Writing under wartime conditions : North and South Korean writers during the Korean war (1950-1953)

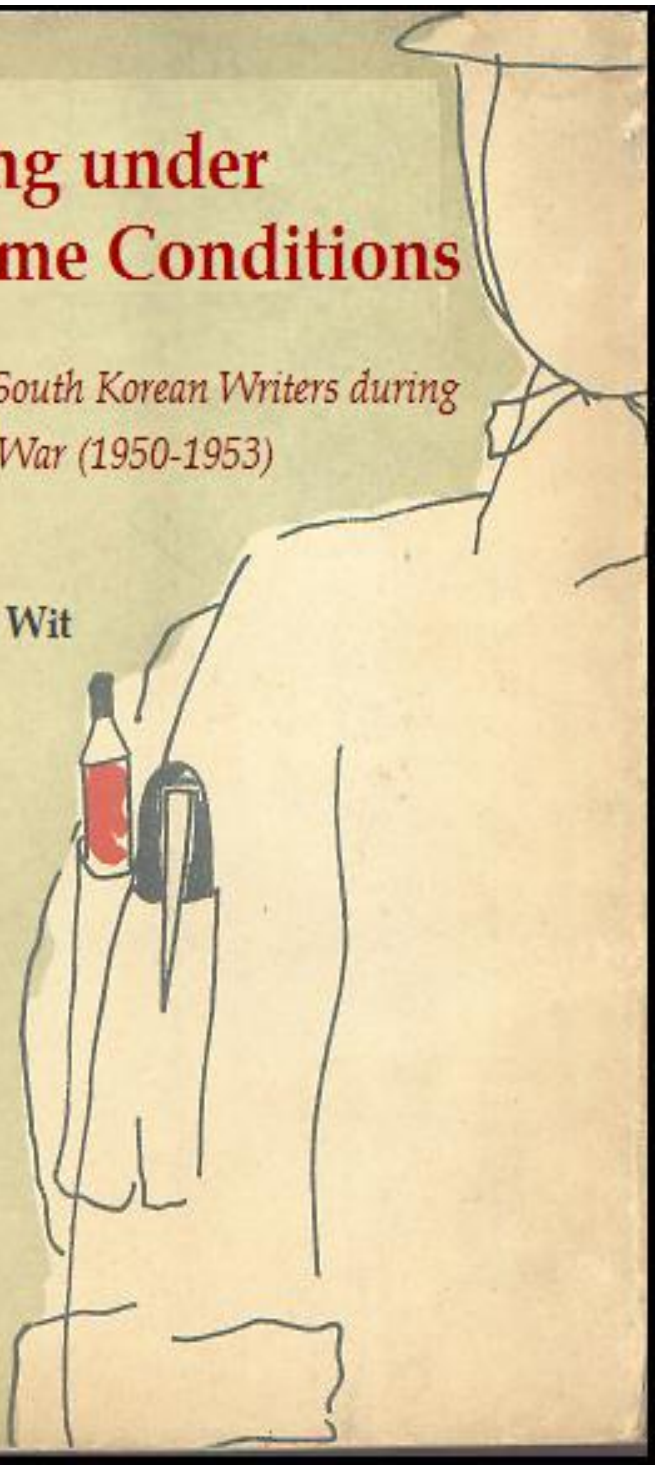
Wit, J.W.A. de

Author: Wit, Jerôme de
Title: Writing under wartime conditions : North and South Korean writers during the Korean war (1950-1953)
Issue Date: 2015-01-15

Writing under Wartime Conditions

North and South Korean Writers during the Korean War (1950-1953)

Jerôme de Wit



WRITING UNDER WARTIME CONDITIONS

North and South Korean Writers during the Korean War (1950-1953)

Jerôme W.A. de Wit

WRITING UNDER WARTIME CONDITIONS: NORTH AND SOUTH KOREAN WRITERS DURING THE KOREAN WAR

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 15 januari 2015
klokke 13.45 uur

door

Jerôme Willem Andries de Wit
geboren te Gouda
in 1980

Promotiecommissie:

Promotor:	Prof. Dr. B.C.A. Walraven
Commissieleden:	Prof. Dr. R.E. Breuker Prof. Dr. M. van Crevel Dr. K. De Ceuster Dr. G. Koh

This study was made possible with the financial support of the Academy of Korean Studies through the funding of the project History as a Social Process.

When a nation is reigned by darkness,
Patriotic advisers appear.

Daodejing (道德經), Chapter 18

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 6
Introduction 8

PART ONE The Formation of the Ideology of War

Chapter One The Emergence and Institutionalization of the Ideology of War 24
Chapter Two The War Within: Motivations for Writing during the Korean War 67

PART TWO Issues in North and South Korean Wartime Literature

Chapter Three North Korean Wartime Literature: Rousing the Reader to Action 99
Chapter Four South Korean Wartime Literature: Dilemmas of Nationalism during Civil War 135
Chapter Five The Representation of the Enemy in North and South Korean Stories 165
Chapter Six The Gendered Construction of Womanhood 196

Conclusion 226

Appendix A List of South Korean Wartime Novels and Short Stories 233

Appendix B List of North Korean Wartime Novels and Short Stories 259

Bibliography 268
Abstract (Dutch) and Curriculum Vitae 292

Preface

The study of wartime literature in general has been a relatively neglected field of inquiry. A thorough analysis of Korea's wartime literature has so far not been attempted in English language scholarship and therefore this is a first attempt to shed light on this interesting field of research.

My personal interest in the reaction and adaptation of human beings to the extreme circumstances of war stems from my early childhood, and the many war stories my grandfather told me in particular. The unrepresented voice of Koreans in American and Dutch representations of the Korean War has been the main reason why I chose to study Korean culture, a decision I have not once regretted.

Through the years I have had the privilege of becoming acquainted with many who helped to shape me in my academic and personal quest for growth. After my graduation, I moved to Korea and spent three years under the tutelage of Professor Han Kihyŏng, who guided me to give more structure to my research and the late Professor Kim Iryŏng, whose deep passion and knowledge left a deep imprint on me. During this time I also had many interesting discussions with Professor Kim Ch'ŏl in regards to Korea's post-liberation literature and he helped me in the right direction.

After my return to Leiden my supervisor Professor Boudewijn Walraven showed extreme patience and care when scrutinizing my jottings and I still feel guilty that I have tormented him so much with my romanization errors. Dr. Koen De Ceuster often sat down with me to talk about the larger picture of my research, and his astute theoretical pointers have been very important.

Throughout the years I have made many friends whom I would like to thank for their company. Elmer Veldkamp and Eunju Kim for the taste of Korea they would provide me when I was in the Netherlands. Yeek Hoogeboom and Roy Dijkhuizen for their hospitality and friendship. Brendan Wright and Minna Lee for

motivating me through the numerous conversations we had over coffee and beers while I was trying to formulate my thoughts.

Through numerous conferences my fellow colleagues who are themselves working or studying at European universities provided me with commentary and support, of whom I would like to thank Andrew Jackson, Andrew Logie, Justyna Najbar, Anastasia Guryeva, Vladislava Mazana and Andreas Schirmer in particular.

Finally, I would like to thank Aihua Li for standing beside me these past years. Thanks to her my northern sky has truly brightened.

Introduction

On the 26th of June 1950, one day after the outbreak of the Korean War, two separate, but similar events took place. In the *Munye* building[1] in Myŏngdong, Seoul, around thirty intellectuals gathered to discuss how to ideologically meet the threat of the North's all-out attack. At the same time another group of about twenty intellectuals met in Py'ŏngyang in the office of the *Pukchosŏn munhak yesul ch'ong tongmaeng* (North Korean Federation of Literature and Arts), also to discuss the war situation and what actions to take. Both groups did not need much time for their deliberations. The next day the South's intellectuals contacted the army and were allowed to establish the *Pisang kungmin sŏnjŏndae* (Emergency Civilian Propaganda Unit), whose main task was to rewrite data on the actual war situation which they received from the Troop Information and Education Office (Chŏnghungamshil) and pass this data on to newspapers, radio and other mass media organizations. Their second task was to pursue propaganda activities to make the public feel more at ease and improve the public's 'fighting spirit'. The North's intellectuals had decided to pursue similar activities by creating propaganda posters and publish wall newspapers, while they also decided to send around twenty of its writers to the front to report firsthand on the North Korean Army's advance towards Seoul.

[1] This building served as the office for the editors of *Munye* (*Literature*) Magazine, but also housed the offices of the Chŏn'guk munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnhaphoe (National Association of Cultural Organizations, NACO hereafter). The café that was located on its first floor was a frequent gathering place for most of Seoul´s intellectuals.

1 The *Munye* building in Myŏngdong, Seoul

That intellectuals from both Korean states gathered, deliberated and came into action for their respective states with such speed was unprecedented.[2] That they decided to organize themselves without an impetus from the government is also noteworthy. Even though the outbreak of war came as a surprise to both groups, their swiftness of mobilizing themselves without a nudge from the government shows that both North and South Korean intellectuals had a clear and unambiguous perception of what war and in specific the role of an intellectual during war was. This dissertation deals with how North and South Korean writers perceived the Korean War and their role in wartime society and investigates what circumstances and precedents led to their beliefs. With their hold on cultural power in society they actively created and shaped the public imagining of their wartime societies through their writings and activities. Through the study of their wartime essays and writings, therefore, I am interested in looking at what function

[2] When the First World War broke out in 1914, there was considerable fervor and excitement, but it did not spur the intellectuals of the belligerent nations to immediately organize themselves and work for their state, which only happened to a small degree when the state persisted and gave them some incentives to do so. For a description of the excitement felt among writers and artists in Germany prior and closely after the outbreak of war, see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, "German artists, writers and intellectuals and the meaning of war, 1914-1918" in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilisation in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 21-38.

the writers attributed to their own literature and how they went about to imbue their works with this vision. In order to analyze these issues I am guided by the following questions: What ideological construct of war was present among North and South Korean writers that led them to have such a seemingly unambiguous view of the Korean War and their own role in it when war broke out? How were writers swayed to adhere to this all-encompassing war narrative and were there divergent voices that criticized it? What narrative methods and strategies are visible in the writers' works to convince the reader of their particular view and stance? What themes are present in their wartime literature and to what degree were the portrayals of these themes related and in what ways did they influence the historical and social situation of the Korean War?

Previous Studies on Korea's Wartime Literature

Research into writers' wartime activities or wartime literature has for a long time been a neglected area of study. In anthologies on South Korea's history of literature, we find that wartime writings are ignored altogether, or that the wartime is only given scant attention. In Peter Lee's *A History of Korean Literature*, for example, the war period is missing completely.[3] In *New Lectures on the Literary History of the Minjok* (*Sae minjok munhaksa kangjwa)*, an anthology published by the Research Center on Minjok Literary History (Minjok munhaksa yŏn'gusŏ), the war period is being brushed aside in only a few paragraphs. One of the reasons why scholars have neglected the study of wartime literature is because they view the literary works produced in this period as "mere propaganda." Eminent literature scholars like Kim Yunshik and Chŏng Ho-ung, for example judge South Korea's literature from

[3] Peter Lee, *A History of Korean Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

the Korean War period as 'being devoid of a high artistic standard' in their anthology *History of the Korean Novel* (*Han'guk sosŏlsa*).[4]

This suggests that the absence of aesthetically pleasing literature due to the writers' insisting on producing works of propaganda, has been the main reason for scholars to neglect literature from the wartime period. This perceived lack of literary qualities makes the wartime literature unworthy for a serious investigation and is the reason why some scholars view the wartime period as producing a cultural black hole, in which no new or artistic ideas would come to fruition, since the artists and writers tended to subjugate artistic production to ideological ends. This is because in general literary works have for a long time been viewed as a significant social form that is autonomous from, and sometimes even seen as superior to other forms of writing. The writer is seen as an intellectual who is free from political or social demands, and is therefore in a unique position to objectively write down the history of the age he lives in. It is believed that the writer is holding up a mirror to society, in which the literary work reflects back what is wrong or needs extra attention. The writer establishes his own vision of art and implements his unique artistic views in his literary works.

When a scholar turns his attention to such writers who found themselves in a wartime society, however, their actions might run counter to what one would expect: they suddenly would relegate their literature to the demands of the state, would write patriotic literature containing one-dimensional characters, and would utter propagandistic slogans in newspapers and magazines that were seen as the complete opposite of the writers peacetime vision on art and war.[5] This creates a dilemma for a scholar: for how can these two contradictory sides of an author, their image of the artistic and

---

[4] Kim Yunshik and Chŏng Ho-ung, *Han'guk sosŏlsa* (*History of the Korean novel*) (Munhak tongne, 2000), p. 135

[5] This is also the opinion that Wolfgang Mommsen puts forth to argue why scholars have tended to neglect or downplay intellectuals' wartime activities and writings. See Wolfgang Mommsen ed., *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg* (München: Oldenbourg, 1996).

free-minded intellectual on the one hand, and their behavior of subjugating their artistic endeavors to the wishes of the state on the other be coherently explained? A recent study by Kelly Jeong shows this mindset when she tries to give an explanation for the differences in attitude found in the colonial wartime works of Ch'ae Mansik and his post-war writings:

> "The writings are transparently propagandistic, designed to indoctrinate the reader with preposterous sentiments about the glory of the Japanese empire. For example, Ch'ae's pro-Japanese writings from 1943 overflow with contrived and exaggerated sentiments justifying the rationality of Korea's colonization, and with praise of those who work tirelessly for the empire. The voice in such essays and reports doesn't seem to belong to the same inspired writer who penned *Peace under Heaven* and *Muddy Water*, with his mastery of sarcastic wit, caustic humor, and devastating psychological insight."[6] (underlining mine)

This attitude leads to the belief that the wartime activities of a writer are to be seen as an anomaly, a break, or even a mistake, in which the normal life of the artist is uprooted and his productive life has to take a step back until the war was finally over. By doing so she falls in the trap to misrepresent the literary production of the Korean War period by saying that "in the pandemonium created by war, literary production all but ground to a halt. When writers picked up their pen again, short stories, rather than novels, dominated postwar literature."[7] (underlining mine)

The wartime period most certainly did not produce a gap in writers' literary production, which can be seen by the 360 short stories and novels that were published in the South and the 116

---

[6] Kelly Jeong, *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema*, (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011), p. 36.
[7] Ibid., p. 56.

short stories and novels in the North.[8] In recent years there have certainly been scholars who have acknowledged this production and there are several studies that give detailed descriptions of the writers' wartime activities and the stories they produced.[9] Even though South Korea's wartime literature has been the focus of more frequent scholarly attention, the wartime works are still judged mainly for their literary qualities and merits. Kim Munsu, for example, laments the fact that there are only a few humanistic novels to be found and that even the few stories that do exist "only express naïve humanness or sympathies."[10]

The few studies that deal with North Korean wartime literature have judged the stories in similar vein.[11] A recent study by Tatiana

---

[8] See Appendix A and B for a detailed list of all the short stories and novels that were produced during the Korean War.

[9] A noteworthy study in this regard is Shin Yŏngdŏk's *The Korean War and War Writers* (*Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa chonggun chakka*) (Seoul: Kukhakcharyowŏn, 2002). Other studies in this regard are Sŏn Anna, "Anti-Communism in 1950s children's literature" (1950nyŏndae adongmunhak-kwa pan'gongjuŭi) in *Studies in Korean Language and Literature* (*Han'guk ŏmunhak yŏn'gu*) 46 (February 2008); Pak Yongch'an, "A study into the literary activities of Kim Kijin" (Han'guk chŏnjaenggi P'albong Kim Kijin-ŭi munhak hwaltong yŏn'gu) in *Literature and Language* (*ŏmunhak*) 108 (June 2010); Kim Munsu, "A Study of Korean wartime literature" (Han'guk chŏnchaenggi sosŏl yŏn'gu) in *Literature and Language* (*ŏmunhak*) 22 (2001); Pak Shinhŏn, "A study into the aspect of patriotism in literature from the Korean wartime period" (Han'guk chŏnjaenggi sosŏr-e nat'anan aeguk ŭisik-ŭi t'ŭkching yŏn'gu) in *Literature and Language* (*Ŏmunhak*) vol. 59 (August 1996); Kim Yangsan, "The Strategic Acceptance of anti-Communism and the woman literary field" (Pan'gongjuŭi-ŭi chŏllyakchŏk suyong-gwa yŏsŏngmundan) in *Literature and Language* (*Ŏmunhak*) 101 (2008).

[10] Kim Munsu, p. 271. In the case of South Korea, only a few stories have been praised for their literary qualities, notably Yŏm Sangsŏp's *Shower* (*Ch'wiu*, 1953), Hwang Sun-wŏn's "Cloudburst" ("Sonagi", 1953) and "Cranes" ("Hak", 1953) and Kim Tongni's "The Returning Conscripts" ("Kwihwan changjŏng", 1951). In these cases, however, the fact that they were written during wartime is not deemed relevant for the analysis of the work in question.

[11] Just like with the South Korean wartime works, there are several studies that give a detailed description of the activities of North Korean writers during the Korean War and give summaries of their wartime stories. These studies, however, do not contain a deep analysis of them. See for example Shin Hyŏnggi and O Sŏngho, *History of North Korean Literature: From Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Literature to Juch'e Literature* (*Pukhanmunhaksa: hangil hyŏngmyŏng munhak-esŏ chuch'e munhak-kkaji*) (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 2001)

Gabroussenko does include a discussion of the North Korean writers' activities and writings, but talks disparagingly about their literary qualities, and instead uses the stories to explain how they were used in a political struggle for power in the literary field.[12] Studies that compare North Korean wartime literature with the South also belong to this category. Sŏng Tongmin in his thesis "Study on North and South Korean Wartime Literature" (Nambukhan chŏnshisosŏl yŏn'gu) gives an overview of the way North and South Korean stories are produced and comes to the conclusion that their literature was politically colored and therefore does not give a faithful representation of the war.[13]

Writing as a Social Process

Ignoring the study of wartime literature altogether, or relegating the wartime works' importance by simply labeling them as propagandistic pieces, leads to the unfortunate situation that certain insights that a deeper analyses of these stories can provide are lost. I believe that by looking at the way the ideological text functions, its method of interacting with the reader, the purpose for which it was written, and the issues it raises, one can attain a better answer to the question why the wartime works should be seen as artifacts forged under certain social and historical circumstances. To investigate these questions, I will be making use of the studies into the workings of ideology and literature from Marxist literary theorists in particular.

With the advent of studies into the workings of ideology and its

---

[12] See Tatiana Gabroussenko, *Soldiers on the Cultural Front: Developments in the Early History of North Korean Literature and Literary Policy* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 2010). Her interpretation is heavily formed by Brian Myers' *Han Sŏrya and North Korean Literature: The Failure of Socialist Realism in the DPRK* (New York, Cornell University East Asia Program, 1994) who himself was influenced by Yi Ch' ŏlchu's work *The North Korean Artists* (*Pug-ŭi yesurin*) (Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1966).

[13] Sŏng Tongmin, "Study on North and South Korean Wartime Literature" (Nambukhan chŏnshisosŏl yŏn'gu) (PhD Thesis: Tongguk University, 2003).

relation to literature, in particular through the groundbreaking work of György Lukács, the idea of literature being an autonomous work free from the influences of social processes was abandoned.[14] Pierre Macherey built upon this thesis in his book *Pour une théorie de la production littéraire* (1966), and argues that the literary work is a manufactured product that is made up of elements and tools that are already present within a society.[15] Macherey showed that the author of a literary work is not able to place himself outside of the society or the historical period he lives in and that therefore the ideological and historical position of the author always seeps through in some form in a text. The consequence of this is that the author is never able to represent his viewpoints in a coherent and consistent manner.[16]

Literature is, therefore, the product of social practice in that it is influenced by and embedded in ideological forms that are historically determined. Instead of the literary work and the author holding up a mirror to society, the work and its author are more like a prism through which not only the ideological position of the writer passes, but also the social and historical circumstances in which the work was written. Étienne Balibar and Macherey have argued that literature is inscribed in a dynamic web of social

---

[14] Of particular influence in this regard were Lukács's studies *The Theory of the Novel* (1920) and *Realism in the Balance* (1938).

[15] Marxist literary criticism is part of the "mimetic" theories as it stresses the historical, social and cultural influences of the text. These influences are external elements that shape the text that is being analyzed. This means that in Marxist literary criticism it is not the literary work (or literary system) that is the central and autonomous object of inquiry, but instead the question of how the text is shaped and even produced by the society in which it has been written and how this text for his part can shape and influence society in itself. This makes it different from such literary theories as New Criticism, Formalism and Structuralism as these approaches focus on the internal influences in a text.

[16] Macherey worded this aspect as follows: "Through its relationship to the theoretical and ideological uses of language, the text is also influenced by the formal function of the writer and by the problems of his individual existence; finally, specific literary works are determined by the history of literary production from which they receive the means of their own realization." Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 53.

practices, in which each practice has a certain influence on forming ideologies. They put literature together with other ideological formations, such as religious, juridical, or political formations among others. While literature is intrinsically linked to these formations, it is at the same time also separate.[17] They further state that each ideological formation is related to three aspects of one social process and its successive historical forms: (1) its production under determinate social conditions; (2) its moment in the reproduction of the dominant ideology; (3) and consequently as in itself a method to enforce ideological domination.[18]

The act of writing is thus not an isolated activity detached from social practice where the writer can take a bird's-eye view of its own society and analyse and address social, historical or political issues objectively. Étienne Balibar and Macherey argue that a writer does try to imbue his novels with an air of objectivity, and that he uses certain literary effects to achieve this aim. When analyzing an authors work it is therefore necessary to look closely at the ideological formation process that went into the work's production and to "'locate' the production of literary effects historically as part of the ensemble of social practices."[19] Since the writer himself always writes from a certain position that is in relation to his ideological climate, the writer is never able to escape from constructing a specific ideological image that is not informed by social or historical circumstances.[20] I believe that during

---

[17] Etienne Balibar and Pierre Macherey, "On Literature as an Ideological Form", in Terry Eagleton and Drew Milne eds., *Marxist Literary Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), p. 278. "[Literature is] one of several ideological forms within the ideological superstructures, corresponding to a base of social relations of production which are historically determined and transformed, and historically linked to other ideological forms."

[18] Idem., pp. 289-290.

[19] Ibid., p. 279. Earlier Macherey had phrased this in the following manner: "The writer always…writes from a certain position…in relation to his ideological climate: he constructs a specific image of ideology which is not exactly identical with ideology as it is given." In Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, p. 195.

[20] Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, p. 195.

wartime such social processes become even more visible in an author's work as wartime societies tend to collapse upon themselves. Wartime culture and the writing it brings forth perhaps shows most clearly what ideological discourses were present in a particular society, in that the war culture that is created redefines discourses more narrowly.

The appeal of studying wartime ideological literature lies in the struggle of the writers with the uncertainty of not knowing. The realistic mode that the writers used before the war was a powerful tool to imbue their stories with authority, but this technique loses a lot of its power during war, since the all-knowing narrator that serves to portray each character's thoughts and feelings, and can keep the reader informed of the bigger picture that eludes the characters in the story, is itself in crisis.[21] Due to the unfinished nature of the war itself, the literary work struggles to create a complete whole as the writer does not know how or when war will end. The wartime writings, therefore, give a unique insight in the writers' direct and immediate response to the Korean War, an element that gets lost when war has ended. When war is over, in the case of the Korean War with the signing of the armistice agreement, one can start with the process of making sense of what happened, and also to view the war as finished. It is my view that from such a point onwards the war is interpreted and utilized for contemporary purposes. This can be seen, for example, in the phenomenon of wartime stories whose contents were thought to be adequate during the war, but were either rewritten or reprinted to suit the changing contemporary situation after the war, or sometimes were even completely forgotten.[22]

---

[21] I will investigate these claims more deeply in chapter 3.

