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# CONSTRUCTED AND CONTESTED

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the Discourse on pro-Japanese Collaborators in 21st Century South Korea

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MA Thesis Asian Studies (120EC): Korean Studies

Date: 01-07-2018

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. R.E. Breuker

Word count: 14220

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민족문제연구소 (Minjok munje yŏn'guso) The Center for Historical Truth and Justice CHTJ  
민족통일추진회 (Minjok chŏnggi rŭl seunŭn kukhoe ūiwŏn moim) National Assembly  
Members' Study Group for Correcting the Falsified National History NAMSG  
태정대통령실 (Taet'ongnyŏng sosok ch'inilpan-minjok haengwi chinsang  
kyumyŏng wiwŏnhoe) The Presidential Committee for the Investigating the Truth on  
pro-Japanese Collaborators PCIC

### **Notes on romanization**

Revised McCune-Reischauer is used throughout this thesis, an exception being the widely accepted Romanization of names as Park Chung-hee, Roh Moo-hyun, and Korean authors who published in English and romanized their names differently than the McCune-Reischauer system.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

On the morning of November 13 2017, a day before the 100th birthday of former President Park Chung-hee, a ceremony to celebrate the donation of a statue of former President Park Chung-hee was held near the Park Chung-hee Memorial Museum and Library in Sangam-dong, Mapo-gu, Seoul. The “Group Pursuing the Construction of the Statues of Rhee Syngman, Truman and Park Chung-hee” (Rhee Syngman, T’ürumon, Park Chung-hee tongsang köllip ch’ujin moim) stated that they would donate a statue of former President Park to the representatives of the memorial. The Center for Historical Truth and Justice (CHTJ) and the “Mapo Emergency Action Against the Erection of the Park Chung-hee Statue” (Park Chung-hee tongsang sölch’i chöji map’obisanghaengdong) protested against the construction of the statue. Participants held signs with the words, “Why Not Just Erect a Statue of a Soldier of Imperial Japan?” and shouted the slogan, “A statue of a pro-Japanese dictator on citizens’ land? No way!”<sup>1</sup> In this way, several groups voiced their disapproval of the statue and criticized the statue of Park Chung-hee, who as a ‘pro-Japanese collaborator’ betrayed ‘the people’, and should therefore not be celebrated.

Over the years, there has been great controversy regarding these ‘pro-Japanese collaborators’, not just ‘who’ they are, but also how they should be remembered and how the issue of pro-Japanese collaborators should be ‘resetled’.<sup>2</sup> This controversy centers around the extent to which South Korea should revisit the colonial period. 65 years after it ended with Japan’s defeat in World War II, is there anything that can(should?) be done regarding the exposure of pro-Japanese (ch’inilp’a) collaborators, when most of them already dead? Should later generations be held responsible for what their (grand)parents did years ago, and if so, to what extent? And what exactly does “collaboration” mean when speaking of an occupation that lasted more than a generation? And what does this mean for the definition of who a ‘collaborator’ is? How does one actually define a ‘collaborator’? What are the criteria for one to be labeled a collaborator?

In recent years, a surge in public attention and inquiry into the problem of collaborators led to a popular idea that the unfinished task of ‘resetting history’ by punishing pro-Japanese collaborators, was the root of the pain and hardship that Korean society has gone ever since its

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1 “[http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=201711131540001&code=940100](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201711131540001&code=940100)” In: “The statue for Park Chung-hee is revealed and the citizens are in conflict”

2 With this I mean the ‘historical settlement; clearing up past affairs’ (kwaga phrase often used in Korean to

annexation by Japan.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of a book by Kim Pong-u, previous director of the Center for Historical Truth and Justice about pro-Japanese collaborators, clearly demonstrates this:

“The problem of collaborators is the root of all evil in Korean society. This problem is so difficult and urgent that unless it is solved, Korean society will not survive, much less progress. [...] There is no social problem in Korea that is not related to the issue of collaborators.”<sup>4</sup>

The perspective thus grew that pro-Japanese collaborators became advocates of the national division, massacres during the Korean War, created the Cold War ideologues, became anti-North Koreans, anti-reunificationists, anti-pacifists, i.e. the source of all evil in Korean society.<sup>5</sup>

Starting from the 2000s this narrative was officially authorized as historical truth by the state through the legislation and institutionalization process in the 2000s. This shift into state intermeddling with the issue of pro-Japanese collaborators led to the establishment of several commissions operating under the banner of striving for ‘historical truth and justice’; in reality this meant a focus on pro-Japanese collaborators – who are to blame ‘for everything’ - and the settlement (ch’öngsan) thereof.<sup>6</sup> Song Yeun-Jee in her dissertation on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History, argues that the ‘Ch’inilp’a discourse’ aims to solve the issue of unpunished pro-Japanese collaborators, today, in the present.<sup>7</sup> In her account of the construction, spread and development of this discourse, she argues that “the discourse was in fact the mobilization of memory based on historical trauma”<sup>8</sup> and that the discourse

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3 Song Yeun-Jee’s dissertation covers this in great detail. Song Yeun-Jee. *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 2013.

4 Kim Pong-u, "Ch'aek möri-e" Introduction), *Ch'inilp'aran muösin-ga* (What is a Pro-Japanese Collaborator?) (The Asian Culture Press, 1997), 6. Kim Pong-u was the former director of “The Center for Historical Truth and Justice”. The institute, focuses mainly on history writing about the colonial period, and has played an important role in the spread of the ‘ch’inilp’a’ discourse. The institute has been criticized for its very ‘leftist’ view on history. <http://www.mediatoday.co.kr/?mod=news&act=articleView&idxno=84032>

5 Chung Youn-tae, “Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro- Japanese Collaborators in Korea,” *Korea Journal* 42, no. 3 (2002): 18–50; Chris Wilson, Danton Ford, and Alisa Jones, “The History Text: Framing Ethno-Cultural and Civic Nationalism in the Divided Korea,” in *History Education and National Identity in East Asia*, ed. Edward Vickers and Alisa Jones (New York: Routledge, 2005), 227–253.

reflects a “victimized postcolonial historical consciousness of Korean progressives”<sup>9</sup>, highlighting among others the establishment and following success of the Center for Historical Truth and Justice and the political success of these ‘progressives’ in Korean society.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the aforementioned ‘truth and reconciliation’ commissions, another site where the issue of collaboration is very much reflected, is the recent discussion surrounding state-issued history textbooks. When in 2015 the government announced it would publish state-issued history textbooks, the (progressive) opposition parties to the state-issued history textbooks criticized the government of aiming to erase the names of pro-Japanese collaborators and the history of collaboration with the Japanese government. Of particular concern for the opposition parties was the depiction of Park Chung-hee; concerns were raised that the ties between then president Park Geun-hye and her father would result in a distorted depiction of the former president.<sup>11</sup> This caused many schools and educators vowing to disobey the law, refusing to participate and teach according to the government-issued textbooks.<sup>12</sup>

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6 “Historical settlement”; the Korean term is ‘kwagŏsa ch’ŏngsan’. According to Song, this often means: ‘revealing the truth about history that up until then had been kept hidden from the public’ Song, *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*, 1-2. In his account on the “Evolution of truth commissions in Korea” Andrew Wolman points out that truth commissions in South Korea tend to “deal with events in the relatively distant past, are generally victim-centered, and have focused on uncovering historical facts rather than providing deeper inquiries into historical question of causation and consequences.” Wolman, Andrew. “Looking Back While Moving Forward: The Evolution of Truth Commissions in Korea.” *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal* 14 no.3. 2014, 50. [http://blog.hawaii.edu/aplpj/files/2013/05/APLPJ\\_14.3\\_Wolman\\_FINAL.pdf](http://blog.hawaii.edu/aplpj/files/2013/05/APLPJ_14.3_Wolman_FINAL.pdf)

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid. 229.

9 Ibid. ii.

10 I use the term ‘progressives’ here, which in a South Korean context is traditionally affiliated with the left, but ‘the left’ in Korea is a very loaded term. Where conservatives are often criticized as ‘pro-Japanese collaborators’, progressives (the left) are often criticized for sympathizing with North Korea. <https://www.koreaexpose.com/progressive-meaning-south-korea/>

11 Among others: “[State-issued history textbook reveal] ‘filial piety’ history textbook by Park Geun-hye, celebrating 100 years after the birth of Park Chung-hee.” [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=201611282247005](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201611282247005)

12 <http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/schooling/774298.html>

These days, the history textbook controversy, the commissions, and the collaborator discourse are inseparable in the context of the history and memory controversy. The prevalence of the pro-Japanese collaborator discourse in Korean society brings up several questions. My thesis will focus on the commissions and the history textbook controversy as sites where the pro-Japanese collaborator discourse was formed and contested.<sup>13</sup> In discussing the commissions and the history textbook controversy special attention will be paid to the controversial figure of Park Chung-hee. My thesis will explore the following questions: What are the criteria for one to be labeled a pro-Japanese collaborator and how do the commissions differ in their definition? In relation to Japan and collaboration; how is Park Chung-hee depicted in the government-issued history textbook? And what does this tell us about how the discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators is contested?

