



Collective Memory as Reflected in the Popular Historical Novels and Culture of Korea: *The Debate on Jo Jeong-rae's Arirang*

Sungwoo KANG and Sun KIM

Abstract

The collective memory of Korea, which has evolved through the shaping of the country's national culture and identity, has deepened Koreans' animosity toward Japan, and undermined reconciliation between Korea and Japan since the end of World War II. This paper analyzes how the collective memory of Japanese colonization of Korea has been constructed since World War II by examining the multiple narratives contained in Arirang, a popular Korean novel by Jo Jeong-rae, which has since the 1990s achieved canonical status on the basis of its nationalist perspective. For this purpose, this paper explores how Japanese colonialism is portrayed in Arirang, the pushback this portrayal has received from professional historians, and the socio-economic context in which the collective memory the novel promotes has been shaped and shared among Koreans.

Keywords: collective memory, post-WWII, popular novels, Korea-Japan relations, Arirang

First author: Sungwoo KANG is an assistant professor at the School of International Studies, Chungnam National University. E-mail: sungwoo.kang1231@gmail.com.

Corresponding author: Sun KIM is an independent researcher. E-mail: sun1024@hotmail.com.

Introduction

The history of colonial Korea is still relevant today, more than seventy years after its liberation from Japan. The country's colonial history still lingers deeply in the minds of the Korean people, and consideration of that period affects the way people think about their own past. Works of literature in particular are important for evoking sympathy in a wide audience regarding a given historical period and reflect the popular sentiment of the time they were written, thereby becoming a source of collective memory. Jo Jeong-rae's *Arirang* is arguably one of the most important literary works shaping Korean collective memory of Japanese colonialism in South Korea (hereafter, Korea). *Arirang* had a significant impact on readers, due in great part to it being populated by characters who are "humans like us who think, speak, act and suffer as we do" (Ricoeur 1992, 150).

The significance of *Arirang* in terms of its effects on the popular culture of Korea, and even its part in forming that culture, is evinced by the fact that, according to an opinion poll carried out in 1995, it ranked third among the most influential books in Korea. It was originally published as a serial novel in the daily newspaper *Hanguk ilbo* and has sold over three million copies since it was first published as a complete text in 1994.¹ In 2015 the novel was also made into a musical to mark the seventieth anniversary of liberation from Japan, and the musical was reprised in 2017 (J. Kim 2015; H. Kim 2017). The novel *Arirang*, which includes stories of Korean diaspora, has been widely circulated in various contexts for its in-depth descriptions on the sufferings of the Korean people under Japanese colonization. For example, the best-selling novel *Pachinko*, which regained popularity following the release of Apple TV+'s original adapted series, is also related to the stories of *Arirang*.² With the spreading popularity of *Pachinko* globally, the novel *Arirang* has recently been *revisited and discussed widely* in Korean

1. Further information was available at the website for the museum of the novel *Arirang* located in Gimje, <http://arirang.gimje.go.kr/index.sko?menuCd=AR02001000000> (accessed April 30, 2015).

2. Gyu-lee Lee, "'Pachinko' becomes local best-selling book," *Korea Times*, April 18, 2022.

society. As such, an ordinary reader has commented on his online blog that, “*Pachinko* is a mild version of *Arirang*.”³

The plot of the novel *Arirang* reflects the lives of Koreans under Japanese colonial rule from roughly 1904 to 1945. The novel covers important historical events and developments that were significant elements of colonial Korean history, including the Righteous Army (*uibyeong*) movement⁴ that resisted the Japanese, Japanese annexation of 1910, the March First Movement of 1919, the Japanese land survey of the Korean Peninsula, the Sino-Japanese War beginning in 1937, forced migration and labor, military conscription, guerrilla independence movements, the Pacific War from 1941, and the Japanese surrender after the A-bomb was unleashed. The geographical setting of *Arirang* spans not only the Korean Peninsula, but other parts of the world, including Manchuria, Shanghai, Vladivostok, and Hawai'i. For example, *Arirang*'s first setting is Gunsan port and the Gimje plain in Jeolla-do province, areas which had once been the food baskets of the Korean Peninsula, but had since become in the colonial period, “the most damaged and exploited areas on the Korean Peninsula by the Japanese bastards” (Jo 1994, 2:169).⁵ The novel traces the paths Koreans followed in the hopes of both escaping Japanese colonial enslavement and finding ways to resist Japanese imperialism.

By reflecting the sentiments of the contemporary Korean public, and by consequently shaping the memory of the general populace, *Arirang* has become a *lieu de mémoire* (a site of memory).⁶ Without a doubt, in terms of the memory or historical understanding of Koreans, the period of Japanese rule was traumatic and destructive. This form of memory, in both the

3. Hwayang yeonhwa, “Soseol Pachinko” (The Novel Pachinko), “Yeoreum-i joa” (Summer is Good), Hwayang yeonhwa’s Naver Blog, March 27, 2022, <https://blog.naver.com/jouuli/222684532330> (accessed September 4, 2022).

4. The term *Righteous Army* denotes a group of “private organizations of patriotic volunteers who took up arms in defence of the nation” in late 19th-century Korea (Lee 1996, 402–403).

5. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from *Arirang* are the author’s.

6. As Pierre Nora points out, “there are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory” (Nora 1989, 7).

private and public spheres, took root on the basis of “routine oppositions between ‘scientific history’ and the ‘other,’ which often appear in the form of myth, ritual, or memory” (Yang 1999, 861). Moreover, the formation of collective memory is also heavily influenced by the specific socio-economic context of a given society, thus the importance of examining *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (social frameworks of memory).⁷ The “spirit of the times” that permeates the public provides the basis for the formation of collective memory in a particular context (Wachtel 1990, 7). In other words, through collective memory is developed a national identity that is shared among members of the general public in a given socio-economic context, a form of identity that provides a sense of belonging to the nation. Without an understanding of *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* in the formation of Korean collective memory, we are left with an inadequate analysis that fails to capture the formation of the fundamental ideas, values, and norms that define the culture as well as the national consciousness of Korea.

