Sam, 3

Klein, Christina, 12, 184

KOICA, 197ⁿ⁴

Korea, independence of, 6

Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, 16–17

Korea International Development Agency, 177

Korean Bar Association, 133

Korean Chinese (*joseonjok*), 158

Korean Civil Assistance Command (KCAC), 28

Korean Immigrant Integration Program (KIIP) curriculum, 126, 127

Korean language classes, 126, 127

Korean National Assembly, 72

Korean Red Cross, 70, 126; status check of “surrogate” refugee camp, 71

Korean War, 25, 120; as Cold War ideological battleground, 25–26; “contaminated” refugees, 35–36; hierarchies within the displaced, 31–35; under the militarized embrace, 27–31;

military withdrawal, 29, 30–31; and North Korean refugees, 140–141; outbreak of, 6;
sovereignty ambiguity as refugee-status determinant, 45–46. *See also* *pinanmin* (“people
escaping from disaster”)

Korean wave (*hallyu*), 134

“Korea’s My Lai,” 30

K-Silk Road program, 17

Ku Htoo (refugee), 129–130

Kurdi, Alan, 122

Kwon, Heonik, 47

labor-shortage supplement, 87

language classes for refugees: English, 68; Korean, 126, 127

Large Hospital Campus: The Pyongyang City (essays), 152

Larking, Emma, 167

Leach, Jim, 146

Lee, Chulwoo, 158

Lee, Jin-kyung, 14, 183

Lee, Minyoung, 162

Lee Myung-bak, 99

Lee Young Woo (North Korea defector), 152

The Legal Status and Protection of Refugees, 106

Li, Guobin, 159, 161

Lie, John, 134

Lipman, Jana K., 62, 68

“Little Orphan Island,” 34, 108

loan words as cultural capital, 184–186

LST (landing ship tank) evacuation/ refugees (1975), 95; vs “boat people,” 73; classification of, 51; ethnic membership as elastic, male-transmitted category, 55–57; from evacuee to stateless to *pinanmin*/refugee, 51–53; staging the rescue, 53–55; versus the Twin Dragon incident, 49–51. *See also* Vietnamese refugees

Lubbers, Ruud, 90

Malaysia: accepting Vietnamese refugees, 62; Indochinese refugees in, 58; refugee camps in, 118; resistance in refugee camps in, 68; urban refugees from, 124; Yemenis in, 111

male gaze, 171

male savior, 53

Malkki, Liisa, 5

mandatory repatriation, 88

Marini, Ruy Mauro, 10–11, 73

marriage migration, 74, 127

martial law, 168

masculine-South Korea/feminine-Vietnam binary, 184–186

masculinity, militarized form of, 183

Mathew, Penelope, 86

Mbembe, Achille, 169

McCone (Liberian vessel), 60, 106

media reporting of refugees, 69–70

“middle country”/ “middle power” state, 11, 99–100

migrant workers, 14, 102, 126–127, 188; Mongolian, 151; vs refugees, 113; Syrian, 123, 124;

Vietnamese, 189

militarized embrace, of US: Korean War as Cold War ideological battleground, 25–26; Korean

War *pinanmin* under the imperial gaze, 36–45; militarized refuge(e)s during the Korean

War, 26–36; sovereignty ambiguity as refugee-status determinant, 45–46

militarized embrace as prototype, 20–21

militarized refuge(e)s, 8, 9; dyad-to-triad expansion, 10; and militarized refuge, 64–68

Military Assistance Program, 174

“military orientalism,” 8

Ministry of Defense: *Large Hospital Campus: The Pyongyang City* (essays), 152

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), 50, 51–52, 59, 70–72, 96, 106; on preparing refugees for
resettlement in Western countries, 60–61; (re)settlement of refugees, 55–56