[22] In North Korea the ending of Han Sŏrya's story "Jackals" (Sŭngnyangi) was rewritten a few years after the war to become useful again for catering to the changed contemporary situation. The same happened to the story "The new nurse" ("Sae kanhowŏn") which was written by Yun Shich'ŏl and rewritten by him in 1956. A re-appreciation of wartime stories is also visible nowadays probably because of the propagation of the "military first" (*sŏn'gun*) policy, as Hwang Kŏn's "The burning island" ("Pult'anŭn sŏm") was reprinted in 2010. In South Korea we

Writing under Wartime Conditions

It is with these considerations in mind that I will make a study of North and South Korean wartime short stories and novels. In order to embed these stories in the historical and social circumstances in which they were produced, I give sufficient attention to the many different voices and views in both wartime societies. To accomplish this I will not only be making use of obvious literary materials such as magazines and books, but also include newspaper articles, essays, memoirs and speeches in my research as well. During the initial stages of the war North Korean wartime literature and views on the war were dispersed in the *Labour Newspaper* (*Rodong shinmun*), the *Liberation Newspaper* (*Haebang shinmun*), and the journal *The People* (*Inmin*). From March 1951 the wartime magazine *Literature and Art* (*Munhak yesul*) became the main vehicle of publication of the KFLA, and I make use of many of the stories and essays that appeared here. Other works of literature were gained from short story collections of individual authors. Another source containing several stories is the woman's magazine *Korean Woman* (*Chosŏn yŏsŏng*). The South Korean materials that I consulted consist chiefly of the literary magazines *Frontline Literature* (*Chŏnsŏn munhak*), which was published by the Army War Writers Group (Yukkun chonggun chakkadan), as well as *The New World* (*Sinch'ŏnji*) and *Literature and Arts* (*Munye*). Other wartime sources besides novels and short story collections include magazines such as *The Free Arts* (*Chayu yesul*) among others, as well as newspapers like the *Yŏngnam ilbo*, *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, etcetera.

---

can see that during Pak Chŏnghŭi's rule, and his emphasis on a military state, several wartime stories were being reprinted, notably in the five volume series *The complete works of korean war literature* (*Han'guk chŏnjaeng munhak chŏnjip*) in 1969.

The first part of my dissertation focuses on the historical and social processes that led to the formation of the dominant total war ideology present in both North and South Korea during the Korean War. In chapter one an overview is given of the writers' activities from the end of the colonial period, when they were first exposed to the ideas of total war, to the end of the Korean War. Next to giving a historical introduction to the writers' activities during the Korean War, the aim of this chapter is to show how dominant the ideology of total war was in the writers' views, and in extension their works. The ideology of total war, which made its entrance in Korean intellectual culture through the Japanese wartime paradigm from the 1930s onwards, influenced the way writers perceived the ongoing Korean War, and guided their view on the role of literature during the war, the role of the intellectual in wartime society, and also structured the way North and South Korean writers organized themselves.

Chapter two deals with how social circumstances led writers in the South to come to write propaganda literature. Due to numerous popular uprisings within its own borders before the Korean War, an anti-communist paradigm appeared within South Korean society. During this period many citizens were seen with suspicion and the dramatic shifts in the frontline during the early months of the war brought additional jeopardy for the population of Seoul, who had been under communist rule for three months. After the South Korean government returned, many writers who had not been able to flee were now seen with suspicion and had to fear reprisals. One way to escape punishment and to shift suspicion away from oneself was to make it clear that one was an anti-communist through one's writings, or by joining one of the government-funded war writers' organisations. This chapter shows how South Korean society (and also the writers) was split in half due to the developments of the early wartime period and that the choice of many South Korean writers to write propaganda

literature was out of necessity due to the existing social pressures within society.

In part two I shift my attention towards the issues that are raised within the wartime literary works. Chapter three focuses on the analysis of North Korea's wartime literature. The North Korean writers saw literature as ideally suited to evoke a certain emotion in the reader to come into action. In order to instill fighting spirit and confidence in the reader, the writers portrayed the predominantly American enemy as vicious and cruel, while the North Korean heroes in the stories were pure and innocent. Besides this, the stories stress the comradeship of frontline soldiers as a means to get the reader to become active in the war, but show that the depiction of this participatory role in the nation simultaneously defines the concept of the nation itself more narrowly. Even though in most stories an ideal picture is created of how North Korean wartime society functioned, propaganda literature cannot stray too far from reality and its hardships, and therefore one finds many commentaries in the stories on existing social problems that were of importance in North Korean society. The dramatic shift in the North's fortunes after the September 1950 Incheon landing, and the North Korean Army's hasty retreat is a frequent topic in order to explain this setback and try to convince the reader that it was not due to incompetent political decisions.

Chapter four switches its gaze toward the South Korean wartime literature. South Korean propaganda literature focused almost exclusively on the differences between the communist and democratic ideologies of the two belligerent parties. This can be explained by the government's need to convince their own population of the viability of their democratic system at a time when popular uprisings were frequent. South Korean writers helped the government by viewing the communist ideology as incompatible with their image of the Korean nation and therefore argued that the legitimacy of the spirit of the nation rested solely in

the south. Reading their wartime stories, and when analyzing Kim Song's novel *Living Forever* in particular, one can see that this nationalist construction of wartime society was not only excluding the north, but that the exclusion also could be extended to elements within South Korean society who were regarded as people who did not have the best interests of the nation in mind, but only tried to enrich themselves. Excluding certain groups helped the writers to reinforce their own views on nationalism, and strengthened their cultural position within society as well. In this way the writers appropriated the concept of nationalism for themselves and as the war progressed writers saw true nationalists as those who had a direct experience of the war itself, only including themselves and the soldiers at the front in this constructed narrative.

Chapter five compares the manner in which the enemy was portrayed in North and South Korea and how each depiction differs according to the pre-war paradigm that each state had created. With large popular uprisings in South Korean society before the war, the focus rested almost exclusively on the ideological corruptness of the enemy. In North Korea this was different: having been able to quickly establish a stable society they could shift their focus to a perceived external threat, and thus their stories stress that the US had imperial ambitions in Korea. Each side claimed that the common population in the enemy state were longing for liberation from their cruel (North or South Korean) oppressors and tried to keep a human face on the enemy by making a distinction between the people in power and the normal civilians. Their stories however, also show evidence that during a civil war it is almost impossible to maintain such kind of clear division, and therefore the friendly common population could also easily appear as a ruthless enemy. The foreign (Chinese or American) enemy on the other hand could be portrayed in a much more unnuanced manner and racist or animalistic traits were most commonly used to describe them.

Finally, chapter six will focus on what role and position is allocated during war for women in both Koreas. The traditional image that was created of Korean women before the Korean War was that they should fulfill a supportive role in society, especially deferring to and relying on their husbands. With most men fighting at the front, these women had to sustain themselves and their family. One social problem that arose was the dramatic rise of prostitution. Many South Korean writers wrote stories about what circumstances and motivations guided women to make such a drastic decision, and also sought to show female readers a solution to their problems. Their solution was to focus one's energy on the war effort by becoming a nurse. The way they depicted these nurse characters in their stories, however, show that they still had the very traditional role of women in mind, in that they were not working for the nation, but foremost for the well-being of men. Many North Korean stories have heroines as their main character in an effort to undo the traditional role of women and create the social ideal that women were equal to men in communist society. In the stories one can see how this new role is not easily attained as the main characters struggle with their feelings of motherhood, or have to struggle with North Korean men who have not yet accepted this changing status of women in Korean society. Here as well, however, the traditional image of Korean women as carer for men appears in several wartime stories.

Part One

The Formation of the Ideology of War

Chapter One

The Emergence and Institutionalization of the Ideology of War

As war broke out on the Korean peninsula on the early morning of June 25, 1950, the literary fields in North and South Korea had to adapt quickly to the situation. After only a short time of deliberations, both the North Korean as well as the South Korean writers had settled on a plan on how to make their literature useful for wartime purposes. The speed with which both sides were able to form very similar visions of what role writers and their literature should play during war betrays the fact that the writers had a previous experience of war, or at least were expecting a war to break out soon. They had received experience of war in the final years of the colonial period, when the colonial regime started to promote the ideology of total war on the Korean peninsula. Many writers were swayed by the pressures of the government at that time and started to forge their wartime roles. When Japan's rule over Korea ended on August 15, 1945, the total war ideology as well seemingly disappeared. The wartime years of Japanese colonial rule, with the forced conscription of Koreans for labor and military service, the suppression of the Korean language, and the forced adoption of Japanese family names, had left a deep mark on Koreans' identities and way of living. Every citizen had been mobilized in the name of total war to put in an effort for the ongoing war.

For writers living in the Liberation Period (1945-1948), the liberation was seen as a post war event which signaled the end of mobilization and the start of a new beginning. Yi Sŏnhŭi (1911-?), for example, stressed in his novel *Window* (*Ch'ang*, 1946) that the end of the Greater East Asian and Pacific Wars meant a demobilization, making the end of conscription "more important to the villagers than independence."[1] With the slogans and mechanisms of total war gone, people could go back to normalcy. The day the war ended, therefore, was a joyous occasion.

August 15, 1945, however, was also to be the starting point of a deepening division between North and South. Not only can one see the emergence of a territorial division in this post war period, but in the cultural field one can also see the emergence of a literature that helped to produce a division. A contestation emerged in the cultural field and writers passionately started to propagate their personal ideas on what the nation and its literature should be like. Heated debates had sprouted among writers in the 1920s and 1930s on what function and role literature could play to gain independence and create a strong and self-reliant Korean culture. One group of writers propagated the need for a cultural movement that would gradually transform society, and which would thereby prepare the nation for its eventual independence. Another group formed around the Korean Artists Proletarian Federation (KAPF) heavily criticized this approach, and argued that only a culture that would stir people to take political action would be effective against

[1] Theodore Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea*, p. 63. The novel was printed in the *Seoul shinmun* from 26 June to 20 July 1946.

the colonial authorities. Even though there were several attempts to work together, no common ground could be reached when these arguments were eventually suppressed by the Japanese authorities.

Now with the liberation achieved, writers searched for a new function for literature which would undo culture from the remnants of colonization, and simultaneously strengthen the nation. The earlier disagreements of the 1920s and 1930s soon flared up again. Some writers argued that socialist realist literature would suit the needs of postcolonial Korea, while others started to propagate their vision of a so-called "pure literature" (*sunsu munhak*). In tandem with the political circumstances on the Korean peninsula, these two aesthetic doctrines would become the most dominant, and would eventually become directly linked to one of the two hegemonic political ideologies: Communism and Democracy. Processes within the cultural field would eventually lead to the emergence, establishment and ultimately the solidification of an imagined North and South Korea.

During this process, the discourse of total war and mobilization, which was thought to be a thing of the past, reappeared in the *habitus* of the writers, especially when the Korean War broke out.[2] It is this aspect that I will focus on in this chapter. First, I will give a historical background of the North and South Korean intellectual organizations and activities during the Korean War. Then I will

[2] I use the notion of habitus as Pierre Bourdieu has defined it, as a system that refers to lifestyle, values, dispositions and expectation of particular social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford university Press, 1990), p. 35.

focus on the intellectuals' reaction to the outbreak of war, and how they explained the war in their essays as a total war. The total war paradigm would not only become visible in their definition of the war itself, but also influenced their views of the role of the writer and of literature during war. This reaction can be seen as a return to their previous experience of war under Japanese colonial rule, as they had created definite ideas on these literary issues under the influence of the total war ideology. Besides this explanation, however, I argue that people in the literary field, and especially writers, used the total war narrative to attain cultural power and to strengthen their status and position in society. The ideology of total war would quickly regain its position as the dominant narrative and was reinstitutionalized in both wartime societies as war became more protracted in March 1951.

A short historical overview of the Korean War

The initial developments of the Korean War on the 25th of June 1950, saw dramatic changes in the fortunes of the governments of North and South Korea.[3] While the North Korean People's Army managed to conquer Seoul rapidly in three days, the rapid response and buildup of American troops started to hamper their advance until it was halted along the Naktong frontline. A counterattack at Inch'ŏn by the UN army on the 15th of September

[3] Here I will only give a brief summary of what transpired militarily during the war. For an informative overview on the Korean War, see Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2010).

crumbled the North's overstretched supply line and led to a frantic retreat. Having quickly reestablished the pre-war boundaries along the 38th parallel by October, the UN army went on the offensive, occupying almost the whole of the Korean peninsula when they in turn were thrown back by the intervention of the Chinese at the end of November 1950.

After the Chinese intervention, the UN troops were pushed back quickly to below the 38th parallel and Seoul once again fell into North Korean hands in January 1951. The UN managed to set up their defense below Seoul, and after a few months of hard fighting recaptured the capital. A further push brought the UN army once again above the 38th parallel, but here the Chinese spring offensive halted their attack and pushed them back. In late spring, the battle lines stabilized similar to how Korea's demilitarized zone is defined today. It would still take two years of negotiations to agree on a ceasefire between all belligerent parties, during which the fighting turned into attrition warfare.

These general developments had an influence on the way the intellectual organizations were formed: In the early months of the war there was a number of intellectuals who formed groups to actively support one of the regime's war efforts. As soon as the changes in the movement of the frontline stagnated in the last spring of 1951, these groups started to get the support from the government and would from now on include the large majority of each society's intellectuals.

Intellectual organizations and activities in South Korea

On the 26th of June 1950, one day after the outbreak of the Korean War, a group of intellectuals, organized in the National Association of Cultural Organizations (Chŏn'guk munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnhaphoe, hereafter NACO), gathered in the offices of *Munye* magazine in Myŏngdong to discuss how to ideologically meet the threat of the North's all-out attack.[4] After deliberations the Emergency Civilian Propaganda Unit (Pisang kungmin sŏnjŏndae, henceforth ECPU) was established the next day. This unit was to be a separate branch of the NACO, and was formed to create a mobile unit that could more quickly react to the changing situation. It was already now that an Army Intelligence Officer was assigned to the NACO from the Troop Information and Education Office (TIaEO) of the Ministry of National Defense.[5] The main task of the ECPU was to rewrite data received from the TIaEO about the actual war situation and pass this data on to newspapers, radio and other

---

[4] The National Association of Cultural Organizations had been established on February 12, 1947 in large part to act as a counter movement to the left wing Chosŏn Federation of Cultural Organizations (*Chosŏn munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnmaeng*, established on February 24, 1946). Its activities before the war consisted of organizing a 'Rally of all Intellectuals to Promote the Minjok Spirit' held on December 27 and 28 of 1948, and the publication of the magazine *Minjok Culture* (*Minjok munhwa*). Thirty people were present at this meeting: novelists Kim Song and Kim Dongni, poets Cho Chihun, Pak Mogwŏl, Yi Hanjik, Sŏ Chŏngju, Kim Yunsŏng, Pak Chonghwa, Mo Yunsuk, Kim Yŏngnang, Kong Chungin, O Yŏngjin, Sŏ Chŏngt'ae, Kim Chinsŏp, Yi Wŏnsŏp and Yi Tongju, literary critic Cho Yŏnhyŏn and painter Ko Hŭidong.

[5] Cho Yŏnhyŏn in "Munye shidae", *Han'guk mundan imyŏnsa*, (Seoul: Kip'ŭnsaem, 1983), pp.301-302. This close connection with the army and the government had already been established during the Liberation period, when the NACO was actively sought by the authorities to report on the aftermath of the Yŏsu uprising. See chapter five for a more detailed description of these ties.

mass media organizations. The second task was to pursue propaganda activities to make the public feel more at ease and improve the public's 'fighting spirit'. They were allowed to pursue the propaganda activities described in this second task "as they saw fit".[6] The members of this unit immediately set out to work on press releases, wall newspapers, and drafting news articles.[7]

Because of the rapid advance of the North Korean army, the intellectuals had to hide or flee and the unit soon dissolved. Some intellectuals who had managed to get out of Seoul gathered briefly in the auditorium of the agricultural school in Suwŏn, where on June 28 a new organization was set up, the Group of Combined Artists to Save the Nation (Munch'ong kuguktae).[8] Kim Kwangsŏp took the lead over this group and it marked the first time that the writers started to call themselves "War Writers" (Chonggun munin).[9] After two days the organization fled to Taegu and not

---

[6] Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *Nae-ga saraon han'guk mundan*, p. 263. For its convenience the office of the ECPU was located in the *Munyesa* building as it was also the home of the NACO. It was also around this time that Painter Ko Hŭidong, head of the NACO, and poetess Mo Yunsuk hosted a radio program where Kim Yunsŏng and Kong Chungin read out patriotic poems.

[7] The initial news that was dispersed to the public was much too positive. Messages that the North Korean army had been pushed back were broadcast, while the sound of approaching artillery fire at Ŭijŏngbu were clearly audible to the citizens of Seoul. This damaged the reputation of the government and criticism of this misinformation can be found in wartime literary works as well.

[8] Present at the inauguration of this organization were novelists Kim Song, Cho Hŭnp'a (1918-1980) poets Kim Kwangsŏp, Sŏ Chŏngju, Cho Chihun, Pak Mogwŏl, Cho Yŏngam, Pak Yŏnhŭi, Yi Hanjik, Ku Sang, Pak Hwamok (1924-2005), Sŏ Chŏngt'ae, Yi Wŏnsŏp, and Kim Yunsŏng (1925-) and literary critics Yi Hŏn'gu and Im Kŭngjae (1918-1962).

[9] Ku Sang, "Chonggun chakkadan 2 nyŏn", *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 (1953.5), p. 57. As a member of this group Im Kŭngjae witnessed the battle at the Han river near Yŏngdŭngp'o and was wounded there, thereby becoming the first casualty among the war writers.

long after that to Pusan. The group's aim was to support the friendly troops with broadcasts, publish newspapers, make propaganda leaflets, give lectures and so forth.[10]

After Seoul was recaptured by UN troops, the writers who had managed to flee southwards took charge of reestablishing control over cultural affairs. One of the activities organized by the NACO in Seoul was a "rally of intellectuals to overthrow Communism" (T'agong munhwain kwŏlgi taehoe) in the National Theater on the 9th of October.[11] When the UN army moved into the North from October 1950, poets O Yŏngjin and Cho Chihun briefly established a North Korean branch of the NACO (Pukhan munch'ong) in Pyongyang.[12]

When the Chinese entered the war, many intellectuals made the decision to move to Pusan and Taegu, which became known as the

---

[10] A few days later a play by Kim Song entitled "The middle frontline" ("Chungbu chŏnson") was performed under the auspices of the NACO. Also a mass performance was organized in which more than fifty intellectuals participated, among others Kim Tongo and Yu Ch'ihwan.

[11] *Tonga ilbo*, 9 October 1950. http://dna.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1950100900209102008&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1950-10-09&officeId=00020&pageNo=2&printNo=8315&publishType=00010 (last retrieved 13 December 2011). One day later this was followed by an "Anti-Communist rally of all *minjok* intellectuals" in the Civic Center. People active in the organization of these rallies were Ko Hŭidong, Pak Chonghwa, Yu Ch'ijin, Yi Hŏn'gu, Kim Kwangsŏp, O Chongsik, Yi Sŏgu, Kim Dongni, Kim Song, Kim Pyŏnggi and Cho Chihun.

[12] *Tonga ilbo*, 11 July 1973. http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1973071100209205008&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1973-07-11&officeId=00020&pageNo=5&printNo=15930&publishType=00020 (last retrieved 21 January 2012)

"4th of January retreat" (1.4 hut'oe).[13] As the front stabilized in the spring of 1951, the TIaEO of the Air Force, and Colonel Kim Kiwan in particular, started to lobby on behalf of the writers for the establishment for a separate war writer organization. Shin Sŏngmo, the Minister of Defense, declined this plan, stating that he did not want to favor a certain group in society for special treatment over others. Yi Sŏn'gŭn, who was in charge of all the TIaEO's of the Army branches, however, did acquiesce. This was a move to intensify propaganda dissemination and make it more centrally organized, while also helping the writers sustain themselves. Therefore the first group that was established was the Blue Sky Group (Ch'anggong kurakpu) in Taegu on the 9th of March 1951.[14] The TIaEO of the Air Force helped the writers out by giving them a wage similar to the position of a civil servant, and from time to time with food.

Cho Chihun and Ch'oe Inuk were dispatched to the air force base

---

[13] Writer Chŏng Pisŏk, who was entrenched with the 6th ROK division into North Korea, was lucky to escape the Chinese entrance into the Korean War alive, since on that day he was bedridden because of a small cold. *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn* 7, p. 92.

[14] The Blue Sky Group was officially named the Air Force War Writer Group (*konggun chonggun munindan*), but to avoid confusion with the Army War Writer Group it had given itself another nickname. Other intellectuals had already organized themselves earlier. December 1950 saw the establishment of groups consisting of painters, musicians and movie directors. This was followed by a group for actors in January 1951 and for light music in February 1951. Its members consisted of children's literature author Ma Haesong (chairman), Poet Cho Chihun (vice-chairman), writers Ch'oe Inuk (secretary), Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, Yu Chuhyŏn, Kwak Hashin and Pang Kihwan, poets Pak Tujin, Pak Mogwŏl, Kim Yunsŏng, Yi Hanjik and Yi Sangno. A year later Hwang Sunwŏn, Kim Tongni, Chŏn Sukhŭi and Pak Hunsan were added to the group. The office of this organization was located in Tŏksandong, Taegu. Hwang Sunwŏn and Kim Dongni were staying with their families in Pusan and therefore Chŏn Sukhŭi frequently travelled back and forth to Taegu to bring their written pieces to the group for publication.

in Yŏŭido for a week in April 1951, to witness base operations there. They did not manage to get any experience on how it was at the front, since for this they would have to fly along in a jet plane, for which the seating was obviously very limited.[15] The group was very successful with a "national aircraft donation drive" held in July 1951, for which they went all over the country to hold lectures and collect funds.

Together with the Army War Writer Group they organized from the 15th to the 17th of January 1952, an arts festival in the Free Theatre of Taegu where a part of Kim Yŏngsu's play *People of my hometown* (*Kohyang saramdŭl*) was performed.[16] June 6th till June 9th saw the performance of Ch'oe Inuk's play *The tale of Ch'unhyang with wings* (*Nalgae Ch'unhyangchŏn*) in the Culture Theatre of Taegu by the Shinhyŏp Theatre Group. During the war the Blue Sky Group also published a poetry collection called "The Vault of Heaven" ("Ch'anggung") and a story collection titled *Medal*

---

[15] Writings about the life they experienced at the front or in the army were then presented to an audience in the National Theatre of Taegu in May 1951. In 1952, when Pak Tujin, Yu Chuhyŏn and Yi Sangno also went on a visit to an Air Force base, they did manage to fly along and see the frontline from the sky.

[16] Instead of using professional theater actors and actresses, writers like Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, or literary critic Cho Yŏnhyŏn among others were performing the parts in the play. Due to their inexperience with acting, they forgot their lines or looked very clumsy on stage. However, this clumsiness was met with great cheers and laughter, and in fact because of its popularity the play was performed once again the next day in front of an enthusiastic crowd in Pusan. The cooperation between these two groups continued in March 1st, 1952, when in the Pusan Theatre, Kim Yŏngsu's play was performed in full, while poets Mo Yunsuk, Cho Chihun, Cho Pyŏnghwa, Ku Sang, Pak Namsu, Chang Manyŏng and Kim Kwanggyun recited some of their works, while playwright Yu Ch'ijin and literary critic Yi Hŏn'gu gave a lecture. A day later, poets U Ch'ijin, Pak Mogwŏl, Kong Chungin and Yi Hanjik also read out some of their poetry. In the same month two similar recitals were held for Air Force personnel.

(*hunjang*). Furthermore they twice published their own magazine *Blue Sky* (*Ch'anggong*) while Yi Sangno and Pang Kihwan among others were in charge of editing the *Air Force journal* (*Konggun sunbo*) and *Comet* (*K'omet'ŭ*).