There have been myriad studies on various aspects of nationalism and its relation to collective memory in Korea. The study of nationalism is essential to the politics of identity formation since nationalism has been one of the most dominant forms of human identity in the modern era. There is no doubt that it has been an important factor in Korean historiography, and that nationalistic historiography has become a mainstream historical discourse. Moreover, the collective memory of the colonial past in Korea is an important source of nationalism. Eckert (1991, 226) explains that “both nationalism and nationalist history are relatively recent phenomena that grew out of a late nineteenth-century reaction to imperialism and were reinforced by the experience of colonialism.” In other words, nationalism in Korea began to emerge due to the need for affirmative national symbols in response to Japanese colonialist historiography. As a result, the research on the colonial history of Korea has been dominated by nationalistic discourses.

7. The term *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (social frameworks of memory) derives from Maurice Halbwachs, who indicates that “our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory in such a way that it is capable of the act of recollection” (Halbwachs 1992, 38).

The significance of popular cultural forms, including popular novels, in shaping a collective memory that is a source of nationalism has not been stressed enough. However, with the rise of the Korean Wave (*Hallyu*) and the growing global influence of Korean pop culture, Korean scholarship has begun to emphasize how “culture and individual memory are constantly produced through and mediated by the technologies of memory...[and] we all have ‘personal’ memories that come to us not from our individual experience but from our mediated experience of photographs, documentaries, and popular culture” (Sturken 2008, 75). As such, collective memory, as reflected in Korean popular culture, diversifies and broadens Korean cultural content, including drama, film, and music. Reflecting this growing scholarly and general interest in popular cultural forms, this study aims to explore the relationship between collective memory and popular culture in Korea, focusing on the production of a type of everyday nationalism through literature. For this purpose, this study has identified Jo Jeong-rae’s popular novel *Arirang* as a significant source of nationalistic historiography and aims to delineate how collective memory has been shaped by such historiography and has evolved on the basis of the *spirit of the times* in Korea.

Review of Relevant Debates

Nationalism has been an important factor in the Korean historiography of the colonial period. Indeed, nationalistic historiography has been a mainstream strand of Korean historiography, and scholars have long been debating various aspects of the nation and nationalism. On the one hand, a sense of national identity is developed on the basis of a pre-existing sense of ethnic identity, which is then concretized through the emergence of political institutions, as argued by Anthony Smith (1986, 1991), who has examined nationalism through the ethno-symbolic paradigm. On the other hand, nationalism is “a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century,” which evolved in tandem with the development of the sense of nation (Kedourie 1960, 9). In the underdeveloped world, moreover, in the wake of decolonization, nationalism has become a strong source of

this sense of nation. Gellner (1964, 169) argues that nationalism is not “the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.” In this light, works of literature are important sources of vibrant and strong social cohesion. By linking the emergence of “imagined communities” to the rise of “print capitalism,” Benedict Anderson (1983, 25) argues that the rise of the novel and the newspaper as modern cultural forms provided the “technical means for re-presenting the kind of imagined community that is the nation.” One of the main roles of the novel is to evoke sympathy from a wide audience in the period during which it was written, since it reflects contemporary popular sentiments, in the course of which it then becomes a source of collective memory. The novel reflects public sentiments at the time it is written; at the same time, the novel’s narrative can in turn shape the memory of the general populace.

Several books and articles have drawn on a broad range of historical and literary contexts in order to elaborate the relationship between collective memory and nationalism. Memory and its representations are rooted in “questions of identity, of nationalism, of power and authority” (Said 2000, 176). Thus, to understand the collective memory of the Korean public, it is necessary to examine how such memories have arisen through the integration of memories, narratives, stories, symbols, and rituals Korean people share in order to reinforce their cultural and national identities. In this study, nationalism is situated in a specific historical context and analyzed as resulting from the process of decolonization. In this sense, historiography has become an instrument for sensitizing new generations to colonial trauma and for connecting them to their heritage. Because memory and identity are inseparable, the collective memory of a society, combined with the experiences of the people who lived in the past, provides layers of accumulated knowledge. Without collective memory, history is seen as a story without a human face. Within and outside Korea, history has come to be seen as “a manifestation of memory—a laying out, a disclosing of the past; a way of ordering, recording and retaining that past; and so it serves to underpin our identities at both a personal and public level” (Southgate 2000, 39). According to Pai (2000, 9), “Korean nationalist historiography traces its intellectual heritage to the early beginnings of the national independence

movement.” This linkage and the need to imagine the nation come about, as Benedict Anderson concluded in *Imagined Communities*, “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members...yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 1983, 6).

Nationalistic Historiography in Jo Jeong-rae’s *Arirang*

After 35 years of destruction and devastation under Japanese rule, upon national liberation the most immediate task facing Koreans was the building of a new country. For both historians and the public, there was a general desire for a return to the situation before colonial rule and a revising of the understanding of Korean history as produced by the Japanese, whose central argument regarding historical causation was to emphasize the incapacity or *stagnation* of Joseon society. For this reason, Korean historians, in tandem with the public’s emerging historical understanding, began to produce more nation-centric history in order to overcome the legacy of the colonial period as well as its colonialist historiography. As a result, until the 1980s, the dominant paradigm of the historiography of the colonial period centered on memory and the nation.

This historiography, which was primarily based on the themes of memory and nationalism, has since been challenged by revisionist scholars, who have emphasized the need for empirical, quantitative evidence in the examination of colonial history. These revisionists began to emerge in the 1980s, and they introduced quantitative data and statistical methods in order to chart developments during the colonial period (Eckert 1991, 199). Led by An Byeongjik, they have argued that nation (*minjok*)-centered historiography is no longer valid because the early 21st century is an age of empiricism, and thus, history must be based on carefully assembled evidence. Nationalist historiography is also being challenged by the emergence of globalization and a new type of scholarship, including that of Im Jihyun and Yun Hae-dong, who argue that Korean national history should incorporate more transnational history with the rise of globalization

discourses around the world (Yun 2008, 33–65).

