

International Film Festivals as a Field for Agonistics and Resonance: Contact Zones with Russian/Soviet Films* **

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The international film festival, which seems to have landed in South Korea by accident in the mid-1990s, is a historical product. Technically, film festivals in South Korea were a hybrid and indigenous cultural movement that appeared at the crossroads of the Korean democratic movement in the 1980s and the global situation in the post-cold war era in the 1990s. From the 1980s film movement to the establishment of the art house cinema in the 1990s and the Busan International Film Festival in 1996, these developments did not emerge as parallel events, but rather as a culmination of epic tensions. The main purpose of this article is to expand on previous discussions that have never shown much interest in how the international film festival combines global and local aspects. The film movement created by Korean films and the international film festivals of the 1980s and 1990s symbolised the journey to social resonance aimed at communicating with the audience about new Korean films by highlighting 'agonistics' and 'resonance' between Korean and 'other' films.

Keywords: Korean International Film Festival, agonistics, resonance, contact zones, film movement, Busan International Film Festival (BIFF)

Международные кинофестивали, которые с середины 1990-х гг. проводятся в Южной Корее, имеют историческое значение. Формально кинофестивали в Южной Корее были гибридным культурным феноменом, возникшим на пересечении корейского демократического движения 1980-х гг. и глобализации в эпоху после холодной войны в 1990-е гг. От кинодвижения 1980-х гг. до становления артхаусного кино в 1990-х и Пусанского международного кинофестиваля в 1996 г. эти события развивались не как па-

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This article develops the manuscript "Beyond the International Film Festival" in the forthcoming book, and rewrites the Korean International Film Festival with a focus on 'resonance' and the cultural contact zones between Korea and Russia/the Soviet Union.

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раллельные, а скорее как кульминация эпического напряжения. Основная цель статьи – расширить проблематику предыдущих дискуссий, участники которых никогда не проявляли большого интереса к тому, как международный кинофестиваль сочетает в себе глобальные и локальные аспекты. Кинодвижение, созданное корейским кинематографом, и международные кинофестивали 1980-х и 1990-х гг. символизировали путь к социальному резонансу, направленному на то, чтобы донести до зрителей информацию о новых корейских фильмах, подчеркивая агонистику и резонанс между ними и работами из других стран.

Ключевые слова: Корейский международный кинофестиваль, агонистика, резонанс, контактные зоны, кинодвижение, Пусанский международный кинофестиваль (BIFF)

Cultural Movements for Hybridity

This article seeks to trace the journey of ‘others’, *agonistics*, and ‘resonance’ in Korean films to identify the origin of the new Korean films of the 1980s and 1990s. Recently, research on the origins and transformations in Korean literature and culture mainly explored the same through ‘relationships with others’. This confirmed that Korean literature and culture were formed and transformed in the process of *agonistics* and resonating with the universality or epochal characteristics of ‘literature’ and ‘culture’ rather than the uniqueness of ‘Korea’. Accordingly, this article attempts to capture where and how the new Korean films came into contact with the audiences in the 1980s and 1990s and who the people behind it were, and the moments of agonistics and resonance that occurred in those contact zones. Particularly, through the mass movement of independent film groups in the 1980s and international film festivals in the 1990s, this article aims to investigate the way in which Soviet and Russian socialist films, art films, and documentary films intervened in the origins of new Korean films during the process of encountering films other than Hollywood films, commercial films, and play films. These incidents in the history of Korean films during the 1980s and 1990s ultimately symbolise social resonance to talk about new Korean films with the audience through ‘*agonistics*’ and ‘resonance’ between Korean and ‘other’ films.