Also based in Taegu and established at a meeting in teahouse "Adam" on the 26th of May 1951 was the Army War Writer Group (*Yukkun chonggun chakkadan*), which was chaired by writer Ch'oe Sangdŏk.[17] On this first meeting only the obtainment of an adequate army uniform and accompanying insignia for the group was discussed. The next day, they met again to discuss the group's future activities. It was decided that a writers group should be dispatched to the front as soon as possible and that a lecture would be organized soon after this group's return. More generally it was agreed upon that each member would pay a monthly membership fee of ten thousand wŏn, that the members' literary works should be published in all sorts of magazines and newspapers, and that the group would publish their own magazine with money that was being managed by Kim Song. This group did not receive the same benefits as the Blue Sky Group, in that they did not receive any monthly wages. Instead they were helped only with office space,

[17] It is said that Pak Yŏngjun was the driving force in the establishment of this particular group. See the *Tonga ilbo*, 11 July 1973. The other initial members of the group were writers Kim Song (as vice-chairman), Pak Yŏngjun (committee member), Chang Tŏkcho, Ch'oe T'aeŭng, Chŏng Pisŏk, Pang Kihwan, and poets Yi Tŏkchin (committee member), Cho Yŏngam, Kim Chinsu, Sŏng Kiwŏn, Pak Inhwan, Chŏng Unsam, Kim Yŏngsu, Im Kŭngjae, Kim Yisŏk, Yi Ponggu and Yang Myŏngmun. This group's office was located in the same building as that of the *Yŏngnam ilbo* newspaper, however, since Pak Yŏngjun and Chŏng Pisŏk both worked as civil servants for the Army's TIaE, mostly their office was used. *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn*, p. 89.

paper whenever it was available, and occasionally with rice provisions.

Kim Song, Ch'oe T'aeŭng, Yi Tŏkchin, Cho Yŏngam, Sŏng Kiwŏn and Kim Isŏk were the ones chosen to tour the frontline in June 1951. The first lectures of this group were presented on the 14th of August 1951 in the Culture Theatre of Taegu.[18] The goal of these lectures was in the words of Pak Yŏngjun to "inform the people at the home front in detail about the heroic fight of the frontline soldiers, in order to muster the whole power of the people for the war, thus bringing about victory."[19] The stories told about the soldiers on these meetings were more vivid and poetic than could be found in the newspapers or in other media and therefore gave the audience a different and more immediate flavor of the war. Many more lecture events were organized from that time onwards.[20]

The establishment of the Navy War Writers Group (Haegun chonggun chakkadan) in June 1951 was mainly due to the efforts of writers An Sugil and Yi Sŏn'gu (1917-?), who already were working as civil servants for the Navy. They were joined by writers Yun Paengnam (charged with press releases of the group), Yŏm

---

[18] Chŏng Pisŏk, Pak Yŏngjun and Chang Tŏkcho gave a lecture, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi read a story, while Yang Myŏngmun, Cho Chihun and Yi Tŏkchin read a few of their poems.

[19] *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn*, p. 94.

[20] Meetings were organized on September 20, 1951 in the Central Theater of Seoul, December 6, 1951 in the Cultural Theater of Taegu, June 25, 1952, December 23, 1952 and May 26, 1953. Similar to these lecture evenings were the "literature evenings" (munhag-ŭi pam) and "literature and music evenings" as well as several lecture events to commemorate important events like the recapture of Seoul (September 28, 1952), or Liberation day (August 15, 1952). Next to this the writers were also active in organizing radio broadcasts for Taegu radio.

Sangsŏp (chief editor) and Yi Muyŏng, who all received a special training from the Navy in Jinhae before being allowed to join.[21] It had also been decided that female writers Son Sohŭi and Yun Kŭmsuk would join, but when they found out that women were not allowed on board of a ship they could not do so.[22]
This group was not as active as the Army Writers in entrenching themselves with the forces. Pak Kyeju was twice entrenched with the marines for a week, while Pak Yŏnhŭi went aboard vessel nr. 309 for three weeks. While on board Pak did not witnessed any "dazzling" naval battles, and in fact was quite bored. Therefore, after hearing his story, no other members of the group felt an urge to have a similar experience and they all remained on shore.[23]

Next to the war writer organizations that from 1951 were in liaison with each specific army branch, the NACO also continued its activities during this period. On the 25th of June 1951 it participated in the "6.25 anti-communist rally" where among other things they organized the performance of Kim Yŏngsu's play *Red Seoul* (*Pulgŭn Sŏul*) in the Tong A Theatre that ran until the 1st of July. From the 14th to the 16th of December 1951 they organized a lecture series on the current state of affairs. Throughout these last

---

[21] *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn*, p. 133 Later on Hŏ Yunsŏk, Pak Yonggu, Pak Kyeju (1913-1966), poets Pak Yŏnhŭi, Kong Chungin, Yi T'aerae, Kim Kyudong, Pak T'aejin (1921-2006), Pak Hwamok, and literary critic Yun Kojong (1912-?) also joined this group. Their office was located at the Navy division of the TIaE, which was situated right across the street of Pusan station. Instead of a chairman, they had loosely assigned Pak Kyeju to be a manager, a position that was later transferred to Pak Yŏnhŭi.
[22] *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn*, p.134
[23] *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn*, p.135. Another notable activity of the group was the effort of Yi Muyŏng, who had been transferred to run the administration for the admiral in Chinhae, to erect a statue of Yi Sunshin during the war.

two years, the NACO held several other rallies in commemoration of March 1st, Liberation Day, or the start of the Korean War. Later, as the signing of the armistice agreement seemed to be very near, they held an emergency meeting on June 13th to organize a protest. These protests were held on eight different locations throughout Pusan on the 15th of June.[24]

Even though organization-wise there was a clear division in which writer belonged to which group, in reality the writers intermingled with each other and even organized many events together. Their reminiscences of the café's they frequented in Taegu and Pusan clearly show this.[25] The above summary of their organizational activities show that they were very active. In recognition of their deeds, Ch'oe Sangdŏk, Kim P'albong, Ku Sang and Pak Yŏngjun were awarded the Gold Star Hwarang Medal of Military Merit (Kŭmsŏng hwarang mugong hunjang) in 1955.

---

[24] Next to this the NACO regulated the prices for manuscript submissions, which fluctuated strongly due to inflation. Throughout the war years, the prizes went from 100 *wŏn* per 200 syllables for a manuscript and 10000 *wŏn* for a poem on April 11, 1951, to 3000 *wŏn* (April 20, 1952), to 5000 *wŏn* (May 20, 1952; 50000 *wŏn* for a poem), to 100 *hwan* (June 5, 1953; 1000 *hwan* for a poem).
[25] *Haebang munhak 20 nyŏn*, p. 89.

2 Ch'oe Sangdŏk, Kim P'albong, Ku Sang and Pak Yŏngjun receiving the Gold Star Hwarang Medal of Military Merit (Kŭmsŏng hwarang mugong hunjang) in 1955

Throughout the war period, there was a severe paper shortage which cut down the number of opportunities of the writers to get published. The writers of the Army War Writers Group, for example, had planned to publish the military magazine *Frontline Literature* soon after the group was established. However, it took until April 1952 for the first issue to see the light of day.[26] Due to wartime inflation, the payment writers received for their writings was not enough to live on. The war writer organizations therefore from time to time provided the writers with clothes and rice.

The writers in society who did not, or were not allowed to join up with one of the war writer groups led a very harsh life, especially those who took refuge in Pusan. One tragic victim of the war's circumstances was the young poet Chŏn Pongnae (1923-1951).

[26] Many magazines during the war frequently mention the difficulties they had in procuring paper for printing their magazines. Even with these difficulties it is extraordinary just how many stories and novels were printed during the course of the war (see Appendix for a complete list).

When war broke out, he and his brother were unable to flee Seoul and spent three months in hiding during the occupation by the North Korean army. After Seoul was recaptured his brother was drafted into the army, while Chŏn Pongnae moved to Pusan. Here he found himself stranded without housing and food, and saw no other way out than to commit suicide by drinking poison in Café Star, a café frequented by many writers.[27]

The death of this promising young poet, and especially the reason for his actions, was a big shock to the other writers.[28] Later during the war, another young poet, Chŏng Unsam (1925-1953) also committed suicide.[29] Due to the many refugees that had

---

[27] He made his debut in 1950 through the *Literary Arts* magazine. During the liberation period he had moved to the south together with his brother and spent most of his time in several cafe's enjoying Bach's music or reading the poetry of Paul Valéry. On the 16th of February he sat down and drank the poison. While the deadly effects of the potion slowly manifested itself he wrote the following note. "I drank phenobarbital. 30 seconds have passed. Nothing happens./Two minutes, three minutes have passed. Still nothing seems to happen./Ten minutes have passed. My eyes are becoming heavy./I did not want to leave this splendid world./But in order to live correctly and upright I will go to my death with a smile./Bach's music is flowing around./To the people I miss, February 16th.

[28] In his novel *Living Forever* (*Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt*, 1952), Kim Song inserted a reference to Chŏn Pongnae's suicide note, when the main female protagonist of the story contemplates suicide and writes in her diary that she was thinking of committing suicide by drinking phenobarbital while listening to Bach's music. See Kim Song, *Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt*, *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip 26* (Seoul: Minjung sŏgwan, 1976), p. 267.

[29] He had published his first few romantic poems in *Whiteclothed people* (*Paengmin*) magazine in 1949 and was a promising new poet on the literary scene. During the war he had fled to Pusan, where he obtained a job as a teacher at Sukmyŏng Girls' High School. The day he committed suicide did not seem any different from his other regular visits to café Miltawŏn. However, next to his pent up frustration due to the war, he had just experienced a painful heartbreak. This led him to his decision. His suicide note read: "After a long time it has really become clear to me./Now, in the rolling waves of the sea, I can see the face of my lover sending me a smile./Now I see before me that almost all of my beloved friends have gathered./I don't want to prolong my life any longer in this time and place where they have taken care of me./Be well People I miss./January 8, 1953 Chŏng Unsam."

flooded the city of Pusan, many of the writers were struggling to find a small place to sleep. Female writer Kim Malbong and poet O Yŏngsu, who both owned a house in Pusan before the war broke out, helped the refugee writers and their families out as much as they could in this regard, by letting them sleep over.[30] Kim Tongni would later record the story of the writers' hardship in Pusan in his famous 1955 novel *The period in Miltawŏn* (*Miltawŏn shidae*).[31]

Organisations and activities in North Korea

Immediately after Pak Iru's radio speech announcing the commencement of the Korean War, the North Korean Federation of Literature and Arts (Pukchosŏn munhak yesul ch'ongdongmaeng, henceforth the NKFLA) called for an immediate general member's meeting to discuss the situation.[32] The next day, June 26, a first group of more then twenty war writers was formed and sent to the front.[33] Among the first of this batch were writers Kim Saryang

---

[30] Cho Yŏnhyŏn remembers fondly of how much effort Kim Malbong put in to try to help all the writers in need in *Naega saraon Han'guk mundan*, pp. 286-288.
[31] In this novel the characters are all modeled on one of the writers living in wartime Pusan. Miss Kil is for example modeled on Kim Malbong, while Cho Yŏnhyŏn appears as Cho Hyŏnshik and poet Yi Ponggu is Yi Chunggu.
[32] Before the establishment of the DPRK this organization was first known as the Pyŏngyang Region Proletarian Art League (P'yŏngyang chigu p'ŭroret'aria yesul tongmaeng) and was led by Yi Kiyŏng. In September 1946 it changed its name to the NKFLA. It had its own publishing house and was financially supported by running a brewery. In January 1948 there were some organizational changes were made and Han Sŏrya became the new chairman. After the DPRK was established it was put under the auspices of the ministry of Culture and Propaganda, but in reality this ministry did not have much influence over the NKFLA's activities.
[33] Hyŏn Su, *Yŏkch'i 6 nyŏn-ŭi pukhanmundan* [*The North Korean literary scene under six years of communist rule*,] Seoul: Taehanch'ulp'an (1952), p. 173. Writer Chŏn Chaegyŏng and playwright Han T'aech'ŏn also went to the frontline on this day.

(1914-1950), Pak Seyŏng (1902-1989), and Yi Tonggyu (1913-1951), as well as poets Kim Pugwŏn (1911-1984) and Kim Chogyu (1914-1990). On the 27th a second group was sent, this time containing a lot of artists who had previously fled from the south, such as writers Yi T'aejun (1904-1953) and Kim Namch'ŏn (1911-1953), poets Im Hwa (1908-1953), Cho Pyŏgam (1908-1985), and playwright Ham Sedŏk (1915-1950).[34] These artists immediately set out to perform all sorts of propaganda activities, and wrote reportages of their experiences at the front.

On the 1st of July, a few days after Seoul had been taken, Im Hwa, Kim Namch'ŏn and literary critic Yi Wŏnjo (1909-1953), among others, had established the Seoul Branch of the Federation of Literature and Arts (Munhakyesul ch'ongdongmaeng Sŏul chidobu).[35] An Hŭinam, the chairman of the Writers League (Munhakka tongmaeng) took charge over this organization, together with poets Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl and Yi Yongak (1914-1971).[36] Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl, who had been imprisoned before the Korean War, was a driving force behind the Writers League, and was seen by many as a hero because of his prison time.[37] Already that very same day a poster was hung on the wall asking for newly written materials for

---

[34] Ibid., p. 174. Poets Cho Yŏngch'ul (1913-1993), An Hŭinam, and playwright Yi Sŏhyang (1915-?) are also mentioned to have left for the front on this day. Ham Sedŏk died on the 29th of June in Seoul, allegedly while trying to throw a grenade towards the South Korean army which exploded prematurely in his own hands.
[35] The office of this organization was located in the Hanch'ŏng building which was located at Chongno street.
[36] Yi Kibong, *Pug-ŭi munhak yesurin* [*Writers and artists from the North*,] Seoul: Sasayŏn (1986), p. 262.
[37] Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *Naega saraon han'guk mundan*, p. 269.

publication.[38] The first reportages from the front arrived in Pyŏngyang around the middle of July and were quickly printed in various newspapers and magazines. The most popular writings were those of Kim Saryang, followed by the ones written by Yi T'aejun, Yi Tonggyu, Kim Pugwŏn and Chŏn Chaegyŏng.[39]

On the 25th of July a large meeting with more than ten thousand participants was held in Seoul by the main branch of the Writers League. Here Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl gave a speech to induce writers to volunteer for becoming a war writer.[40] Around the same time a new group of writers was sent to the front from Py'ŏngyang.[41] What was special about this group is that for the first time these writers wore army uniforms with the rank of captain.[42]

As the fortunes of war turned around completely from the 15th of September, many writers also had to retreat further up North. Kim Saryang lost his life around this time. At the beginning of October, all writers groups were urged by the NKFLA to flee and to reorganize in the town of Kanggye.[43] While the North Korean Army was in full retreat, writers like Pak T'aewŏn (1909-1986) and Hyŏn Tŏk (1909-?) came back from Seoul.[44] It is worth noting that, while it was possible for writers to make use of this opportunity of

---

[38] Chang Yŏngch'ang, *Sŏur-ŭn pult'anda* [*Seoul is burning*,] Seoul: Tongjisa (1978), p. 80. *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn*, p. 56
[39] Hyŏn Su, pp. 174-175.
[40] Yi Kibong, p. 277.
[41] This group of about eight people contained the likes of writer Yun Sejung (1912-1965), poet Yi Wŏnu and Ko Irhwan.
[42] Hyŏn Su, pp. 177-178.
[43] Ibid., p. 190.
[44] Ibid., p. 188.

confusion, only a small group of writers decided to move to the South.

As the frontline stabilized in the spring of 1951, the writers reorganized themselves. On the 10th of March 1951 the NKFLA merged with the South Korean Federation of Cultural Organisations (Namchosŏn munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnmaeng) to form the Korean Federation of Literature and Arts (Chosŏn munhakyesul ch'ongdongmaeng, hereafter KFLA). According to literary critic Ki Sŏkpok this was done in order to "assist in the creation of works that would prepare the people for a protracted war."[45] Han Sŏrya (1900-1976) became the chairman of this organization, while Yi T'aejun and poet Cho Kich'ŏn (1913-1951) were chosen as vice-chairman.[46]

Under the auspices of the KFLA, next to the organisations for theater, music, art, film, dance and photography, there was the Literature Organisation (Munhak tongmaeng). Here it was Yi T'aejun who served as chairman, with Pak P'aryang as vice-chairman and Kim Namch'ŏn as secretary.[47] Related to this organization was the Literary Arts Press (Munhak yesulsa) whose

---

[45] Ki Sŏkpok, *Choguk haebang chŏnjaeng-gwa uri munhak*, p. 228
[46] Pak Unggŏl served as secretary. Other board members of this organization were novelists Yi Kiyŏng (1895-1984) and Kim Namch'ŏn, poets Im Hwa and Kim Chogyu, playwright Shin Kosong (1907-?), actor Pak Yŏngshin, musician Kim Sunnam (1917-1986) and painter Chŏng Kwanch'ŏl (1916-1983). Members of the supervising committee were literary critic An Mak (1910-1958? as chairman), Kim Pugwŏn, Yi Wŏnjo, An Hŭinam and novelist Yi Pungmyŏng (1910-1988).
[47] Listed as members were Yi Kiyŏng, Han Sŏrya, Im Hwa, novelist Ch'oe Myŏngik, Yi Wŏnjo, Cho Kich'ŏn, Kim Chogyu, An Hoenam, Yi Yongak, An Hamgwang, poet Min Pyŏnggyun and Hyŏn Tŏk.

chief editor was Kim Chogyu, which published the monthly magazine *Literary Arts* (*Munhak yesul*) from April 1951 to the end of the war without discontinuations, which is quite an achievement considering that also in the North there was a severe lack of paper. Next to this there was also the Cultural Frontline Press (Munhwa chŏnsŏnsa) which was under the supervision of Kim Namch'ŏn.[48] The location of the KFLA was in a small village approximately twenty kilometers east of Pyŏngyang and many of the North's writers resided at this location.[49]

Circumstances in the North were very bleak. Due to the incessant bombing campaigns of the UN forces, life had literally moved underground, with presses or factories moved inside caves. Poet Cho Kich'ŏn died during such a bombing raid on his office in July 1951. In order to keep morale high among the population, theatre groups were dispatched throughout the country to give performances, for example around the 15th of August 1952. Writers were also sent out to give lectures to report on events at the front or to recite poems.[50] Yi Ch'ŏlchu, who was active as vice-president of

---

[48] *Munhak yesul* 4.1 (April 1951), p. 35

[49] The exact location of the office was in Kangdonggun, Shijŏk-myŏn, Songhangni. According to Yi Ch'ŏlchu this place escaped UN bombing raids and was therefore quite safe. Yi Ch'ŏlchu, p. 52.

[50] Also in the North several writers were honored by the state for their efforts during the war. On the 26th of April 1951 Yi Kiyŏng, Yi T'aejun, Han Sŏrya, Im Hwa and Cho Kich'ŏn received the National Flag medal 2nd class, Kim Chogyu, Pak Unggŏl and Shin Kosong the National Flag medal 3rd class, Kim Pugwŏn, Nam Kungman, Yi Wŏnu and poet Hwang Hail the Army Service Medal and Kim Namch'ŏn, Kim Sŭnggu, Yi Pungmyŏng, Min Pyŏnggyu, Pak P'aryang, poets Chŏng Sŏch'on and Ch'oe Sŏktu the Medal of Merit. (see *Munhak yesul* 4.2, p.38) What is interesting is that the majority of the recipients of medals consisted of theatre actors, dancers and singers, showing that the importance of artistic activities lay foremost in these fields. For example in the announcement of medal

the youth theatre group during the war, recalls of these dire circumstances: "There were no blankets or mattresses. There was no ink either, so you could hunker down in the cantine, pen in hand, and concentrate on writing as much as you wanted; it could hardly result in an actual work. …In every house people tried to get by on maize gruel, but even that wasn't available in sufficient quantities, so one had to eat herbs, roots and bark to survive until the next day of distribution."[51] Everyone had to be in the possession of a ration card in order to get food. One could also rely on the army for food, however, this was almost exclusively possible for writers who had joined as war writers.[52] Therefore most writers had to endure days when they could not eat. Writers who did not get into favor with the authorities and therefore could not get a high position in literary organisations or get published were leading particularly difficult lives.[53]

Writer's attitudes towards the Korean War

As hinted earlier, what stands out in this narration of the intellectuals' wartime activities is the swiftness with which they

---

recipients for people in the field of arts in *Munhak yesul* (1951.12, pp.57-59), no writer received a medal.

[51] Brian Myers, *Han Sŏrya and the Failure of Social Realism*. Yi Ch'ŏlju, p. 53.

[52] Yi Ch'ŏlchu, p. 53.

[53] One example of such unfortunate writers was poet Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl, who had been active during the North Korean occupation period in Seoul to convince other writers to write for the North. Without any opportunity to get acknowledged he was trying to get by in a small hut with his wife and three children, who kept asking for food to their parents. Yi Ch'ŏlchu, pp. 83-84.

came into action to support the war effort and the lead that writers in specific took herein. Although it happens that individual authors decide to write positively for the war effort, it is not common that writers mobilize themselves in such big numbers, without an impetus from the state.[54] It is clear from their actions that the Korean writers already had a clear conviction on the role a writer has to play in war. The vast majority of writers during the Korean War were of the opinion that during war, all intellectual efforts should be in the interest of the nation. In the December 1950 issue of *Munye* [Literature] magazine, Yi Sŏn'gŭn(1905-1983), who was Head of the Ministry of Defense, discussed the direction literature should take during war and especially stressed the importance of the intellectuals' patriotism. This importance, he explained, came from the fact that "intellectuals are the creators of ideology" and that "during war, victory would not be achieved by a military victory over the enemy, but only if there is also an ideological victory. Thus it is necessary that the writers instill patriotism in the hearts of the people and augment their fighting spirit."[55]

---

[54] British, French and German writers in World War I and American, British, Japanese, German and Russian writers in World War II all were organized into propaganda war writer groups only by actions of the state. See for example Wolfgang Mommsen ed., *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg*, (München: Oldenbourg, 1996); Prochasson and Rasmussen, *Au nom de la patrie: les intellectuels et la première guerre modiale (1910-1919)*, (Paris: La Découverte, 1996); Sherry ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); or MacKay ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[55] Yi Sŏn'gŭn, Inyŏm-ŭi sŭngni, *Munye*, 1950.12

Novelist Park Yŏngjun (1911-1976) agreed with this view and saw the importance of the intellectual's role in war by the fact that "Modern war is a total war and in total war the thought[propaganda] war, the spying war and the war over the airwaves are just as important as the military aspects of it."[56] Yi Hŏn'gu (1905-1983) stressed the need of the writer's propaganda work in the thought war to increase the morale of the people at the home front and even called it a 'holy occupation' for a writer during war.[57]

Ch'oe Sangdŏk (1901-1970) expressed the importance of writers in the following way in the first issue of *Frontline Literature* (*Chŏnsŏn munhak*). "The pen we carry with us to fight should become a new weapon just like a hydrogen bomb or a field gun."[58] He continues to tell that not only is the pen useful in confronting the enemy, but it can also be used to unite the front with the home front and thus "the writer should be seen as a soldier who unites, and whose special task it is to increase the morale of the soldiers at the front and increase the fighting spirit of the people at the rear." This opinion of the writer as 'a soldier who unites' can also be found in the essay of Yi Muyŏng (1908-1960) who noted that "in modern warfare sacrifices are asked not only of soldiers, but also of writers and the whole people of the nation."[59] Thus as can be seen

---

[56] Park Yŏngjun, "Kunin-gwa chŏngch'i, " *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1952.12.
[57] Yi Hŏn'gu, "Illyuae-wa tongjogae, " *Chŏnshi munhak tokpon*, 1951, p. 138.
[58] Ch'oe Sangdŏk, "Ch'anggansa, " *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1951.4
[59] Yi Muyŏng, "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhak, " *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1953.5.

above, each writer explained the relationship between war and the writer in their own respective ways.

Although specific reflections on the role of writers during war are scarce in North Korean essays, a similar opinion is definitely held. For example in a wartime speech to writers by Kim Il Sung in June 1951, the aforementioned uniting principle of the writer is stressed when it is remarked that "In these times the tasks of writers is truly important. As engineers of the human spirit, our writers do not only express our people's strong nationalism, unmoving fighting spirit and their iron belief in the ultimate victory. The writers' works serve as the most powerful and effective weapon for our people to fight and inspiringly move our whole people towards final victory."[60] Han Sŏrya echoed these words of Kim Il Sung and said that "Nowadays, the task of the writer is to strengthen the people's belief in the attainment of victory in both the heroic People's Army and the people at the home front."[61] An Hamgwang mentions in an essay that "Through the writer the people's fighting spirit is augmented and rallied completely for the war, strengthening their resolve even more." The role of the writer is therefore seen as an important factor in "linking the front to the home front, which will bring about the country's liberation and keep world peace."[62]

---

[60] Kim Il Sung, "Meeting with writers," *Munhak yesul* 4.2 (June 1951), p. 4.
[61] Han Sŏrya, "Kim Ilsŏng changgun-gwa munhakyesul," *Munhak yesul* (1952.4), p. 4.
[62] An Hamgwang, "Chosŏn literature during wartime," *Munhak yesul* 4.1 (May 1951), p. 87, 102.