For instance, using price data, Jun and Lewis showed that, although there was a period of prosperity in Korea during the 18th century that might have produced standards of living that rivaled those of Western Europe, from the middle of the 19th century, the economic structures that had produced this prosperity were in serious decline, as evidenced by food price inflation (Jun and Lewis 2006; Jun et al. 2008). Also, An (1997, 55) argued that using memory as a lens through which to view history may inspire nationalism as well as patriotism, but it distorts the reality of history and undermines an appreciation of the dynamism of socioeconomic change. In sum, the revisionists insist that the general perspective on Korean modern history has been dominated by a monolithic nationalist view and has undermined Korean scholarship's ability to offer broader perspectives on the Korean past.

However, this school's attempt to replace the dominant nationalist historiography by emphasizing empirical evidence and attacking the consensus has not been welcomed. Rather, the revisionists have been intensely criticized by the South Korean populace, particularly on the grounds that such revisionist historians fail to incorporate into their analysis the most important element in the study of history, namely the *human factor* or social consciousness, that is, memory. As evidenced by the popular disdain for what can be viewed as crude positivism, the collective memory involved in nationalism still plays an important role in the popular and professional understanding of colonial history. Positivist studies of colonial Korea, therefore, might benefit from paying more attention to Koreans' nationalist sentiments.

The collisions between nationalist and revisionist historiography have occurred not only in the realm of professional historical writing but also in nonprofessional historical writing, such as historical fiction. Popular histories of colonial Korea are a staple of popular culture and comprise a large portion of film, television, drama, and documentary productions. They perform a crucial role in shaping national consciousness as a part of everyday life in Korea, and unsurprisingly, these sorts of representations tend to reflect nationalist views. For this reason, with iconoclastic vigor, the

revisionist scholars have attempted to criticize what they see as the monolithic historical lens of nationalist historiography.

Arirang is often criticized for such a monolithic historical perspective, imbued with black-and-white historical interpretations. In particular, the novel portrays the struggles and sufferings faced by ordinary Korean families situated in the vortex of history, while the resistance movement is depicted as a sign of hope during the Japanese colonial period. Nationalistic historiography emphasizes Japanese colonial exploitation and Koreans' suffering. In *Arirang*, the focal point of the story is the hardships of individuals and families brought about by Japanese colonial rule in Korea. The novel portrays this suffering through the detailed narratives of individual families.

The families of the protagonists Song Suik, Gamgoltaek (literally, a woman married off from the Gamgol area), and Choe Dogyu, who symbolize the fate of the nation, experience unspeakable suffering (Cho 1996, 31–37). For example, Gamgoltaek loses her husband due to his involvement in the Donghak movement⁸ in the late 19th century. Consequently, she is left alone with four children. Not only does she undergo suffering and face challenges, but her four children also bear incredible hardships and torments similar to those of their mother. Gamgoltaek's first son, Bang Yeonggeu, is forced to emigrate to Hawai'i to pay the debt he owes for his father's medicine. And her first daughter, Bang Boreum, marries a humble man in the neighboring area (*muju*) to avoid becoming the concubine of an old man in the village. After getting married, Boreum's husband and father-in-law are killed due to their involvement in the anti-Japanese Righteous Army movement of the early 20th century. Later, she is raped by two pro-Japanese Koreans and a Japanese chief detective. The life of the second daughter, Bang Suguk, is not so different

8. The Donghak (Eastern Learning) movement was a major indigenous religious and reform movement in Korea of the late 19th century. Its founder, Choe Jeu, together with his followers, engaged in a series of rebellions in order to "protect the country and comfort the people" (*boguk anmin*). Leadership of the movement passed to Choe Sihyeong following Choe Jeu's martyrdom. Yet it ended in failure and was a contributing cause of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 (Lee 1996, 313–321).

from those of her mother and older sister except that she chooses to resist her fate by participating in the independence movement against the Japanese in Manchuria. Gamgoltaek's last son, Bang Daegun, grows up with a sense of resentment and injustice at the suffering faced by his family members under the Japanese. He flees to Manchuria to join the guerrilla army which is fighting for independence from Japan (Cho 1996, 33–34). In this way, the novel dramatizes the Japanese occupation of Korea by presenting historical events at the level of the individual experiences of Koreans. In the process, it continuously emphasizes the exploitation imposed by Japanese colonists and pro-Japanese Koreans. For example, most of the protagonists are forced to leave their hometown of Gimje and to migrate to other parts of the world, including Manchuria, China, South Asia, Vladivostok, Hawai'i, Japan, and Central Asia.

Moreover, *Arirang* emphasizes Koreans' resistance to the Japanese colonialists, in this way mirroring Korean nationalist historiography that traces its intellectual heritage "to the early beginnings of the national independence movement" (Pai 2000, 9). The plot of the novel includes a detailed description of the sufferings and struggles experienced by Koreans during Japanese colonization, and consists of continuous conflicts between protagonists (e.g., farmers, independence fighters, and ordinary Koreans) and antagonists (e.g., pro-Japanese opportunists and Japanese residents in Korea). In the process, the novel combines historical events with personal testimonies. For instance, the March First Movement in 1919 is portrayed as follows:

Long live Korean independence! (Daehan dongnip manse!) The streets of Jongno are flooded with people. The shout of "manse" begins in the first row of the march and passes all the way to the last row like a wave... Gongheo [a protagonist] is constantly surprised and moved. The mass grows larger as time passes. (Jo 1994, 6:143)

In this way, the March First Movement is depicted in detail as a prime example of resistance that has lived on in the collective memory of the Korean people. The novel often highlights the involvement of ordinary

Koreans in independence efforts like the March First Movement and contrasts these acts with the brutality of Japanese colonial rule. The pain and agony of farmers who have lost their land to the oppressors are realistically depicted in order to convey the sense of desperation and anger shared by Koreans at that time, as illustrated in the following passage:

It had already been four or five years since the Japanese flooded into the town and bought the paddy lands and rice. The hardships of life for farmers are a natural consequence of this...All Koreans shall inevitably be impoverished unless they drive out the Japanese bastards. (Jo 1994, 2:169)