The hope is that the views of the international film festival described in this article will help overcome discussions that have led to the perception that film festivals in Korea emerged by chance in the 1990s. With Hollywood films long dominating the Korean film market, the process through which Koreans are introduced to films from other countries also has a long history, and the role of international film festivals has been crucial in this process. It might even have been possible for the domestic international film festival to reach the level of mapping post-Cold War world cinema had the 1980s film movement created a border within socialism between socialist ideology and socialist movements, thus allowing for an encounter with

films, aesthetics, and film movements of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe¹. What is interesting about these events is that they contribute to the reclamation of a world alienated by Hollywood films and the building of a film history that takes place in the context of a post-Cold War system and neoliberalism. Moreover, because this situation reshapes or recontextualizes nationalism, it is not impossible that the film festival, which emerged out of this, was conceived as a community which embraced the *agonistics* [Mouffe] of different points of view and affirmed the new solidarity resulting from it. The Korean public's view of international film festivals held abroad is distinctly different from that of domestic international film festivals following the establishment of the Busan International Film Festival in 1996. One of the differences includes interest in awards or a lack thereof. However, the contrast cannot be explained solely by prestigious international film festivals or lack of interest. It may be a coincidence, but since the 2000s, when the Korean film festival expanded rapidly, it has become more of a hub for agonistics and solidarity. International film festivals are rarely discussed in great depth domestically, as the focus has been on individual festivals or current assessments. Therefore, not much importance is given to the history, role, or social effects of international film festivals, which is becoming more apparent in Korea. While certain discussions have dealt with the origins of domestic film festivals, they often failed to address different viewpoints, as they concentrated only on the initial scenario. Thus, the discussion has been limited to evaluating film festivals only in relation to film venues or local festival products.

Now, questions about international film festivals need to be raised in a way that goes beyond the realm of movies. Understanding international film festivals requires an understanding of the nearly 100-year period since films were first accepted. It is imperative to distance film festivals from the public's acceptance or profits of films. International film festivals serve as the platform for new films to battle for recognition and 'cultural justification' [De Valck, p. 37], as well as channels for communicating these mechanisms to society. Hence, questions concerning international film festivals beginning in Korea should be analysed through this lens. The significance of this article lies in contextualizing what the unique language of a film festival is, rather than the original language embedded in films themselves, and why it took 100 years ever since film first appeared for that language to evolve in Korea.

The terms 'agonistics' and 'resonance' used in this article entail the following meanings. 'Agonistics' refers to a different view that intervenes in the ideal of 'pursuing consensus without exclusion' and a 'perfectly reconciled and harmonious society'. Applying this to the Korean film industry in the 1980s and 1990s means calling out those excluded from the hegemony built

¹ In analyzing the discourse on art films, Kim Han-sang noted the role of the international film festival, which has been active since 1996, as an auxiliary market for art films and non-Hollywood films [Kim Han-sang, p. 57].

by Hollywood films and building an expanded film world for all. In this respect, the mass movement of films in the 1980s and international film festivals in the 1990s, which proposed the right to oppose contemporary Korean films through Soviet and Russian and Eastern European films, Asian and Third World films, and non-commercial art films and documentary films, became the sites of agonistics. 'Resonance' refers to the dynamics in which an original form takes shape or is transformed through physical contact and repetition, and it is related to creating a new site between the new film and the audience as well as the film and the audience.

Accordingly, this article provides an overview of the development of international film festivals organized in Korea, from their origins up to forming the contact zone with films, film culture, and contemporary society. Doing so confirms that Korean international film festivals have been important opportunities for historical changes in Korea both before and after their emergence, not isolated or anomalous instances in Korean film history. Additionally, this methodology promotes an understanding of the domestic international film festival in relation to the social role and influence of films, which started increasing in Korean society after the 1990s, explaining how the domestic international film festival strengthened its position. Though the domestic international film festival has been the subject of many critical discussions, its emergence in the 1990s is significant. This article begins by revealing that from a film history perspective, the 1990s were a time of transition following the 1980s film movement, and the desire for international film festivals followed naturally from this process. Likewise, from the perspective of film culture that grew alongside the New Social Movement, which emerged as an alternative to democracy in the 1980s, it would be unwise to overlook the existence of an international film festival as a contact point for society. In the end, any analysis of the domestic international film festival has to acknowledge the possibility that it may have been a blend between indigenous cultural capital, the local reality, a post-Cold War world situation, and the neoliberal economy. After all, the main objective of this article is to establish that domestic international film festivals, as a '*glocal*' cultural phenomenon, are connected to the expansion of film culture as a public forum for agonistics and solidarity, along with mapping a post-Cold War global cinema.