The overarching idea that appears in the Korean writers views is that they relate modern war, and thus also the ongoing Korean War, to the ideology of total war. However what is noticeable in their essays on the role of the intellectual or of literature during war, is that they do not find it necessary to define what total war is. Kim Song (1909-1988) even stated in 1951 that the setup of an organization by the intellectuals only three days after the outbreak of the war came about "automatically", showing almost a sort of "casualness" with which the writers dealt with the outbreak of the war.[63] Since the term of total war did not need any specific explication or introduction among intellectuals or the public during the Korean War it is, therefore, necessary to first describe the influx of the ideology into Korean intellectual thought to see how it became a part of the authors' habitus and to get an idea of how the ideology was perceived in the public mind.

The ideology of total war and its influx in Korea

The total war narrative conventionally begins in the era of the French Revolution, when the first modern attempts were made to mobilize entire populations in support of a war.[64] During the

---

[63] Kim Song, "Munhak hanŭn kunin-dŭl, " *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1951.4.

[64] For a detailed theoretical discussion on a general definition of the concept of total war, see Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, *In the Shadows of Total War: Europe, East Asia, and the United States, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and Roger Chickering, Stig Förster and Bernd Greiner, *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

American Civil War the generals involved realized early on the modern ramifications of industrial mobilization and the importance of civilian morale to the war's outcome. But the real debut of total war can be said to have come in the second half of the First World War, at about the time the front had turned into a stalemate. The leaders involved in the war recognized that the home front had turned into a decisive dimension of the war and made efforts to drive the mobilization of the home front to new extremes.

Retrospective analysis of the war in the 1920's and 30's paid special attention to the civilians' role in the outcome and focused particularly on their deficiencies and vulnerabilities. The conclusions were inescapable: civilians were critical to the supply of weapons, munitions, and the other essential materials of combat, and they provided the moral backing without which the war could not be sustained. However, civilians were also seen as more vulnerable to both subversion and military attack, for they were less acclimated to the terrors, deprivations, and demoralization that war brings. The *Dolchstoss* (stab-in-the-back) legend that came into being in Germany was based on these perceptions, as the German military leadership genuinely believed that the moral collapse of the home front in 1918 had wrecked what would otherwise be a victorious military campaign and thus felt betrayed by the civilian population.

Although the term "total war" was coined by French civilian leaders during the late phase of the First World War, when they announced their ambitions to mobilize the country's every resource, it came into the limelight through Erich Ludendorff's pamphlet *Der totale Krieg* in 1935.[65] Although after the Second World War, the phrase "total war" carried different connotations, referring less to the efforts of one's own population and more to the death and destruction inflicted on the population of others, this was not what total war was about in the first place. Total war was historically not in the first instance about soldiers, but rested on the insight that the claims of war in the industrial age had become all-embracing. In other words, modern wars implied that the loyal participation of entire populations – men, women and children – had become more important than soldiers to the outcome of the war. This is also the vision of total war in Ludendorff's *Der totale Krieg*. In his treatise he was not concerned with tactics or strategy, but instead described the sort of government that was required to ensure full national mobilization.[66]

It is in this form that the Japanese military leadership introduced the term to their population. Having witnessed the collapse of the German empire firsthand as a participant in the First World War,

---

[65] The terms the French used were *guerre totale* (total war) and *guerre integrale* (integrated war), the German equivalent *der totale Krieg* came into being in German military literature from 1934. Roger Chickering and Stig Forster, *Are We There Yet? World War II and the Theory of Total War*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.9.

[66] Erich Ludendorff, *General Ludendorff – Der totale krieg* (München: Ludendorff Verlag, 1935). The full text of his treatise can be read at https://archive.org/details/Ludendorff-Erich-Der-totale-Krieg.

they concluded that Germany's defeat lay not in the lack of morale among the population, but the fact that Germany had to rely on its own industry to fight in the war. They realized that the export-reliant German economy was severely hit by the naval blockade of the Allied forces.[67] That is why many among the Japanese leadership were of the opinion that a self-reliant Japanese economy should be created in order to be able to win a modern war. Of course this still meant that the whole population should be mobilized to ensure that such a self-reliant economy could come about and be maintained.

Ludendorff's thesis had a lot of influence on Japanese policy makers and after the 'Manchuria incident' in September 1937 several organizations were set up within Korea to prepare the population for a prolonged war so as to ensure their active participation for the war effort. Thus in October of the same year the 'Central Organization for the Full Support of the Population' was established and was followed by the 'National Mobilization Law' (Kukka ch'ongdongwŏnpŏp) in April 1938.[68] Under the banner of 'Japan and Korea are One' and the prospect of a 'Greater

---

[67] Scholars nowadays agree with this vision and see the naval blockade as one of the most influential causes for Germany's loss. See for example Christopher Birrer, "A Critical analysis of the Allied Blockade of Germany, 1914-1918", *Journal of the Center for First World War Studies* 1.2 (November 2004)

[68] In this law "national mobilization" was defined as follows: "National mobilization means that in times of war for the purpose national defense, human and material resources shall be employed in its most effective manner for national strength." (Art. 1) Article 4 deals specifically with the government's right to draft civilians: "When the government issues an order in times it needs a national mobilization, it can draft citizens of the empire and let them engage in mobilization activities. This law does not conflict with the application of the soldier conscription law."

East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere', Korean society was mobilized to participate actively with the policies of the colonial authorities. Korean writers were acquainted with the principles of total war around the time the rules and regulations were promulgated in 1938. The first time Korean intellectuals spread their views on the principles of total war was in a series of articles published in September 1938 in the *Tonga ilbo*.[69]

With the publication of Hino Ashihei (1907-1960)'s *Barley and Soldiers* (*Mugi to heitai*), which was translated in 1939 by the Government-General translator Nashimura Shintaro, a debate broke out among the Korean writers as to how they could show their support to the Japanese efforts in China and at the same time could bring the war to the Korean people's attention.[70] Here they argued that "while in a total war every individual is important in attaining victory, the responsibility for writers is even greater since they have the task to drive out anti-nationalistic ideas and are thus guardians of culture."[71] It was soon decided that Korean writers needed to visit the Japanese troops in China so that they themselves would have a firsthand view of war which they then could transmit to the Korean population through their writings. For this aim the 'Writer's Group to Support the Imperial Army'

---

[69] These articles were Kim Chŏngshil's "Ch'ongnyŏkjŏn-ŭi pŏpchŏk chŏngbi" (1-17 September 1938) and O Namgi's "Kŭndae chŏnjaengnon" (18 September – 6 October 1938).

[70] This debate was set in motion by a panel discussion between Kim Tonghwan, Kim P'albong and Pak Yŏnghŭi which was published in *Samch'ŏlli* [*3000 Li*] magazine of January 1939.

[71] Anon., "Munhwain-ŭi ch'aengmu" [The Duties of People in the Cultural Field], *Inmun p'yŏngnon* 2 [*Liberal Arts Review*], (December 1939), p. 1.

(Hwanggun wimun chakkadan) was established in March 1939 and one month later Kim Tongin (1900-1951), Pak Yŏnghŭi (1901-?) and Im Haksu (1911-1982) were chosen to visit the frontline to report about the efforts of the Japanese army.[72] Park Yŏnghŭi(1901-?), however, found this insufficient and argued that "while reporting about the efforts of the Imperial Army is a good thing, another important role for the Korean writer is to make the Japanese mind one with the whole population, in the sense that we also have to show our beautiful ethics and morality, and our open-minded ideals towards life, which is lacking in our modern Korean literature." [73] A larger organization of writers was formed in October 1939 with the founding of the Chosŏn Writers Association (Chosŏn munin hyŏphoe).[74]

With the institutionalization of the ideology of total war in full swing, The role of the writer in wartime society was also explained in connection with this dominant ideology. As an editorial in the magazine *Liberal Arts Review* (*Inmun p'yŏngnon*) of December 1939 explained: "Since modern wars are so called total wars, the

---

[72] The literary fruits of this first trip were the publications of Kim Tongin's "A Reportage Novel of a True Story" ("Monogatari teki na hōkoku shōsetsu"), Pak Yŏnghŭi's "Comprehending the Holy War through Literature" ("Seisen no bungaku teki haaku"), "Travelog to the North" ("Kitaji ryokōki"), "A Trip to the Front" ("Sensen kikō") and Im Haksu's "Romanticism at the Frontline" (Senji e no romanchishizumu"), "Report from the Pen Corps" ("Ben butai hōkoku"), "Poems from the Frontline" ("Sensen shishū").

[73] Park Yŏng-hŭi, "Chŏnjaeng-gwa chosŏnmunhak," *Inmun p'yŏngnon* 1, (October 1939).

[74] Involved in this organization were among others Yi T'aejun, Yi Kwangsu, Kim Ŏk, Yu Chino, Chŏng Insŏp, Yi Kiyŏng, Pak Yŏnghŭi, Kim Tonghwan, Chu Yohan, Yu Ch'ijin and Ch'oe Chaesŏ. Later in April 1943 this organization would merge with others into the Chosŏn Writers Association to Save the Nation (Chosŏn munin pogukhoe).

ultimate defeat or victory is decided by the potential energy of the citizens at the home front. Therefore, duties regarding the war are also placed on the people in the field of culture, but what is expected from them is that they deal with war directly. As a person in the field of culture one must feel it is his greatest responsibility not to be passively confronted with war's destructive powers, but to actively create an autonomous culture that will completely eradicate anti-national thoughts."[75] In this editorial the latent power of civilians is regarded as being a crucial factor in winning a modern war and it argues for the active participation of people in the cultural field, because their efforts create an autonomous culture and remove any "anti-national" tendencies that could arise in society.

The role of the writer and literature during total war

As could be seen from their attitudes towards the Korean War, the idea of total war was very much present in the way the writers' views were shaped. This is visible in Park Yŏngjun's essays where he also makes a reference to the 'Dolchstoss' legend. "The Germans could confront the Allied Powers on an equal footing on the battlefield. They were defeated, however, because of the collapse of the political ideology among the people at the home front. This proves that they lost because of their failure in the thought war."[76]

---

[75] Anon., "munhwain-ŭi ch'aengmu", *Inmun py'ŏngnon* 2 (December 1939): p. 2.
[76] Park Yŏngjun, "Kunin-gwa chŏngch'i", *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1952.12

He goes on to stress that the political ideology should be strengthened and that the pros of democracy and the cons of communism should be constantly stressed. This is similar to the remark from the Pacific War found above in that he defines communism as an anti-nationalist idea that needs to be driven out. In another essay he also uses Germany's defeat during World War I as a warning when he remarks that "While everything is being done on the military side to confront the communist armies, we cannot just rely on the military aspects. In order to fight with the full strength that our Free Korea is capable of, we should unite the front with the citizens at the rear. Next to warfare we will have to pursue the realization of a struggle by economic, political and cultural means. We should not forget what happened to Germany during World War I when they were winning the military war, but were defeated in the political and cultural war."[77]

In the essays written by the writers during the Korean War, it can be seen that the term total war (*ch'ongnyŏkchŏn*) is most commonly used as a means to stress the importance of the role of the writer when it comes to the struggle in the 'thought war'. Ma Haesong also related the writers' role during war as being closely related to the ideology of total war. According to him "writers, painters and artists are the most deprived group in society during war. However, because of total war they have no time to lament this fact. Modern war is a total war and the purpose of a modern war is to destroy the enemy's culture, while infiltrating with your

[77] Park Yŏngjun, "Chayu segye-nŭn isang ŏpta", *Shinch'ŏnji*, 1952.5

own. For this reason the artists should pursue their activities most vigorously."[78]

As the writers saw it, the role of the writer was of the utmost importance if one wanted to attain victory in war. This is what we could find earlier in the words of Ch'oe Sangdŏk among others. To be more precise, it was the intellectual who was unwavering in a war and the nation's hope for victory. It was the intellectuals' task to keep the population together, since in their opinion, and hereby they echo Ludendorff's criticism of the common people, the normal population could be easily swayed by 'unwanted ideologies'. Kim P'albong said about this: "When the war drags on for a long period of time the normal citizens will behave more and more like animals and thus the wisdom of the writers should be on a higher level than theirs."[79] Ku Sang pronounced this in an even more radical way and thought that writers were the only ones capable of maintaining their morale. "The war writer can be likened to a righteous soldier...while the other intellectuals in society show that they give in to demoralizing and fatalistic ideas, it is only the war writer groups that are showing that they are the pillars of the nation."[80]

This last remark of Ku Sang shows well what other issues were involved during the Korean War, especially when the war was coming to an, in the opinion of the writers, unwanted end with the signing of the armistice agreement. There is no doubt that the

---

[78] Ma Haesong, "Ch'ongnyŏkchŏn-gwa munin" in *Chŏnjin-gwa insaeng* (Seoul: hŭngguk yŏnmun hyŏphoe, 1953.1), p. 163.
[79] Kim P'albong, "Chŏnjaeng munhag-ŭi panghyang," *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1953.2
[80] Ku Sang, "Chonggun chakkadan 2 nyŏn," *Chŏnsŏn munhak*, 1953.5

writers believed that their role within wartime society was essential to establish the important total war goal of uniting the population to keep morale high. However, here we can see the term of total war as a ready-made instrument with which they could stress their unique position of the intellectual in society and with which they could present their arguments more persuasively. By doing so they put themselves above other writers who had or could not join in one of the war writer groups and above all other intellectual endeavours.

This positioning on the part of the writers who were members of a war writer group was criticized by some. In their view the writers degraded their own social standing and literary works by being too close to the military and political spectrum, since intellectuals should remain "the voice of reason" of society as critical and free thinking subjects. This is for example how Yi Hŏn'gu defines the intellectual's role in society. "The intellectual is a representative of the spirit of the modern world who understands completely the elementary and fundamental ideology in which all laws and freedoms exist and function by the people and for the people. The intellectual creates and protects the spirit of the times, and therefore at times has the right and duty to vehemently defy it." However, even though Yi sees this as the natural role of an intellectual in society, he disagrees that this is the exact stance that intellectuals should take during war, since he is arguing for the establishment of a united cultural front. Ku Sang mentions some of the criticisms that were leveled at the war writers: "Now this

extreme ignorance is gone, but there was the misconception that "writers who go to the front" were merely seen to dance to the tunes of the army, and were therefore treated like newspaper journalists. … [There are those] who regard war writers as mere government-patronised writers, and therefore their works are not literary works."[81] Pak Yŏngjun confirms these views and writes that there are writers who deliberately refrained from joining one of the groups, in order not to become a tool for government propaganda. "There are writers who have the tendency to stay aloof [of the war writer groups], because by wearing a uniform you are flirting with the authorities."[82]

The dominant opinion of the role of the writer in wartime society was propagated by the war writers, however, and for them maintaining high morale among the population was much more important than personal or artistic considerations. Therefore, it goes without saying that in order to fulfill such an important role in wartime society, writers would have to concentrate all their efforts on writing for their country and hence write their works in a nationalistic tone. The poet Ku Sang (1919-2004) did not see this as having a negative effect on the aesthetic aspects of a writer's work and was of the opinion that writers in war would first and foremost "serve the freedom of the fatherland before the freedom of their 'pens' and will find the glory of their 'brush' in the face of

[81] Ku Sang, "Chonggun chakkadan 2 nyŏn," *Chŏnsŏn munhak* (1953.5), pp. 57-58.
[82] Pak Yŏngjun, *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 2, pp. 32-35.

the glory of humanity and the fatherland."[83] The writer Yi Muyŏng (1908-1960) held the same opinion. For him it would be absurd if writers 'would keep writing their romantic love stories' while war was all around them. The most important thing for him was that the war would be won and this required sacrifices from everybody in society.[84] According to him this was necessary, because "the situation in which our *minjok* is thrown today is that of a front line belligerent. This war is not fought by front line soldiers only. This is a war fought by our whole *minjok*."[85] Writers were a part of this frontline and therefore he argued for literary works that would contribute to the war effort.

Kim P'albong agreed with this view and also argues for a literature that is fully in service of the war effort. According to him: "The goal of war is to win. Without victory our literature cannot exist. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that our literature demonstrates an indomitable love for the nation, countrymen and brothers in arms and promotes a fervent hatred for the enemy."[86] For this reason he lists several aspects that wartime literature should try to incorporate and change.

1) Expose the irrationality and falsity inherent in the communist ideology and point out its contradictions.
2) Completely rid itself of decadent tendencies.

---

[83] Ku Sang, "Chonggun chakkadan 2 nyŏn," *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 (May 1953): p. 59.
[84] Yi Muyŏng, "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhak" [War and Literature], *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 (May 1953): p.7.
[85] Ibid., p.7.
[86] Kim P'albong, "Chŏnjaeng munhag-ŭi panghyang," *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 3, p. 63.

3) At the same time our literature needs to be hopeful.
4) The most important literary subject of the 20th century should be about "the revival and remodeling of human nature".
5) Our literature should connect the home front and front with each other.

Especially in his explanations on the decadent tendencies that he found in wartime works one can see that Kim was highly displeased with some of his fellow writers. In his opinion: "Writings on humanity's troubles like tragedy, worries and despair that stem from contradictions in reality, have already been described in literature since the beginning of the 20th century and belong in the past….However close to the truth a description of a scene about [a character's] primary urges is, or however much it is assumed that such a description is needed in writing a literary work, these sort of "close-to-the-truth" scenes can be seen when walking on the street, and should remain a sight for on the street. It is not an important element to put in literature. Therefore I am completely against decadence." Here Kim P'albong shows his obvious dislike of the many novels that were written at the time about the social problem of Korean women who became prostitutes and usually catered to foreign soldiers. Needless to say, these kind of novels failed to arouse any patriotism or hatred for the enemy in a reader. He urged the writers who chose to write about these topics to change their habit and write novels only in a positive tone,

because failure to do so would inevitably lead to pessimism in the population, which then could lead to losing the war.

The dominant position of writers through total war

As could be seen from Ku Sang's words above, some writers during the Korean War were of the opinion that one should write for once own nation instead of writing about one's own interests. This meant that in order to support the nation it was necessary to combine all writer's ideological visions and activities in order to create a united front. Evoking hatred towards the enemy and patriotism should be the goal of literature. These opinions were especially present in the essays that were published in magazines from the several war writers groups, who clearly held the dominant position in the literary world during the war. However, even though there are many overtly propagandistic novels to be found in wartime South Korea, one finds even more works addressing social issues, or novels criticizing government officials. Even the writers who joined one of the dominant writer groups did not only write propaganda works. Some, like Hwang Sunwŏn and Kwak Hashin, never wrote a single propaganda novel, while others tried to find a balance between catering to the state with propaganda novels, while publishing their critical views through privately owned publishing houses. The writers were left free to choose their own topics.

One incident that provoked a debate during the war on the "freedom of the pen" occurred in February 1952. Kim Kwangju had published his short story "I hate you"(Na-nŭn nŏ-rŭl shirŏ handa) in the newest issue of *The Free World* (*Chayu segye*). The story deals with a tenor who writes a letter to the wife of the president of the Propaganda Bureau (Sŏnjŏnbu) about her vile behavior luring him to a dancing hall, getting him drunk and ending up in bed together. A few days after the magazine hit the stands in Taegu and Pusan, however, the vice-president of the Bureau of Public Information (Kongboch'ŏ) ordered the issue to be confiscated. It also soon came out, that the wife of this vice-president, who felt that the character of the wife in the story was modeled after her, had met with Kim in a café to discourage him from publishing his story, and after they moved their conversation to the house of said vice-president, Kim was beaten up by an employee of the house. Even though the vice-president tried to discourage the media from reporting about the event, it was carried in several newspapers.

The NACO responded by holding an emergency meeting to see whether the organization had to take a firm stance on the events in order to demand the protection of artistic freedom against the interference of government authorities. It was clear, however, that there were "differences between those in favor and those against", and therefore a united stance was not agreed upon on how to react to what had occurred.[87] In order to overcome these differences between the two groups among the writers, a special committee

[87] *Tonga ilbo*, 23 February 1952.

was formed consisting of Kim Song, Kim Kwangsŏp, O Yŏngjin, Cho Yŏnhyŏn and publisher Kim Ch'angjip.[88] This led to a statement which was signed by many writers demanding that the authorities would protect human rights, would explain why the issue of *The Free World* was confiscated, that the wife of the Bureau of Public Information would make a public apology and that there would be an inquiry into a clear vision concerning the government's policy towards artistic activities.[89] Also a National Rally of Intellectuals was staged for the protection of artistic freedom. Here the intellectuals again reiterated their stance that these events were an infringement on human rights and a gross interference of the government authorities in artistic freedom.[90]

The writers did not mind to work closely together with the army or the government in order to write propaganda as long as the government did not interfere with their choice of literary topics. The NACO had from the start of the war actively set out to take charge of the intellectual wartime activities and had the necessary personal connections with the army and politicians to do so. Through the NACO and the separate war writer organisations, the writers were the dominant group in the cultural field. This strong

---

[88] *Tonga ilbo*, 24 February 1952.
[89] Ibid. Kim Kwangsŏp and Mo Yunsuk were against this statement, while Ch'oe Sangdŏk remained neutral, just like Pak Chonghwa. However many writers did agree with this stance, among others Kim P'albong, Ma Haesong, Chang Manyŏng, Chŏn Sukhŭi, Yi Sangno, Pak Kijun, Pak Yŏngjun, Yi Sangbŏl, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, Kim Yŏngsu, Pak Tujin, Yu Chuhyŏn, Ch'oe Chaesŏ, Yang Myŏngmun, Pak Hunsan, Yi Hou, Cho Chihun, Pak Mogwŏl, Pang Kihwan, Kim Yonghwan, Ch'oe Inuk, Kim Tongsa, Chŏng Pisŏk and Kwak Hashin.
[90] *Tonga ilbo*, 24 February, 1952.

position was criticized by other intellectuals. Professor Yi Sungnyŏng did this by saying that by relying too much on the few intellectuals that managed to flee when the North Korean army invaded was not enough to establish a true cultural policy that could be effective during total war. He remarks that:

> "Without a broad cultural policy in mind the government first of all did not plan substantially for securing the [expertise] of the leading intellectuals in the field of culture, and even though there is the NACO whose core group exists foremost of writers, it happened that only these "superior" elements [from the cultural field] have been affiliated within the Army, Navy and Air Force. There are groups X and Y, and even though they can show some achievements and attendance rates for their meetings, they are not so efficient."[91]

At the end of the war in July 1953, the publishing branch decided to withdraw from the NACO and form their own organisation. As for the reasons for this breakup they cited that they were "fed up with being treated like a concubine", and that they could no longer endure the "factiousness of the writer groups who are in control of the NACO even though this organization is supposed to be for the whole cultural field."[92] This suggests that it was indeed the writer groups who were in control of most cultural activities during the

---

[91] Yi Sungnyŏng, "Chŏnshi munhwa chŏngch'aeknon" [Essay on a cultural policy during wartime], *Chŏnshi kwahak* 1.1 [War Science] (1951.8), p. 71.
[92] *Tonga ilbo*, 7 July 1953.