In particular, colonial exploitation is more dramatically depicted through episodes involving the cadastral land survey carried out by the Japanese. For example, to meet the requirements of this survey, a Korean farmer, Cha Gapsu, attempts to report his land holdings to the local government in order to gain the right to cultivate it, but the local representative (*jiju chongdae*) who oversees land ownership refuses to accede to Cha's request for recognition of his ownership. In protest, Cha lightly pushes the local representative, who then slips, resulting in a serious spine injury. Cha is accused of causing this injury and is eventually executed without trial. Through Cha's story, Jo Jeong-rae conveys his opinion that in reality the land survey carried out by the Japanese colonial government was used to exploit Koreans and to deprive them of their land. In addition to the painful story of Cha, the novel shows that more than four thousand similarly tragic cases of exploitation took place throughout the country during the eight years of the cadastral land survey (Jo 1994, 4:279–280; 5:343).

However, based on data and statistics, Yi Yeong-hun has raised serious questions about the view of the cadastral land survey presented in *Arirang*. In a 1993 article, Yi argued that despite the fact that Japan's land acquisition was *exploitative*, as per the dominant view of colonialism in Korea, no noticeable illegal land acquisition by the Japanese took place through the cadastral land survey (Y. Yi 1993). Yi also showed that the main reason for the rapid land acquisition by the Japanese was the onerousness of land taxes after the decline of rice prices in 1914. Moreover, the purpose of the survey

was to establish exclusive, capitalist ownership rights that recognized only one owner of a given piece of land. Yi argued that the land survey law (*Joseon budongsan deunggiryeong*; *Chosen fudōsan tōkirei* in Japanese) brought about a significant expansion of agricultural development in Korea. Through the process of establishing a modern form of land taxation, which was possibly the most important transformation brought about by the land survey, taxes were raised in order to reduce the dependence of the Government-General on Japan (Y. Yi 1993, 308–314). Yi criticizes Jo Jeong-rae's *Arirang* for its lack of historical evidence and for its teleological perspective. He argues that this sort of novel intentionally mixes fact and fiction to encourage patriotism or nationalism, which creates confusion between fact and fiction in the minds of its readers. Yi criticizes such novels for misinforming millions of Koreans and for fomenting hate and anger towards the Japanese (Y. Yi 2007, 260–262).

In response, Jo has defended himself by accusing Yi of wanting to become Japanese. He argues that writers should adhere to historical data and evidence, but he also asserts that, if historians cannot identify the human factor in explaining historical events, then no amount of quantitative data can holistically explain those events (Im 2007). Unfortunately, the debate between Yi and Jo became emotional, rather than remaining intellectual or precise, and the controversy over *Arirang* has thus far failed to lead to a deeper debate about colonial history in Korea. Professional historians such as Yi Yeong-hun often risk alienating themselves from popular sentiment by unduly criticizing novelists who prefer to write with a totalizing view in order to construct plot, character, and narrative. However, it should be acknowledged by both sides that dialogue between historians and novelists can lead to intellectual progress in the so-called *history wars* by allowing and producing a plurality of views.⁹ The debate, however, has revealed a huge gap between historians and novelists in terms of historical events. In other words, the controversy between the economic historian Yi Yeong-hun and the novelist Jo Jeong-rae over Jo's novel *Arirang* reflects the

9. The economist Suyeol Heo triggered another debate on the popular novel *Arirang* through a thorough examination of Gimje (land of the Mangyeong Plains) (Heo 2011, 36–100).

huge gap in historical understanding between professional historians and the public, the latter as represented in novelists' work. To the public, *Arirang* is a typical, populist, historical novel that portrays the lives of the common people, detailing their struggles for survival under Japanese colonial rule. Some readers of the novel have written reviews of the book, such as following: *Arirang* presents a "vivid narrative to illustrate the sufferings of the Korean people and a healing site for them...Some have criticized this novel for ideological bias and historical distortion; however, I do not want to judge the book as a distortion of history. By this story, Jo Jeong-rae is declaring 'Long live independent Korea' with nothing but a pen as his sword and gun. His writing embodies the true spirit of the independence movement."¹⁰ To revisionist historians, *Arirang* paints too strong a contrast between the oppressive, colonizing Japanese and the oppressed, colonized Koreans, paving the way for nationalist historiography. Nationalist historiography is also being challenged by the emergence of globalization and a new type of scholarship, including that of Im Ji-hyun and Yun Hae-dong, who argue that with the rise of globalization discourses worldwide, Korean national history should incorporate more transnational histories (Yun 2008, 33–65).

***Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (The Social Frameworks of Memory) in Korea**

The development of nationalism in Korea in the 20th century should be understood in relation to the process of shaping collective memory. Halbwachs (1992, 40) argues that "the past is not preserved but reconstructed on the basis of the present." In other words, it is impossible for individuals to remember without operating within a *social frame*. Collective memory is

10. Jeollyeok sonyeon, "Pen-eul chongkal sama hollo ulbujinneun daehan dongnim manse" (Alone and Wailing 'Long Live Independent Korea' Nothing but a Pen as a Sword), Jeollyeok sonyeon Noteu (Jeollyeok sonyeon's Naver Blog), December 27, 2021, <https://blog.naver.com/hanainde/222606101371> (accessed August 30, 2022).

always set in such social frames. Thus, to understand the novel *Arirang*, it is necessary to examine collective memory in Korea through the analytical lens of *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (social frameworks of memory).