Ministry of Justice (MOJ), 98; as gatekeeper of the disenchanted refugee landscape, 105–107;
interpreters, 116; presumptive illegitimacy, 101–103; and refugee landscape in the 1970s
and 1980s, 106; refugee resettlement program, 118–119; resettlement considerations, 124–
125; resettlement of Syrian refugees, 123–124; review and revision of Immigration
Control Act, 98–99; site selection for refugee shelter, 125–126; and South Korea’s refugee
status determination (RSD), 103–105; training of bureaucrats, 115–116; treatment of
Afghan evacuees, 133, 135; on Yemeni refugee “crisis,” 109–111

missingness of the sublime values, 83–86

“Mission Crusade,” 50

mixed migration flow, 90

Model Village Farm Leaders Training Institute, 43

modern citizenship, 191n2

Mondale, Walter, 80

Mongolia, North Korean refugees in, 150–151

Moon, Seungsook, 43

Moon, Yumi, 25, 47

Muccio, John, 31

Multicultural Family Support Centers (MFSC), 127

multiculturalism as an extension of subimperial power, 74

Munh-Orgil, Tsend, 151

Muntarbhorn, Vitit, 148

Myanmar: asylum seekers from, 194–195n9; ethnic persecution in, 124; refugees, resettlement of, 91, 149

nanmin (legal refugee category): vs. *pinanmin*, 52–53

Narayan, John, 14

National Assembly, 16, 72, 97, 98, 99, 100, 109, 173, 177–178

national class (*gookgyuk*), 100

National Institute of Human Rights Commission, 99

nation-state and refugees, 4–6

necro-power, 20

Negri, Antonio, 14–15

neocolonial hierarchy, 40

Netherlands, troops to Vietnam, 50

New Community Movement (Saemaul Undong), 43–44

New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, 84

New Zealand Immigration and Protection Tribunal, 160

NGOs: assistance in North Korean refugee-migrants' settlement, 154; Citizens' Alliance for

North Korean Human Rights (NKHR), 143; migrant/refugee advocacy, 112, 128, 170;

refugee resettlement program, 119–120, 124

Nguyen, Mimi Thi, 9, 16, 47, 173

Nixon, Richard, 178

No Gun Ri massacre, 30

Noland, Marcus, 154

non-entrée regime, 23, 75, 82, 83, 86, 91, 112, 145

“non-genuine/potential perpetrator” applicants, 109

non-genuine refugees, 62, 88, 91, 101–102, 116. *See also* genuine/non-genuine refugee binary

non-Muslim families as tolerable refugees, 122–125

North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): establishment of, 45; evacuation from,

33

North Korean Freedom Bill of 2003, 146

North Korean Human Rights Act (NKHRA), 144, 146–149, 157, 159

North Korean Human Rights and Defector Committee, 99

North Korean Refugee Adoption Bill, 147

North Korean refugees/ refugee-migrants, 196n10; Cold War “hero,” changed status of, 152–153; declining space of asylum in Western countries, 156–157; designating surrogate refugees, 149–151; famine in the mid-1990s and exodus, 149; Hanawon as carceral integration, 153; internationalization of the issue, 143–145, 156–157; making of, 142–143; North Korean Human Rights Act, 145–149; post-Cold War refugees and the myth of difference, 153–156; refugees, 32, 33–34; saeteomin asylum seeking, 159–161; South Korean citizenship as a legal trap, 157–159; in South Korean refugee landscape, 19–20, 140–142; as spies, 27, 158, 160–161. *See also* ambivalent embrace of North Korean “refugees”

Office of Legal Affairs, 106

Official Development Assistance (ODA), 43–44

Ogata, Sadako, 89

Oh Seungjin, 102

Ong, Aihwa, 127

Operation Babylift, 34

Operation Crusade, 164, 165

Operation Desert Storm, 16

Operation Miracle, 1, 17, 131, 135, 164, 165, 166

Orderly Departure Program (ODP), 88

Orderly Return Programme (ORP), 88

Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD), 100

‘Others’: Communist, 9; cultural and ethnic, 65, 127; European travelers encountering, 18; non-European, 46; racial, 183; religious, 108, 166; South Koreans and Western, 71. *See also* subimperial gaze