Korean War. The ideology of total war that they propagated with a self-designated role based on the claim that writers kept wartime society together, struck a chord with many politicians and army officers, and helped to create an important position of cultural power for writers during the Korean War.[93]

[93] Intense struggles for power in the cultural field also took place in North Korea during the Korean War. These internal fights eventually led to the death at the end of the war of such famous writers as poet Im Hwa, Kim Namch'ŏn and Yi T'aejun, and fortified the leadership position of Han Sŏrya. Much has already been written about these internal fights in both Korean and English language scholarship by the likes of Yi Kibong, Yi Ch'ŏlchu, Brian Myers, and more recently, Tatiana Gabroussenko. For analysis and views on these struggles, I refer to Yi Kibong, *Pug-ŭi munhak-kwa yesurin* [The North's literature and artists], (Seoul: Sajoyŏn, 1986); Yi Ch'ŏlchu, *Pug-ŭi yesurin* [The North's artists], (Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1966); Brian Myers, *Han Sŏrya and North Korean Literature: The Failure of Socialist Realism in the DPRK* (New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1994); and Tatiana Gabroussenko, *Soldiers on the Cultural Front: Developments in the Early History of North Korean Literature and Literary Policy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

Chapter Two

The War Within: Motivations for Writing during the Korean War[1]

> Any idea of moderation was just an attempt to disguise one's unmanly character;
> Ability to understand a question from all sides meant that one was totally unfit for action.
> Fanatical enthusiasm was the mark of a real man, and to plot against an enemy behind his back was perfectly legitimate self-defense.
> Anyone who held violent opinions could always be trusted, and anyone who objected to them became a suspect.[2]

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*

The first few months of the Korean War saw dramatic shifts in the frontline. Initially the North Korean army advanced rapidly and without much resistance from the South Korean army, until their advance was halted by American troops, who had quickly decided to intervene on behalf of the South with permission of the

---

[1] An earlier version of this chapter has been published in *Studia Universitatis* 1 (March 2013).
[2] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (New York: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 147.

UN. A decisive breakthrough at the so called Naktong (Pusan) perimeter could not be forced, and with the rapid buildup of troops, the UN army soon launched a counter offensive in September 1950, which in turn drove the North Korean army back without any meaningful resistance. Now it was the UN army's turn to advance deep into North Korean territory, some units even arriving at the Chinese-Korean border at the end of October. Because of these dramatic shifts in the frontline at the beginning of the Korean War, the majority of the Korean population had to endure the rule of either the North and, or the South Korean occupier. During this initial phase, many citizens were forced to choose to support a specific regime, but also turned this "choice" around completely once the occupying regime changed. Each time the new occupier moved in, the authorities aggressively searched for traitors. In the atmosphere of mutual distrust these chaotic turnarounds created, even the slightest suspicion or accusation by friends or neighbours could have dire consequences that could lead to imprisonment or summary execution.[3]

North and South Korean writers too were caught up in the maelstrom of these early events and they presented them with obvious dangers. The poet Yi Haemun was executed in North Korea, while the young poet Yu Chino suffered the same fate at the

[3] Bruce Cumings estimates that up to 100,000 civilians were executed by the South Korean government or right-wing groups in these months, while North Korean government and left-wing organisations killed 30,000. Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History*, (New York: Random House, 2010), p. 190.

hands of the South Korean police.[4] Others were forcefully taken and never heard of again, like Yi Kwangsu, Pak Yŏnghŭi, Kim Ŏk and Kim Tonghwan.[5]

Genuine life and death choices had to be made by writers, and several chose to permanently cross over to the other regime. Pak Ch'anmo, Yi Tonggyu, Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl and several others decided to move North, while Kim Isŏk, Pak Namsu, Wŏn Ŭngsŏ and Yang Myŏngmun among others went the opposite direction.[6]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, when the frontline stabilized in spring 1951 three war writer organisations were set up under the aegis of the army or the authorities. In the South these were the Blue Sky Group (Ch'anggong kurakpu), which was part

---

[4] Yu Chino 兪鎭五 (1922-1950, not to be confused with the novelist and scholar Yu Chino 兪鎭午 1906-1987) was sympathetic to the communist ideology and is famous for reciting his poem "Who fills our youthful hearts?" (Nugu-rŭl wihan pŏkch'anŭn uri-ŭi chŏlmŭninya?) in front of a large crowd, for which he was imprisoned in 1946. After his release he joined a partisan group in the Chiri mountains, but was caught in March 1949. He received the death sentence, but this was commuted to life imprisonment. At the start of the Korean War, however, he was most likely executed by the South Korean police.

[5] Yi Kwangsu (1892-1950) is regarded as the first modern Korean novelist. Poet Pak Yŏnghŭi (1901-?) was president of the left-wing KAPF group in the early 1930s, and was an active figure during the last part of the Japanese colonial period. Kim Ŏk (1896-?) was a poet who also translated many foreign poems into the Korean language. Kim Tonghwan (1901-?) was also a poet most active during the end of the colonial period, managing the pro-Japanese magazine *Korean literature* (*Samch'ŏlli munhak*).

[6] Writer Pak Ch'anmo, poet Yi Tonggyu (1913-1950) and poet Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl immediately became involved in the North Korean literary scene upon their arrival. Their initial status, however, quickly deteriorated to less important roles towards the end of the war. Writer Kim Isŏk (1914-1964) was active during the war and became the editor of the literary magazine *Literary arts* (*Munhak yesul*) in 1954. Pak Namsu (1918-1994) also was co-editor of the *Literary arts* magazine and *The world of thought* (*Sasanggye*). He made his debut in 1939 in the magazine *Literary writings* (*Munjang*). Wŏn Ŭngsŏ (1914-1973) was foremost a translator of foreign literature, while poet Yang Myŏngmun (1913-1985) wrote numerous poems as well as a book on the influence of the Korean War on Korean poetry.

of the Air Force, the Army War Writers Group (Yukkun chonggun chakkadan), and the Navy War Writers Group (Haegun chonggun chakkadan). The writers who joined one of these organizations were expected to write favorably about the troops and to instill the population with a will to persevere and fight. In this chapter I focus specifically on the Korean authors who wrote anti-communist propaganda literature and am interested in the question as to what social factors were involved that moved them to join one of the war writer groups.

Motivations for writing

Judging from the recollections of some of the writers who had actively participated in one of the organisations, one gets the impression that there were two main reasons as to why the writers joined a government-funded organization during the war. Either they joined because the government would provide them with food, making life in the war-torn country much easier, or they chose to join out of a genuine feeling of patriotism. The first motivation is obvious. In the South most wartime refugees were packed together in the cities of Taegu and Pusan and had a hard time to make ends meet. With severe paper shortages and the skills of writers in short demand, it was difficult for writers to sustain themselves. One positive factor in favor of the writers, however, was the dominant definition among intellectuals, policy makers

and army officers in Korean society of modern war as a total war. By joining one of the organisations, and by writing one's literary works in a way that it catered to the demands of the state or the army, the writers had a better chance to get their works published and thereby earn a living. Female author Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, whose husband poet Kim Tonghwan had been taken North during Seoul's occupation, joined the Blue Sky Group, and later remarked that by joining this organization she was provided with an army uniform, shoes, silk and rice.[7] She remembered that the rice that she was given was more than sufficient for herself, so that she could give some of what she had received to refugees in need. By joining one of the war writer organisations, therefore, the writers were provided with enough basic commodities to sustain themselves.

Pak Yŏngjun reminisced in the magazine *The Army* (*Yukkun*), that it was especially the writers' patriotism that led them to write propaganda:

> Since the supreme task of the country was to attain victory, it went without saying that for a complete victory the whole capacity of the civilian population had to be mustered. In order to do so, the population had to be instilled with the will to fight. Writers therefore had to work fulltime to show their abilities and whip up this fighting spirit. You can see this as an inevitable development, but **for the writers who**

[7] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "The refugee writers in Taegu" (P'inan Taegu munin), *Twenty years of liberation literature* (Haebang munhak 20 nyŏn), (Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1966), p. 103.

loved their state it was an inward calling that emerged of their own accord. (emphasis mine)[8]

Pak's words make it seem as if all writers who decided to join one of the war writer organisations did so out of a genuine desire to help their country. Indeed, if one was to judge the motivation of the writers from the many essays from the war period itself, this seems to be the case. Though there were undoubtedly writers during the Korean war who were driven by genuine patriotism and belief in one of the regime's political system, I believe that such a view ignores the complicated social conditions in which the writers found themselves, both during and before the war.

Already before the war, after the establishment of the South Korean state on August 15th, 1948 and the suppression of the Yŏsu rebellion in October of the same year, it was becoming more difficult for South Korean writers not to get involved in the anti-communist activities that were demanded by the government.[9] Writers who had earlier openly showed allegiance to the communist ideology by participating in left wing writer organisations such as the Writers League (Munhakka tongmaeng) were indicted and imprisoned. Yi Yongak, who was a leading figure in this organization soon found himself in prison for his activities, as did Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl who had taken over after Yi

---

[8] Shin Yŏngdŏk, *War writers and the Korean War* (*Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa chonggun chakka*), (Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 2002), p. 32.

[9] The Yŏsu rebellion occurred on October 19, 1948 when the 14th army division refused their orders to suppress the Cheju-do uprising. I will deal more deeply with how the Yŏsu rebellion helped to shape South Korean literary views on North Korea in chapter 5.

Yongak's imprisonment.[10] Others like Im Hwa, Kim Namch'ŏn and Yi T'aejun escaped a similar fate by making the decision to move to the North before they could get arrested.[11]

Writing and publishing became more controlled and restricted with the implementation of a "prohibition law on writing activities and book sales" in November 1949. Every writing and publication needed to be checked by censors from now on, before they were allowed to appear in print. In this month, campaigns were also started against writers with leftist leaning sympathies to urge them to report themselves to the authorities, or to join the National Rehabilitation and Guidance League (Kungmin podo yŏnmaeng). This pursuit of leftist-leaning elements in South Korean society was pursued nation-wide. The *Chosŏn ilbo* of December 2, 1949, reported that of the 52,082 people who had joined the Guidance League, ninety-four were writers. The newspaper identified Chŏng Chiyong, Hwang Sunwŏn, Ŏm Hŭngsŏp, Yi Ponggu and Im Sŏha in specific as members of this group.[12] In January 1950, the artists

---

[10] Kim Yongchik, *North Korean literature* (*Pukhan munhaksa*), (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2008), p.93.

[11] These three literary figures were well-known writers during the colonial period, and got prominent positions in North Korean literary circles. Near the end of the war, however, they got caught up in factional strife and were sentenced to death or hard labor.

[12] Kim Ch'ŏl, "The establishment and development of conservative right-wing Korean literary organisations" (Han'guk posuuik munye chojig-ŭi hyŏngsŏng-gwa chŏn'gae) *Practical literature* (Shilch'ŏn munhak), 1990, p. 30. The poet Chŏng Chiyong (1902-1950) was active in the literary world in the late colonial period. During the Korean War he was imprisoned by the North Korean government and on his way north died during an American bombing raid. Hwang Sunwŏn (1915-2000) is a writer well known for his short stories. His most famous story "Rainburst" ("Sonagi") is part of the national South Korean curriculum. Ŏm Hŭngsŏp (1906-?) was a writer and became a prominent literary critic in North Korea when he moved north during the war. Yi Ponggu (1916-1983) became active

who had joined the Guidance League organized an arts festival where writers such as Yŏm Sangsŏp, Hong Hyomin, Yang Chudong, Im Haksu, Kim Kirim, and Son Sohŭi also appear as members.[13] Chŏng Chiyong described his reason for joining the Guidance League as follows:

> I am the poet Chŏng Chiyong, who allegedly crossed the 38th parallel one night. I do not want to look too deeply at where this attack and conspiracy aimed at me came from, but just want to say that I am also a citizen [of this state] and a good citizen at that. I have suffered the experience of colonial rule for twenty three years. Because of this rumour that I supposedly went North, my neighbours have brandished me as a commie. Therefore, when I moved to another place, I simultaneously asked for protection from the police. They advised me to join the National Rehabilitation and Guidance League, and this is why I am here today. I will strive in the future to do meaningful things for our state.[14]

---

especially from the liberation period onwards and his novels are known for its anecdotal qualities. Im Sŏha was also active during the liberation period writing short stories. During the war he moved to the north.

[13] *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, January 8, 1950. Yŏm Sangsŏp (1897-1963) was a very influential novelist, known for his realist novels among which *Three generations* (*Samdae*) is most famous. Hong Hyomin (1904-1976) was a literary critic and journalist. Yang Chudong (1903-1977) was a poet and literature researcher. Poet Im Haksu (1911-?) moved north during the war and believed that literature should be for the masses. He was purged in 1966. Kim Kirim (1908-?) was a modernist poet who stressed that Korean poetry should contain sentimentalism. Son Sohŭi (1917-1987) was a female writer active during the late colonial period until the late 60s, writing predominantly on the social circumstances of women and held cynical views on Korea's patriarchal society.

[14] *Tonga ilbo*, November 5, 1949.

South Korean society was more and more becoming immersed in the search for communist elements after the Yŏsu rebellion, and suspicion was easily bestowed on someone, even if it was done on the basis of merely having heard a rumour. Even the writers who had moved South before the establishment of the South Korean government started to be viewed with suspicion, and therefore the month of November 1949 also saw the inauguration of the "*Wŏllam* Writers club" (*wŏllam* meaning 'moved to the South').[15] In their manifesto they explicitly state that they are anti-communist in their convictions and endeavors as they "set out to create a new national literature that opposes all anti-democratic literary activities…."[16]

The writers had a increasingly tighter space in which they could manoeuver. In this atmosphere, writers even had to take strategic decisions to either deliberately cut ties with old friends, or forge new alliances with others to take away all suspicion of being seen to favor communism in any way. Literary critic Cho Yŏnhyŏn remarks on this:

> The strength of the left had already declined and the Writers League as well existed in name only. Almost all writers who had diligently followed the communist path, or

[15] Part of this organization were Hwang Sunwŏn, An Sugil, Kim Kwangju, Ku Sang, Yŏm Sangsŏp, Pak Hwamok, Pak Kyeju, Im Okin, Cho Yŏngam, Chŏng Pisŏk, Hŏ Yunsŏk, Chang Yonghak, Pak Yŏngjun, O Yŏngjin, Pak Yŏnhŭi, Ch'oe Sangdŏk and Ch'oe T'aeŭng among others. All would become very active figures during the Korean War in the various government-funded war writer organizations.

[16] *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, November 24, 1949.

> writers who were active in the Writers League, were now politically and ideologically converting themselves, except for its most enthusiastic supporters. [….] Since I had no substantial contacts with these writers up to that point, I thought it would be best to establish new contacts with them as well. [….] Part of the extreme right wing powers were still vehemently opposed to these writers and even applied pressure towards me to exclude them from the *Munye* [Literary Arts] magazine. I was, however, not to be swayed in my belief that in order to enrich our literature we should embrace all our writers in the motherland's bosom. [….] This is why I started to visit the late Yŏm Sangsŏp regularly and established ties with Hwang Sunwŏn, Kye Yongmuk, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi and Hŏ Yunsŏk among others.[17]

Kim Tongni also had a similar opinion as Cho Yŏnhyŏn and clearly sensed the hostile environment in which the writers who were suspected of leftist tendencies now found themselves. He recollects that he gave deep thought to a method to keep these writers safe.

> I was contemplating whether there was not another way to solve the issue of the writers who were forced to join or convert to the care of the Guidance League, since this had

[17] Kim Ch'ŏl, p. 12. Writer Kye Yongmuk (1904-1961) is best known for his satirical story "Adada the idiot" ("Paekch'i Adada"). Hŏ Yunsŏk (1914-1995) was an author of short stories and wrote more than 100 of them in his career.

> several severe consequences (since they were regarded as quasi-delinquents). Therefore the so called right-wing writers were looking hard for some counter measure. […] The direct motivation [of the establishment of the Korean Writers Association] was to create an opportunity for the writers who had until then belonged to the Writers League to start anew among fellow writers instead of handing them over to the Guidance League….

Here Kim Tongni admits that the establishment of the Korea Writers Association on the 9th of December 1949, was set up deliberately to give the writers suspected of leftist leanings a new start so that they could escape being forced into the Guidance League.[18] To show their allegiance to the South Korean state, one of the organization's creeds explicitly stated that they would "contribute genuinely to world peace and the coexistence of mankind and reject all anti-national and anti-state formalism."[19] Here "anti-national" and "anti-state formalism" of course refers to those who are sympathetic towards the communist ideology.

The chaotic early months of the war

[18] The vast majority of the South Korean literary scene became a member of this organization. A full list of its members appears in the *Kyŏnghyang shinmun* of December 14, 1949.
[19] Kim Ch'ŏl, p. 16.

These efforts certainly saved many of the suspected writers who were part of the Guidance League to escape death, since members of this organization were specifically targeted by the South Korean authorities at the beginning of the war for summary executions. The pre-war events show that already before war had broken out, the writers consciously had to make it unambiguously clear that they were pursuing anti-communist activities. It also shows that writers were not driven by a desire to "write for the nation" to an equal extent, or out of their own free will. This would be to miss the complicated dynamics and zeitgeist of South Korean society before the war. The developments at the beginning of the Korean War, with North Korea controlling most of the Korean peninsula until the 15th of September, added more fuel to the fire. When at the start of the war the South Korean government confidently broadcast over the radio that the North Korean army would be driven back, many citizens of Seoul believed this propaganda. To many people's dismay, however, the North Korean army arrived only three days after the war had started, and with the only bridge over the Han river having been hastily blown up to cover the fleeing South Korean army's retreat, many were left to be subjected to the three-month rule of the North. Writers who remained behind either went into hiding or joined the reestablished Writers League where they helped to write wall newspapers, or do other propaganda chores.

When the UN/South Korean army returned on the 28th of September the real struggle of the Seoul citizens was about to start,

as the South Korean authorities and other right wing groups quickly started to seek out pro-communist collaborators. This threatening atmosphere is described by literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl in the following way: "It was not the case that when Seoul was recaptured that the day of peace had arrived as well. […] This was because the liberating authorities treated the citizens of Seoul as second-class citizens. Under the pretense of seeking out collaborators there were many scenes of indiscriminate executions. In order to seek some sort of revenge they savagely vented their wrath."[20] This uncomfortable and dangerous time also shines through in the recollections of theatre critic Sŏ Kangsŏk. In his memoir the only real threat and indignity he describes from his time during the North Korean occupation was that many of his books were confiscated by the authorities. When the South Korean government regained their hold over the city, however, he describes that for the first time he felt genuinely threatened in a physical way when everybody was called up to attend a meeting.[21]

This early stage in the war left a deep impact on South Korean society as a whole and split it in half between those who managed to cross the Han river and follow the retreating army, the *Togangp'a* (Group who crossed the river), and those that stayed behind, the *Challyup'a* (Group of those who remained behind).[22] Cho Yŏnhyŏn

---

[20] Paek Ch'ŏl, *(Continued) Truth and Reality* (*(Sok) Chilli-wa hyŏnshil*), (Seoul: Pagyŏngsa, 1976), p. 439.
[21] Yi Kibong, *The North's literature and artists* (*Pug-ŭi munhak-kwa yesurin*), (Seoul: Sajoyŏn, 1986), p. 265.
[22] The impact of which can be seen in such wartime stories as Yŏm Sangsŏp's "The morning of liberation" ("Haebang-ui ach'im"), "Bicycle" ("Chajŏnko"), "The house search" ("Kadaek susaek"), and Chang Yonghak's "A torn "introduction to

remembered the return of the liberating UN army and the new division that took shape within society as follows: "As Seoul was liberated on the 28th of September, the [members of the] *Togangp'a* were strutting around like victorious generals, while the *Challyup'a* were in very low spirits as if they were people who had sinned. […] This division did not just stop as a general social trend in those days, but permeated every section and every institution in society,

Togangp'a	*Challyup'a*
Ku Sang, Kim Kwangsŏp, Kim Song, Kim Yunsŏng, Mo Yunsuk[23], Pak Mogwŏl, Pak Yŏnhŭi, Pak Yonggu, Pak Hwamok, Sŏ Chŏngju, Sŏ Chŏngt'ae, Yu Ch'ihwan, Yi Hanchik, Yi Hŏn'gu, Im Kŭngjae, Cho Yŏngam, Cho Chihun	Pak Kyeju, Kim Kwangju, Kim Tongni, Kim P'albong, No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, Pak Tujin, Pak Yŏngjun, Pak Chonghwa, Pang Kihwan, Paek Ch'ŏl, Yang Myŏngmun, O Chongshik, Yu Ch'ijin, Im Ogin, Chang Manyŏng, Cho Yŏnhyŏn, Ch'oe Inuk, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, Ch'oe T'aeŭng, Han Musuk, Hong Kubŏm, Hong Hyomin

ethics"" ("Chijŏjin "yullihak tokpon""). Stories that came out after the war dealing with these events are Yi Munyŏl's *Time of heroes* (Yŏngung shidae), Pak Wansŏ's *Who ate all the shinga?* (Kŭ mant'ŏn shinga-nŭn nu-ga ta mŏgŏssŭlkka), Kim Wŏnil's *The celebration of fire* (pur-ŭi chechŏn) and Im Ch'ŏru's *The sound of the wind in our backs* (twian-e paramsori).

[23] Even though Mo Yunsuk spent time hiding from the North Korean authorities in Seoul, she is still regarded as belonging to the *Togangp'a* as can be seen from the list appearing in the magazine *Munye* of December 1950 where a list appears of who belongs to which group.

and also appeared within the literary field."[24]

On the 4th of October 1950 several joint investigation bureaus were established where the offices of the military, police and prosecutors worked together to search for and prosecute citizens suspected of collaborating with the enemy.[25] A little over fifty thousand of Seoul's citizens were being investigated. Most writers who had remained behind in Seoul were also seen to have collaborated, since many had joined the Writers League, and were therefore also a target for the authorities. According to Cho Yŏnhyŏn, however, it was not the authorities but the *Togangp'a* writers, notably the right-wing NACO, who had taken charge of the issue of how to deal with these collaborator writers. "Right after the recapture of Seoul a pamphlet appeared in a magazine with a list of pro-communist collaborating literary people. This list had been published by members of the NACO in Pusan. On this list, every person from the *Challyup'a* was earmarked as being a collaborator, with the exception of people like Pak Chonghwa, Kim Tongni, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi and Cho Yŏnhyŏn."[26] The magazine containing the list that Cho Yŏnhyŏn is referring to is *Frontline Literature: Literature Wartime Edition* [*Chŏnsŏn munhak: munhak*

---

[24] Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *The Korean literary scene I experienced* (*Nae-ga saraon Han'guk mundan*) (Seoul: Yŏmunsa, 1977), pp. 278-279. This social division ran so deep that a political party was established called the Free Challyu Party (Chayu challyudang) who even won seats during the wartime elections in 1952.
[25] Before the establishment of this institution several civilian private groups had already started to mete out reprisal killings, which led to the announcement of a prohibition on death sentencing by civilian groups on December 1, 1950.
[26] Cho, p. 279.

chŏnship'an] that was published in October 1950. According to the magazine, the names that appear on the published list came about after deliberations during a special meeting of the NACO on the 10th of August to "investigate which collaborators in the cultural field had defiled the uprighteous spirit of the Korean nation and betrayed the fatherland."[27] On the list one can find the obvious candidates for such "honors" like novelists Han Sŏrya, Yi T'aejun, Yi Kiyŏng, Pak Seyŏng, Han Hyo, Pak Ch'anmo, poets Yi Wŏnjo, Kam Namch'ŏn, Min Pyŏnggyun, Nam Kungman, Cho Kich'ŏn, playwright Ham Sedŏk, literary critics An Mak and An Hamgwang. Also appearing on the list, however, are such writers as Yi Muyŏng, Kwak Hashin, Chŏng Pisŏk, Yŏm Sangsŏp, Hwang Sunwŏn, Son Sohŭi, Pak Yŏngjun, Kim Kwangju, poets Pak Kyeju, Kim Yŏngsu, Yang Chudong, Yi Ponggu, Chang Manyŏng, No Ch'ŏnmyŏng and literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl. The list is preceded by a scathing admonition in which the aforementioned people are severely criticized and urged to repent for their sins:

> You are a wicked bunch who are not able to look up to the heavens! Listen carefully, and you will hear the rain of fire descending to mete out your heavenly punishment. […] It is every father's emotion to regard bad sons with even more pity, therefore how can we not lament your transgressions? […] Since it is still not too late, repent for your past evils and come back to your father's embrace. […] Return fallen

[27] *Chŏnsŏn munhak: munhak chŏnship'an* (October 1950), p. 51.

> children of the Great Han! Return under the heavens of the Great Han where the bright rainbow of peace and democracy shines forever![28]

It is obvious that the list was formed without any knowledge on the circumstances of the writers present in Seoul, as writer Kim Kwangju for example had managed to stay hidden from the North Korean authorities during the whole three-month period, but here he was still earmarked as a collaborator.