I will try to answer these questions by textual analysis of the government-issued history textbook and an analysis of critiques on the textbook – critiques on Park Chung-hee’s depiction and the depiction of pro-Japanese collaborators in the textbook in general. Besides this, I will look at the lists of pro-Japanese collaborators that were published in 2008 and 2009, and through news articles and scholarly articles regarding the commissions view on pro-Japanese collaborators, discuss the criteria for collaborators. As for the scope of my thesis; I will focus mainly on the contestation of the discourse, hence this thesis will not cover the period before 2000,<sup>14</sup> and only briefly cover the construction of the discourse through analyses of existing literature.

In chapter two, I will start off by focusing on the commissions as sites where the discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators was not only constructed, but, more importantly, contested. In this discussion I will concentrate on how a pro-Japanese collaborator is defined, which criteria are applied and what kinds of bottlenecks the specific definitions of collaborators have given rise to, and how, consequently, the criteria (and with this the discourse on collaborators) are contested. In the following chapter three, I will focus on the controversy surrounding the state-issued history textbooks and the depiction of Park Chung-hee. The decision to issue

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13 I will mainly focus on the discourse being contested.

14 For an overview of the construction; i.e. the birth, spread and development of the discourse, see: Song, *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*. For insight into issues of “settling the past (kwagŏ chŏngsan)” and refracted modernity, see: Chung Youn-tae. *Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea*. (Vol.42. No.3 Autumn, 2002 pp.18~59.

these textbooks itself can be seen as a counterreaction to (and with this a contestation of) the dominant discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators. In chapter four, the figure of Park Chung-hee, and criteria for collaborators will be discussed; how are collaborators defined and how is Park Chung-hee depicted in the state-issued history textbooks?

**Chapter 2** ‘Truth’ commissions and collaborator criteria: State intermeddling with history writing and the issue of pro-Japanese collaborators

### **Legislation and Institutionalization**

The narrative on pro-Japanese collaborators was officially authorized as ‘historical truth’ by the state through the legislation and institutionalization process in the 2000s. 2001-2002 saw the rise of the legislation movement of the pro-Japanese collaborator issue in the National Assembly. The ‘National Assembly Members’ Study Group for Correcting the Falsified National History’ (NAMSG) proceeded to publish a list with pro-Japanese collaborators in 2002, which caused a lot of political turmoil between the Uri Party and the GDP over the categorization of pro-Japanese collaborators.<sup>15</sup> For criteria defining a collaborator the NAMSG referred to the criteria used in 1948-1949 by the Rhee Syngman government.<sup>16</sup> The reason for critique on the criteria for collaborators was that the definition used by the Rhee Syngman government was merely based on military official rank, and not so much based on the actual actions of the person in question.<sup>17</sup>

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15 Song, *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*, 93.

16 Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöngwiwönhoe, *Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöng pogosö* III-1, 162. For a list of all 708 names, see the same report appendix 2, 586.

17 An Pyöngjik. “Kwagö ch’öngsan kwa yöksa sösul: Togil kwa Han’guk üi pigyo” (Redressing the past and the historical narrative: A comparison between Germany and Korea). *Yöksa hakpo* 177 (Spring, 2002) and: Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöngwiwönhoe, *Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöng pogosö*, II, 28-29.



This legislation movement of National Assembly members and the list with names of pro-Japanese collaborators published in 2002, partly contributed to the increasing attention for collaboration issues and the resettlement thereof. Another important role was played by the impeachment incident of President Roh Moo Hyun.<sup>18</sup> The impeachment incident empowered the president and progressive parties, such as Uri Party and Democratic Labor Party in the 2004 general election, enabling them to push ahead with their vision on the pro-Japanese collaboration issue and the resettlement thereof, illustrated by the announcement of president Roh: legislation of four reform policies, including ‘legislating laws for readdressing past wrongs.’<sup>19</sup> Thus, with the official support of President Roh and the powerful progressive ruling party, the issue of ‘historical settlement’ was taken to the next level in 2004.

The following step was the passing of the Collaboration Investigation Law (iljekangjŏmha ch’inil panminjokhaengwi chinsangkyumyŏng e kwanhan t’ŭkpyŏlbŏp) in March 2004. The passing of this law was, besides the aforementioned support of the Roh Moo Hyun government also greatly indebted to the strong support of progressive civic groups and the internet.<sup>20</sup> In particular, a progressive labor movement organization called ‘the Korean Teachers and Educational Worker's Union’ (chŏnguk kyojigwon nodongjohap), which according to Chung Youn-tae, said it would pursue "education on pro-Japanese collaborators' activities, and launch a program to research and create teaching materials on the issue.”<sup>21</sup>

The goal of the Collaboration Investigation Law according to clause one, is as follows: “This law aims at ascertaining the historical truth (yŏksa ũi jinsil) and legitimacy of the nation (minjok ũi jŏngtongsŏng) and contributing to the administration of social justice (sahoe jŏngŭi) by ascertaining the truth about pro-Japanese and anti-national activities for Japanese imperialism from the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, when Japan’s plunder

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18 President Roh Moo-hyun was suspended in March 2004, after parliament voted to impeach him because he broke election rules. The Constitutional Court however later overturned the decision and he was reinstated.

19 Song, *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s* 102, 105.

20 Ibid. 118.

21 Chung Youn-tae. *Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea*. (Vol.42. No.3 Autumn, 2002), 51.

(ch'imt'al) of Korea's sovereignty began, to the Independence Day of August 15, 1945."<sup>22</sup> Interesting here is the mention of the words: 'legitimacy of the nation'. Phrasing it this way implies that only through ascertaining the truth, which is based on common, shared experiences of the 'true'<sup>23</sup> Korean people, reconciliation and '(postponed) social justice' can be attained.

Outside of the government there had already attention for the subject of pro-Japanese collaborators in civil society starting from the 1990s. A pivotal role can be attributed to the Center for Historical Truth and Justice. The institute was founded by Im Chong-guk's students to carry on Im's work and spirit.<sup>24</sup> Aimed at "building up the spirit of the nation (minjok chŏng'gi) and 'setting right' the value structure (kach'i kujo) by revealing the crimes of those who committed actions against the nation, as well as contributing to the recovery of 'legitimacy of the people' (minjok chŏngt'ongsŏng) by revealing the structure and true nature (silch'e) of collaboration, which is the stain on national history (minjoksa),"<sup>25</sup> the institute has led activities such as collecting and organizing source materials, academic research, and publishing books targeting the general public. Besides this the institute is known for its engagement in the Anti-Park Chung Hee Memorial Museum Movement (1999-2002) and for presenting the Im Chong-guk award every year: an award dedicated to those who have contributed greatly to the 'resettlement of the past' (kwagŏsa ch'ŏngsan), and which came into being in November 2004, after the Collaboration Investigation Law had been passed. The introduction of the Im Chong-guk award can thus be understood as following the passing of the law, which provided for resettlement of collaborator issues and thus more attention for those who contributed to this resettlement.<sup>26</sup>

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22 Clause 1 'objective' <http://www.assembly.go.kr> [국회법률정보시스템], [국회법률정보시스템]

23 By 'true' I mean the notion that there is this division between 'the real/true Korean people' whose history was kept hidden because of ch'inilp'a, and the ch'inilp'a themselves who collaborated with the Japanese.

24 Im Chong-guk was a historian, who began researching the collaboration issue in 1966 by publishing a book titled, "Theory of Pro-Japanese Literature."

25 <https://www.minjok.or.kr/> under ch'angnibsŏn'ŏnmun (declaration of establishment).

26 The information in the link provides information on the issuance Im Chong-guk prize. <https://www.minjok.or.kr/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/11-민족정리대상.pdf> A newspaper article about two candidates who were awarded the prize for their 'contribution to the resettlement of history' [www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/ngo/815733.html](http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/ngo/815733.html)

The introduction of the ‘Presidential Committee for the Inspection of Collaboration with Japanese Imperialism’ in 2005 can then be understood in the same context. Following the passing of the law in 2004, the ‘PCIC’ was established as a Presidential Commission to conduct investigations into the ‘truth’ behind pro-Japanese anti-national activities. In the introduction of the final report on the findings by the committee, it is emphasized that the committee's work was conducted by investigating the behavior of individuals believed to have collaborated with the Japanese through facts retrieved from documents and data, and that in order to adhere to the goal of the committee, - which was to reveal ‘the truth’ (chinsil), not to ‘punish’ people (ch’öböl) – the committee tried to eliminate ‘subjective opinions’ (chugwanjök kyönhae rül paeje) and only decided to focus on documents to maintain ‘impartial objectivity’ (ömjöngghan kaeggwansöng).<sup>27</sup> This implies that up until now, the PCIC thought that research had not been conducted (sufficiently) based on facts, which contain ‘the truth’, and which had therefore (deliberately or not) been hidden from the public. Concerning the significance of the compilation of the list, Kim Minch’öl, former leader of the research team, states that: “Its project is unprecedented in world history in that the resettling was carried out sixty years after colonial rule by the state, neither by academia nor civil society.” (...) “The state cannot only be the main subject of history of historical memory, but the state also plays a certain role in reconstructing past memory in a transitional society that requires a new social norm.”<sup>28</sup> Thus indicating that the government can play a role in reconstructing national memory and how a new generation remembers certain historical events, which in itself is interesting, especially since there is no mention of ‘what’ this role exactly entails and what the limitations are for a government in the reconstruction of this memory. Kim Minch’öl argues that the goal of the list is: “realizing the postponed justice symbolically as the state institution ‘resettles’ (ch’öngsan) the historical task of collaborators (ch’inilp’a).”<sup>29</sup> This indicates that with the establishment of this law the state gains an important role in resettling past issues.