Contact Zones for Post-Cold War Film History

Korea's international film festival originated from the 1996 Busan International Film Festival. Earlier studies of the festival's origin considered the temporal particularity of 1996 and the geographical particularity of Busan in relation to the local government system which began in 1995. However, when it comes to the temporality, it is necessary to extend the reflection beyond 1995, when local government first came into being, all the way back to the time when the foundation was laid to allow local government to form, i. e. June 1987, also known for the June Democracy

Movement, that marked the beginning of the domestic international film festival. Coincidentally, the June Democracy Movement is not explained simply as a political democratization process, which clearly suggests a significant implication for the advent of the international film festival in that it offered an opportunity for popular movements of civil society to emerge, including the New Korean Cinema Movement.

In this regard, 'Film Space 1895' played a key role during the 1980s film movement that paved the way for the launch of the Busan International Film Festival in 1996. 'Film Space 1895' emerged out of a private cinematheque, which established a network with local cinematheques. 'Film Space 1895' focused on quenching the thirst for new films in its relationship with the film movement aimed at promoting ethnographic films at the time. According to its staff, 'Film Space 1895' is dedicated to the distribution of non-Hollywood films, such as subtitling 200 of the 1,500 videos it owns. [Söng] Soon after, 'Film Space 1895' established 'Book Publishing 1895' and published the quarterly magazine *Film Language* at the suggestion of Jeon Yang-joon, and was relocated to Busan when Lee Yong-gwan, a professor at Kyungsung University at the time, became its chief editor. As a result, Lee Hyo-in and Lee Eon-kyung, who led the film movement in Seoul, and Kim Ji-seok and Oh Seok-geun, who led the Busan Film Movement at the time, eventually met in Busan and joined the Busan International Film Festival committee. In addition, it is interesting that Busan also began to witness the participation of film movement groups focusing on new movies such as the Busan Cine Club, led by Kim Ji-seok and Oh Seok-geun, and Cinematheque 1/24, opened by Kim Hee-jin, Lee Ju-ho, and Ko Young-soo. In this case alone, a wide range of media including movies, screen-prints, theatres, and all the social mechanisms that the 1980s film movement mobilized to restore world cinema through the acceptance of films other than Hollywood films and low-quality Korean films were gradually gathered into one place.

Unfortunately, the film movement was again scattered or regressed into small groups along with the political situation, which plummeted following the June Democratic Uprising. Anti-Communist and anti-labour regimes became even stronger, leading again to the alienation of socialist films, aesthetics, and theories which had been briefly introduced to the public. Their reputation barely survived within the independent film industry, which followed them up with a filmmaking academy, university lectures, and self-governing student organizations². Also, due to the impact of open importation of Communist films before and after the 1988 Seoul Olympics, Soviet film adaptations of Tolstoy's novels such as *Война и мир* (*War and Peace*, 1965) and *Анна Каренина* (*Anna Karenina*, 1967) were shown³, and the Chinese film *紅高粱* (*Red Sorghum*, 1987), Czech film *Love of the First Snow*,

² During the Seoul Olympics in September 1988, the Sogang University Communication Centre held regular movie sessions and screened films of Eisenstein and Tarkovsky [Seogang University Regular Film Screening].

³ See Shin Hye-cho's thesis on films screened in Korea before and after the 1988 Seoul Olympics through open imports of films from communist countries [Shin Hye-cho, p. 250–253].

Bulgarian film *Time of Violence* (1988), and the East German film *The Lover and the Traveller* were considered for screening [Invitation Expanded to the Communist Bloc]. However, a full-scale recall was attempted on November 11, 1995, with the advent of establishment of Dongsoong Cinema Tec, a joint venture between Dongsoong Art Centre and Baekdu-Daegan Film Company under the name of 'Plaza' [The Birth of the 'Plaza' Dedicated to Art Films]⁴. Dongsoong Cinema Tec was clearly aiming at bridging the gap between world film history and Korean cinema. Dongsoong Art Centre had been screening art films distributed by Baekdu-Daegan Film Company, and this partnership became centralised at Dongsoong Cinema Tec, creating a cinematic platform that disassociated itself from Hollywood films and profits. Interestingly, Dongsoong Cinema Tec, which had relatively stable screening conditions and accessibility, was exclusively used for various film festivals [Hwang]. The time at the Dongsoong Art Center, the hosting of film festivals at embassies and foreign cultural centres of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Hungary, followed by the New German Film Festival and the *Nouvelle Vague Film Festival*, and the 'Unknown Best Directors Exhibition' of May – October 1996 [There's a Movie like This, a Director like This] – all of these indicate that a theatre for cinematic art-house films and screening of non-mainstream films are closely related to the emergence of international film festivals in South Korea.