Even though the magazine was quickly seized by the Korean Writers Association, the authorities still made use of this list in their investigations aimed at writers. The Military Investigative Police soon requested the NACO to forward a full list of collaborators to them, with the suspected authors divided into three types: A, B, or C. Type A would signify an active collaborator, B a voluntary collaborator, and C a passive collaborator. The NACO thereafter quickly established a special committee to create a new list that would focus on the writers who had participated in the Writers League, which meant all but about ten writers from the *Challyup'a*. Even though the committee members consisted of several people who belonged to the *Challyup'a* group themselves, only Cho Yŏnhyŏn and Kim Tongni were in a position to present a strong rebuttal during these proceedings, as they were the only ones who without a doubt had not collaborated, since they had been living in hiding. Cho Yŏnhyŏn recalls that during the meeting

[28] Idem., pp. 49-50.

the opinions were split between the two opposing groups: "While the *Togangp'a* members were of the opinion that there should be severe punishments, the *Challyup'a* stance was that, except for a few special cases, none should be prosecuted."[29] One poet from the *Togangp'a*, whose real name is not mentioned by Cho Yŏnhyŏn, was of the opinion that twenty writers belonged to the A category, another twenty to B, and just ten writers to the C category. When Kim Tongni and Cho Yŏnhyŏn voiced their strong objections to this proposal, the poet became so angry that he threw an ink bottle to their heads.[30] When the meeting came to an end a list was eventually drawn up which was not very different from the angry poet's proposal.[31]

The initial developments in the prosecution of collaborating writers, therefore, were not looking favorable for the *Challyup'a*. This was, however, soon about to change. Right after sending the list, the investigative police committee asked the NACO to send a representative who could assist them in their investigation. During the NACO meeting to decide upon who would be sent, it was Cho Yŏnhyŏn who was chosen as the representative, since he had a close relationship with both prosecutors that were involved with the case. One of the prosecutors, Chŏng Hŭit'aek, had even spent time hiding together with Cho in a small hot attic during the occupation of Seoul, and they were very close friends.[32] Thanks to Cho's close connections with the prosecutors, he was in a perfect

[29] Cho, p. 280.
[30] Ibid., p. 280.
[31] Ibid., pp. 280-281.
[32] Ibid., p. 270.

position to solve the collaboration problem according to his own vision. His pre-war conviction that the enrichment of Korea's literature would require the inclusion of every writer in society had not changed. The prosecutors, therefore, quickly came to the decision that in regards to literary transgressions of the writers, no one on the list would in principle be punished. Thus most of the suspected writers under investigation escaped prison sentences altogether.

Search for redemption: Female poet No Ch'ŏnmyŏng and confessional writings

A few writers, however, were sentenced, but according to Cho Yŏnhyŏn these were prosecuted through organisations other than the NACO.[33] One of the more famous examples of the people getting prison sentences for collaborationist activities during the three month occupation of Seoul is that of poetess No Ch'ŏnmyŏng.[34] She was tried by a military court under suspicion of joining the communist Writers League organization out of her own free will and participating actively in its propaganda activities. For these transgressions the prosecutor in her case even sought the death penalty.[35] During her trial No Ch'ŏnmyŏng explained her actions by telling that her reasons for joining the Writers League

[33] Ibid., p. 281.
[34] No Ch'ŏnmyŏng (1912-1957) is best known for her poem "The deer" ("Sasŭm").
[35] *Tonga ilbo*, 29 October 1950.

was to protect herself from harm, and because she saw no escape from the circumstances that she found herself in. She also told the judges that if she had truly been active in the organization, she could have given up right-wing poetess Mo Yunsuk's whereabouts for who the North Korean authorities were looking, but she had not done so.[36] The prosecutor rebutted that the unforgivable part of her actions was that "she had the chance to flee after the war had broken out, but that she still decided to join the Writers League, even though she knew what sort of an organization it was and what kind of activities she was supposed to do there, and that she did these things with enthusiasm."[37] Eventually she escaped the death penalty, but was still sentenced to twenty years in prison. After a few months in prison she asked some old writer friends to get her released, which was taken up by Kim Kwangsŏp, Yi Hŏn'gu and Kim Sangyong who lobbied for her release. Through their actions No Ch'ŏnmyŏng was released on the 2nd of March 1951 after having spent five months in prison.

[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

3 No Ch'ŏnmyŏng

During her prison time she wrote several poems about her experiences there and the frustration she felt with the "friends" around her, who remained passive or had become hostile towards her. In "Farewell" ("Kobyŏl") she mentions how people who used to praise her, now shun her completely. "People who the day before threw praise and flowers towards me / who sent me thunderous applause / now regard me with contempt or indifferently and just pass me by…"[38] In another poem "Who understands this fight?" ("Nuga arajunŭn chŏnt'unya") she tells of how she felt forsaken by both states and that she could not understand the situation in which she found herself. "Why did I

[38] No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, *Han'guk hyŏndae siin yŏn'gu 16: No Ch'ŏnmyŏng*, (Seoul: Munhak segyesa (1997), p. 200.

receive this hardship? / Who understands this fight? / being held up at gunpoint by the red army / being held up at gunpoint by South Korea / Covered in the state's deep glow / I even went to prison. / This is absurd, it is like a dream / Truly it is like a dream…"[39]

What is evident in her prison writings, is that she is longing for redemption and to become accepted into the South Korean state again. Her confessional essay "I made a misjudgment" ("Osan-i itta", 1952) which describes her experiences in Seoul and the reasons why she joined the Writers League served to clear her name. Here she explains that she joined the organization out of fear since she felt that she could be arrested at any moment, without any close friends of hers knowing about it. Therefore, in order to feel safe among the many other South Korean writers who were also participating in the league, she decided to join up as well. "If I was to die, I would rather die in a place where there were many people that knew me. Not only this, but also in case I was kidnapped, I would feel much more at ease when my colleagues would know about my capture. The time that I was at the Writers League together with many other South Korean writers, was the time I felt most safe."[40]

In order to show her allegiance one notices in her poetry that she feels it is necessary to make it exactly clear to the reader which country she is talking about. It explains why South Korean

---

[39] Ibid., p. 186.
[40] No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, "A misjudgement" ("Osan-i itta"), in *Biographical essays: Becoming a nameless woman* (*Chajŏn esei: irŭm-ŏmnŭn yŏin-i toeŏ*) (Seoul: Sŏnbi, 1991), p. 160.

signifiers like the state (*Taehanminguk*), or the flag (*t'aegŭkki*) are explicitly mentioned.[41] This is in sharp contrast with the poetry of another female poet, Mo Yunsuk, who has always been regarded as a pro-right writer due to her many activities in the NACO.[42] When Mo talks about the South Korean state in her poetry, she can remain more ambiguous, for example by calling the South Korean soldiers "our soldiers" (*uri pyŏngsa-dŭl*). Another interesting feature that appears when comparing No's wartime poetry to that of Mo Yunsuk is the way both poets phrase their emotions. As Kim Chinhŭi points out in her analysis of No Ch'ŏnmyŏng's poem "Hope" ("Hŭimang"), she phrases her sentences cautiously and insecurely, by using sentence endings like "probably", "it looks like", "is it? / would it?", or by making use of repetitions like "being provoked again and again", and "I look at it and look again".[43] Comparing this to the style used by Mo Yunsuk in her poem "The day we have been waiting for" ("Kidaridŏn kŭ nal"), one sees that Mo's use of language is more self-confident and that she uses grammatical verb endings that convey more authority.[44]

---

[41] Poems in which these terms appear are "The blue sky of my heart" ("Maŭm-ŭi p'urŭn hanŭr-ŭl"), "Northwards! Northwards!" ("Pug-ŭro pug-ŭro") and "Separation" ("Isan").

[42] Mo Yunsuk read out patriotic poetry on the radio as the North Korean army invaded Seoul and remained in hiding until Seoul was retaken three months later by the UN army.

[43] Kim Chinhŭi, "Liberation and war in Mo Yunsuk and No Chŏnmyŏng's poetry: Focusing on the liberation and war period" (Mo Yunsuk-kwa No Ch'ŏnmyŏng shi-e nat'anan 'haebang'-gwa 'chŏnjaeng' – haebang ihu-put'ŏ chŏnjaengkkaji-ŭi shi-rŭl chungshim-ŭro), *Korean poetry studies* (*Han'guk shihak yŏn'gu*) 28 (August 2010), p. 24.

[44] By making use of the verb ending ~*nora*.

Even writers who had not been prosecuted and sentenced for their involvement in the Writers League still carried the stigma of having been brandished as a 'leftist' writer. According to Ko Ŭn these writers even were not allowed to be active in society for some time.[45] One of the stronger critical opinions against these writers was voiced by the poet Cho Yŏngam (who incidentally would make a good candidate for being the angry ink-bottle-throwing poet mentioned earlier). In the *Literary Arts* (*Munye*) magazine of December 1950, in an essay entitled "To the collaborationist Challyu writers – A word of warning before the trial of the Guidance League", he left no doubt what he thought of the writers who had been part of the Writers League. "You have left an indelible stain on the history of the Korean nation that now is coming into its own. There is only one way to go for you. Leave a record of your misdeeds and atone for your sins. Female prostitute writers who are worthy enough should become a nun, or, Buddha willing, become a Buddhist nun, or what would also be fine is to seek out a holy male writer or poet and live with him…."[46] The mentioning here of giving specific "advice" on what female writers in particular are able to do to repent for their transgressions is a clear jab at the trial and imprisonment of No Ch'ŏnmyŏng and essayist Cho Kyŏnghŭi.

---

[45] Ko Ŭn, *The 1950s* (*1950 nyŏndae*) (Seoul: Hyangyŏn, 2005), p. 156.
[46] Cho Yŏngam, "To the collaborationist Challyu writers – A word of warning for the trial of the Guidance League" ("Challyuhan puyŏk munindŭr-ege – Podoyŏnmaeng chaep'an-ŭl kyŏnggohanda"), *Literature* (December 1950), pp. 74-75.

To try to ease the tensions between the different social groups and to reintegrate these stigmatized writers back to an active social role, one finds several essays and publications during the Korean War that deal with the experiences of these writers during the three month occupation period by North Korea. These writings helped to introduce the experiences of the *Challyup'a* in public discourse and had the propaganda function to make their experiences an example to others of the inhumanness and dangers that communism brings. At the same time these writings served for the writer as a confessional by giving a self-critical account of their activities. One notable publication of this ilk was *Nine people's accounts of their three months under communist rule* (*Chŏkhwa samsak kuinjip*), published in April 1951. All contributors to the volume were people who were suspected of collaborating. O Chedo explains well in his contribution, that the writings in this publication should be seen as confessionals to come clean about their past deeds. "All memoirs of this three month period of hardship show that, as the degree of collaboration deepens, the degree of regret also becomes inversely proportional. I am sincerely grateful that these feelings of deep regret and pity, and the uncharacteristic behavior and actions are expressed well and honestly [by all contributors in the volume]."[47]

Yang Chudong tells in this volume how communism is an infectious disease, that forever disappears once you gain immunity

[47] O Chedo ed. *Nine people's accounts of their three months under Communist rule* (*Chŏkhwa samsak kuinjip*), (Kukche podoyŏnmaeng, 1951), pp. 142-143.

from its effects.[48] In his opinion the communist propaganda makes the intelligentsia delusional, to believe in its slogans for a short moment. He confesses that he had joined the Writers League organization, but he decided to do this out of fear. As for the degree in which someone could be called a communist, he saw several different groups during the three-month period. The first group were those who were true believers. These people are in his opinion not part of the Korean nation and should be eradicated from society completely.[49] The second and largest group were the confused ones who were partly believing in the communist ideology. These people followed communism for several reasons: either out of fear, because they were blinded by its propaganda, or because they were opportunists who sought to gain something from the situation. In order to reintegrate this second group back in society, Yang Chudong proposes to reeducate them and put them in an organization stronger than that of the Guidance League.[50] He closes his confessional by promising that he will be an anti-communist from now on.[51]

A similar strategy of defining their experiences under communist rule can also be seen in the other contributors' writings. They argue that it was the rule of fear implemented by the North that led to their decision, against their own will, to comply to the demands of the North Korean state. Literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl, for example,

---

[48] Yang Chudong, Kongnan-ŭi kyohun [Lessons drawn from the red disturbance], in *Nine people's accounts of three months under Communist rule*, pp. 6-7.
[49] Ibid., p. 11.
[50] Ibid., p. 15.
[51] Ibid., p. 18.

bases his confession on the premise that he was an orphaned child without a father, who was always looking with fear and hope towards the southern sky.[52] His attachment to life led him to join the Writers League. The same was the case for Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi who joined out of fear of death.[53] She confesses that she helped out with the production of wall newspapers and participated in parades, but that while doing this she loathed the work itself. She tells that it was her son Ikcho who joined the South Korean army who taught and guided her into learning about loving the fatherland.[54]

Even though almost every person in the literary field was cleared from any wrongdoings, or had repented for their sins, the literary field remained divided for the remainder of the Korean War along the lines of the *Togangp'a* and the *Challyup'a*. In the November 6, 1953 issue of the *Kyŏnghyang shinmun* literary critic Yi Pongnae wrote of the war period:

> A few days ago I asked [novelist] Kim Song's honest opinion about the past three years. He became melancholic and said: "There were only personal attacks and slander." Others whom I asked all gave the same answer. Instead of concerning themselves about the crisis of our literature…the only thing they were doing was to emotionally condemn

[52] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[53] Ibid., p. 41.
[54] Ibid., p. 52. One of her wartime stories deals with a son joining the army and the lesson that the mother learns from this about loving the fatherland. See "One night before marching out" ("Ch'ultong chŏnya").

the behavior and attitudes of a few writers who had made an incidental mistake.[55]

One of such personal attacks appears in the magazine *The free arts* (*Chayu yesul*) which was published in November 1952. Here it is again Cho Yŏngam who wrote a biting accusation of literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl in his contribution "An overview of the literary field during the Korean War" (Tongnanjung-ŭi mundan kaegwan). Here he calls Paek a "running dog" for both the Japanese and the communists, accusing him of always choosing the side of the enemy.[56] This led to Paek filing a lawsuit against Cho for defamation and he defended himself against these accusations one year later in the magazine *The new world* (*Shinch'ŏnji*) of November 1953. Cho Yŏngam and Im Kŭngjae are portrayed by Paek as people who possess no knowledge of literary matters, and are just "mentally challenged children", and "brokers of the literary field," seeking power for themselves.[57]

Another example of the accusations of collaboration going back and forth throughout the literary field was seen after the government had promulgated their plan of a Cultural Protection Law in February 1952. The goal of this law was to establish a National Academy of Science and a National Academy of Arts. For artists to be eligible to vote for members of these institutions,

---

[55] Yi Pongnae, *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, 6 November 1953.
[56] Cho Yŏngam, "An overview of the literary field during the Korean War" (Tongnanjung-ŭi mundan kaegwan) *The free arts* (*Chayu yesul*).
[57] Paek Ch'ŏl, "My conduct and morals as a writer" (Munhakcharosŏ-ŭi na-ŭi ch'ŏse-wa kŭ moral), *The new world* (*Shinch'ŏnji*) (November 1953).

however, the government had set strict rules on who was considered to be an eligible artist. Either someone had to have a university diploma and have worked as an artist for the past three years, or, if the diploma requirements could not be met, have been active for ten years or more.[58] It would not be until after the war that the first elections were held, but in the meantime there were frequent arguments in the cultural field about these rules and regulations. When the elections were finally held in March 1954, the NACO quickly responded with a petition in which one of their problems with some of the chosen members was the fact that they were "shameless pro-Japanese fellows and communist collaborators".

Summary

All throughout the war and even after the signing of the armistice, writers would accuse each other of pro-communist (and in relation to this, pro-Japanese) sympathies. This was mainly caused by the experiences of the first three months of the war. When Seoul was recaptured by the UN army on September 29, 1950, South Korean intellectuals became divided between a group of people who had fled southwards together with the army, and those who had stayed behind and were subjected to North Korean rule. The writers in this second group were initially all accused of pro-communist activities and a few of them were even convicted in court. This created a shockwave throughout the whole literary

[58] Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *Tonga ilbo*, 5 April 1953.

field. In order to redeem themselves, and to publicly show that they had no connections to the communist ideology, many decided to frequently write favorably about the South's ideology. Due to the volatile atmosphere in society to seek out communist reactionaries and the easy suspicion that could befall one's person, many writers were forced to become a staunch anti-communist. Another method to show one's true allegiance was to join one of the writer organisations that were setup under the auspices of the government. Kim Ch'ŏl argues that becoming a member of one of these organisations was a necessity in order to be shielded from getting labeled as a reactionary element.[59] When looking for what motivated the writers to write for a specific regime, one therefore has to come to the conclusion that in some cases (and maybe even in most cases), it was not a free choice but a necessity to write propaganda literature, so that one would not have to fear being ostracized from society.

That this period remained an issue after the war had ended becomes clear when one reads sources from the period when South Korean society became more open in the wake of the April 19, 1960 uprising against Syngman Rhee's authoritarian regime. Literary critic Yi Yongil was in this period quick to write his true opinion about the heretofore powerful *Togangp'a* writers: "The writer-politicians created their own boss system after Seoul was liberated and organized a struggle between groups. Their slogan of: 'How long have you been a patriot?' is not possible anymore after April

[59] Kim Ch'ŏl, p. 36.

19. We dance on your dead bodies."[60] The motivations for most writers to write for the South Korean state during the Korean War cannot simply be explained with patriotism or for getting basic commodities to stay alive. Considering the precarious anti-communist atmosphere in South Korean society and the developments early on in the Korean War it became a necessity for many to redeem themselves, or to remove any doubts on them being in any way favorable to the communist ideology. Writing anti-communist propaganda literature was to them the only means to achieve this.

[60] *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, 17th May 1960.

Part Two

Issues in North and South Korean Wartime Literature

Chapter Three

North Korean Wartime Literature: Rousing the Reader to Action[1]

In this chapter I look at several North Korean short stories and novels that were written during the Korean War (1950-1953) with a special interest in the way North Korean writers stressed the function of literature in society as a means of rousing readers to action, or to support the war effort. Korea's wartime literature has, in general, never been valued highly or been worthy of much consideration by literary scholars. The lack of literary qualities in these wartime stories - with their one-dimensional approaches to the stories' characters or plot - have deterred many from looking more seriously at this type of literature as its heroes, seemingly without any obstacles in their way, defeat the enemy and attain victory. It is because of the above attitude that North Korean literature in particular has never been appreciated, due to the view that the stories perform a subservient role to the Communist Party which prescribes the subject of literature and the manner in which a story should be written. Even when made the object of study, North Korean literature is analyzed for its inherent political message rather than its literary qualities, in order to look at what

[1] An abridged version of this chapter has been published as "Rousing the Reader to Action: North Korean Wartime Literature" in Andrew Jackson (ed.), *25 Years of the SOAS Centre of Korean Studies* (Leiden: Brill/Global Oriental, 2013).

sort of idealized image the Communist Party wants its people to believe or be persuaded by. Many earlier studies of North Korean literature, therefore, focuses on how closely the literary work in question follows the prescribed party directives.[2]

However, Stephen Epstein, in his article *North Korean Short Stories on the Cusp of the New Millennium,* has shown that even under such conditions of prescribed rules and top-down directives, the writer still needs to imbue the story with sufficient literary qualities to make it interesting to readers. As Epstein explains: "the success of any given story will depend on the skill with which the author can manipulate these conventions while still remaining within a rigid structure."[3] Furthermore, even if the writer wants to write completely within the guidelines of the official ideology, he is still constrained by the fact that the novel should not stray too far from reality. This is because a story can never be too far-fetched or the reader might stop reading, as he will not accept the events being described as true or believable. The author, therefore, cannot ignore political or social issues, but needs to address these. Condemnation of these issues in itself is not enough: to make an ideological claim the issue needs to be foregrounded, and the author must give a satisfactory interpretation of the issue.

---

[2] Studies of North Korean literature's relation to ideology in English are Marshall Pihl, "Engineers of the Human Soul: North Korean Literature Today", *Korean Studies* 1 (1977), pp. 63-110, Kwon Young-min, "Literature and Art in North Korea: Theory and Policy", *Korea Journal* 31.2 (1991), pp. 56-70, Vladimir Pucek, "The Impact of Juche upon Literature and Arts", in Han S. Park (ed.), *North Korea: Ideology, Politics, Economy*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall. (1996).
[3] Stephen Epstein, "North Korean Short Stories on the Cusp of the New Millennium," in *Acta Koreana* 5.1 (2002), p. 37.

In North Korean wartime literature this is done primarily by depicting heroic, down-to earth and honest characters who contrast sharply with the cruelty of the American enemy characters that appear. This basic plotline of the heroic figure fighting against a cruel enemy is fixed, but in the sub-plots of the story the author is able to make more use of literary strategies to explain certain wartime events or social issues that were uppermost in the North Korean reader's mind during the Korean War.

First I will look at how the stories function and how they are written to evoke a certain emotion that rouses the reader to action. I will do this by focusing on Han Sŏrya's story *Jackals* (Sŭngnyangi, 1950) and make use of North Korean literary critics' essays that review this story to explain what the reader-response to this story was in wartime North Korea. Both during and after the Korean War this short story was considered by many critics to be a model example of a successful story, and therefore it is interesting to examine in more detail why they believed this to be so. I will then focus on the characters appearing in the North Korean wartime works and make use of Martin Hurcombe's observations in his analysis of French patriotic novels written during the Great War. Hurcombe points out that even in the nationalistic stories, the writer cannot solely paint an extremely positive picture of war, and is also obliged, if he wants to be taken seriously by the reader, to address issues that deal with social concerns. This aspect is also visible in North Korea's wartime literature, as the characters are imbued with heroic but down-to-earth characteristics that portray

both the wartime experiences of North Korean soldiers and citizens, but at the same time also express some of the readers' wartime concerns.

The function of North Korean wartime literature

Kim Il Sung laid down his directives of what in his opinion the form and function of North Korean wartime literature should be in an official speech on the topic on June 30, 1951. Here he praised writers and artists for their achievements, but also mentioned several shortcomings in the topics and themes that the writers thus far had chosen for their works. He stressed that writers and artists "should see that their works serve our embattled people as a powerful weapon, and as a great inspiration spurring them to ultimate victory."[4] Furthermore he added that "Writers and artists must produce works which will help the men of our People's Army and will strengthen the confidence of the entire people in victory."[5] He then went on to enumerate several broad themes that writers should address in wartime. These included how the writers should present the patriotism of various groups (soldiers, civilians in their own territories and also those in enemy-occupied areas) through the thoughts, feelings and lives of real people to make their works

[4] Kim Il Sung, "On some questions arising in our literature and art: talk with writers and artists," in *Kim Il Sung: Works* 6 (Pyŏngyang: Foreign Language Press, 1981), p. 336.
[5] Ibid., p. 339.

true to life.[6] What he stressed most in his speech was the need of the writers to arouse hatred for the enemy through their works.

Kim Il Sung's words were interpreted and reinterpreted differently by writers themselves to fit their own personal views. The predominantly older generation of writers, who controlled the North Korean literary scene, had their own ideas of what wartime literature should be like, and also had previous experience of wartime writing as many of them had promoted the Japanese war effort from 1937 onwards. Until Kim Il Sung's speech, the government had not concerned itself too much with literary matters. Now that the war had become more protracted it was necessary to gain the support of all citizens by mobilizing literature and the arts.