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27 Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöngwiwönhoe, Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöng pogosö I, introduction (palgansa)

28 Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöngwiwönhoe, Ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi chinsanggyumyöng pogosö I, 28-29.

29 Kim Minch’öl, “Chiyöndeon chöngüi: Tu kae üi pogosö” (Postponed justice: Two reports), Hwanghae munhwa68 (Fall, 2010), 94.

Also, the year after that, following the law on returning property by pro-Japanese collaborators and, importantly, their descendants (ch'inilbanminjokhaengwija chaesan ui kukkagwisok e kwanhan t'ukpyölböp) in July 2006, the 'Investigative Commission on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property' was established in order to retain assets acquired through pro-Japanese activities and return these to "where they rightfully belong".<sup>30</sup> It is not specified clearly what exactly is meant by 'rightfully belong', and who are meant by descendants. The difficult part about this law and commission is that in order to be able to return land, there have to be clear standards as to who was a collaborator and who was not, who is considered 'family' (do aunts, nieces, second cousins count as well?) as it is no longer 'just' a list with names of collaborators for 'correcting' history, but an actual realization of 'punishment' of descendants of collaborators. This of course also brings up the moral question of whether it is correct to punish descendants of collaborators in the present, and whether it is the right of the government to do so. Accordingly, questions have been raised whether the commission is as 'objective' as it presents itself and whether resettling the past is possible in the present.<sup>31</sup>

Besides the official Presidential commission, an independent commission by the Center for Historical Truth and Justice was established.

### **Collaborator Criteria**

When it comes to the PCIC and their criteria for who is a collaborator or not, criteria are based on the 2004 law. According to its report, the PCIC made a decision on "those who committed pro-Japanese activities (ch'inil haengwija)" by taking the following three steps. First, based on the second clause of the law, it formed an investigation group who had to poll several populations and fields, for example bureaucracy, police, pro-Japanese organizations, religion, culture, and so on. After this, it narrowed the populations down to a preliminary list of subjects and consequently that list was again, narrowed down to the final subjects. Second, investigation teams examined every individual by collecting and analyzing research data. researchers divided the investigation period into three periods. From 1904 to 1919, from 1919 to 1937 and from 1937 to 1945 to ensure efficacy. After the investigation, they created a

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30 <http://www.assembly.go.kr> [url], [text] [text] [text] [text]

31 For example Pak Hanyong in: *The struggle over memories: The theory, history and reality of the Movement for Resettling the Past*, ed. Olbarün kwagö ch'öngsan ül wihan pöm kungmin wiwönhoe (Seoul: Han'guk haksul chöngbo, 2005), 54-59.

research report on each investigation subject and submitted it for review to the committee. Three, the main committee of the PCIC did a majority vote to make a final decision; this vote was also based on the law and the report. Then, the PCIC publicized the first list of “haengwijia” three times, in December 2006, December 2007 and finally November 2009, totaling 1006 figures. Originally there were 1052 investigation subjects.<sup>32</sup>

Interestingly, in both the 2002 NAMSG list and the 2009 PCIC list, the figure of Park Chung-hee, who for many people was the ‘reason’ the law and subsequent commissions were established in the first place, was not included. The commission stated that problems with sources and insufficient data were the cause for his exclusion on the final list.<sup>33</sup> This demonstrates the problem with defining collaborators, as even when there are criteria (which are considered to be ‘clear’) it is difficult to draw the line, and many people at the time voiced their discontent with the exclusion of Park Chung-hee on the final list.<sup>34</sup>

Besides the problem of criteria for collaborators, there ensued scholarly debates over whether the state should be the main agent in resolving the issue of collaboration. Some argued that an attempt of the state to construct national memory and impose that onto individuals would eventually lead to ‘moralization of the past’, and the ‘danger of seeing victims from the perspective of absolute goodness’. On the other hand, people arguing in favor of the developments state that: “highlighting the moralistic and political nature of resettling the past in the Korean context. (...) [will help] form a social consensus.” And that state legislation is ‘inevitable’ as a way of reinforcing the investigation, because of this “inseparable connection between ‘resettling the past’ and the issues of social justice and political power.”<sup>35</sup> Which again, according to some can be dangerous as it can lead to moralization of the past.<sup>36</sup>

These investigations into ‘truth’ behind pro-Japanese anti-national activities, the belief that colonial period Japanese rule was ‘evil’, and the belief that no ‘true’ Korean would have

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32 Ch’inil panminjok haengwi chinsang kyumyöng pogosö (The report on the investigation on the truth of pro-Japanese anti-national activities) (2009) I, 57, 213-214.

33 “[...] Because it was a survey project, there was a considerable difficulty in collecting data on ‘pro-Japanese anti-people activities’ (ch’inilbanminjokhaengwi). Since most of the subjects were not alive anymore, reliable evidence could not be obtained other than the document data. For this reason, efforts have been made to obtain data on ‘persons with a high level of social interest’ (sahoejok kwansimdo ga nop’un innul) but there are cases in which documents could not be found. For example, Park Chung-hee [...]” Ch’inil panminjok haengwi chinsang kyumyöng pogosö (The report on the investigation on the truth of pro-Japanese anti-national activities) (2009) II, 280.

34 [http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS\\_Web/view/at\\_pg.aspx?CNTN\\_CD=A0001254890](http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0001254890)

wanted to cooperate with the Japanese, has led to the further assumption that those who did collaborate must have both few in number and as evil as their Japanese overlords. This explains why in the last decade there has been an upsurge of interest in identifying those few “evil” collaborators.<sup>37</sup> This growing interest henceforth led the Presidential Committee for the Inspection of Collaboration for Japanese Imperialism in 2009 to identify 1,006 Koreans who it said betrayed the nation. The private CHTJ named a whole lot more, 4,389; indicating that the criteria for ‘measuring’ who was a collaborator or not, are debatable/unclear.<sup>38</sup> This also becomes clear in the example of Park Chung-hee and the poet Yu Chi-hwan, both who were only included in list by the Center for Historical Truth and Justice, and not in the report by the Presidential Commission.<sup>39</sup> As the commissions publishing lists with 700, 1000 people demonstrate, ‘evil collaborators’ are thought to be few in number, and this shows the dichotomy in judging people as either ‘good/innocent average Korean person’ or the ‘evil pro-Japanese collaborators’.

The beginning of the 2000 thus, through legislation and institutionalization, saw a surge of attention for the issue of pro-Japanese collaborators in South Korean society. The question then remains; with what goal in mind? As mentioned earlier, the Ch’inil Investigation Law aims at ‘historical truth’ and ‘legitimacy of the nation’ but it is not elaborated what this exactly entails.

Regarding the purpose of the dictionary by the CHTJ, Yun Kyungno, the President of the Compilation Committee for the Dictionary of the CHTJ, writes that the dictionary attempts to overcome the self-deprecating (chagi pihajök) historical consciousness and historical nihilism among Koreans, which was the consequence of the continuous success of collaborators in

35 Pok Köil, Chugün cha tūr ül wihan pyönho: 21-segi üi ch’inil munje (A defense for the dead: The collaboration issue in the twenty-first century) (Seoul:Tüllin ach’im, 2003), 19. For a more elaborate discussion on the resettlement of ch’inilp’a, see: An Pyönguk, Kim Minchöl, Hong Sehwa, Yun Haedong, Sö Uyöng, Han Honggu, “Tükpyöl chwadam: Wae chigüm kwagö ch’öngsan inga” (Special discussion: Why ‘resettle the past’ now?) Kiök kwa chönmang 9 (Winter, 2004), 9-60.

36 “Tükpyöl chwadam: Wae chigüm kwagö ch’öngsan inga” (Special discussion: Why is it now ‘resettle the past’?) Kiök kwa chönmang 9 (Winter, 2004), 19-22, 30.

37Chung Youn-tae. Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea. (Vol.42. No.3 Autumn, 2002 pp.18~59. De Ceuster, Koen. “The Nation Exorcised: The Historiography of Collaboration in South Korea.” Korean Studies 25, no. 2 (2002): 207-242.

38 [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/11/117\\_55107.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/11/117_55107.html)

39 <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/05/world/asia/05poet.html>

post-colonial society. Furthermore, it aims to establish a new standard of values and historical lessons reviewing and historicizing what happened in the past, not by denouncing and asking individuals' faults.<sup>40</sup> This is interesting because by focusing on this binary 'pro Japanese collaborator or not', the focus is on defining who is a collaborator and who is not, with the answer being either yes or no, and not on whether there resides a grey area of some sorts.

Kim Minch'öl, also affiliated with the CHTJ and involved with the compilation of the dictionary, summarizes the historical significance of the dictionary as the following: 1) it contains the hope for a democracy in society 2) it advocates universal values because the dictionary defines wartime collaborators as anti-humanitarian criminals 3) it is an accumulation of knowledge which represents the era.<sup>41</sup> The definition of the Center for Historical Truth and Justice thus differs quite a lot from the presidential commission. A question one could ask about the aforementioned, is how by defining 'the bad guys' resettling past issues, contributes to democracy in society? One could also wonder what is meant by 'universal values'. This focus on 'universal values' in a way amplifies this dichotomy of 'us versus them', which accordingly indicates that inherent to this statement is the assumption that one is able to judge past events in the presents, and that if the person judging that event in the present had lived in the past, he or she would not have committed such a crime and thus him/herself is a symbol of 'absolute goodness.' If everything however really was so 'black and white', it would have been easier to define pro-Japanese collaborators. But just by looking at the definitions of commissions there is no consensus on criteria for collaborators, illustrating that the 'resettlement of history' through the reveal of collaborators is not an easy task.