However, the planning of films' diversity based on exclusive theatres made these efforts structurally vulnerable to the imminent crisis. Following the import liberalization of films from the US, Hollywood movies became even more powerful in the domestic market, making single art film theatres considerably less competitive in terms of size. Dongsoong Cinema Tec started recruiting audiences through a membership system and newsletters. As outlined in the 'White Paper' commemorating Dongsoong Cinema Tec's first anniversary, the number of general and academy members exceeded 1,000 after the membership system was introduced in October 1995 [Dongsoong Cinema Tec]. However, the total number of members was 2,892 as of the first anniversary date, just before the publication of the White Paper. While this number of nearly 3,000 members is by no means small, it is lower than the number of viewers visiting a movie theatre showing Hollywood movies in one day. Commercial cinemas had already begun operating multiple screens simultaneously [Park, Han, p. 44–45], and these were soon followed by multiplex cinemas that combined shopping and leisure, further jeopardizing the existence of non-Hollywood films in theatres. It is possible that theatres for non-Hollywood films, especially films from Eastern European countries such as the Soviet Union, Asian countries

⁴ 'The Square' opened on November 11, introducing American independent film director Jim Jarmusch's *Stranger Than Paradise*, and *Coffee and Cigarettes* (Jim Jarmusch), *Boy Meets Girl* (Leos Carax), *Nostalghia* (Andrei Tarkovsky), *Tempo di Viaggio* (Andrei Tarkovsky), *Strategia Del Ragno / The Spider's Stratagem* (Bernardo Bertolucci), *Még kér a nép / Red Psalm* (Miklós Jancsó), and *Τοπίο στην ομίχλη / Landscape in the Mist* (Theo Angelopoulos), for six months.

such as China, and independent films, referred to the multiplex as a kind of 'co-evolution'. Notably, Dongsoong Cinema Tec held the Seoul International Independent Film Festival as soon as it was declared an exclusively art film theatre in 1995 [December 2–8: the first Seoul International Independence Film Festival]. The screening of Iranian director Abbas Kiarostami's *Where Is the Friend's Home?* (1987) at the film festival was successful enough to create a popular boom of Iranian films in Korea. The domestic international film festival may have come about because of a pure desire of the world film industry, which had recently celebrated its centennial, or because of the implementation of local autonomy, but it is hard to deny that it might have been envisioned as a multiplex for non-mainstream cinema from around the world (Fig. 1).

The Busan International Film Festival is a significant event in Korea because it created an environment where films from around the world from the past to present could share the same space. Indeed, one of the highlights of the first Busan International Film Festival in 1996 was that Russian, Eastern European, Chinese, and other Asian films were invited. Through different sections of the programme such as 'Wide Angle' and 'World Cinema', the first Busan International Film Festival presented 171 films from 32 countries, including the Russian films *Прибытие поезда / Arrival of the Train* (1995) (А. Железняков / Andrei Zhelezniakov), *Кавказский пленник / Prisoner of the Mountains* (1996) (С. Бодров / Sergei Bodrov), and *Утомленные солнцем / Burnt by the Sun* (1994) (Н. Михалков / Nikita Mikhalkov). At that time, in the view of the Korean film industry, world cinema was centred on Western European films, with the United States dominating. Even though non-Hollywood films made their debut in Korea in the 1980s following the film movement, their place on the market has been narrowed as a consequence of anti-communist, anti-labour government policies and moviegoers' preference for Hollywood-style films. The energy of the post-Cold War world with the fall of communism in the late 1980s was utterly minimal in the Korean film market. It was under these circumstances that the Busan International Film Festival was born from a quest to rewrite the history of world cinema. It is noteworthy that there were about 20 non-Hollywood films released at the 1st Busan International Film Festival that received a larger audience than expected [Lee Hye-young]. As the Busan International Film Festival attempted to reconstruct a post-Cold War world cinema at the end of the Cold War, it was an event that sought to reconcile world history with regional specificity, and in this regard, domestic international film festivals are in line with non-Hollywood film screening campaigns. This is evidenced by the invitation and screening of films that are not imported but are recorded in the history of world cinema, are controversial, have received international film festival awards, and are independent. Furthermore, festivalizing the rebellious nature of film cultures, which used video and a small screening space, suggests that this international film festival carried on the spirit of the 1980s film movement.