Since liberation from Japan in 1945, the collective memory of ordinary Koreans who experienced Japanese colonialism has had a significant impact on the processes whereby images of shared national experience and identity are constructed among Koreans. Jo Jeong-rae took part in this process, as expressed in his motivation for writing *Arirang*:

My intention in writing this novel is...to acknowledge colonial history both as a whole and in detail....and to turn a sense of humiliation, defeat, and shame into a sense of pride, self-respect, and self-esteem by uncovering genuine historical facts that show how the colonial history of Korea is one of resistance, struggle, and victory. (Jo 1994, 12:323)

As Jo clearly states, by drawing a strong contrast between the oppressive Japanese colonists and the oppressed Koreans, *Arirang* achieved national prominence in the socio-economic milieu of Korea. It was published and popularized in the early and mid-1990s, during which period Korea was achieving significant economic success (Y. Chung 2007, 15). The rapid growth of the Korean economy increased Korea's competitiveness with Japan, as evinced by periodical headlines such as "Korea's Challenge to Japan" and "Asia's Next Powerhouse," which were premised on the development of the Korean economy relative to Japan's (Lie 1998, 157). At the same time, the national development discourse was consolidated as the pervasive ideology uniting Koreans. Although it lagged far behind Japan in terms of the size of its economy and other economic indicators, Korea was gaining confidence in its ability to achieve economic success. Due to Korea's rapid economic growth over the previous decades, the dynamics of the relationship between Korea and Japan also began to change (Rhyu and Lee 2006, 195–214).

Korea had to develop its economy out of the ashes of colonialism and the Korean War, and Japan was indispensable in this process. Not only was Japan a model for Korea, one which could be creatively modified in the

quest for economic development, but it also offered both direct and indirect financial aid to Korea as compensation for Japanese colonial rule (Rhyu and Lee 2006, 207–208). Korea's rapid economic growth had begun in the 1960s. After coming to power via a military coup d'état, President Park Chung-hee's junta recognized the need to promote rapid economic growth in order to have political legitimacy in the eyes of the Korean public. The Park government replicated the Japanese model of economic development. In particular, in 1961 it established the Economic Planning Board (EPB) in order to manage the economic policies of the government (Bak 2007). The EPB was a replica of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Tsūshō-sangyō-shō; MITI), to such an extent that it was known as "Korea's MITI." Just as MITI led the rapid growth of the Japanese economy, also known as Japan's *economic miracle*, the EPB played an even larger role in Korea's economic development (Johnson 1982, 172–173). For example, unlike Japan's MITI, the EPB made budgeting and resource allocation decisions (Han 1998, 120). The EPB also took charge of coordinating the annual planning of fiscal projects, including the Five-Year Plans (FYP) of the period (Han 1998; Cumings 2006).

Moreover, formal relations between Korea and Japan were re-established with the treaty of June 1965, which entailed the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries. This in turn entailed an agreement for Japan to provide compensation (in both grants and loans) for the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea (Hahn 1980, 1088). Accordingly, the two countries agreed that the Japanese government would provide financial assistance to Korea in the form of US\$300 million in grants, US\$200 million in loans, and US\$300 million in commercial loans (Hahn 1980, 1088–1089; Heo and Roehrig 2014, 91). From that point, bilateral economic ties between the two countries began to strengthen significantly. During the administration of Park Chung-hee (1961–1979), trade between Korea and Japan increased from US\$221 million in 1965 to almost US\$10 billion in 1979 (H. Kim 1987, 498). For Korea, direct and indirect aid from Japan provided seed money for the initial stage of economic development. However, the growing economic interdependence between Korea and Japan also entailed the structural dependency of the Korean economy on Japan,

which resulted in chronic trade deficits. As a result, in the quarterly Zainichi magazine *Samcheolli* (Three Thousand Leagues), the Korean poet Kim Chi-ha attempted to persuade Japanese intellectuals that the Japanese government must immediately halt the ravages of neo-colonialist economic aggression (Maeda 1975, 119).

Even in the 1980s, in the midst of several thorny issues between Korea and Japan such as the Japanese history textbook controversy and the treatment and legal status of Korean residents in Japan (Zainichi), the Japanese government provided US\$6 billion in funds—60 percent of its official development assistance (ODA) funds—to Korea (H. Kim 1987, 506–507). However, Rhyu and Lee (2006, 195) argue that the hierarchical economic relationship between Korea and Japan began to “dissolve in the mid-1980s and had almost vanished by the 1990s.” There were several factors involved in this evolution. The democratic transition from a military dictatorship to a liberal democracy was launched in 1987. The success of the 1988 Seoul Olympics was also a strong point of pride for ordinary Koreans (Larson and Park 1993, 17–21). Moreover, in 1993, Kim Young-sam became the first civilian president after a long period of military dictatorship (Y. Kim 2011, 42–43), and he launched a campaign to “rectify history” (*yeoksa baro seugi*). The former Japanese Government-General building was labeled a legacy of the colonial period and demolished on the fiftieth anniversary of Korea’s liberation from Japan (Han 2014, 9, 13; Kim et al. 2020). In addition, the Kim Young-sam administration promoted globalization (*segzehwa*) and increased international collaboration with the West, thereby decreasing Korea’s reliance on Japan. The challenge of a rising China has been another factor behind the change in Korea’s relations with Japan. By normalizing diplomatic relations with Russia and China in 1990 and 1992, respectively, Korea diversified its diplomatic and economic relations in Northeast Asia.

Moreover, given that by the 1990s Korea had achieved a high rate of economic growth and democratization and successfully hosted the Olympics, there was fertile ground for the formation of a certain type of collective memory. Simultaneously with these developments, the issues of Japanese history textbooks and “comfort women” aroused and ignited heated diplomatic controversies between Korea and Japan in the early 1990s.