To illustrate this, I will take a closer look in the following part at the criteria for collaborators by both the CHTJ and the PCIC.

According to the CHTJ, criteria for collaborators are:

"The person to be recorded in the pro-Japanese dictionary is a person who has directly and/or indirectly inflicted physical, material and/or mental harm to our nation or other people by actively cooperating with Japan's imperialism (plunder national sovereignty, colonial rule and war of aggression) from the time of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 to the liberation on

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40 Ch'inilp'a inmyöng sajön (Dictionary on pro-Japanese collaborators), 5.

41 Kim Minch'öl, "Chinyöndo chöngüi," 94-95.

August 15, 1945. In general, those who are called pro-Japanese are, when defined in a narrow sense ranging from traitors (maegukno), national traitor (minjokbanyökjja) to when defined in a broad sense, collaborators (puilhyöbnyökjja). The people recorded in this dictionary, are limited to those national traitors and collaborators *who are judged to have heavy historical responsibility* (yöksajökin ch'aekim i k'uda)<sup>42</sup>

As the abovementioned articulates as well, pro-Japanese collaborators can be defined as limited to 'maegukno' and 'minjokbanyökjja', but could also be defined in more broad terms. This in itself already indicates the difficulties regarding the definition of a pro-Japanese collaborator, which also explains to a certain extent why the CHTJ decided to focus on 'those who are judged to have heavy historical responsibility'. The decision to do so however already implicates that very subjective standards are at play in the compilation of the dictionary, as by the mere mention of 'heavy historical responsibility' there is no elaboration on what this actually means, and to a certain extent this also illustrates that the ones judging this 'historical responsibility' are thought to be qualified (in the position) to do so, since they are the 'polar opposite' of the pro-Japanese collaborators, fighting for the 'truth' and 'reconciliation', thus seeing themselves as 'moral just' people.

The following part discusses the criteria for collaborators in more depth:

“The CHTJ ('pro-Japanese biographical dictionary compilation committee (ch'inilinmyöngsajönp'yönc'h'anwiwonhoe)) selected those who were judged to have great 'historical responsibility' (yöksajökin chaekim) among 'maegukhaengwija', 'anti-nationalists (banminjokhaengwija) who led the suppression of the anti-Japanese movement, and high class government officials who participated in the colonial rule apparatus and those who as a member of a group or at an individual level cooperated in the war of aggression and colonial rule of the Japanese Empire. In selecting the subjects we considered both the direct actions of the individual and the status and roles of the individual (duties).”<sup>43</sup> The CHTJ thus focuses on both position/rank and actual actions of the individual. Again, there is no mention of relation between direct actions and role of the individual or reflection about the process that takes place when compiling the dictionary. For example, considering the fact that 'historical responsibility' is the key measure stick for inclusion/exclusion on the list, would that mean

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42 Website Center for Historical Truth and Justice: <https://www.minjok.or.kr/archives/1474> Criteria for the Dictionary on pro-Japanese collaborators “□□ □□”

43 Ibid.



that an individual who collaborated through ‘direct actions’ but did not play a significant role in Korean history on the national level (but perhaps on a local level?) could be excluded from the list? Also, considering the fact that the CHTJ included Park Chung-hee on the list contrary to the PCIC, the term ‘historical responsibility’ needs more attention. Does ‘historical responsibility’ refer to the actions/role of said person during the colonial period and the direct ‘damage’ that said person inflicted to the Korean society and is it therefore that said person has a large ‘historical responsibility’? Or does it refer to the role said person played later on in Korean history, and were the direct actions compared to other individuals less severe, but the influence, that said person may or may have not acquired through these actions (in)directly, more important?

Regarding the criteria of collaborators according to the presidential commission, they adhere to the definitions in the Collaboration Investigation Law, which as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, are rather vague. By adhering to the definitions in the law there were some setbacks. The report by the PCIC points out that abstract conditional terms in the law like ‘positive’ and ‘remarkable’ raised difficulties for inspectors and committee members in setting a unified and consistent standard in deciding which subjects to investigate.<sup>44</sup> By limiting investigating subjects by one’s rank, i.e. in the cases of bureaucrats, members of the military, and police, the law forestalled the committee from inspecting local offenders and those in a low rank with substantial evidence of collaboration.<sup>45</sup> The PCIC differs thus from the CHTJ in that it solely focuses on rank, and not on actual ‘actions’. Another setback was that since the law stipulated all charges by confirmed by paper documents other evidence such as interviews and testimonies were unable to use in the research.<sup>46</sup>

There was one group of people who during the investigation were at the center of controversy: the Great Han Empire judges. The Great Han Empire judges said several participants were collaborators. The “collaboration” decision on those judges was based made on the second clause of the Ch’inil Investigation Law. This clause defined a collaborator as those who cracked down on any independence movements from 1904 to 1910. Yet, some committee members disagreed and thought the judges should not be considered to be collaborators,

44 Ibid, 281.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

because they ruled based on the law of the Great Han Empire. Kang Mangil, the PCIC chairman, argues in his memoir that the historical views of all the individual historians also played an important role.<sup>47</sup> According to the memoir, he was worried about the situation that if the judges were not collaborators, the righteous army would have to be re-defined as anti-state activists, and not as the fighters of the independence who fought for national sovereignty.<sup>48</sup> This illustrates that the decisions in the committee depended on the specific (subjective) historical views of each committee member. This in turn makes one question the objectivity when it comes to defining who is a collaborator or not.

It is undeniable that some Koreans collaborated with the Japanese in the colonial period. However, when looking at the broad meaning many Koreans ascribe to collaboration, which is reflected in the 2004 Collaboration Investigation Law, there must have been many more than the 1000 or 4,300 people who are listed in the collaborators' biographical dictionary. Broad definitions for who is a collaborator, yet a very small selection of collaborators. How come? Some historians have argued for a 'grey area' that exists between the widely accepted good-bad dichotomy such as Yun Haedong, and Hildi Kang's collection of first-person accounts of life during the colonial period presents a much more nuanced range of reactions to Japanese rule, which included cooperating with the Japanese in order to survive.<sup>49</sup> This of course contests the narrative that a very small select group of people was responsible for all the 'evil' in South Korean society. There appears to be a strong tendency to avoid thinking of the suggesting that the majority of Koreans living in colonial Korea were not solely focused on resisting Japanese oppression, and that there existed this 'grey' area.

## Conclusion

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47 Kang Mangil, "Ch'inil panminjok chinsang kyumyöng ilchi" (The memoir of PCIC). In *Yöksaga üi sigan* (The time of a historian), 511-670. Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa pip'yöng, 2010, 596.

48 Ibid.

49 Yun Haedong, *Sikminji üi hoesaek chidae – hanguk üi kündeasöng gwa sikminjuüi pip'an* (Colonialism's grey area – Critique of Korea's modernity and coloniality), *yöksa pip'öngsa*, 2003. Hildi Kang, *Under the Black Umbrella: Voices from Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Cornell University Press, 2001.

It is interesting that there are few (as mentioned for example Yun Haedong and Hildi Kang) who contest the notion that few Koreans collaborated with the Japanese in the colonial period, about the few thousand Koreans listed in the dictionary of collaborators. Rarely do people question the range of collaboration in colonial period South Korea. Moreover, recognizing how much of the Korean population cooperated with the Japanese would make the frequently expressed desire to cleanse Korea of all traces of such collaboration much more difficult. For this reason debate within South Korea on the issue of collaboration tends to focus on whether a limited number of specific individuals should be labeled collaborators or not, not on how widespread cooperation with the Japanese was. Differences in lists with collaborators between committees and discussion regarding the criteria support this.

Discussions on criteria for collaborators show that the ‘resettlement of history’ is highly politicized and that criteria for collaborators are unclear and at the center of discussion. What exactly defines a collaborator? And how should the ‘true history’ of Korea be conveyed to the next generation? As mentioned earlier, a means to ‘control’ the history for the next generation, is through history books. In South Korea, history is a very contested subject, and at the center of the discussion is the depiction of the colonial period and pro-Japanese collaborators. In the next chapter I will focus on the history textbook controversy, which I see as a site where the dominant discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators is contested by the government through the publication of state-issued history textbooks.

### **Chapter 3** The History Textbook Controversy: Pro-Japanese Collaborators and State-issued History Textbooks

## The Beginnings of the History Textbook Controversy

The history textbook controversy started around April 2004 when *Wŏlgan Chosun*, an influential conservative monthly magazine, alarmed its audience with the sensational title, “Warning! Your children are exposed to dangerous textbooks: High school history textbooks”<sup>50</sup> Summarized, it states that “leftist textbooks” are imposing a distorted image of South Korea on students, and that because of this, students who study these textbooks will not feel any patriotism for the Korean nation. This message created a great sensation among conservative readers who were already concerned with the spread of the “leftist” historical view of –at the time- President Roh.<sup>51</sup> Beginning thus around 2004, the modern and contemporary high school history textbook controversy contributed to intensifying the on-going history and memory war between the ‘right’ and ‘left’, which shows the highly politicized nature of history and hence history education in South Korea.