Agonistics Between Korean Film and ‘Others’ and the Field for Resonance

As of pandemic-stricken 2020, there are 18 film festivals registered with the Korean Film Council. This represents a significant difference from the 186 film festivals that have been held so far in South Korea because only actual or scheduled film festivals are registered [Kim Ji-hoo, p. 7–39]. The small-scale Busan International Film Festival started in 1996 in Nampo-dong, followed by Bucheon International Fantastic Film Festival in 1997 and Jeonju International Film Festival in 2000, which set out to localize film platforms on an international scale. In part, the growing number of domestic international film festivals could be attributed to the fact that more Korean films have been invited and awarded at overseas film festivals as popular media, and not only as movies. Accordingly, the exponential rise of the film festival in Korea may seem like an illusion caused by Bong Joon-ho and *Parasite* receiving major awards at the 2019 Cannes Film Festival and the Academy Awards. At least many international film festivals held in Korea have referred to overseas film festivals as mirrors for creating images of Korean films entering a new era of full-blown production beyond the age of sentiment, and Bong Joon-ho and *Parasite* could be seen as narcissistic illusions of the blurred line between domestic and foreign film festivals. The question remains whether the only interpretation is to evaluate the international film festival in Korea in comparison to the leading foreign film festivals (Fig. 2).

The international film festival, which seems to have landed in Korea by accident in the mid-1990s, is more of a historical product from below, as discussed in the above chapter of my essay. Technically, it is a mixed and indigenous cultural movement that grew out of the nexus between the democratic movement in Korea of the 1980s and the post-Cold War world of the 1990s. The 1980s film movement, the establishment of an art cinema in the 1990s, and the appearance of the 1996 International Film Festival – these were not parallel developments, but rather they were part of building narrative tension. Therefore, domestic international film festivals were not destined to exhaust themselves with the mapping of post-Cold War world cinema. Due to the success of several film festivals, such as the Busan International Film Festival, the Jeonju International Film Festival, and the Bucheon International Fantastic Film Festival, the international film festivals were declared public forums for agonistics and solidarity with a goal of discovering various contact zones between film and society since the 2000s. With this opportunity, domestic international film festivals challenged themselves to transform qualitatively, rather than merely copying or quantitatively proliferating, in which respect DMZ Docs is at the centre of problems that arose within domestic international film festivals of the 2000s. One of the most notable features of the transition of the international film festivals in the 2000s is that their movement took on a political character. In parallel with the Busan International Film Festival

reorganizing every year to focus on a different theme or project, other international film festivals emerged with social agendas at their forefront. This change shows the evolution of international film festivals from cultural movements to cultural politics.

Thus, domestic international film festivals are a *glocal* cultural phenomenon, creating a contact zone between global and local. The value of the contact zone lies in the history and culture that have cracked the dichotomy of centre and periphery, dominance, and subordination, as well as of culture from above or a concept of pure-blood purism. Given that the contact zone that links these two sides of the boundary is a political space that plans and imagines the coexistence of everything beyond boundaries of division and discrimination, the film festival should be a noisy stage for polyphony. Unfortunately, domestic international film festivals have been tamed into silence for too long. The 'Diving Bell' incident at the 2014 Busan International Film Festival was a signal of such underlying silence.