Pagoda (Hwang Suk-Young), 182

Pakistan, asylum seekers from, 194–195n9

Park, Joowon, 156, 160

Park Chung Hee, 13, 43–44, 50, 121, 141, 150, 172–174, 175–178; administration, 13, 53, 55, 58–59, 65, 152

Park Geun-hye, 150

People Power Party (One Nation Party), 99

Peterson, Glen, 7, 58

the Philippines, militarized refugees on, 32

philosophical disenchantment, 83–86

pinanmin (“people escaping from disaster”), 20–21; “contaminated” refugees, 35–36;

exterminating, 26–27, 30; hierarchies within the displaced, 31–35; under the militarized embrace, 27–31; military violence against, 46–48; movements of, 26–31; vs. *nanmin*, 52–53; sovereignty ambiguity as refugee-status determinant, 45–46. *See also* Korean War; Vietnamese refugees

pinanmin under the imperial gaze: as bare life, 38–42; self-sufficiency as Cold War biopolitics, 42–45; UNCACK’s narrative control, 36–38

pNan (refugee advocacy NGO), 128, 161

political agency of refugees, 167

political debt as “gift of freedom,” 16. *See also* “gift of freedom”

polygamy, legal non-recognition of, 56

Porter, Patrick, 8

Port of Gunsan, 63

The Position of the United States with Respect to Asia, 12–13

Pratt, Mary Louis, 18, 69, 180

pre-departure orientation, 125

“protection rate,” 110

protests by Vietnamese refugees, 68–69

protracted refugee, 76

provincial reconstruction team (PRT), 130–132

public health threats, refugees as, 65

public images of Vietnamese refugees, 69–70

qualified life (bios), Korean *pinanmin* as, 5, 20, 21, 39, 169–170. *See also* bare life (zoē), Korean *pinanmin* as

racial hierarchy, 40, 180–183, 187, 195n14; of refugee status, 45–46, 51–53

racialization: as governance technology, 120–122; of refugee issues, 121, 135–139; of the

Vietnamese refugee issues, 121

racialized contact, 182

racialized fear, 108

racial Other, 183

Radio Free Asia, 146

Ra Pronch (survivor of the Cambodian genocide), 107

refugee(s): activist, 120; advocacy NGO, 112, 128, 170; aid, 36, 38, 39; aid as subimperial extraction mechanism, 131–132; children, 39–40; defined, 7, 18–19, 32, 98, 123, 141–142; label as political instrument, 25–26; laws, disenchanting effects of, 167–170; and modern sovereignty, 4–6; protection, 20–21; refugee/migrants binary, 89; scholarship, critical, 9–10, 18, 21; sorting processing centers, 125; temporality: Bantu’s story, 107, 111–114. *See also* boat people (1978); LST (landing ship tank) evacuation/ refugees (1975); North Korean refugees/ refugee-migrants; *pinanmin* (“people escaping from disaster”); self-sufficiency; Vietnamese refugees

2013 Refugee Act, 53, 94, 95, 98, 120, 158, 168; Article 2 and 24 of, 118; Article 3 of, 169; disenchanting effect of, 103; enacting, 98–102; grounds of, 113; and MOJ, 107; petition for abolishing, 110–111; and Yemini refugee “crisis,” 108–109

Refugee Board, 104, 113

refugee camps: as contact zone between South Korea and the Western Other, 71; as a militarized contact zone, 64–68. *See also* Busan refugee camps

Refugee Control, 27

refugee encounters as embrace: embracing-man and sovereign power, 18–20; militarized embrace as prototype, 20–21

refugee landscape: disenchanted, 105–107, 152–161; in the 1970s and 1980s, 106; South Korean, 2–4, 19–20, 140–142. *See also* disenchantment of the refugee landscape