Important issue in this history controversy is the colonial period, and the depiction of pro-Japanese collaborators.

Traditionally the New Right group<sup>52</sup> has long complained of textbooks that are unduly sympathetic to North Korea. They point to liberal texts that suggest the South is responsible for the Korean War or that favorably cite North Korea's state ideology, “*juche*,” which reveres the Kim family dynasty in Pyongyang.<sup>53</sup> Forum claims that the ‘leftist’ history books failed to implant a sense of pride as a Korean among the young

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50 “!!!” <http://monthly.chosun.com/Client/News/viw.asp?ctcd=&nNewsNumb=200404100036>

51 Song, Yeun-Jee. *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses 2013, 206.

52 The New Right group claims to be a breath of fresh air for moderate conservatives in Korean politics. The textbook forum is a subgroup affiliated with the New right. Textbook forum emphasized the legitimacy of the South Korean government as opposed to North Korea. Forum condemns other new high school textbooks, in particular the one published by Kumsong publisher. They see it as a leftist textbook that sympathizes with North Korea. The textbook forum came out with its own alternative textbook on the modern and contemporary history of Korea in February 2008. Shin Chubaek Tongasiahyŏng Kyokwasŏtaehwa ui pongyŏkjin mosaekkwa hyoŏpnyŏkmodel ch’atki (1993-2006) in *yŏksa kyoyuk* No 101, 18-25.

53 Pak Hyojong. “Yŏksa kyogwasŏ nonchaeng ūl chŏngni handa” (Closing up the debate on history textbooks). *Sidae chŏngsin* 42 (Spring, 2009): 202-220.

generation by teaching them an ideologically distorted history.<sup>54</sup> The textbooks are called “self-tormenting”<sup>55</sup>

The history view of Forum in turn also caused a storm of protest from the ‘leftist’ critics, who raised questions over the content of the forum textbook as it ‘glorified’ the dictatorships of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee.<sup>56</sup> Debate between historians arose about the issue of feasibility, and the necessity, difficulty, and appropriateness to define or categorize clearly pro-Japanese ‘collaborators’ and ‘collaboration’,<sup>57</sup> and disagreements ensued regarding how to interpret history, what young people should learn and who gets to decide on the material they study from.<sup>58</sup> This last part, ‘who’ decides on what is taught, increasingly became (one of the) focal points of the history textbook controversy.<sup>59</sup>

In 2013 the approval of a new history textbook, and an order from the Ministry of Education for changes to seven other textbooks, caused what some papers called a “left-right ideological dispute” over textbook content and what the *Hankyoreh* branded “the distortion of history textbook scandal”,<sup>60</sup> as the National Institute of Korean History, a national organization responsible for overseeing the compilation and study of materials related to Korean history,

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54 For a discussion and critique of Forum’s view on history, see: Sin Chubaek. “Kyogwasō p’orūm ūi yōksa insik pipan: ‘Han’guk künhyōndaesa kyogwasō pip’an e taehan pallon” (A criticism on the historical consciousness of Textbook Forum: The rebuttal on the criticism on Modern and contemporary Korean History textbooks). *Yōksa pip’yōng* 76 (Fall, 2006): 181-214. For an elaborate discussion, see: Pak Hyojong. “Yōksa kyogwasō nonchaeng ūl chōngni handa” (Closing up the debate on history textbooks). *Sidae chōngsin* 42 (Spring, 2009): 202-220.

55 Chōng Haegu, “Nuraitū undong ūi hyōnsil insik e taehan pip’anchōk kōmt’o” (A critical review on the perception of reality of the New Right Movement), *Yōksa pip’yōng* 76 (Fall, 2006), 229-231.

56 See the following: [www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/book/175497.html](http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/book/175497.html) and Sin Chubaek. “Kyogwasō p’orūm ūi yōksa insik pipan: ‘Han’guk künhyōndaesa kyogwasō pip’an e taehan pallon” (A criticism on the historical consciousness of Textbook Forum: The rebuttal on the criticism on Modern and contemporary Korean History textbooks). *Yōksa pip’yōng* 76 (Fall, 2006): 181-214.

57 Ibid.

58 For an elaborate discussion, see: Pak Hyojong. “Yōksa kyogwasō nonchaeng ūl chōngni handa” (Closing up the debate on history textbooks). *Sidae chōngsin* 42 (Spring, 2009): 202-220.

59 Pak T’aegyūn, “Yōksa ssūgi wa tasi ssūgi” (Historical writing and re-writing), in *Haebang 60-yōn ūi Han’guk sahoe* (The sixty years’ Korean society after its liberation), ed. Haksul tanch’ehyōbūihoe (Seoul: Hanul, 2005), 295-299.

60 “Ministry of Education Aimed to Revive Pro-Japanese, Dictatorship-Glorifying Textbooks” [교육부, “친일·독재 찬양 교과서 부활 추진”, *Hankyoreh*, October 23, 2013.

approved for publication a new high school history textbook written by scholars from the “New Right.” The approval caused a backlash from civil society and progressive groups. Liberal critics argued that the textbooks misrepresented some aspects of contemporary South Korean history. In particular, they said the books painted an inaccurately ‘positive’ picture of Korea’s colonial occupation by Japan and the interpretation of the rule of former President Park Chung-hee was a particular point of contention; whether he should be remembered as a father of a successful nation or a brutal dictator. The New right books were accused of highlighting only the benefits of his policies and ignoring the human cost.<sup>61</sup>

The heated response caused the Ministry of Education to review the content of the new book. But instead of looking into just one issue—the new textbook—the ministry decided to review seven additional history textbooks for historical accuracy. The result, contrary to the wishes of those who originally protested the approval of the new book, was an order for 829 changes to seven older history textbooks—and not in a way that those upset by the new textbook would find satisfying, with many people interpreting the government’s actions as proof that the Ministry of Education had a very rightist bias regarding history.<sup>62</sup>

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61 [www.ohmynews.com/NWS\\_Web/view/at\\_pg.aspx?cntn\\_cd=A0001946245](http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?cntn_cd=A0001946245)

62 Yi Taehyok, *kömjöng kwa kukjöng ül oganun yöksagyogwasö*, (History textbooks which go back and forth between state-issued or not) *Kwanhun chönöl* (137), 20-27..

## **Reintroduction of the State-issued History Textbook**

Disputes over the narrative in Korean history textbooks have thus led to a local “history war” and the decision of the government to reintroduce state-issued history textbooks can be seen as the capstone of the controversy. In 2015 the government announced that it wanted to reintroduce a state-issued history textbook. The reason for the government to revise the current textbook publication system was criticism about the previous textbooks being biased against leftists and the government highlighted the need for ‘balanced’ state-authored history books.<sup>63</sup>

In the following part I will first look into the reasons the government states for the reintroduction of the state-issued history textbooks by analyzing speeches and public announcements by ministers of education and Park Geun-hye, and promotion materials by the ministry of education. After this I will look at critique surrounding these points.

The Park government highlights the following reasons for the decision to reintroduce the state-issued history textbooks:

First, due to factual errors (sasil oryu) and bias (p’yŏnhyangsŏng). Deputy Prime Minister and Education Minister Hwang Woo-yo blamed the 'bias of the writing staff responsible for the textbook screening (kŏmjŏng chip’iljin)' as a crucial reason for promoting standardization of history textbooks. "The reason why the ideological biases of history textbooks are problematic is that the writers of the history textbooks exaggerated or distorted even objective facts (...)"<sup>64</sup> Another conservative minister alleged the current versions of history were too uncritical of North Korea: "One textbook, for example, used the term 'dictatorial' only twice when writing about North Korea, but as many as 28 times about South Korea."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> State-issued history textbooks announcement analysis, reveal of the history textbook (working version) on November 28st 2016 (analysis of Youtube clip with the announcement) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilz7uUEMtFQ> 4.29.40

<sup>64</sup> <http://www.nocutnews.co.kr/news/4486742>

Second, the government wants to secure a history view that is balanced' (kyunhyöngsöng), diverse (tayangsöng) and emphasizes the need for expertise (chönmunsöng). According to Education Minister Yi Chun-sik: "The textbooks are not made up of people with diverse perspectives, and as a result, they cannot make use of diversity, which is the main purpose of the 'textbook screening system (kömjöngje). Since the viewpoints of the eight different textbooks are not diverse, we intend to secure balance and diversity by standardizing history textbooks."<sup>66</sup> And he adds to this that: "We developed these textbooks to help our students gain a balanced view on the country and its history without leaning toward any particular ideology,"<sup>67</sup> said Education Minister Yi Chun-sik. "It is difficult to anticipate a bright future if students doubt the legitimacy of the country without feeling proud of our history," he said, adding that existing textbooks issued by private publishers have been biased.<sup>68</sup> There is no mention however what this 'balanced view' entails and indicates that the ministry of education sees itself as 'neutral', not adherent to a particular ideology and in this way quite ironically attempts to 'depoliticize' the history textbook, which as a state-issued textbook cannot be 'unpolitical'.

