1948 as Division or Foundation? The New Right Movement and South Korean Cultural Memory

A Mnemohistorical Approach

# **Bibliography**

# **Essential readings for the lecture:**

- Kim Dong-Choon (2010): "The Long Road Toward Truth and Reconciliation: Unwavering Attempts to Achieve Justice in South Korea." *Critical Asian Studies* 42, no. 4, 525–552.
- Tikhonov, Vladimir (2019): "The Rise and Fall of the New Right Movement and the Historical Wars in 2000s South Korea," *European Journal of Korean Studies* 18, no. 2, 11–44.
- Vierthaler, Patrick (2018): "How to Place August 15 in South Korean History? The New Right, the '1948 Foundation' Historical View and the 2008 Kŏn'gukchŏl Dispute", *Vienna Journal of East Asian Studies* 10, 137–174.

# **Strongly recommended readings:**

- Suh, Jae-Jung. 2010. "Truth and Reconciliation in South Korea: Confronting War, Colonialism, and Intervention in the Asia Pacific." *Critical Asian Studies*, 42, no. 4, 503–524.
- Vierthaler, Patrick (2020): "Constructing a Museum of Contemporary History in South Korea and Austria: The South Korean 'History Wars' in a Global Context," Proceedings of Strange Korean Parallels Vol. 2, University of Helsinki (Feb. 27-28), 42–63.

# (Manuscripts on Moodle for those interested)

- Vierthaler, Patrick ([2019]): "The New Right and the 1948 Foundation View: A Failed Revision of South Korean Cultural Memory," *book title to be announced*.
- ———([2020]): "The New Right Movement and the Struggle for South Korean Cultural Memory. A Reconsideration of the New Right's Formative Period from a Mnemohistorical Perspective," to be published.

# Further literature on the subjects discussed, sorted by section in the slides

Below, I attempt to provide you with a small literature list on the subjects discussed in the lecture.

Where possible, I list both English and Korean articles on the same subject.

### I - Theoretical Concepts

# a) General, theoretical works

Alexander, Jeffrey et al. (2004): Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Assmann, Aleida (2008): "Transformations between History and Memory," Social Research 75, no. 1, 49–72.
- ——— (2011): Cultural memory and Western civilization: functions, media, archives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ——— (2018): Formen des Vergessens [Forms of Forgetting]. Frankfurt: Wallstein.
- Assmann, Jan (2011): Cultural memory and early civilization: writing, remembrance, and political imagination. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burke, Peter (1997): "History as Social Memory," in Burke, Peter: *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 43–59.
- Carr, Edward Hallet (2001 [1961]): *What is history?* Reprinted, with a new introduction. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Erll, Astrid (2011): Memory in Culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan.
- Fukuyama, Francis (1992): The End of History and the Last Man. New York: Free Press.
- Olick, Jeffrey K., Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, eds. (2011): *The Collective Memory Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# b) On Historiography in Korea

- Em, Henry (2013): *The Great Enterprise. Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea.*Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Kim Sŏng-nam 김성남 (2000): "21-segi ŭi han'guk hyŏn'daesa yŏn'gu panghyang 21 세기의 한국현대사 연구 방향," in Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 국사편찬위원회, ed., *21-segi ŭi han'guk sahak* 21 세시의 한국사학, 271–298.

# II - South Korean society, polarization and the collaboration issue after 1987

- Baker, Don (2016): "Memory wars and prospects for reconciliation in South Korea," in Kim Mikyoung, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Reconciliation in East Asia*. London: Routledge, 111–127.
- Chubb, Danielle L.: "Statist Nationalism and South Korea's National Security Law," in Kwak, Jun-Hyeok and Koichiro Matsuda, eds., *Patriotism in East Asia*. London: Routledge, 136–150.
- Chung, Youn-tae (2002): "Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea," *Korea Journal*, 42, no. 3, 18–59.
- Doucette, Jamie (2010): "The Terminal Crisis of the 'Participatory Government' and the Election of Lee Myung Bak," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 40, no. 1, 22–43.
- ——— (2013): "The Korean Thermidor: on political space and conservative reactions," *Transactions* of the Institute of British Geographers 38, no. 2, 299–310.