When one reads the essays on literature published during the Korean War, one sees that they focus on diverse topics. The literary critics weighed in with their own ideas about a suitable direction for North Korean literature; a direction that would help them implement their personal view of socialist literature. In order not to offend the party line, the strategy they adopted was to use Kim Il Sung's speech, quote a sentence from it, and then started interpreting that sentence to their own liking. Yi Wŏnjo, for example, picked up on Kim Il Sung's extensive plea to depict the country's wartime heroes correctly, and focused on explaining several writing strategies that used lifelike heroic figures. An Hamgwang picked up on Kim's discussion of the still prevalent

[6] Ibid., pp. 337-339.

use in literary works of "naturalistic techniques" and used this to criticize several writers for their naturalist and formalist tendencies, while writer Kim Namch'ŏn extrapolated from Kim Il Sung's argument on the "shortcomings in the literary field" that he was hinting here at the remnants of colonial thought in North Korea's literature and that writers should focus on eradicating these colonial elements from their writings.[7]

What the writers and critics all agreed on was the functionality of literature in a wartime society. Many literary critics mentioned that the writer's main goal should be to instil patriotism in the reader's mind, and the portrayal of the North's heroic characters would have just such an effect. An Hamgwang, for example, mentions that "writers enhance the noble patriotic spirit in the people and their fighting spirit, stir up hatred towards the enemy and strengthen the resolve for their righteous struggle and ultimate victory."[8]

The main tenet of this wartime literary paradigm, though, was that literature is most effective in enhancing feelings of patriotism or the will to fight when the main focus in a story is on the cruelty and barbarism of the enemy. Literary critic Ŏm Hosŏk summed up this role of literature: "The spirit of hatred shines through in our writers' works like a sharp bayonet and has become an effective

---

[7] An Hamgwang, "1951nyŏndo munhak ch'angjo-ŭi sŏnggwa-wa chŏnmang," *Inmin* (January 1952). Kim Namch'ŏn, "Kim Ilsŏng changgun-ŭi 'hyŏn'gyedan-e issŏsŏ chibang chŏnggwŏn kigwandŭr-ŭi immu-wa yŏkhar-e taehan kyoshi-ŭi malssŭm-ŭl chakka yesulgadŭr-ŭn ŏttŏk'e shilch'ŏn-e omkil kŏshinga," *Munhak yesul* 5.3 (March 1952), p. 1-3.
[8] An Hamgwang, p. 143.

weapon to support the people [….] Through this spirit of hatred our literature has become an unprecedented fighting force."[9] The element of hatred was therefore seen as the most important element of a wartime literary work, and a work was therefore judged to be effective and well written when it had the function of rousing the reader to action.

This kind of attitude towards literature may seem counterintuitive to modern observers of North Korean affairs, where the literary work is mainly appreciated for its ideological quality, and especially for its adherence to the Juche doctrine.[10] Even before the Korean War the main criterion a literary work should abide by was its correct depiction of communist ideology. Wartime literature, however, required a completely different attitude, and the North Korean writers knew this very well, having had first-hand experience with war at the end of the colonial period (1910-1945), when they had actively helped to shape the role of the wartime writer and his literature. Their experience had taught them that in order to sustain the morale of the population, and to (re)gain the reader's trust in and support for the war effort it was not enough to repeat slogans about the certainty of victory or the brilliance of Kim Il Sung *ad infinitum*. This approach was certainly not unique to North Korea and is seen in many other modern

---

[9] Ŏm Hosŏk, "Choguk haebang chŏnjaeng shigi-ŭi uri munhak" [Literature from the Fatherland Liberation War,] in *Hyŏndae munhak pip'yŏng charyojip (Ibukp'yŏn/1950-1953)* [Sourcebook on modern literary criticism (volume North Korea/1950-1953)] edited by Yi Sŏnyŏng et al. (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1993), p. 189.
[10] Juche is a political doctrine which stresses economic and political self-reliance, and was developed by Kim Il Sung from 1955 onwards. It has been a guiding principle in North Korean policy making until at least the mid-1990s.

wartime societies as well. Katherine Hodgson, for example, says of the Soviet literature of the Second World War:

> "It was clear […] that the war effort would demand real popular commitment which could not be won by mouthing empty slogans about the might of the Party, or by making groundless claims that the war was going well, when large numbers of people had direct evidence to the contrary. […] Literature in wartime was preoccupied with giving an immediate response to events while they were still in progress: the broader perspective had to wait. Most prose fiction written during the war was short and focused on a single limited aspect of the war"[11]

The fact that North Korean literary critics argued that the function of the literary work was to stir the reader into action through hatred instead of ideology may seem to be contradictory to the original explanation of the purpose of propaganda, which has frequently been defined as "a manipulation of changing ideas or opinions, of making individuals 'believe' some idea or fact, and finally making them adhere to some doctrine."[12] In his study on propaganda, Jacques Ellul agrees with the North Korean view that it is not the manipulation of ideas and thoughts that is important in

---

[11] Hodgson, Katherine, "The Soviet War," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of World War II* edited by Marina Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 112, 119.
[12] Ellul, Jacques, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 25.

modern propaganda, but that propaganda can be deemed effective when it is able to rouse the target individual to action. Ellul states that "the aim of propaganda is no longer to modify ideas, but to provoke action. It is no longer to change adherence to a doctrine, but to make the individual cling irrationally to a process of action. It is no longer to lead to a choice, but to loosen the reflexes. It is no longer to transform an opinion, but to arouse an active and mythical belief."[13] North Korean writers during the Korean War were thus to concern themselves more with the effectiveness and the emotions that their work should evoke than with the specific content. Arousing feelings of hatred towards the enemy, like Japanese writers did during the colonial period, was an important way North Korean authors attempted to rouse readers' feelings during the Korean War.

Arousing Anger: Han Sŏrya's "Jackals"

One wartime story that North Korean critics believed provoked such a reaction in the reader is Han Sŏrya's "Jackals" ("Sŭngnyangi", 1951). Literary critic Ŏm Hosŏk singles out Han's story specifically because of its ability to incite feelings of hatred for the enemy: "The spirit of hatred for the enemy is one of the important topics in our wartime literature and has become a catalyst that fuels our fighting spirit. […] One could say that this

[13] Ibid., p. 25.

hatred for the enemy is the *leitmotiv* that guides our writers in their energetic writing. The *leitmotiv* that Han Sŏrya was guided by until the very last sentence when writing his short story "Jackals" came from his spirit of hatred for the enemy."[14]

The setting of Han's story is the colonial period and concerns Sugil, a young boy who lives with his mother in a missionary's home, who finds a rubber ball and starts playing with it. One day when he is playing with the other children of the village, Simon, the missionary's son, recognizes the ball as his own and beats Sugil severely. The missionary, having witnessed the scene from a distance, admonishes his son for sullying his hands by touching a Korean. Sugil is in bad shape and his mother is desperate. On the advice of the missionary's wife, he is admitted to the church hospital. Here the missionary and his wife plot with the hospital director to kill him by injecting him with germs.

The next day, Sugil's mother tries to gain access to her son, but is refused by the nurses, who tell her Sugil has contracted a contagious disease and therefore no one is allowed to see him. She returns home where the following day a man from the hospital brings her the news of Sugil's death. She realizes that this must surely be the doing of the story's eponymous jackals (the missionary family and the hospital director) and runs to the hospital where she receives her son's ashes. She returns to the missionary's home and tries to get even by demanding the life of Simon. Her attempt is in vain, however, as she is quickly

[14] Ŏm, p. 189

apprehended by Japanese police officers. As she is dragged away she swears that someday she will get her retribution.

A previous analysis of this story has been undertaken by Brian Myers in his book *Han Sŏrya and North Korean Literature*. The way Myers reads and analyses Han's story is to see whether his short story fits the definition of a socialist realist novel in the strict (and in Myers' idea, therefore, correct) sense[15], and he comes to the conclusion that it does not, and speaks very dismissively of the story:

> "The racist character depiction, the fairy-tale remoteness of the setting, and the triviality of the incident that sets the plot in motion (a children's squabble over a ball!) combine to disabuse the reader of hopes for a 'social' storyline. […] Han makes his usual halfhearted nods at socialist realist convention."[16]

He especially has qualms about the story's ending: "Sugil's mother is dragged away…before exacting even token revenge. This

---

[15] Socialist realism is a style of realist art whose aim is the furtherance of the goals of socialism and communism. Socialist realism holds that successful art depicts and glorifies the proletariat's struggle toward socialist progress. Socialist realism was adopted as the official aesthetic doctrine after the Congress of 1934 and was implemented in cultural policies by Andrei Zdhanov in particular until the late 1950s. It influenced or was adopted in official literature of other Communist countries as well. For a detailed account of socialist realism see Robert Stacy, *Russian Literary Criticism: a short history*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975).

[16] Myers, Brian, *Han Sŏrya and North Korean Literature: The Failure of Socialist Realism in the DPRK* (New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1994), p. 97.

only underscores the impossibility of regarding Han's work as significantly closer to socialist realism than the first clumsy efforts of colonial proletarian writers."[17] Myers does mention that Maxim Gorky's *The Mother* (1906), which is regarded by many as the first socialist realist novel, has a very similar ending, but regards the ending of Gorky's story as a "classical transposition of spontaneity-consciousness dialectic" by which the main character overcomes her naiveté and attains political awareness. Han's attempt to do this in "Jackals" is in his eyes the opposite: "the death of her son…induces her to slough off the remains of the un-Korean 'consciousness' and heed her 'spontaneous,' i.e. ethnic, aversion to the white race."[18]

A key element that Myers does not consider in his analysis of the story is that Han Sŏrya wrote it during the Korean War for wartime readers. Myers mentions literary critic Han Chungmo, who reviewed the story in 1959, six years after the war had ended:

> "[Han Chungmo] bravely tried to show the story had an uplifting message, mainly by emphasizing the missionaries' fears of a village uprising and interpreting the heroine's last words—'But just you wait! Not all Koreans have died' —as a powerful threat. The critic seemed not to care that the Yankees' fears prove completely unfounded, which in turn makes the heroine's parting shot sound downright

[17] Ibid., p. 100.
[18] Ibid., p. 99.

pathetic."[19]

This does not take into account the fact that the wartime stories in North Korea are written to address problems or concerns that are present within a society. The life of a particular story after its publication is therefore diverse, as it serves various different purposes at different times, its longevity depending on how contemporary readers may identify themselves with the contents or the message. This is an important reason why many socialist works were rewritten, sometimes several times, to better reflect and address contemporaneous issues. This phenomenon of rewriting in socialist literature relates to what Wolfgang Iser calls the dynamic interaction between text and reader. Through rewriting, the ´reality´ that was created in the literary work is reformulated to communicate a different message to the implied reader, since he will read the work under different historical (and social) conditions.[20]

Han Chungmo, therefore, may have had different reasons in mind when he chose to read the story in a different way in 1959, for example by highlighting the possibility of a pending uprising of villagers, which in Han's story is indeed not well fleshed out.

---

[19] Ibid., pp. 100-101. During the war there are some North Korean literary critics who, like Myers, criticized the story's weakly written ending. Ŏm Hosŏk for example wrote: "When one ignores the fact that the mother figure in Han Sŏrya's "Jackals" is excessively idealized politically and is exaggerated character-wise, one can still call this Han's best work yet from after the Liberation period." In "Chakkadŭr-ŭi saŏp-kwa chŏngyŏl" in *Munhak yesul* 4.4 (July 1951), p. 76.
[20] Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Literary Response* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 29.

Written during the Korean War, however, the story served a completely different purpose as we have seen: to instill the wartime reader with hatred towards the enemy and thus stir them to take up arms and exact the revenge that Sugil's mother was denied.

This is how the story was likely read by readers during the war and it is exactly this response that is mentioned in literary critics' wartime essays. The critics judged the work to be an effective story and an example to follow. Ŏm Hosŏk highlights the story's ending in particular and has the following to say about it:

> "'But just you wait! Not all Koreans have died!' Life has not ended. Life goes on and the sad history of Sugil's mother has continued through the War for the Liberation of the Fatherland. The tragedy of Sugil's mother is not an unresolvable grief that is forever denied closure, but has now found a way for a resolution through the Korean people's heroic struggle. When readers have read the last sentence of this story, therefore, they will, out of their own accord, turn their attention to fighting for revenge against the American imperialists for the sake of our people in this war. Owing to this positive prospect that is embedded in the story's ending, the story has the effect of activating a resolve for revenge in the soul of our people in today's war."[21]

[21] Ŏm, p. 188.

Ŏm Hosŏk regards the story's conclusion of denying readers a happy ending to be a suitable literary device as it denies the reader a satisfactory conclusion to the story, stirring them to take up arms to fight against the wartime enemy. He also connects the colonial setting in which the story is placed to contemporary wartime circumstances.

Ŏm is not the only one who praised the story for these reasons. Literary critic Han Hyo also argued that the story's ending was effective because it encouraged the reader to link the colonial setting to the present wartime situation:

> "People may have qualms about the fact that Sugil's mother cannot, despite her insuppressible anger, get revenge for her son's death at the hands of the enemy and is captured by the Japanese police. It should be understood, however, that through this work the writer aims at a bigger judgment and more severe revenge. The crimes of the American missionaries that this work exposes evokes feelings of hatred in the same degree as those of Sugil's mother in all Koreans who are today fighting against the American robbers, and raises their thirst for revenge even higher. […] It is imperative for authors that they concern themselves with how they are able to create a lasting effect in the minds of readers when writing a work for raising morale."[22]

[22] Han Hyo, "Uri munhag-ŭi chŏnjaengjŏk mosŭp-kwa chegidoenŭn myŏtkaji munje" [Some problems arising from the war-related features of our literature] in *Munhak yesul* (1951), pp. 95-96.

Now that we have discussed views on how the story was interpreted by literary critics during the war, we can examine the elements Han Sŏrya used in his story to create this effect, by looking at how he shaped his narrative to fit the wartime reader's expectations.

Creating an effect: The echoes of the total war ideology

The function of literature was, as we have already seen in writers' essays and the speeches of Kim Il Sung, to maintain high morale among the general population in order to continuously maintain their support for the war, as well as to enhance the soldier's fighting spirit. This view is strongly connected to the experiences of Korean writers in the last eight years of the colonial period, when the Japanese propagated the ideology of total war from 1937 onwards. This ideology informed writers of their role during wartime and the way they should approach their work. After being exposed to these ideas for many years, readers must have been well acquainted with the ideology of total war, an ideology which reappeared during the Korean War. Such ideas informed both writers and policy makers as to what course of action they should take, and may also have influenced the expectations with which the reader approached a story. Therefore, even though "Jackals" is set in the colonial period, it contains imagery and allegories that the reader can relate to the Korean War.

The first thing that stands out in this regard is the obvious lack of the Japanese presence, except at the end when the colonial police drag Sugil's mother away. In Han Sŏrya's depiction of the colonial period it is not the Japanese but the American missionaries who have designs on Korea, while the Japanese just appear amenable to American demands. The total war element here is revealed when the missionary convinces the director of the hospital to inject Sugil with bacteria, as he mentions that the whole of society should play its part in establishing American 'virtues.'

> "For American virtues and Americans we do not only need churches. The Lord has given us bullets. He gives us airplanes and battleships. What do you think the bible is that missionaries carry with them? What do you think of the syringe that doctors are holding? They are weapons [to be used] for America and Americans."[23]

It can even be argued that the reason for killing Sugil, which is depicted here as stemming from the innate evil of the Americans, could be related to total war ideology, since this ideology explains that a nation's fighting strength relies for a large part on how big its population is. Young people are therefore the future fighting strength of a nation. Indeed, because of the setting in the colonial period, a reader might well make the connection that Sugil would most likely be a young soldier in the North Korean army fighting

[23] Han Sŏrya, "Sŭngnyangi" in *Munhak yesul* (April 1951), pp. 23-24.

the Americans, had he lived. This thought process can even be extended to the story's ending. When Sugil's mother goes to the missionary's house, she specifically asks for the death of the missionary's son Simon to get her revenge, and not for the death of the missionary and his wife. Just as in the case of Sugil, Simon would probably have reached such an age that he would be fighting in the Korean War at the time when the reader is reading Han's story. This turns Simon into a metonym for the American soldiers that are present in Korea at the time the story was published and is supposed to affect readers in such a way that they take action to fight the presumed injustice and enact the revenge that Sugil's mother is denied as she is dragged away. This is why the ending, even when one considers its drawn-out description of the mother's emotions, is effective in terms of the purpose of the story.

To enhance this effect, Han inserted several examples of the author speaking directly to the reader; one such example appears when the mother asks herself "Who gave Americans the right to kill Koreans? Do Koreans always have to let themselves be killed by others?"[24] As several North Korean literary critics have already mentioned, the mother's parting words as she is dragged away also serve to reinforce the effect Han is trying to create, by hinting at future retaliation against the missionary's family: "Where do you bastards get the right to come to other people's land and kill people?

[24] Ibid., p. 13.

Korea is our country…. But just wait! Not all Koreans have died!"[25] This hints at future retribution, and that this retribution would take place in a war, and is reinforced in the text when Sugil's mother dreams of bayonets and artillery fire, and that thieves will be chased away.[26]

Han Sŏrya's story was regarded as one of the most exemplary short stories in North Korea. One reason for the story's success was Han's use of narrative strategies to weave current ideological practices into his story that were prevalent in North Korea's wartime society. By placing the story in the colonial period, Han Sŏrya also made use of the way readers interpret history, in order to try to evoke certain emotions. The author does not try to give an accurate portrayal of the period he deals with, but instead skillfully uses the time he writes about functionally, to stir up hatred towards the enemy. This functional dimension touches on the way people interpret history, using historically interpreted time for the orientation of their own contemporary actions and understanding their predicament. The past becomes significant for the reader's existential orientation only when this past is *made* relevant to suit explanations for the reader's current circumstances. The reader should experience such an expectation when reading a historical novel and therefore historical fiction should provide answers to questions that are shared by writer and reader alike for the stories

[25] Ibid., pp. 33-34.
[26] Ibid., pp. 20, 28.

to hold meaning.[27] In "Jackals", many elements within the text show that the story is more about the importance of present concerns than it is about a truthful depiction of the past. They do this by focusing solely on the cruelty of the American missionary family, the metonymical use of Simon who represents the American soldier fighting in the Korean War, and by denying the mother her revenge to maintain the momentum for future retribution.

The shared experience of war

Like "Jackals", many stories written during the Korean War had the express purpose of arousing hatred for the enemy. This hatred is what motivates the majority of the characters appearing in North Korean wartime stories to take up arms and join the brave struggle. In "The hunter" ("Sanyangkkun", 1951) written by Kim Mansŏn we follow the overwhelming ambition of farmer Kim Ŭisŏng, who became a soldier after he witnessed the deaths of countless farmers and a seven-year old child due to American bombing raids. His ambition is to one day shoot down an enemy airplane to get his revenge. After fighting fiercely for months, he hears a rumor that every soldier above the age of forty is to be discharged. He is not

[27] This "sense-making" of history is an issue Jörn Rüsen deals with in "Sense of History: What does it mean?" in *Meaning and Representation in History*, (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008) where he defines historical sense as having three components: context, form and function, that are interrelated, but among which the functional aspect is ultimately crucial: the pragmatic coherence of the past made significant for the present in relation to the existential needs of the present.

able to sleep that night, and the next day he goes missing. The day afterwards he returns to his squad carrying a wheel. The squad leader thinks Kim has lost his mind, but Kim argues that this wheel comes in handy to shoot down airplanes, as a gun can be rested on top of it making it easier to aim. At that moment an American airplane flies over, but is too far away to be shot at. Despite the warnings of his squadron commander, Kim waves a towel in the hope that the airplane will turn around. He is noticed and three enemy aircraft approach his position. Kim manages to shoot all three of them from the sky. His squadron commander is pleased and tells him that the rumour of the forced discharge of soldiers was just hearsay.

Having seen American bombs kill several fellow farmers and a child, Kim is spurred into action to fight against the Americans. In most stories, American cruelty or bombing prompts the characters into action. One feature that defines North Korean wartime stories is the fact that the characters' drive and desire is focused solely on their hatred for the enemy; neither Kim Il Sung nor communism appear in the vast majority of the stories. The war needed an immediate and honest response to the dramatic shifts in the North's fortunes, and the focus needed to be elsewhere. The earlier slogans extolling the might of Kim Il Sung or the party, and the slogan of "driving the enemy into the sea" that abounded during the initial phase of the war, had lost currency after the UN counterattack. After the frontline stabilized in the spring of 1951, a new rallying cry was desperately needed to motivate the

population. The incessant bombing campaign by the Americans provided such an opportunity as it had an immense impact on the North Korean people's normal way of life. South Korean journalist Pak Chinmok[28] remembered staying in Pyŏngyang for around forty days in July 1951: "Several times a day I had to rush out of my room because of the air strikes. This life was truly a living hell. During the Korean War, I was so weary from the bombardments that whenever I heard the sound of an airplane my heart would be pounding and I would feel stressed. Every day I had to live in fear due to the incessant bombings."[29] The daily American bombardments became an element of the wartime writers' stories as readers would find it easy to identify with the main characters' experiences.

In Hwang Kŏn's novel *Happiness* (*Haengbok*, 1953) the female protagonist's principal reason for fighting and becoming a nurse is her firsthand experience of the American bombings. Before losing her family to an air raid, Sŏ Ryeju was an innocent school teacher. With the help of her friend Chŏngim and her thirst for revenge, she quickly regains her zeal for life and becomes a nurse. She meets a wounded soldier, Chŏngho, with whom she falls in love with.

---

[28] Pak Chinmok (1918-2010) was a South Korean journalist who went to Py'ŏngyang with the help of the American Information Agency in an attempt to persuade the North Korean leaders to cease the internecine war. During his stay in the city from July 1951 he met several times with North Korean minister of Home Affairs Yi Sŭngyŏp. See http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=1353657&cid=40942&categoryId=33385

[29] Han Sŏnghun, *Chŏnjaeng-gwa inmin* [War and the people] (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2012), p. 198.

Every day her eagerness to go to the front to fight becomes stronger, and eventually she is allowed to become a frontline nurse. Among her fellow comrades-in-arms she feels like a true Korean. Soon she is joined by her friend Chŏngim, and Chŏngho, who has recovered from his wounds. One day they are suddenly ordered to retreat, which comes as a terrible shock to them. During the retreat they encounter large enemy forces and take many casualties. When the group's machine-gunner succumbs to his wounds, Ryeju heroically takes over and kills many enemies before she is fatally wounded. When Chŏngim finds her, Ryeju is barely alive. Just before dying, Ryeju tells her: "Don't think that I am an unlucky person. I am very happy now. Go now, tell our story and hate the enemy even more."[30]

The loss of Ryeju's family to an American air strike serves as the catalyst to become a nurse and seek revenge for their death. She feels that working behind the front lines is unsatisfactory, and she keeps yearning to be a frontline nurse to fight side by side with other comrades. When this wish is finally granted she regains joy in her life, and this experience makes her feel "truly Korean". The singing of the soldiers, the slogans they shout all lend joy to her existence and make her realise that dying for the fatherland brings peace of mind. The narrative that appears in Hwang's work is that in war the feeling of comradeship between fellow soldiers trumps ideology, and even relegates the figure of Kim Il Sung himself to

[30] Hwang's novel makes references to and borrows some passages from Alexander Fadeev's 1945 novel *The Young Guard*.

the background. It is the shared experience of combat that serves as the true yardstick for belonging to the Korean nation.[31]

This feeling of being part of a community of soldiers is even perpetuated in death. With Ryeju's dying words to her friend that she should "tell our story," her individual death attains meaning because the combat group that she had joined perpetuates her memory and incorporates her heroic actions into a larger picture.[32] The incorporation of the death of the individual in the national narrative by commemoration is not only a feature of North Korean wartime literature, but has also been described by Martin Hurcombe when he analyzed the French patriotic novels of World War I. He mentions that "while individual characters are able to perceive their living actions in terms of being-towards-death, outside the group the individual's death risks losing all meaning since it is only the group that can place it within the wider context of the continuing community of the nation."[33] This aspect can for example be seen in Hyŏn Tŏk's short story "Revenge" ("Poksu", 1951), where the death of the main character's comrade in an American bombing raid seems very random and meaningless to him. Before his death his comrade had spoken many times of his hometown and the story's protagonist is curious to see where his

---

[31] This focus on comradeship between soldiers is not only found in *Happiness*, but is an important element in many other North Korean wartime stories as well. The heroic actions of the commander in Yun Sejung's "Comrades" ("Ujŏng", 1951), for example, are explained not as individual acts of courage, but as stemming from his feeling of comradeship for his fellow soldiers.

[32] Another story in which this aspect is shown is Yun Shich'ŏl´s "The bugler's merits" ("Nap'alsu-ŭi konghun", 1952).

[33] Martin Hurcombe, *Novelists in Conflict: Ideology and the Absurd in the French Combat Novel of the Great War* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), p. 157.

friend grew up. When travelling there, however, he finds out that all the citizens of the village have been massacred by the enemy. Taken aback, he visits a small hotel in a nearby town and asks the manager whether he knows exactly what happened. A young boy who happens to be his friend's younger brother is the only survivor of the massacre and tells him the gruesome story, pointing to the Americans as the perpetrators. When his comrade's younger brother has finished telling the story he says that his wish is that the evil deeds of the Americans will be avenged.