Refugee Relief Act of 1953, US, 34–35, 193n13

refugee resettlement: as a calculated embrace, 90–92; as Cold War propaganda infrastructure, 86–87; considerations, 124–125; disenchantment with, 87–89; refugees, defined, 118; training, 126–127

refugee resettlement program, 117; benevolence of a subempire and grateful refugees, 129–130; selecting tolerable refugees, 118–119, 122–125; techniques of sanitizing refugees, 125–129; vying for subempire status in Asia through, 119–122

refugee status determination (RSD), 79–80, 87, 88, 103–105, 157–158; expenditures on, 80; and Ministry of Justice, 105–107; sovereignty ambiguity as, 45–46

“refuge migration,” 8

religion and resettlement consideration, 124

religious Others, 108, 166

repatriation, 62, 75, 86, 87–89, 143

Rhee Syngman, 29, 34

rights of self-determination, 6

right to asylum, 19, 78–79

Roberts, Adam, 75

Rohingya refugees, 124

Roh Moo-hyun, 16, 148, 150

Roh Tae-woo, 66, 96–97

Russia, 6, 8; asylum seekers from, 194–195n9; timber workers from, 142; White Russian community in Seoul, 46

Ryan, Thomas, 41

saeteomin (new settler) asylum seekers, 159–161

Sahara, Ayako, 60

Sams, Crawford F., 35

sanitization of refugees: North Korean refugee-migrants, 153–154; techniques of, 125–129

Schmitt, Carl, 6, 19, 170

Sealey-Huggins, Leon, 14

security risks, refugees as, 65

selective asylum approval, 98

self-sufficiency, 38, 128–129; as Cold War biopolitics, 42–45, 56–57; of North Korean refugee-migrants, 154; of Vietnamese refugees, 57

semi-colony, 10–11

semi-periphery state, 10–11, 15

Seoul Administrative Court, 104–105, 116

The Shadow of Arms (Hwang Suk-Young), 182

Shankar, Arjun, 195n14

Shuman, Amy, 80

Siver, Christi, 192n6

sociological disenchantment, 77–80, 82–83

Soguk, Nevzat, 5, 73

South Korean Army (ROKA), 27

South Korean Constitution, 141–142

South Korea (Republic of Korea): abstention in human-rights-related resolution, 148; accession to 1951 Refugee Convention, 95–98; asylum applications, 79; asylum recognition rate, 80;

changing refugee landscape, 2–4; constrained agency, 149–151; diplomatic leverage of United States (US) on, 58–59, 71–72, 121; economic “takeoff” and Vietnam War, 172–178; enacting the 2013 Refugee Act, 98–103; establishment of, 45; financial contribution to UNHCR, 122; hosting of Afghan evacuees, 130–132; indebtedness towards US, 47–48, 173, 177; involvement in US-led wars, 16–17; militarized nation-building and Vietnam refugees, 65–67; nation-building, 73–74; North Koreans in refugee landscape, 19–20; “peace shock” as economic anxiety, 178–180; refugee bodies as diplomatic tools, 71–72; reluctant embrace of Vietnamese refugees, 57–59; resettlement of Myanmar refugees, 91; as a subempire and surrogate refuge, 67–74; subimperial rivalry with Japan, 119–122, 137; symbolic capital and international legitimacy, 71; transition from a refugee-producing to a refugee-hosting country, 3–4; transition to being a subempire, 12–14; Vietnam War and international refugee regime of, 164; vying for subempire status in Asia, 59, 119–122

sovereignty: ambiguity as refugee-status determinant, 45–46; defined, 6; and refugees, modern, 4–6

space of asylum, 61–64, 77–78, 83, 94–95, 98, 107, 109–110, 157, 166

Spanish-American War, 32

Special Compensation Act for Returned Heroes, 152–153

Special Relief Act for Patriots and Returned Heroes, 141

Spijkerboer, Thomas, 193n1 (Interlude)