- Kim Dong-Choon (2016): "Critical assessments of the South Korean Truth and Reconciliation Commission," in Kim Mikyoung, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Reconciliation in East Asia*. London: Routledge, 144–158.
- Song, Yeun-Jee (2013): "Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korea from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s", Phd thesis, University of California Los Angeles. Nation, State, and People: Colonialism and the Formation of Divided Nation-States in Korea.
- ——— (2015): "Contextualizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in the Process of Democratization after Democracy," *The Review of Korean Studies* 18, no. 1, 195–225.

# **III – History Disputes (Overview)**

Kim, Mikyoung, ed. (2019): Korean Memories and Pyscho-Historical Fragmentation. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

#### In Korean:

- Pak T'ae-gyun 박태균 (2015): *Pak T'ae-gyun ŭi isyu han'guksa. Tulman moyŏdo ŭigyŏn i kallinŭn hyŏndaesa chaengjŏm* 박태균의 이슈 한국사. 둘만 모여도 의견이 갈리는 현대사 쟁점. Seoul: Ch'angbi 창비.
- ——, and Kim Ho-gi 김호기 (2019): Nonjaeng ŭro ingnŭn han'guk hyŏndaesa 논쟁으로 읽는 한국 현대사. Seoul: Medich'i midiŏ 메디치미디어.

# IV - The New Right Movement

Tikhonov (2019), see above.

Vierthaler (2018, 2019, 2020), see above.

#### In Korean:

- Chŏng Hae-gu 정해구 (2006): "Nyurait'ǔ undong ǔi hyŏnsil insik e taehan pip'anjŏk kŏmt'o 뉴라이트운동의 현실인식에 대한 비판적 검토," Yŏksa Pip'yŏng 76, 215–237.
- Yun Hae-dong 윤해동 (2012): "Nyurait'ŭ undong gwa yŏksa insik 뉴라이트 운동과 역사인식," *Minjok munhwa nonch'ong* 민족문화논총 51, 227-263.

# IV – Case Study #1

# (August 15, ROK establishment/foundation, The Foundation Dispute)

# a) On the dispute and the memory of August 15 itself:

Shin, Ju Baek (2005): "Perception of August 15 Remembered in and Forgotten from Korean Textbooks," *The Review of Korean Studies* 8, no. 1, 51–84.

Vierthaler, Patrick (2018), see above.

- Ha Sang-bok 하상복 (2012): "Yi Myŏng-bak chŏngbu wa '8.15' ki'nyŏm'il ŭi haesok: posu ŭi wigi ŭisik kwa damron chŏngch'i 이명박 정부와'8 . 15'기념일의 해석: 보수의 위기의식과 담론정치," *Hyŏndae chŏngch'I yŏn'gu* 현대정치연구 5, no. 2, 109–132.
- Yi Yŏng-hun 이영훈 (2011): "Kŏn'guk kiŏk ŭi 60-nyŏngan ŭi palchach'wi 건국 기억의 60 년간의 발자취," in Yi Chu-yŏng 이주영 et al., *Taehan min'guk ŭn wae kŏn'guk ŭl kinyŏm haji annŭnga?* 대한민국은 왜 건국을 기념하지 않는가. Seoul: New Daily 뉴데일리, 43–107. ...analysis on how "what is remembered?" on Aug. 15 changed

#### b) On the disputed period (1945–48/53), historical scholarship:

# i) Classic work, mostly US sources (highly influential in South Korea)

- Cumings, Bruce (1981, 1990): The Origins of the Korean War. 2 Vols. Princeton University Press. ...diplomatic history of the period 1945–50, esp. well-known for its chapters on South Korea
- *ii)* 1990s scholarschip, incorporating newly opened Russian and Chinese source material:
- Chen Jian (1994): China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation.