In 1993, the Japanese government attempted to omit Japanese aggression against neighboring East Asian countries from the country's authorized history textbooks, giving rise to the "textbook problem" (*kyōkasho mondai* in Japanese) (Yun 2009, 413–420; Sneider 2011, 248–252). In addition, the comfort women issue became hugely prominent when Yi Hak-sun and two former comfort women¹¹ filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government in December 1991. In this social milieu, the novel *Arirang* starkly illustrated the sufferings of comfort women:

The girls sensed that something was not right. They did not feel good about this. It was strange that [they] had been continuously following the military troops...At dusk, suddenly, the doors [of the rooms where the girls stayed] were forcibly opened and soldiers flooded into each room. [In the room for the girl,] a soldier grabbed the girl and jumped up on the bed with her...The dresses the girls were wearing were lifted up and soldiers lowered their trousers. [After the rape,] the soldiers began to leave while pulling up their trousers, and the girls crouched down on the bed, overwhelmed with sobs, unable to stop the tears. (Jo 1995, 12:118–120)

In light of narratives such as this and faced with undeniable evidence, Japanese Cabinet Secretary Kato Koichi made the first public apology on the part of his government on the comfort women issue (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 1992). Moreover, in 1993, Foreign Minister Kōno Yōhei officially acknowledged the direct involvement of Japanese administrative and military personnel in recruiting comfort women "through coaxing, coercion, etc." Moreover, Kōno was explicit that the entity that was apologizing and conveying remorse to the comfort women was "the government of Japan" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 1993). However, the Korean government regarded the apology of the Japanese government in relation to comfort women as merely a political tactic to defuse immediate

11. "Comfort women" (*wianbu* in Korean, *ianfu* in Japanese) is a euphemism for sexual slaves who were forced to work in "comfort stations" (*ianshō*) by the Japanese army in the 1930s and 1940s. The number of victims amounted to approximately 50,000 to 200,000, of which between 80 and 90 percent were Korean (C. Chung 1995, 16).

public criticism, and even as “specious” and “deceitful” (Yamazaki 2006, 60–63). As a result, Korean perceptions of the Japanese deteriorated. In a Gallup survey conducted in Korea in 1992, 80.1 percent of respondents felt Japan did not regret its imperial aggression against neighboring countries, and over 70 percent of respondents said that they could not trust Japan (Korea Survey Polls 1992, 3–6). The poll data reflected Koreans’ deep suspicion of and hostility toward the Japanese at the time. In a broader context, the novel *Arirang* reflected the popular memory of colonialism possessed by ordinary Koreans in this socio-economic milieu.

While Korea had gained confidence due to its economic growth and democratization, together with the success of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the lingering colonial legacy helped generate issues surrounding Japanese history textbooks and comfort women, which created a sense of resentment toward the Japanese. The popular memory underpinning this resentment also continued to reflect the deeply held hopes that Korea’s colonial experiences, which can be felt as shameful, might be redeemed through an emphasis on the resistance movements of Koreans and the brutality of the Japanese.

The popularity of *Arirang* coincided with the reinvention of Korean national identity amidst economic and political progress and the success of the Seoul Olympics. Within this socio-economic context, the novel succeeded in influencing the public with its specific historical narratives and its version of collective memory. It was a part of a “master narrative that presents a highly selective but all the more compelling account of common destiny” because such master narratives provided “a new redemption” for each country after World War II (Jaraus 1997, 25, 27).¹² Moreover, the enhancement of national pride from economic success and political stability, together with hosting a major international event, was a strong source of social and national bonding. In other words, the collective memory of the

12. To be sure, the primary creator of a country’s master narrative through a top-down process is usually the government, which devises education policies and produces textbooks; yet this narrative is usually modified continuously by the general public through their engagement with it in a bottom-up process (Barret and Fudge 1981, 4).

war and of colonization in Korea emerged from the formation of a master narrative that incorporated the process of the selective remembering and forgetting of certain facts and events that suited the socio-economic context of the time and contributed to strengthening ordinary people's pride in the country and its people. In this respect, the historical novel *Arirang* has contributed to the formation of the collective memory of the Korean public through the process of selectively remembering the atrocities carried out by Japanese colonizers.

Conclusion

Historical novels, including *Arirang*, have contributed to the formation of the collective memory of the general populace of Korea. This collective memory has been invented and reinvented through a process of selective remembering and forgetting, in this way shaping people's views of past events. Korean writers, including Jo Jeong-rae, have contributed to shaping the collective memory of the Korean cultural and historical past by recognizing and promoting shared national symbols and by imbuing their experience with a communal dimension, thereby providing the opportunity for Koreans to forge a positive sense of their own national identity. The collective memory of the public has in this way been disseminated through a variety of cultural forms and practices. As Michel Foucault argues, "... since memory is actually a very important factor in struggle, if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamism. And one also controls their experience, their knowledge of previous struggles" (Foucault and Cahiers du Cinema 1975, 25). For this reason, Korean historical novels set in the colonial period have been underpinned by a strong populist bias, which the novels themselves echo and reinforce.

Arirang is a popular historical novel that portrays the lives of the common people under Japanese colonial rule. In Korea, a country that faced the immediate task of building a new nation-state after thirty-five years of destruction and devastation under Japanese rule, the memory of the colonial period still lingers strongly in people's minds, affecting the way Koreans

think about their own past and that of the Japanese. In this way, the Korean collective memory reflected in *Arirang* has been generated on the basis of nationalistic and patriotic expressions in culture, rather than solely on the basis of historical accuracy. Historical events are interspersed with fictional narratives in the novel in a way that, through the depiction of family life, evokes memories of both the private and public spheres in national life. The debate between historians and novelists reflects the gap between the popularly held collective memory and the empiricism of historical, quantitative data.

Moreover, the examination of *Arirang's cadres sociaux* (social frameworks) provides a better understanding of how collective memory is created and structured in the novel, together with its nationalistic historiography. The distinctive socio-economic milieu of Korea at the time the novel was published and popularized has affected the ways in which collective memory has been shaped and developed. In other words, the popularity of *Arirang* coincided with the reinvention of Korean national identity amidst economic and political progress and the success of the Seoul Olympic Games. The rapid growth of the Korean economy also coincided with the increase in Korea's competitiveness relative to Japan. At the same time, the hierarchical economic relationship between Korea and Japan began to fracture in the 1980s as Korea achieved a competitive edge in fields such as information technology and diversified its diplomatic and economic relations with the West, in this way reducing the importance of relations with Japan (Suh 2004, 13; Rhyu and Lee 2006, 203). By the 1990s, therefore, the socio-economic circumstances of Korea provided fertile ground for the formation of a certain collective memory of the colonial period. Within this socio-economic context, the novel *Arirang* succeeded in influencing the domestic populace with its own mixture of painful historical narratives and the collective memory of the Korean people. In this respect, *Arirang* played a part in national collective memory becoming a significant source of legitimacy and prestige for the nation and in fostering a nationalist sentiment in the minds of ordinary Koreans. Despite increasing political, economic, cultural, and human exchanges between Korea and Japan, tensions in Korea-Japan relations remain persistent. The main obstacle in

Korea-Japan relations is rooted in differences in their respective historical collective memory, including the Dokdo/Takeshima dispute, the history textbook controversy, and wartime forced labor and comfort women issues. To reconcile relations between Korea and Japan, bridging the gap in the collective memories of Koreans and Japanese is more than necessary. Unless Japan recognizes its colonial past honestly and fairly, and endeavors to breach the gap in collective memory between it and Korea, the journey toward reconciliation will continue to look like a long and winding road.