Third: to establish a 'quality management system.' (chil kwalli ch'egye kuch'uk) and fourth: faithful to constitutional values (hönböpjök kach'i e ch'ungsilhage). The ministry said: "Prominent scholars, experts and teachers in the field participated in producing the textbooks to base it on historical facts and constitutional values."<sup>69</sup> Thus stressing the need for a professional system that secures the quality of history education and which is faithful to the constitutional values.

One returning point appears to be the emphasis on 'proud history'. One minister said that school books should teach "the proud history of South Korea, which has achieved both

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65 State-issued history textbooks announcement analysis, reveal of the history textbook (working version) on November 28st 2016 (analysis of Youtube clip with the announcement) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilz7uUEMtFQ> 4.29.02

66 Ibid. 4.28.35

67 Ibid. 4.25.47

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid 4.35.30



democratization and industrialization in the shortest time in world history".<sup>70</sup> This emphasis on 'proud history' in the context of the history textbooks means to ignore the 'bad parts' and only focusing on the positive moments in Korean history.

This emphasis on proud history, a balanced, diverse, objective view on history and 'legitimacy' of Korea, are pointed out by Park Geun-hye as well, in her speeches to the assembly. One particularly interesting speech was given shortly after the announcement of the government's decision to publish state-issued history textbooks. In her speech on the administration of 2016's budget she addressed the necessity of state textbooks to "normalize history education."<sup>71</sup> Worth mentioning is that the entire speech lasted 40 minutes, and Park Geun-hye discussed history education in the final minutes of her speech as the final item, indicating the centrality of the issue, and all the more strengthened by the way she addressed the audience. All the other items were introduced (except the first one of course) without addressing the audience directly. Thus, while most of the speech was about the government's proposed budget for next year, she devoted the final minutes to the history textbook issue, using a more urgent tone, which indicates the centrality of the history textbook.

In her speech Park had emphasized the necessity of state textbooks to "normalize history education," reaffirming her position to strive for state-issued history textbooks. At the end of her 41-minute speech, Park made a direct appeal to the nation to support her campaign "in order to establish a correct historical perception and national view for youngsters and to prepare for unification and the future."<sup>72</sup> Central to her speech in the parliament was that Park emphasized a sense of national pride of Koreans. "If we don't know our identity and history, we could be dominated by other countries, culturally and economically, and have our ethnic consciousness erased,"<sup>73</sup> she said. "For the sake of Korea's future, to prepare for unification and to play a leading role with a strong national identity amid rapid changes in international affairs, normalizing history education is responsibility and a mission for our generation,"<sup>74</sup> Park said. This emphasis on the future and the next generation illustrates the

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70 Ibid.

71 3<sup>rd</sup> year Assembly administrative policy speech <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mnn-2i3Bm8c> 35.47

72 Ibid. 39.40, 40.00

73 Ibid. 37.37

74 Ibid. 38.13

compelling desire to put the events of the past behind and focus on working towards a stronger and healthier future. This stronger future is also important because without a strong national identity, Park Geun-hye fears Korea will be dominated by other countries, and she refers to the tragic events in Korean history and that in order for history to not be repeated, Korea should have a strong national identity, i.e. consensus on a narrative that tells the proud Korean history. This could be seen as quite ironic, since the 'right' is accused of trying to cover up history (e.g. collaborators) by focusing on a correct and proud history, a proud history which can only be achieved by painting a rosy picture of the colonial period, whilst voicing the same concerns; for history to be repeated, yet this history should be covered up as it is not a history that Koreans can be proud of.

Furthermore, the stress on legitimacy and identity is crucial. Park names other countries who are learning from South Korea's 'spirit'<sup>75</sup>, and several times emphasis the need for a collective national identity. This shows that Korea's national identity is thought to be formed through history education that the state dictates. This shows that the state can be seen as the key site for the articulation of national identity.

Park also said the following which ties into the discussion on a common national identity: "History education should not divide the citizens and students over political strife and ideological conflicts,"<sup>76</sup> and "Restoring history education to a normal state is a natural task and a mission of our generation,"<sup>77</sup> She continued, "I think there should be no more distortion and confusion concerning a textbook that has yet to be written, a situation that has not even occurred. Some are worried that history may be distorted or glorified when we adopt state designated history textbooks, but I would be the first person who would never allow such a textbook to be published."<sup>78</sup> (...) "The children, the leaders of the future, a correct awareness of history and to raise them to have pride in being citizens of the Republic of Korea," Park told the National Assembly.

Wanting to instill this sense of pride also becomes apparent in the promotion material of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry published a webtoon that stated that the younger

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75 Ibid. 37.10

76 Ibid. 38.43

77 Ibid. 38.13

78 Ibid. 39.11

generation cannot be proud of Korea because of its shameful history that is taught in history textbooks.<sup>79</sup> Again, the Ministry cites examples of South Korea being held (partly) responsible for the Korean War and the ‘positive’ depiction of the Juche ideology of North Korea. According to the webtoon, South Korean citizens cannot be proud of their country, hate living in Korea, all because of the way their ‘shameful history’ is taught. The webtoon emphasizes the need for a professional state-authored history textbook which teaches the ‘proud history’ of Korea and which will assure that the future generation will feel proud of their history and hence country again.<sup>80</sup> This illustrates that the government stresses the importance of ‘correct’ history textbooks. According to the webtoon these history textbooks appear to have a monopoly on the way Korean youngsters encounter and learn about history, since the effect of a state-authored history textbook is seen as crucial, as can be seen from the depiction of the main character, a young Korean who thanks to solely the state-authored history textbook went from a depressed girl who hated her country to a happy person proud of her country and its history.

### **Controversy regarding the state-issued history textbook**

I will now briefly discuss the controversy surrounding the aforementioned reasons the government states in favor for a state-issued history textbook. Controversy surrounding the state-issued history textbook basically comes down to two different but interconnected issues. The first one is the fact that it is ‘the state’ and the state alone authorizing the textbook. The second one is related to the actual content of the book i.e., the content which due to the highly politicized nature of the issuance of the textbooks is blamed on the government.

Critique on the content of the textbook can be swiftly summarized as follows: First of all; critique on the rosy depiction of the sixties and seventies while neglecting the horrors that happened during this period. Second, ignoring important events that happened in the colonial period, and here again painting a picture that is too positive. Third, undermining the activities of the independence movement by declaring that 1948 instead of 1919 should be considered the founding year of the South Korean state.<sup>81</sup>

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79 Webtoon published by the Ministry of Education as promotion material. See bibliography for the original webtoon.

80 Ibid.

81 <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20161128000919>

When it comes to the issue of the state authorizing the textbook, critique was raised surrounding the promotion of the state-issued textbook. Critics argued that the government overstated the influence of history textbooks on young people's lives. Also, critiques commented that the claim of the government to aim for 'correctness' in history textbooks was ironic, since the government depicted the Korean flag incorrectly in the webtoon promotion material.<sup>82</sup>

Second, critiques blamed Park Geun-hye, the 'daughter of a collaborator' and criticized her for intending to erase the negative sides to her father's despotic rule. Also, a clip of 1989 where Park Geun-hye stated that she strongly supports her father's choices and sees the 1961 coup d'état as the "revolution that saved the country" (Kuguk ūi hyŏngmyŏng)<sup>83</sup> caused controversy. In particular, she states that it is impossible for one to not think that the Yusin was justified, that the Coup and Yusin had been decried, and that as a daughter, she should correct errors about her parents through the correction of distorted history.<sup>84</sup> Thus raising concerns among critics that the books would glorify Park Chung-hee and look down on the history of the 'oppressed Korean people' and the resistance movement.

Moreover, questions were raised about the objectivity and professionalism of the writing staff of the history textbooks. A third of the writing staff were from state-run organizations. Four out of seven writers of Korean modern history belonged to neo-conservative organizations and there was not a single scholar who majored in modern history among them.<sup>85</sup>

Fourth and perhaps most important, was the question whether the state's intervention in the form of authorizing the narrative on national history is desirable or appropriate.<sup>86</sup>

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82 [https://www.huffingtonpost.kr/2016/11/29/story\\_n\\_13293366.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.kr/2016/11/29/story_n_13293366.html)

83 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbnHz\\_4ZY4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbnHz_4ZY4) Clip from 1989 interview; 1.03.

84 Ibid. 1.26-1.33, 3.40.

85 <http://news.kmib.co.kr/article/view.asp?arcid=0011096438&code=61121111&cp=nv>

86 This discussion is of course not just limited to the textbook controversy, but more about the role of the government in general regarding the 'resettlement of history' For a more elaborate discussion on the role of the government in history writing, see: Em, Henry H. *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea*. Duke University Press, 2013; Song, Yeun-Jee. *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*, 2013.

## Conclusion

It is telling that the issue of history textbook writing in Korea finally became an object of contestation among different ideologies in society. History textbooks are no longer a method of imposing state ideology or its historical perspective on to the people. Under this situation, “writing a history textbook” is a competition among different ideological groups to make more members of the young generation adhere to their specific worldview or historical perspective. “the struggle of hegemony of historical interpretation for the next generation”

More significantly, the dominant discourse that spread through the 90s and early 00s and got institutionalized by the government in the early 00s was contested by the very publication of the state-issued history textbook. The discourse which was raised into a competitive counter-narrative to the authoritarian state-sanctioned version historiography of post-1945 Korean history, only colored with successful modernization and industrialization, was hence thus challenged/contested again by the state through the publication of the state-issued history textbooks.<sup>87</sup>

## Chapter 4 Park Chung-hee and the depiction of pro-Japanese collaborators in the state-issued history textbook

This chapter will examine how the figure of Park Chung-hee is depicted in the state-issued history textbooks. I will look at history textbook to see what the criteria for collaborators are and, how consequently collaborators are defined and described, and how Park-Chung-hee is depicted. Doing so will provide insight in how the discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators is contested by the publication of the state-issued history textbook.