Among the various studies of the Busan International Film Festival, the interesting keyword 'multi-scale mediator' appears [Hwang, Lee, p. 298–339]. This term refers to the diversity of subjects involved in the organization and operation of the BIFF. The multi-scale mediator identified in research as a driving force behind the birth and growth of BIFF had disappeared by 2014. Following the dissolution of the organization and the reduction in its budget, the organizing committee members of the BIFF should have discussed possible steps for creating a new assembly separate from it, in conjunction with government agencies, municipalities, and private companies⁵. This would be likely to prompt the contact zone to transform into a methodology that rebuilds relationships by intervening in agonistics and solidarity planning.

In this regard, there is a need to reconfirm the moment of agonistics and resonance that occurred in the new contact zones of Korean films in the 1980s and 1990s. What one should remember about the mass movement of independent film groups in the 1980s is the publication of film magazines and books. As Seoul Film Group, a representative independent film group of the time, published 'For a New Film' (Hakminsa, 1983) and 'Film Movement Theory' (Hwada, 1985), it attempted to facilitate dialogue between Korean films unilaterally oriented towards Hollywood films and 'other' films as well as to argue about the social function of films. Along with the literary coterie magazine 'Open Film' (1984), published by the university film club that participated in the 'Small Film Festival' led by 'Film Madang Woori' (1984), volumes 1 and 2 (1989, 1990) of the National Film Research Institute (1988), formed by a minority group in the process of reorganising the magazine 'Ready Go' (1986) and the Seoul Film Group into the Seoul Visual Collective, made Korean films agonistic with 'other' films, imagining a new origin of Korean films that would resonate with

⁵ The assembly referred to Antonio Negri and Michael Hart's theory. Assemblies are leaderless social movements, aiming for politics from below, distinct from constructed power or constitutional power [Negri, Hardt].

the result. While designing new contact zones for Korean cinema in the 1980s, these magazines and books recognised the socialist film discourse and movement in colonial Joseon as the origin of Korean film history, and at the same time, secured a niche for aesthetic independence or ideological radicality into Korean films as a device that resonated with Soviet and Eastern European art films, Third World films, and North Korean films.

However, it was the international film festivals of the 1990s that directly manifested the internal contact zones of the resources mobilised for Korean films and agonistics through the mass movement of independent film groups in the 1980s. Among them, Soviet and Russian films had the widest receptivity and expandability. One of the reasons was the nostalgia for directors, such as Sergei Eisenstein and various production and critical theories at the time of the advent of the film era. In recent interviews with activists who led the film movement in the 1980s, they confessed that no one had actually seen the film *The Battleship Potemkin* (*Броненосец Потёмкин*, 1925) by Eisenstein (С. Эйзенштейн), who talked enthusiastically every time at a seminar held mainly by the university film club, and the 'Odessa Stairs' scene, which contained all five types of montage he put forward in theory. [한, p. 614–616]. There is a clear possibility that the desire for ending the long taboo must have been channelised through the international film festival. Further, the transition of the Soviet Union to Russia was a historic event for the world in the 1990s. This transition paved the way for access to Russian films and art that had been obscured by the Soviets. More particularly, the fact that the view on contemporary films and art beyond the limit of focusing on the classics was secured enabled making these films a resource for 'agonistics' in relation to existing films and establishing 'resonance' for the new world of films.

As discussed in the previous chapter, imports of Soviet films emerged in the course of friendship and globalisation and with the hosting of the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Soviet films were quite popular among the films of communist countries that did not have diplomatic relations with Korea. This was because of works that were made into films based on Russian classics, such as those by Tolstoy (Л. Толстой). Moreover, with the opening of the Dongsung Cinematheque, a theatre dedicated to art films in the 1990s was established, and special screening of films by Andrei Tarkovsky (А. Тарковский), including *The Sacrifice* (*Жертвоприношение*, 1986) and *Nostalgia* (*Ностальгия*, 1983) were held. However, it was in the Busan International Film Festival in 1996 that Russian past and present films began to be introduced in Korea. Since the opening of the Busan International Film Festival, a total of 85 films were submitted by Russian directors, and 6,136 films were already screened, as of 2018. That is, the proportion of Russian works is less than 1.5 %. Given this fact, it cannot be said that Russia's participation rate is very high. However, it is undeniable that the Busan International Film Festival played a major role in the influx and embrace of Russian films in Korea given the fact that the masters of modern films, including Rogozhkin (А. Рогожкин), Zvyagintsev (А. Звя-

гинцев), Shakhnazarov (К. Шахназаров), and Sokurov (А. Сокуров) showed the flow and trend of modern Russian cinema and its artistry through participation [Shin, p. 260–261].