  Columbian University Press. ...incorporation of Chinese source-material
- Goncharov, Sergei N., John Lewis, and Xue Litai (1993): *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War*. Stanford University Press. ...incorporation of Russian source-material
- Stueck, William (1995): The Korean War: An International History. Princeton University Press.
- ——— (2002): Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History. Princeton University Press. ...incorporation of research from the 1990s for a global picture
- Wada, Haruki (2013): *The Korean War: An International History*. Rowman & Littlefield. [Translation from *Chōsen sensō*, 1995, Iwanami shoten] ...*Chinese/Russian source-material*

## *iii)* Newer scholarship, attempting for a global context:

- Lee, James Jongsoo (2006): The Partition of Korea After World War II: A Global History. London: Palgrave. ...highly recommendable due to its length, extensive treatment of trusteeship issue
- Lee, Steven Hugh (2011): "Military Occupation and Empire Building in Cold War Asia: The United States and Korea, 1945–1955," in Hasegawa, Tsuyoshi, ed., *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945–1991*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 98–121.
- Millett, Allan R. (2005): The War for Korea, 1945–1950. A House Burning. Kansas University Press.
- ——— (2010): The War for Korea, 1950–1951. They Came from the North. Kansas University Press.
- Stueck, William, and Boram Yi (2012): "'An Alliance Forged in Blood': The American Occupation of Korea, the Korean War, and the US-South Korean Alliance," Casey, Steven, ed., *The Korean War at Sixty: New Approaches to the Study of the Korean War*. London: Routledge, 15–48.

#### In Korean:

- Chŏng Yong-uk, ed. (2018): *Haebang ŭi konggan, chŏmnyŏng ŭi sigan* 해방의 공간, 점령의 시간. Seoul: P'urŭn yŏksa 푸른역사. ...most recent, sound historical treatment of liberation period
- Pak Chi-hyang et al. = Pak, Chi-hyang 박지향, Kim, Il-yǒng 김일영, Kim, Ch'òl 김철, Yi, Yǒng-hun 이영훈, eds. (2006): *Haebang chŏnhusa ŭi chaeinsik* 해방 전후사의 재인식. 2 Vols. Seoul: Ch'aeksesang 책세상. ...rebuttal to Song et al. by New Right scholars
- Pak Myŏng-lim 박명림 (1996): Han'guk chŏnjaeng ŭi palbal kwa kiwŏn 한국전쟁의 발발과 기원. 2 Vols. Seoul: Nanam 나남. ...detailed, well-documentated study
- Song et al. = Song Kŏn-ho 송건호 et al. (1979–1989): *Haebang chŏnhusa ŭi insik* 해방 전후사의 인식. 6 Vols. Seoul: Hangilsa 한길사. ...highly (!!) influential collection of essays

...If you want to get a solid overview over the period 1945-53, read Stueck (2002) and Lee (2006)!

# V – Case Study #2 (Museums of Contemporary History)

Miyoshi-Jaeger, Sheila (2002): "Monumental Histories: Manliness, the Military, and the War Memorial," *Public Culture* 14, no. 2, 387–410. ...analysis of War Memorial in Seoul Vierthaler, Patrick (2020), see above.

# In Korean (progressive standpoints, highly critical of the NMKCH)

- Kim, Sŏng-bo 김성보 (2013): "Sŏngch'al I kyŏl'yo toen 'yŏksa insik posu tae-yŏnhap' ŭi konggan, taehan min'guk yŏksa pangmulgwan 성찰이 결여된 '역사인식 보수대연합'의 공간, 대한민국역사박물관," Yŏksa pip'yŏng 역사비평 103,132–160.
- Yi Ki-hun 이기훈 (2013): "Kuljol toen sigak kwa pujok han chunbi: 'yŏksa' ŏmnŭn yŏksa pangmulgwan, che-1 chŏnsisil (1945 ijŏn) 굴절된 시각과 부족한 준비: '역사' 없는 역사박물관, 제 1 전시실 (1945 이전)," Yŏksa pip'yŏng 역사비평 103, 161–179.
- Yi Tong-gi 이동기 (2011): "Hyŏndaesa pangmulgwan ŏttŏkke mandŭl kosinga? 'Tog'il yŏnbang konghwaguk yŏksa ŭi chip' kwa 'taehan min'guk yŏksa pangmulgwan' ŭi kŏllip kwajŏng pigyo 현대사박물관 어떻게 만들 것인가? '독일연방공화국역사의 집'과 '대한민국역사박물관'의 건립과정 비교," Yŏksa pip'vŏng 역사비평 96, 243–279.
- ——, Hong Sŏk-ryul 홍석률 (2012): "'Taehan min'guk yŏksa pangmulgwan' saŏp pip'an kwa chŏngjaek taean '대한민국역사박물관' 사업 비판과 정책 대안," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 역사비평 99, 284—313.