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<sup>87</sup>Chung Youn-tae, “Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro- Japanese Collaborators in Korea,” *Korea Journal* 42, no. 3 (2002): 18–50; Chris Wilson, Danton Ford, and Alisa Jones, “The History Text: Framing Ethno-Cultural and Civic Nationalism in the Divided Korea,” in *History Education and National Identity in East Asia*, ed. Edward Vickers and Alisa Jones (New York: Routledge, 2005), 227–253.

The textbooks used in this analysis are the middle school II and high school state-issued history textbooks,<sup>88</sup> and I looked at both the draft version that was open to the public for criticism during a short period<sup>89</sup> and the following final version that was published two months later with some small modifications.<sup>90</sup> As mentioned before, there was a lot of backlash regarding the depiction of the sixties and seventies under the dictatorial rule of Park Chung-hee. Interestingly, not much was done to revise this part.<sup>91</sup> In the following part, I will start off with an analysis of Park Chung-hee and the sixties and seventies, which then will be followed by an analysis of the definition and depiction of collaborators.

### **The Depiction of Park Chung-hee**

The most striking feature of the final textbook of the national history textbook, which the Ministry of Education announced on January 31<sup>st</sup>, is that there is little change in the narrative about the Park Chung-hee period, which was the most criticized.<sup>92</sup> This indicates that even

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88 The middle school history textbook: [국사편찬위원회, 『중학교 2학년 한국사』 \(Chunghakkyo yōksa II\)](#) and the high school Korean history textbook: [국사편찬위원회, 『고등학교 한국사』 \(Hanguksa\)](#)

89 The draft version was published on November 28<sup>th</sup> 2016 and citizens were able to voice their opinion on the content of the books, after which the government would then look into the suggestions and critique and the government would eventually decide whether the textbook should be adjusted.

90 The final version was published on January 31<sup>st</sup> 2017. After Park Geun-hye was formally impeached by the National Assembly in December, the Ministry of Education announced that adopting the state-issued history textbooks was no longer mandatory. Schools were given the choice to choose from private or state-issued history textbooks. New president Moon Jae-in decided to abolish the textbook on May 12<sup>th</sup> 2017. Perhaps for this reason, the history books were no longer available either online or offline.

91 I will discuss these differences on page 32. In my analysis I will be focusing on the final version unless specified otherwise (e.g. pointing out differences of direct relation to my analysis), since overall there are no major differences between both versions. This in itself is interesting as it demonstrates the determination of the government to push ahead with their version of history, ignoring(?) For the most part the criticism on the draft version of the history textbook.

92 As mentioned in chapter three, critique mainly focused on the rosy version of Park Chung-hee's dictatorial rule.

though the public opinion was requested, the government intended to push ahead with their version of history anyway, again showing the meddling of politics into history writing. As one would probably expect, this was a major reason for critique on the textbook, since basically enabling the public to decide on the parts that should be revised, turned out to be a mere ‘guise’ since the government proceeded with their version of the textbook regardless of the heaps of critique expressed.

When looking at the textbook in general, the amount of pages and attention paid to the economic success of South Korea outnumbers the attention paid to negative side by a landslide. There are a total of nine pages dedicated to Park Chung-hee, though a more correct way to describe would be ‘the Park Chung-hee government (Pak chŏnghui chŏngbu), as Park Chung-hee is rarely ‘singled out’; he is only ever mentioned as the ‘Park Chung-hee government’<sup>93</sup>, which in a way one could argue tones down the agency of Park Chung-hee, as his dictatorial side is swept under the carpet by emphasizing the role of the Park Chung-hee government, implying that all decisions were made by the Park Chung-hee government, and not the figure of Park Chung-hee alone. This makes it less ‘personal’ and makes it difficult to put a ‘face’ to the person who is, to a lot of Koreans, responsible for horrible acts during the sixties and seventies. Park Chung-hee is thus described in a more ‘neutral’ way (more neutral than the progressive left would want him to be depicted).

The textbook in general thus highlights Park Chung-hee’s economic achievements, especially rapid economic growth through five year plans,<sup>94</sup> while not paying the same amount of attention to the negative sides, like the torture and execution of dissidents, and in this aspect, the tone of the textbook is positive about the Park Chung-hee government.

There is only one small part called ‘the shadow of rapid economic achievement (kosok sŏngjang ŭi kŭnŭl’<sup>95</sup> dedicated to the negative sides of economic achievement. The wording in itself already illustrates that the emphasis is on the economic growth and the negative sides were in a way ‘needed’; as if they were inherent to ‘economic growth’ and in this way it also takes away from the responsibility from the Park Chung-hee government. In other words, the bad treatment, torture of the workers i.e. ‘the common people’ was a necessary evil in order to

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93 The high school Korean history textbook: □□□ (Hanguksa), final version: 263-271.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid. 271.

achieve economic growth, (and eventually democracy.) The right in general tends to see the ‘negative sides’ to economic growth, democracy i.e. modernity as a byproduct, a necessary means to reach a certain result, in other words, very ‘result-oriented.’ For example, the path to democracy, with all its hurdles is traditionally seen as needed in order to achieve democracy. The progressive left on the other hand tends to focus more on the actual process, the path that led to a certain result. In the same example, democracy, the progressive left thus tends to think the path leading to democracy was stained, and this thus takes away from the legitimacy of democracy in this case.<sup>96</sup>

In the case of the colonial period, this is also visible, especially in the way ‘left’ and ‘right’ each depict the colonial period. The more conservative, ‘new right’ view on the colonial period seems to be more ‘result-oriented.’ The colonial period was a ‘means to an end’ in a way, as because Korea was colonized, it was able to progress very quickly and establish democracy. In this aspect the progressive left view is very different. They stress the horrible things that happened during this period and the fact that the traces of this can still be seen in society today, for example: the division, the big gap between rich and poor etc. According to this reasoning, the colonial period seen as the period that ‘interrupted’ Korea which was already on its way to democracy and modernity, but their own path was ‘taken away from them’ by the Japanese through colonization. This suggest that even though a democratic society was realized, the way through which this occurred was not the way it should have been. The way in which democracy was realized is thus very important, and this could also indicate why certain people do not consider Korea to be a democratic society ‘yet’ because democracy is ‘stained’ by the colonial past and therefore not ‘legitimate’ in a way.<sup>97</sup>

The discussion surrounding the reveal of the draft version of the state-issued history textbooks demonstrates this as well. In the video clip that covers the reveal of the textbook, Yi Chae-jong, educational superintendent (kyoyukkam), states that they will not even look at the history textbook and not analyze it, because the process as to ‘how’ the books were written is in itself already stained.<sup>98</sup> Analyzing the textbooks for mistakes or biases is impossible

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96 Song, Yeun-Jee. “Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s.” ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 2013.

97 [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_storytelling/2016/republic/pro\\_7.html?p=pro](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_storytelling/2016/republic/pro_7.html?p=pro)

98 State-issued history textbooks announcement analysis, reveal of the history textbook (draft version) on November 28st 2016 (analysis of Youtube clip with the announcement <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilz7uUEMtFQ>). 50.43-54.20.



because there is no transparency about the writers and the writing process. Therefore, the ‘result’, in this case the history textbook, will be ignored for it is already stained. According to the logic of the ‘right’ on the other hand, as is also visible in the speeches by Park Geun-hye, the purpose of the textbooks is to instill national pride. The publication of the state-issued history textbooks is thus needed to achieve this national pride for the next generation, and this suggests ‘the process’, how this is achieved - through standardization of history textbooks- is less important.

Interesting in the depiction of Park Chung-hee are the pages 263-265 history textbooks. Under the heading “4.19 revolution and 5.16 military affairs,” both events are lumped together.<sup>99</sup> More specifically, the 4.19 revolution and the 5.16 military coup are lumped together, two events with entirely different backgrounds. In existing textbooks before the state-issued history textbook, these two events were always separated, with the 4.19 revolution described as a separate item under the Second Republican Administration.<sup>100</sup> By lumping them together, they are given the same treatment. Hence, the historical recognition of the 4.19 revolution is diminished, whereas the 5.16 military coup is not seen as a break from the revolution, but a succession of the revolution, which indicates a non-critical view towards the military coup.

Another interesting example can be found on page 263 of the high school state-issued history textbook. On page 263 it states: “the leading forces of the May 16 military coup (kunsajöngbyön)<sup>101</sup> announced a revolutionary pledge (hyöngmyöng kongyak).”<sup>102</sup> Again, the description about the coup’s leaders does not specifically mention Park Chung-hee here, but ‘kunsajöngbyön chudoseryök’ which (sort of) literally translates to ‘leading figures in the military overthrow of the government’. This thus reinforces the aforementioned argument that the agency of Park Chung-hee is reduced in order to ‘neutralize’ his image and to dilute the responsibility of the president by solely naming the ‘leading figurers’, though there is no mention of who exactly these figures are. This further strengthens the overall view of the

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99 The high school Korean history textbook: □□□ (Hanguksa), final version: 263.