Russian and Soviet films invited to the Busan International Film Festival have two connotations. One is the Busan International Film Festival's desire for world-class international film festivals, such as the Cannes, Venice, and Berlin International Film Festivals [Lee Hee-won], where Russian and Soviet films are actively invited and awarded. Second is the origin of films, which has long disappeared from the country and the diversity of illumination, agonistics, and resonance. If the former was the desire for recognition of the international film festival that started late, the latter, as mentioned in the previous chapter, draws a map of world cinema in the post-Cold War era. At the same time, it also embodies agonistics with Korean films, which is the vulgarity of American Hollywood films, and resonance with other worlds, such as genres, aesthetics, and ideas. At this point, the resonance deepens even more. As several film researchers and critics point out, the new wave of Korean films in the 1990s is closely related to the contact zones with Russian/Soviet films. New films and film directors that appeared during this period are connected in various ways with Russian and Eastern European films that are closely related to Russian films. Chang Yoon-hyun, who directed the movie *The Contact*, a representative work of the Korean New Wave at the time, was active in the film movement through independent film production and then studied abroad at the Hungarian National Film School, which is very symbolic. Although it is a commercial film addressing the romance between a man and a woman, the narrative where the two meet at the end of the film declares a break from the existing Korean commercial films. Additionally, the director presents a new location to the audience. He introduces a film that the audience watches from a distance, instead of being immersed, like the art films of Russia and Eastern Europe.

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The International Film Festival in South Korea first took place in an atmosphere that fostered autonomy, openness, and diversity within the local community. As a result, existing discussions have emphasized the locality of the international film festival in assessing its positive or negative aspects but neglect the dynamics of the movement that cracks institutions and cultures from the top down as the driving force behind local autonomy and cultural diversity. Hence, this article traces the origins of domestic international film festivals back more than a decade, concluding that the film movement in the 1980s had a significant impact on the festivalisation of instability in order to establish a post-Cold War world cinema. At the very least, the Busan International Film Festival of 1996 was an experimental event that united film cultures, including those of the 1980s film movement that sought and fought for different types of films outside of Hollywood to screen, as well as the theatres and media they created. The notion of

approaching international film festivals as movements ultimately provides a useful methodology for defining the nature of the domestic international film festivals and determining their direction. International film festivals, as a movement from below, have proposed a new post-movement agenda and are preparing statements for expansion beyond the film festival.

Oscar successes like Bong Joon-ho's *Parasite* and Isaac Chung's *Minari* might still be misinterpreted as ethnonationalism, but film festivals have long been a primitive institution for the so-called 'public for film festival'. There is no need to consider this the result of the familiarity with international film festivals that have taken place in Korea, but it is hard to deny that domestic film festivals have long been seen as a local festival rather than as awards ceremonies. Also undeniable is the fact that the origins and growth of domestic international film festivals can be linked to the active role of local governments, which, since their implementation in 1995, started film festivals as a regional characterization strategy and have been actively engaged in planning and provoking attraction, which is why the international film festival in Korea serves as a regional event for major cities. This makes the international film festival itself a 'glocal' cultural phenomenon. The *glocal* aspect of the international film festival, which derives from the relationship with local governments, needs to be extended to include the meeting and mixing of disparate elements. This article aimed to go beyond existing discussions in South Korea that have never been particularly curious about the unique way in which an international film festival combines global and local elements.

Through the mass movement of independent film groups in the 1980s and international film festivals in the 1990s, Soviet and Russian socialist films, art films, and documentary films intervened in the origin of new Korean films during the process of coming into contact with films other than Hollywood films, commercial films, and play films. These two events of Korean films in the 1980s and 1990s were ultimately a journey of social resonance aimed at talking about new Korean films with the audience through 'agonistics' and 'resonance' between Korean and 'other' films.

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