REFERENCES

- An, Byeong-jik. 1997. "Hanguk geunhyeondaesa yeongu-ui saeroun paereodaim" (A New Paradigm in the Study of Korea's Modern and Contemporary History). *Changjak-gwa bipyeong* (Creation and Criticism) 98: 39–58.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.
- Bak, Taekyun. 2007. *Wonhyeong-gwa byeonyong: Hanguk gyeongje gaebal gyehoek-ui giwon* (Archetype and Metamorphosis: The Origin of Korea's Economic Development Plans). Seoul: Seoul daehakgyo chulpanbu.
- Barret, Susan, and Colin Fudge. 1981. "Introductory Review: Examining the Policy-Action Relationship." In *Policy and Action*, edited by Susan Barret and Colin Fudge, 3–32. North Yorkshire: Methuen.
- Berger, Peter, and Thomas Luckmann. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Cho, Nam-hyeon. 1996. "Soseol-eul tonghan yeoksa-wa minjok-ui sae dokbeop" (New Way of Reading History and Nation through the Novel). In *Arirang yeongu* (A Study on the Novel *Arirang*), edited by Nam-hyeon Cho, 15–47. Seoul: Haenaem.
- Choi, Chungmoo. 2001. "The Politics of War Memories toward Healing." In *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, edited by T. Fujitani, et al., 395–409. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Chung, Chin Sung. 1995. "Korean Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan." In *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies Compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan and the Research Association on the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan*, edited by Keith Howard, translated by Y. Lee, 11–31. London: Cassell.
- Chung, Young-Iob. 2007. *South Korea in the Fast Lane: Economic Development and Capital Formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cumings, Bruce. 2006. "From Japanese Imperium to American hegemony: Korea-Centrism and the Transformation of the International System." In *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*, edited by Charles K. Armstrong, et al., 75–91. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
- Eckert, Carter J. 1991. *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876–1945*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Foucault, Michel, and Cahiers du Cinema. 1975. "Michel Foucault: Film and Popular

- Memory.” *Radical Philosophy* 11 (Summer): 24–29.
- Gellner, Ernest. 1964. *Thought and Change*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Hahn, Bae ho. 1980. “Korea-Japan Relations in the 1970s.” *Asian Survey* 20.11: 1087–1097.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1980. *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper & Row.
- _____. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. 6th edition. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Han, Jung-Sun. 2014. “Japan in the Public Culture of South Korea, 1945–2000s: The Making and Remaking of Colonial Sites and Memories.” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 15.2: 1–19.
- Han, Taehwan. 1998. “A Comparison of Industrial Policies between Japan and Korea: The Roles of MITI and EPB in Heavy and Automobile Industries Promotion.” PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i.
- Heo, Suyeol. 2011. *Ilje chogi joseon-ui nongeop: Singminji geundaehwaron-ui nongeop gaeballon-eul bipanhanda* (Korean Agriculture in the Early Japanese Imperial Period). Paju: Hangilsa.
- Heo, Uk, and Terence Roehrig. 2014. *South Korea’s Rise: Economic Development, Power, and Foreign Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Im, Eunjin. 2007. “Jo Jeong-rae ‘Yi Yeonghun gyosu-ege baeuneun haksang-deuri bulssang’” (Jo Jeong-rae, ‘I Pity the Students who Learn from Professor Yi Yeong-hun’). *Hangyeore*, June 13. https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/culture_general/215829.html (accessed April 20, 2023).
- Jarausch, Konrad H. 1997. “Reshaping German Identities: Reflections on the Post-Unification Debate.” In *After Unity: Reconfiguring German Identities*, edited by Konrad H. Jarausch, 1–23. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Jo, Jeong-rae. 1994–1995. *Arirang*. 12 vols. Seoul: Haenaem.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925–1975*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Jun, Seong Ho, and James B. Lewis. 2006. “Wages, Rents, and Interest Rates in Southern Korea: 1700 to 1900.” *Research in Economic History* 24: 217–283.
- _____, et al. 2008. “Korean Expansion and Decline from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century: A View Suggested by Adam Smith.” *Journal of Economic History* 68.1: 244–282.
- Kang, Sungwoo. 2015. “Ilbon-ui dongasia gongdongche damnon-gwa jeongchaek” (A Discourse on Possibilities and Limitation of Building East Asian Community in Japan). In *Dong asia-dongbuk-a-sin dongbuk-a II* (East Asia-Northeast Asia-New Northeast Asia II), edited by Se-il Kim, et al., 203–225. Seoul: Neo.