100 For example the ‘mirae kodunghakkyo hanguksa’ and ‘kümsöng kodunghakkyo hanguksa’ textbooks.

101 I am aware of the fact that ‘chöngbyön’ depending on the context can have either the meaning of ‘revolution’ or ‘coup d’etat’.

102 The high school Korean history textbook: □□□ (Hanguksa), final version: 263.

‘leading figures’ as a general ‘homogenous’ unspecified equal group of military people. As a result, it tones down the responsibility of individual figures.

Admittedly, the depiction of Park Chung-hee is not always positive. As can be seen on page 264, it states that: “[he] promised to pass on the regime to a fresh and conscientious politician (ch’amsinhago yangsimjŏkin chŏngch’iin), but he did not keep his promise to give up his duties (minjŏng iyang yaksok) because he ran for the presidential election.”<sup>103</sup>

### **The Depiction of pro-Japanese Collaborators**

I will now look into the definition and depiction of pro-Japanese collaborators in the state-issued history textbooks. The final version of the history textbook dedicates one page to the issue of pro-Japanese collaborators, and there are two minor differences with the draft version. The first one is that instead of the word ‘ch’inilseryŏk’<sup>104</sup> (draft version) the word ‘ch’inilp’a (final version) is used in the short description on collaborators.<sup>105</sup>

The second difference lies in the definition of ‘collaborators’. Both the draft and final version adhere to the definition used by the PCIC and therefore refer to the final report that was published in 2009, which classifies collaborators into five main types.<sup>106</sup> The description in the textbooks provides the reader with an enumeration of ‘actions’ (oftentimes connected to a certain role/position) that are considered to be anti-nationalist (panminjok). However, the final version provides examples of these positions that fall under each category, including the mentioning of Chosŏn aristocracy, judicial and administrative bureaucrats and Japanese military officers as positions. Both the draft version and the final version refrain from mentioning any personal examples of pro-Japanese collaborators here.

In the third paragraph on acts of collaboration, the textbooks enumerates a list of people considered to be pro-Japanese collaborators. More specifically: “Especially many

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103 The high school Korean history textbook: □□□ (Hanguksa), final version: 264.

104 Ch’inil seryŏk roughly translates to ‘the pro-Japanese force’ and in general has a more ‘positive’ connotation than the word ch’ilp’a, though one could argue that the word already contains the ‘negative’ word ch’inil, so it should not matter that much whether seryŏk or p’a is used.

105 The high school Korean history textbook: □□□ (Hanguksa), final version: 231 draft version: 229.

106 Ibid.

intellectuals, artists, religious people, businessmen and journalists such as Yi Kwangsu, Pak Yonghŭi, Choe Rin, Yun Ch'ihŏ, Han Sangryong engaged in pro-Japanese activities.”<sup>107</sup> There is of course no mention of Park Chung-hee or any military collaborators for that matter.

In the fourth and final paragraph the textbooks covers the pro-Japanese collaborator Ch'oe Namsŏn and highlights the pro-Japanese activities he engaged in to provide the reader with an elaborate example of a pro-Japanese collaborator. Ch'oe Namsŏn was indeed a clear example of a collaborator that both 'left' and 'right' appear to agree on. There is (understandably, considering the political alignments of the writers of the history textbook) no mention of the intricacies that involve defining a collaborator. In general, the entire page suggests that defining a collaborator is not a very difficult task, and somehow the page feels rushed, perhaps because just one page was dedicated to the issue of collaborators and collaborating.

## **Conclusion**

Given the above, it can be concluded that in order to avoid backlash surrounding the depiction of the figure of Park Chung-hee, Park Chung-hee is rarely mentioned 'on his own' but almost always as part of 'the Park Chung-hee government.' In this way, when describing both 'positive' and 'negative' aspects to the sixties and seventies, the agency of Park Chung-hee is toned down by lumping everyone together in 'the Park Chung-hee government'.

Nevertheless, the amount of pages dedicated to economic growth depict an overall rosy picture of the sixties and seventies, with only one small part dedicated to the 'shadow of rapid growth' which again, denies any (direct) agency to Park Chung-hee, but stresses his 'indirect' positive influence.

Likewise, in the depiction of the colonial period, the writers of the history textbook intended to provide the reader with a 'neutral' view on collaborators. Nonetheless, the fact that the issue of collaborators and collaboration spans but one page, contains elaborate explanation of only one (indisputable) collaborator and the fact that there is no discussion on the definition for collaborators, indicates that the depiction of collaborators and collaboration is not so 'neutral' after all.

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107 Ibid.

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

In the previous chapters I have looked into the discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators by discussing the truth and reconciliation commission and the history textbook controversy as sites where the discourse is contested, all whilst paying special attention to the figure of Park Chung-hee. I tried to answer the following questions: What are the criteria for one to be labeled a pro-Japanese collaborator and how do the commissions differ in their definition? In relation to Japan and collaboration; how is Park Chung-hee depicted in the government-issued history textbook? And what does this tell us about how the discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators is contested?

As discussed in chapter two, the PCIC and CHTJ differ in their definition of a collaborator, which is also the reason why lists with different numbers of collaborators exist. The fact that there is no consensus on what a collaborator is, explains the controversy surrounding the definitions for collaborators. While almost all attention appears to be focused on defining a small group of collaborators, there seem to be few who question the dichotomy of ‘bad collaborator’ and ‘good Korean citizen’ and whether the range of collaborators should not be much larger. However, recognizing that many more Koreans may have cooperated with the Japanese undermines the notion that ‘cleansing Korean history of collaboration’ is tangible and a task that ‘has to be done’.

Discussions on criteria for collaborators show that the ‘resettlement of history’ is highly politicized and that criteria for collaborators are unclear and at the center of discussion. In South Korea, history is a very contested subject, and at the center of the discussion is the depiction of the colonial period and pro-Japanese collaborators. In chapter three I discussed the history textbook controversy, which I see as a site where the dominant discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators is contested by the government through the publication of state-issued history textbooks. In Korea “writing a history textbook” is a competition among different ideological groups to make more members of the young generation adhere to their specific worldview or historical perspective, what one could call “the struggle of hegemony of historical interpretation for the next generation”. The discourse which was raised into a competitive counter-narrative to the authoritarian state-sanctioned version historiography of post-1945 Korean history, only colored with successful modernization and industrialization,

was hence thus challenged/contested again by the state through the publication of the state-issued history textbooks.

In chapter four I analyzed the depiction of Park Chung-hee in the state-issued history textbooks. From my analysis it can be concluded that in order to avoid backlash surrounding the depiction of the figure of Park Chung-hee, the writers tone down the agency of Park Chung-hee. Nevertheless, the amount of pages dedicated to economic growth depict an overall rosy picture of the sixties and seventies, with only one small part dedicated to the ‘shadow of rapid growth’ which again, denies any (direct) agency to Park Chung-hee, but stresses his ‘indirect’ positive influence. This tells us that the writers of the state-issued history textbook tried to depict Park Chung-hee as ‘neutral’ as possible, by touching upon negative aspects of the sixties and seventies and by denying him any (direct) agency. This, together with the emphasis on a ‘proud history for the next generation’, provides room for the ‘right’ to challenge the dominant discourse on pro-Japanese collaborators.

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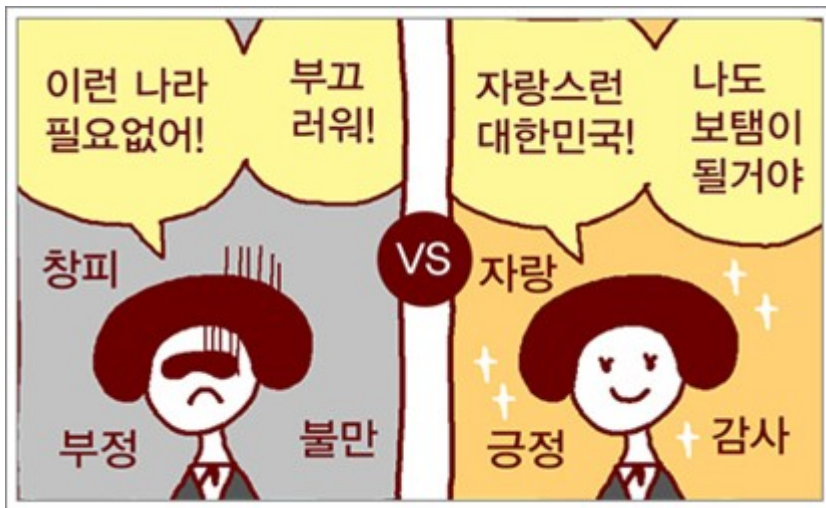
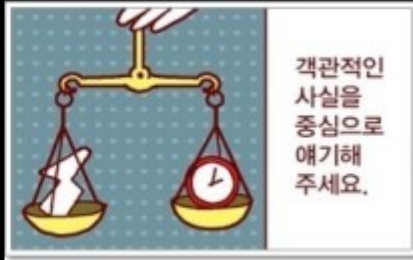






**지금 아이들의 역사 교과서, 한 번 관심있게 보신 적 있나요?**





당신의 자녀는 어느 쪽이어야 할까요