staging rescue: of Afghan evacuees, 132–134; for LST refugees, 53, 55–57

stateless people, 52. *See also* refugees

state of exception, 6, 19–21, 168–170

stigma attached to refugees, 136

subempire and refugee studies: gap in critical refugee scholarship, 9–10; humanitarian imperialism and continuing relevance of war, 14–17; South Korea, from periphery to subempire, 12–14; subempire defined, 10–11

subempire's embrace. *See* Afghan evacuees

subimperial gaze, 100–101, 153, 165, 171; Afghan evacuees under South Korea's, 134–135; formation on the battlefield, 180–184; gendered/sexualized hierarchy as imperial grammar, 184–186; Vietnamese refugees under, 67–72. *See also* imperial gaze

sub-refugee status, 123

Suh, Hee-Kyung, 47

surrogate embrace: closing space of asylum, 1988–1992, 61–64; refugee diplomacy as instrumentalized leverage, 56–59; surrogate refuge, 60–61. *See also* LST (landing ship tank) evacuation/ refugees (1975)

surrogate labor, 14, 74, 132, 175, 188

“surrogate militarized labor” as recurring structural role, 130–132

surrogate refuge, 68–73, 125

Syria: migrant workers from, 123, 124; refugee crisis and South Korea, 122–124; refugees from, 84, 85

SZOAU v. Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, 158

Taiwan, transition to being a subempire, 11, 13, 14

Tan, Vivian, 75

Tang, Eric, 107

terrorist attacks in 2001, 143

Thailand, refugee camps in, 91, 118, 124

Thatcher, Margaret, 58

theater of rescue: of Afghan evacuees, 132–134; for LST refugees, 53, 55–57

Third World Approach to International Law (TWRAIL), 5–6

thirty-eighth parallel line, 6, 26, 27, 29, 33, 36, 46, 141

Tiger Units (South Korean combat troops), 175, 181

Today We Drop Bombs, Tomorrow We Builds Bridges (Gill), 175

tolerable refugees/tolerability, 194–195n9; selecting, 118–119, 122–125. *See also* calculated embrace

Truman, Harry, 9, 12

Trump, Donald, 168, 169

Tuitt, Patricia, 4, 167

Turkey: Turkish community in Seoul, 46; US bases in, 131

Twin Dragon refugees/rescuees, 49–51; labeling of, 52–53; rejection by Western nations, 71; staging the rescue, 55, 57. *See also* Vietnamese refugees

UK (United Kingdom): North Koreans refugees in, 157; rejecting North Korean asylum applications, 158

UNCACK (UN Civil Assistance Command, Korea), 28, 31–32, 34, 35, 37; converting destruction into gratitude through narrative control, 36–38; economic rehabilitation and reconstruction, 43–45; refugee employment, 42

UNCAC (UN Civil Assistance Command), 28

undocumented migrants, 105

UNDP (United Nations Development Program), 59

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), 45, 59; adopting the refugee/migrants binary, 89; Annual Tripartite Consultation, 118; assurance to pay for refugees, 63; bureaucratic practices of labeling, 82; ceased funding for the Vietnamese boat people, 88; conducting refugee status determination (RSD), 79; Executive Committee (EXCOM), 3, 98, 99, 119; facilitating rivalry between South Korea and Japan, 120–121; growth of, 95; implementing Convention Plus Initiative, 84; institutional self-betrayal, 87–88; Jordan Response Plan, 122; negligible and selective involvement, 46; prioritizing resettlement over repatriation, 87; refugee resettlement programs for new countries, 91–92; reporting grateful refugees, 129; “resettlement expansionism” within, 90; resettlement submission categories, 194n7; review of resettlement program, 126–127; role in refugee resettlement program, 60, 118–119, 121–122; on South Korean citizenship for North Koreans, 157; South Korean contribution to, 175; status check of “surrogate” refugee camp, 71; transformation into a migration management agency, 90–92; and the United States, 96

United Nations Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee, 148

UNKRA (United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency), 28, 192n4