- Kedourie, Elie. 1960. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson.
- Kim, Chang-sik. 1996. "Minjoksa-wa bogwon-gwa minjok hon-ui buhwal-eul wihayeo: Jo Jeong-rae-ui Arirang" (For the Restoration of National History and the Resurrection of National Spirit: Jo Jeong-rae's *Arirang*). *Oneul-ui munye bipyeong* (Contemporary Literature Review) 20.3: 303–323.
- Kim, Gyeong-eun, et al. 2020. *Joseon chongdokbu geonmul cheolgeo gyeoljeong-eun eotteoke irueojyeonna* (How the Decision to Demolish the Former Japanese Government-General Building was Made). Seongnam: Hangukhak jungang yeonguwon (Academy of Korean Studies Press).
- Kim, Hong N. 1987. "Japanese-Korean Relations in the 1980s." *Asian Survey* 27.5: 497–514.
- Kim, Hyeonggi. 2017. "2017 myujikeol 'Arirang'" (The 2017 Musical 'Arirang'). *Sisa maegeojin* (Sisa Magazine), May 16. <https://www.sisamagazine.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=106849> (accessed April 22, 2023).
- Kim, Jeongeun. 2015. "Jo Jeong-rae 'Arirang' myujikeollo bonda" (Watching Jo Jeong-rae's 'Arirang' as a Musical). *Yonhap News*, April 13. <https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20150413115000005?section=search> (accessed April 22, 2023).
- Kim, Youngmi. 2011. *The Politics of Coalition in Korea: Between Institutions and Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Korea Survey (Gallup) Polls. 1992. The Gallup Reports: Social and Marketing Trends 3, September/October: 2–15. <https://www.gallup.co.kr/gallupdb/reportContent.asp?seqNo=3> (accessed April 20, 2023).
- Larson, James F., and Heung-soo Park. 1993. *Global Television and the Politics of the Seoul Olympics*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Lee, Peter, ed. 1996. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization Vol.2: From the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lie, John 1998. *Han Unbound: The Political Economy of South Korea*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Maeda, Yasuhiro. 1975. "Seoul bogo: Kim Ji-ha-ui yocheong" (Report from Seoul: Request of Korean Poet Kim Ji-ha). *Samcheolli* (Three Thousand Leagues) 3 (Fall): 113–119.
- Maruyama, Masao. 1963. "Thought and Behaviour Patterns of Japan's Wartime Leaders." In *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, edited by Ivan Morris, 84–134. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 1992. "Statement by Chief Cabinet Secretary Koichi Kato on the Issue of the So-called 'Wartime Comfort Women' from the Korean Peninsula." July 6. https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page25e_000346.html (accessed April 22, 2023).

- _____. 1993. "Statement by the Chief Cabinet Secretary." August 4. https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page25e_000343.html (accessed April 20, 2023).
- Mitani, Hiroshi. 2008. "The History Textbook Issue in Japan and East Asia: Institutional Framework, Controversies, and International Efforts for Common Histories." In *East Asia's Haunted Present: Historical Memories and the Resurgence of Nationalism*, edited by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo, 83–93. Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations* 26: 7–24.
- Nozaki, Yoshiko. 2008. *War Memory, Nationalism and Education in Postwar Japan, 1945-2007: The Japanese History Textbook Controversy and Ienaga Saburo's Court Challenges*. New York: Routledge.
- Pai, Hyung Il. 2000. *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rhyu, Sang-yong, and Seungjoo Lee. 2006. "Changing Dynamics in Korea-Japan Economic Relations: Policy Ideas and Development Strategies." *Asian Survey* 46.2: 195–214.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 1992. *Oneself as Another*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, Edward W. 2000. "Invention, Memory, and Place." *Critical Inquiry* 26.2: 175–192.
- Shin, Gi-wook, et al. 2007. "Introduction." In *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean experience*, edited by Gi-Wook Shin, et al., 1–14. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- _____. 1991. *National Identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Sneider, Daniel C. 2011. "The War over Words: History Textbooks and International Relations in Northeast Asia." In *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia*, edited by Gi Wook Shin and Daniel C. Sneider, 246–268. London: Routledge.
- Southgate, Beverley C. 2000. *Why Bother with History: Ancient, Modern, and Postmodern Motivations*. London: Pearson Education.
- Sturken, Marita. 2008. "Memory, Consumerism and Media: Reflections on the Emergence of the Field." *Memory Studies* 1.1: 73–78.
- Suh, Joonghae. 2004. "The Industrial Competitiveness of Korea's IT Industry." Preliminary draft. <https://faculty.washington.edu/karyiu/confer/seoul04/papers/Suh.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2023).
- Wachtel, Nathan. 1990. "Introduction." In *Between Memory and History*, edited by Marie Bourguet, et al., 1–18. London: Harwood Academic Publishers.

- Woo, Soo Young. 2014. "Jo Jeong-rae *Arirang*-e chulhyeon haneun gonggam yeondae gochal" (A Study on the Sympathy Solidarity in Jo Jeong-rae's *Arirang*). *Hyeondaeh munhak iron yeongu* (Journal of Literary Theory) 59: 183–203.
- Yamazaki, Jane. 2006. *Japanese Apologies World War II: A Rhetorical Study*. New York: Routledge.
- Yang, Daqing. 1999. "Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing." *American Historical Review* 104.3: 842–865.
- Yi, Yeong-hun. 1993. "Toji josa saeop-ui sutalseong jaegeomto" (Review of the Exploitative Characteristics of the Cadastral Land Survey). *Yeoksa bipyeong* (Critical Review of History) 24: 307–334.
- _____. 2007. "Gwanggi seorin jeungo-ui yeoksa soseolga Jo Jeong-rae: Daeha soseol 'Arirang'-eul jungsim-euro" (Historical Novelist with Preposterous Hatred Jo Jeong-rae: A Study of *Arirang*). *Sidae jeongsin* (Spirit of the Age) Summer: 260–281.
- Yi, Yeong-hun, et al. 2019. *Ban-il jongjokjuui: Daehan minguk wigi-ui geunwon* (Anti-Japanese Tribalism: The Root of Korea's Crisis). Seoul: Mirae.
- Yun, Geoncha. 2009. *Gyochakdoen sasang-ui hyeondaesa: 1945-nyeon ihu-ui hanguk, ilbon, jaeil joseonin* (Deadlocked Thoughts in Contemporary History: Korea, Japan, and Korean Residents in Japan after 1945). Seoul: Changbi.
- Yun, Hae-dong. 2008. "Teuraenseunaesyeneol hiseutori-ui ganeungseong: Hanguk geundaesa-reul jungsim-euro" (The Possibility of Transnational History: Focusing on Korean Modern History). *Yeoksa hakbo* (Korean Historical Review) 200: 33–65.