UN Public Health and Welfare Detachment, 28

1951 UN Refugee Convention, 7, 52, 56, 72, 77, 82, 94, 106; Article 1, 78, 105, 157; Article 1(A)(2), 157; beginning of, 7; definition of “refugee,” 2; drafting of, 25–26; number of signatories, 95; petition for withdrawing from, 110; South Korea’s accession to, 3, 95–98

UNRRA (UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), 191n8

UN (United Nations): conference 1979, 1989, 80, 88; funding, 68; General Assembly, 84; 2004

Human Rights Commission resolution, 148; Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 7,

72, 95; Summit in 2005, 15–16; Third Committee, 148

Uri Party, 150

US/UN aid workers, 138

US (United States), 6; Army in Korean War, 27; Committee for Human Rights in North Korea,

154; containment and integration strategy post WWII, 12–14; country-specific human

rights legislations by, 146; deployment of racial kinship rhetoric, 121–122; diplomatic

leverage on South Korea, 58–59, 71–72, 121; invasion of Afghanistan, 130–131; invasion

of Iraq, 15–16; military violence against *pinanmin*, 46–48; and 2004 North Korean Human

Rights Act (NKHRA), 146–147; North Korean refugees resettlement in, 149; Refugee

Relief Act of 1953, 34–35; resettlement of Myanmar refugees, 91; and UNHCR, 96. *See*

also militarized embrace, of US

US (United States) imperialism: and critical refugee studies, 8–9; and subempire status, 11

US/UN military forces: biracial children of, 34; civil assistance team, 33, 34, 35–36; civil

assistance units, 37–38; controlling refugees, 27–31; evacuation of war “orphans,” 34; as

humanitarian rescuers, 37

Venezuela, voting against human-rights-related resolution, 148

Vietnam, North Korean refugees in, 150

Vietnamese foreign brides/wives, 51, 56, 74, 188

Vietnamese refugees, 49–50, 57; closing space of asylum, 1988–1992, 61–64; dehumanization

and bureaucratic control, 64–67; differential treatment of, 73; evacuees vs. refugees, 51–

53; preparing for resettlement in Western countries, 60–61; public images and media reporting of, 64, 69–71; resettling refugees, 55–57; resistance in refugee camps, 68–69.

See also boat people (1978)

Vietnamese woman, 171

Vietnam refugees: “gift of freedom” for, 47, 61, 73

Vietnam War, 6, 97; female prostitutes during, 14; media reporting of, 69; military missions during, 50; “peace shock” as economic anxiety, 178–180; and South Korean evacuation, 49–50; and South Korea’s economic gain, 131, 132, 172–178; and South Korea’s international refugee regime, 164; South Korea’s involvement in, 14

violence: general, 6, 70, 94, 123, 133, 156, 160, 184; military, 8, 20–21, 46–47, 169–170

visa waiver program, 111

visitation allowance, 69

Voice of America, 146

Volfing, Ole, 95–96

Vollertsen, Norbert, 144, 151

war brides, 8

war “orphans,” 8, 34–35

“war-sufferers,” defined, 33

Weber, Max, 77, 84

Welfens, Natalie, 195n10

West, F. J., 181

Western rhetoric at UN conference, 58

“white savior,” 35, 139

willing refugee, 129–130

Wolman, Andrew, 159

World Bank, 84–85

World Systems Theory, 10

World War II, refugees during, 27–28, 45–46, 87. *See also* Cold War

X Corps, 28–29

Yankee colony, 10–11

“yellow savior,” 139

Yemen: asylum seekers from, 73, 94, 132–133, 136; refugee “crisis,” 108–111

Yeosu facility, 133, 135

Yeowon (women’s magazine), 171, 185, 186

Yi Il, 123

Yoon Seok Yol, 168

Youngpyong-do, refugees in, 33

YTN News (South Korean TV station), 133

Yuh, Ji-Yeon, 8, 35

Zagor, Matthew, 195n10

Zaytun (military combat division), 16

Zenawi, Meles, 111, 112

zoē/bios distinction, 5, 21