Through the younger brother's wish for revenge, the protagonist is finally able to find meaning in his comrade's death. The desire for vengeance allows him to view it not as a single cessation of life, but more widely as meaningful for the benefit of the community. He and his comrade had been fighting for the protection of not just this home town, but for his whole country. In *Revenge* the writer uses the protagonist to invest his comrade's death with meaning and he does so by inserting his sacrifice into the narrative of the national community. This can of course only be realised through the survivors who are able to tell the story of the other individual's death. Martin Hurcombe has observed similar narrative techniques:

> "Without the presence of others the individual can only consider his death as the interruption and the negation of his life. It is the group that is able to consummate the death of the individual into a meaningful whole. […] the living, in their remembrance of the dead, are able to anticipate the

possibility of meaning and completion in their own deaths in the way that their memory will be perpetuated among the survivors of the nationalist community."[34]

It is this aspect that enables the heroic characters in North Korean wartime literature to face their own deaths with courage as they feel safe in the knowledge that their last actions will be perpetuated in the memory of the nation.[35]

It is worth noting that in the moments when the main characters face mortal danger, the description of the enemy is noticeably different. While depicted as pure evil in their deeds off the battlefield, the stories do not ridicule or downplay the enemy's strength when they are fighting in battle, as is the case in the vast majority of South Korean wartime stories. These passages in the North Korean stories serve to show the main character in a better light, as this is their moment of glory for which they get their fame, but they also imbue the story with a layer of realism, making the battle scenes more gripping as it is highly uncertain whether the main character will come out of the encounter unscathed.

The hero's faith in living on in the memory of the wider community in case of his death is strengthened by the presence of side characters in the stories. These extra characters are sometimes not, as one might expect in wartime literature, described in a one-dimensional way. This feature brings more realism to the stories

---

[34] Ibid., p. 157.

[35] This aspect can be seen in Im Sundŭk's "Cho Okhŭi" (1951) and Yi Pungmyŏng's "Daughter of Korea" ("Chosŏn-ŭi ttal", 1952).

and demonstrates that the main character feels being a part of a wider community. Through these methods the wartime writers present periods of hardship as a shared experience of war endured by all the characters together.

This was already clearly visible in the aforementioned story "Happiness," when the heroine states she feels "truly Korean" when fighting alongside her comrades on the battlefield, but also appears in other stories as well, such as Kim Yŏngsŏk's "The army cook" ("Hwashikpyŏng", 1951). Pak Sŏnggŭn is an army cook stationed near P'aju. He is not considered to be very smart by the rest of his division and all have nicknamed him Pak the Panter, for his tendency to pant heavily when he gets angry about something. Once he had been searching for over five hours for a cook that had ran away from an enemy aircraft. One of the people making fun of him is O Kyŏnghwan. Sŏnggŭn feels offended by O's jokes and tells him that he is just as much a fighting soldier as he is. One day the division arrives at Ilsan and waits for reinforcements as they do not have enough food to mount a counterattack. The cooks are all nervous, as the enemy is firing shells just behind their lines, making it difficult to get more food supplies. Two cooks are sent on a mission to find food, including Sŏnggŭn. After a few hours Sŏnggŭn is still not back and a few soldiers are sent to search for him. They find him with a large supply of food which he can hardly carry by himself. On the way back to their division they are fired at and Sŏnggŭn is hit in the arm. Still he manages to get the food to the hungry soldiers. In the meantime the troops had fought

off three enemy counterattacks and had downed sixteen enemy aircraft. When a grenade explodes only five meters away from Sŏnggŭn, he gets so angry that he runs to a nearby hill. His antics draw away the enemy fire, and not long after the battle is over. After forty hours without food the soldiers can finally take a rest. O Kyŏnghwan is just eating some leaves, when suddenly food arrives. When they see Sŏnggŭn appear with food and his bandaged arm they all praise his courage. Not long after the soldiers' bellies are filled the enemy is surrounded and soundly beaten.

Besides the candid depiction of food shortages and supply problems for the North Korean army, the story puts the character of Pak Sŏnggŭn in perspective by focusing on the comrades in his division and the opinions they hold of him.[36] By focusing on the character of an army cook, Kim Yŏngsŏk shows that even people who are not directly participating in the actual fighting play an important part during the war.

The appearance of different, heterogenous characters in the North Korean wartime stories serves the function of depicting a national community that shares a common wartime experience in which through hardship the pure and caring nature of the Korean character shines through. Han Sŏnghun has argued that the experience of the Korean War has had a forming influence on the identity of the North Korean people.[37] With bombing raids being common all throughout the country, the soldiers were not the only

[36] The wartime story "My old comrade" ("Na-ŭi yet ch'inu", 1951) by Yun Shich'ŏl is another story with a scene in which the soldiers suffer from food shortages.
[37] Hang Sŏnghun, p. 24.

ones who were confronted daily by the war. Instead of Kim Il Sung or the communist ideology, it is this shared experience of war that shines through in the North Korean wartime stories and served as the theme with which writers tried to incite their readers.

Addressing present concerns

Another method used to draw in the reader into the stories was to address acute wartime concerns that were present in North Korean society during the Korean War. One might be surprised, for example, that the vast majority of the wartime works are set in the time period around or during the UN amphibious landings at Inch'ŏn on September 15, 1950.[38] This turnaround in the war was an immense disaster for the North Korean army which changed their fortunes from virtually being on the verge of victory to facing total defeat, all in the span of a few weeks. For writers to ignore this disastrous issue altogether, however, was not an option as a lingering doubt about the regime's capabilities could have dire consequences to society and the war effort as a whole. The explanation that the writers put forward for the turn of events was that the UN army had not managed to beat the North Korean army through strategic means, but thanks to their strength in numbers. The North Korean army was said to have made a successful "strategical retreat" after which the war could be waged in full

[38] "Happiness", "My old comrade", "Revenge", "The citizens of Seoul", "Cho Okhŭi", "Daughter of Korea", "Pobi" are just a few examples of the wartime stories that are set in this time period.

force again. The amphibious landing and its aftermath serve as a backdrop for the heroic characters to show their resolve even when facing overwhelming odds.

Pak Ch'anmo's "Grenade" ("Suryut'an", 1951) is one such story. It deals with student volunteer Yi Yŏngu who is guarding the retreat of the communist army in Seoul on the 25th of September 1950. His fellow volunteers fear the coming battle. Yŏngu encourages himself by thinking that he is dying for a good cause. He thinks of his mother who died a few days before during an attack, which is the reason why he volunteered in order to take revenge. He also thinks back of his time in prison when he was arrested by henchmen of the party of Syngman Rhee.[39] The North Korean Army released him from prison, for which he was grateful. Five tanks are attacking their position. After a short but fierce fight Yŏngu only has two grenades left. He sets the grenades and runs towards one of the tanks, managing to destroy it. Heavily wounded, he sees the enemy fleeing and being shot at by North Korean artillery. This makes him happy. He hears the soft voice of his mother calling him. One more time he looks up to the sun rising over Seoul, after which everything becomes quiet.

As with other stories, what motivates Yŏngu to fight against the numerically superior enemy that faces him is his thirst for revenge. The main character finds strength when faced with his own death in the knowledge that he will have helped his country by stalling the enemy advance, so that the army can regroup and fight another

[39] Syngman Rhee was the first president of South Korea from 1948-1960.

day. His courage, however, does waver before the fight begins as he is just as scared to fight as the other students around him. In other stories as well, like in the aforementioned "Happiness," the characters are shocked and surprised to hear about the turn of events and fearful for the things that come when they had expected the war to end in victory soon.

Whether such a poorly substantiated explanation, which can be found in many of the wartime stories, genuinely convinced the North Korean wartime readers is of course a mystery, as there is no data on how wartime readers read or valued these stories. While it would be easy as a contemporary reader of the stories to dismiss the North Korean interpretation of the events surrounding Inch'ŏn as too feeble, one must not forget that giving a satisfactory answer to wartime events whose ramifications are still unknown is not an easy task to begin with. It is difficult for the writers to weave this narrative into their stories in a convincing way, as their realist mode of writing demands of them that they have an all-knowing narrator present in their stories who can confidently guide the reader through the wartime events. This difficulty has also been noticed by Hurcombe when he analyses France's wartime literature of World War I: "Even though the aim of the writer is to assure meaning through the narrator of the story, or its characters, this attempt is flawed by the very knowledge of the reader that this narrator, along with his characters, is in-history."[40] The realist

[40] Hurcombe, pp. 219-220. In my opinion it is this aspect of writing literature during wartime that makes the task of the writer so difficult and has led to the many complaints among South and North Korean writers that writing "an instant

mode of writing demands that the writer constantly maintains a complete and authoritative command of the whole storyline.[41] From the outset, however, the wartime stories are set in an unfinished and developing historical event. The reader shares the same historical space as the writer and therefore knows that the writer as well will not be able to know what the future will look like. Therefore, even though the author still tries to mold his work with an all-knowing narrator who proclaims confidently that ultimate victory will be on the horizon, this optimism may not be automatically shared by its readers.

A wartime story showing the ambiguity that remains when the true feelings of the protagonist are not properly addressed is Han Pongshik's "The mother" ("Ŏmŏni", 1951). A sixty year old mother lives together with her son, her daughter-in-law and her grandson in a small mining village. The peace in the village is brutally disturbed when the Americans bomb their town. Her son is infuriated by this and decides to take up arms against the Americans. After her son's departure to the front the mother takes great care of her grandchild. Her daughter-in-law is convinced that the Americans will be chased from the peninsula and that the son will return safely again. One day, however, the mother hears the strange news that the People's Army is retreating. She cannot believe her ears and exclaims: "You are saying our army is

---

classic" on the war was so difficult, if not impossible. When the war is over it is much easier to regain this authorative voice as it is possible to reflect on a "finished" historical period.

[41] See Lilian Furst, *All is True: The Claims and Strategies of Realist Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

retreating? Impossible!"[42] She falls in despair and even though her daughter-in-law tries to persuade her that this is all part of a "strategic retreat" the old mother is not convinced. When the North Korean soldiers pass through the village the mother gives them a piece of her mind: "Why on earth are you letting yourself be chased away by the enemy?"[43]

Soldiers asking whether she is willing to prepare some food for them are also scolded. "How can you shamelessly ask such a thing when you are cowardly running away?"[44] Her daughter-in-law invites the soldiers into their house, nonetheless, and the mother reluctantly prepares some food for them. The mother does not let them have a quiet dinner, though, as she keeps scolding them:

> "Please cook some food for us? How dare you! You bring the enemy on your tail and you expect me to laud this effort? My son will probably be doing the same nonsense at this very moment somewhere. Since you brought the American bastards to my doorstep, would it not be possible for you to take up your gun and go out to fight them?"[45]

After the soldiers have retreated further northwards, the American soldiers take over the village and start their reign of terror. Men, women and children are murdered, while Korean

---

[42] Han Pongshik, "Ŏmŏni", *Chosŏn yŏsŏng* 2 (April 1951), p. 59.
[43] Ibid., p. 59.
[44] Ibid., p. 59.
[45] Ibid., p. 59.

women are raped. The daughter-in-law and her grandson are also murdered one day which makes the old mother burst with anger. The only thing keeping her alive is her wish that her son will avenge what the Americans did. One day her son arrives at her house, but she is shocked when she sees he is wearing a South Korean army uniform. Her son acts to her as if nothing is wrong and asks her to prepare some food for him. She obliges but she is stupefied with what she is seeing. Her son leaves soon after starting his dinner, but promises her that he will come back in the evening. For the whole day the old mother is in an existential crisis over the apparent collaboration of her son with the Americans. Happily the story ends with the plot twist that the son was wearing the uniform for a surprise attack on the enemy. After the village is retaken the mother is proud of her son and feels happy now that she is safe in the knowledge that he will take revenge for her.

The retreat of the North Korean army is woven into the text and the mother vehemently reprimands the soldiers passing through the village. The mother in the story certainly is not convinced by the excuse that the soldiers are making a retreat for strategic reasons. It is the retreat that sets all the subsequent tragic events into motion and it is directly responsible for the deaths of her daughter-in-law and her grandson. Even though the son's return encourages her and makes her feel confident that the North Korean army will win victory in the end, the feelings the mother has about the retreat and the consequences the North Korean army' decision had for the life of this mother are not brought to a satisfactory or a

convincing conclusion in the story. The issue is raised in the beginning of the text, but it is not touched upon again in what follows in the rest of the story. The mother's admonitions add a strong perlocutionary force to the text, one that must surely have reverbated with the wartime reader. With the anger of the North's retreat fresh in the reader's mind, and knowing that the author of the story also does not know how the war will conclude, the wartime reader would have easily sympathized with the mother's admonitions to the North Korean soldiers, but would probably find it difficult to identify with her apparent conviction of victory at the end.

Summary

This analysis of North Korea's wartime literature has shown that there is more to these stories than initially meets the eye. The straightforward narrative of the stories and the characters' obvious heroic features did not mean that the writer only painted a too-good-to-be-true picture of the war. Instead, the writers during the Korean War saw their literature as a tool that could perform a specific function, namely to boost morale and to exhort the readers to come into action to fight for their country, and they wrote their stories with this intention in mind. Next to this, they inserted passages in the text where explanations and commentary on sensitive issues were made in an effort to imbue meaning to the wartime sacrifices of soldiers and citizens. Depictions of difficult times like the landings at Inch'ŏn, therefore, served to explain

setbacks, but were also used in an attempt to fortify the resolve and will to persevere. The themes of hatred for the enemy, comradery and hardship that are found in the North Korean wartime stories served as an instrument to mobilize the spirit of the North Korean people. The narrative strategies and themes utilized by the North Korean writers affected the way the Korean War was viewed and experienced by both writers and readers. Their literature helped to give voice to the wartime hardship that the North Korean population had to endure, and must have had a formative and lasting influence in the creation of the shared experience of the Korean War in North Korea's national discourse. To what degree this is true, however, requires further investigation by looking at the way the Korean War has been interpreted and presented after the war ended in 1953.

Chapter Four

South Korean Wartime Literature: The Dilemmas of Nationalism during Civil War[1]

The concept of the Korean nation (*minjok*) has, from its inception, always been obscure. One reason for its obscurity lies in the etymological formation of the term itself. The separate appearance and use of the two words *min*, for 'people', and *jok/chok*, for 'family', can be found stretching far back into the classical age. Having these two venerable characters forming the term helped to obscure its modern origins and gave it an aura of naturalness, making it possible for nationalist intellectuals to claim that the concept had long existed, and that it only had to be rediscovered.[2]

The term *minjok* has never been sharply defined, and therefore approximations of what the term means can only be derived from the context in which it is used, and by looking at which associations with other entities in the text are made with it. This context dependence of meaning can be seen in one of the first instances in which the term appears, an editorial from the *Hwangsŏng shinmun* newspaper, dated January 12, 1900. The term is used here in connection with the words 'eastern' (*tongbang*) and 'white' (*paegin*), to designate a racial unit transcending Korea.[3] Furthermore, with its connection to race, the term hints at a social-

---

[1] An earlier version of this chapter has been published as "The Dilemmas of Nationalism during Civil War in Kim Song's *Living Forever*" in *Korean Histories* 2.2 (December 2010).

[2] Henry Em cites two such assertions, one of them made by Son Chint'ae who claimed in 1948 that "although the word '*minjok*' was not used in the past – because it was the quintessential character of Korea's court-centered, aristocratic state to obstruct the development of such [national] consciousness (*sasang*) and concepts – the [Korean] *minjok* certainly did exist even if the word did not". Henry Em, "*Minjok* as a Modern and Democratic Construct: Sin Ch'aeho's Historiography," in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, ed. by Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 337.

[3] Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 173. This newspaper article can be viewed at http://gonews.kinds.or.kr/OLD_NEWS_IMG3/HSS/HSS19000112u00_02.pdf (last visited on 17 January 2011).

Darwinist scheme of differently developed races where the eastern *minjok* is in competition with the white *minjok*.[4]

Since the exact meaning of *minjok* is never defined, the term becomes an empty signifier, though a very powerful one. When Shin Ch'aeho (1880-1936) used the term in his essay of 1908, "A new way of reading history" ("Toksa shillon"), to give an alternative reading of Korean history, the term was applied to denotate the inhabitants of the Korean peninsula.[5] Shin used the social-Darwinist overtones that accompanied the term, by connecting both race and nation in his definition of *minjok*, to create a new history that could strengthen national identity. The bloodline of the ethnic nation was now associated with the term *minjok*, and Shin used this association as his main narrative device to trace the *minjok*'s survival amid constant threats of extinction.[6] This link to a traceable bloodline also implied that the nation had an identifiable spiritual essence that had remained intact through the ages. As Sheila Jager explains:

> Locating the core identity in an unchanging, unique racial essence allowed for an idealized reading of Korean culture and history as a seamless narrative of continuity and cohesion. […] To be assured of the ethnic uniqueness of the Korean people provided a past that was ageless and secure; it also served as a basis for an autonomous national identity that had to be maintained through constant struggle.[7]

---

[4] Ibid., p. 173.

[5] One year earlier one of the first articles focusing on the conceptualization of the term *minjok* appeared in the *Hwangsŏng shinmun* of June 20-21, 1907 with a two-part editorial entitled "Minjok-ism" (*Minjokchuŭi*). In this editorial it can be derived from the context that the community designated by the term *minjok* encompassed only the people living on the peninsula. The editorial can be viewed at http://gonews.kinds.or.kr/OLD_NEWS_IMG3/HSS/HSS19070620u00_02.pdf (last visited on 17 January 2011) and http://gonews.kinds.or.kr/OLD_NEWS_IMG3/HSS/HSS19070621u00_02.pdf (last visited on 17 January 2011).

[6] Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), p. 71.

[7] Ibid., p. 71.

Shin's definition of the *minjok* proved to be very effective in countering the ideological strategies of the colonial power and has become one of the most influential ways of thinking about the concept of *minjok* in both North and South Korea up to the present day.[8]

With the political and ideological power struggle emerging after liberation in 1945 and the establishment of two separate states, however, the concept of *minjok*, with its perceived aura of cohesion and unbroken continuity, lost a lot of its persuasive power. This loss was further aggravated when the Korean War broke out on 25 June 1950, as is shown by the words of Kim Chuin (1916-?) written during the war:

> Because of the political strife after liberation, the parties tried to convince people with terms like the '*minjok* front line' and the '*minjok* camp', without looking at each citizen's ideological differences, and contrary to party interests and political strategy. Because this has led to the division of the *minjok*, the confused people probably feel disappointed and bewildered about the significance of the *minjok*.[9]

This article gives the impression that there was not much confidence among the people in the legitimacy of the South Korean state. The political parties (in both North and South Korea) were even blamed for dividing the *minjok*. Also, the term *minjok* itself became problematic and a topic for debate during this period. For who in Korean society was in possession of the unique essence of the *minjok* now? Could every South Korean be considered to be part of the *minjok*? And was North Korea still part of the *minjok* even though that country was now the enemy?

With the lack of trust in politicians among the population, it was up to the intellectuals to rise to the task and provide meaningful solutions to these important questions. Writers took it upon

---

[8] Gi-Wook Shin cites a poll conducted in 1999 in which 68.2% consider 'blood' to be the most important criterion defining the Korean nation. Gi-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 2.

[9] Kim Chuin, "Minjok, minjokchuŭi susang" [Some Thoughts on Minjok and Minjok-ism], *Hyŏptong* [Cooperation] 32 (November 1951): p. 43. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

themselves to write wartime novels to specifically imprint the "correct" ideology in its readers. The usual method of doing so was to insert passages in the literary text where ideology was debated by the literary characters in the book. Publications that were aimed at frontline- and wounded soldiers, like the South Korean *Soldiers' Library* (*sabyŏng mun'go)* series[10], were also compiled with this specific aim in mind. The foreword to this series stated that "the war for the fatherland and the *minjok* cannot be fought by soldiers alone, but should be a united fight for victory by people everywhere, also at farms, at offices and at schools. Therefore we should arm our mind constantly with a new hatred for the enemy and the conviction of ultimate victory for our just cause."[11]

In this chapter I will examine how these dilemmas related to ideology, and specifically to the *minjok*, appear in the South Korean wartime stories, and how writers positioned themselves in regard to such dilemmas. Unlike North Korea, where the focus was on evoking a certain reaction or feeling in the reader to come into action, the South Korean writers were predominantly concerned with teaching ideology to the reader. This was an understandable reaction as the south had to cope with many communist rebellions, uprisings and guerrillas within once own territory before and during the war. Thus the many stories about ideology were needed to reinforce the legitimacy of the South Korean state, which was felt to be lacking as evidenced by Kim Chuin's words above. I will examine these issues of ideology, nationalism and legitimacy mainly through an analysis of the novel *Living Forever* (*Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt*), written by Kim Song (1909-1988) in 1952, but will also make mention of other wartime stories in which these issues were dealt with.

Kim Song's *Living Forever*

---

[10] The Army War Writers' Group published four short story collections during the war and wrote them specifically for the South Korean troops. Many of the stories are about the ideological incompatibilities between communism and a free world; some stories address soldiers' concerns about the hardship of living after getting wounded, or portray the admiration of wives and girlfriends to the soldiers' sacrifices.

[11] *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip* (Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952), p. 5.

Kim Song was, just like many of the writers that we encountered in the first chapter, an author who believed that a writer should be an active participant in war. He loathed those who continued with their literary output as if the war did not exist: "There are those who smell the gunpowder and hear the gunshots, but still keep on dreaming inside their artistic ivory towers as if the historical present, politics, or society are not important. These self-proclaimed art-for-art's-sake writers are immersed in their comfortable narcissism where literature has nothing to do with politics, society and war."[12] Kim Song pleaded for a functional literature during war, a literature that could serve the *minjok*. According to Kim, the main character in this kind of literature should be an anti-communist:

> We are now living among the billows of war. We are breathing among those billows. Therefore how can our *minjok* live in this tempest of war? How should we fight for the complete survival of the *minjok*? What is asked of us is to take the direction of democracy and anti-communism, and thus the goal of writers and [other] people in the cultural field is [to write] anti-communist literature.[13]

Kim Song was very active during the Korean War. When war broke out he was editor of the cultural section in the *Seoul shinmun* newspaper. In order to report on the war he made several trips to the front, witnessing the amphibious landings at Incheon and the recapturing of Seoul first-hand. Meanwhile he had co-founded the aforementioned Group of Combined Artists to Save the Nation and was involved in the Pusan Writers' Association (Chaebu munin yŏnhaphoe). After the front had stabilized, he became vice-president of the Army War Writers' Group and was also involved in the publication of the magazines *Trends* (*Sajo*) and *New Trends* (*Shinsajo*). During the war he wrote a total of three novels, fifteen short stories, and five essays.

---

[12] Kim Song, "Minjumunhwa-ŭi panghyang – Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhag-ŭi sŏngkyŏk" [The Direction of Democratic Culture: War and the Character of Literature], *Chayu yesul* [*The Free Arts*] 1 (November 1952): p. 33.
[13] Ibid., p. 35.

One of the novels he wrote in this period was *Living Forever*, which was written and published in separate parts before it was later published as a whole.[14] The first chapter was, bar a few details, identical to his story "Seoul Tragedy" ("Sŏur-ŭi pigŭk") which had been published in 1951.[15] The ten chapters that followed had also previously been published elsewhere as *In Muddy Currents* (*T'angnyu sog-esŏ*) in 1950.[16] In the afterword to this novel Kim Song states that he intends to add a sequel to the story: "In this novel I have tried to depict the hardships of the entire *minjok* as it experienced the three-month period from the outbreak of the Korean War until the recapture of Seoul on September 28 of the same year. However, this is not where this story ends. I tell you in advance that I will add a sequel."[17] This sequel would be the additional eleven-chapter novel titled *Living Forever*, which was serialized in the *Taegu Maeil Shinmun* and published in book format in 1952.[18] He considered this work to be complementing "Seoul Tragedy" and *In Muddy Currents* and expressed his wish to combine all three narratives to form a single novel.[19]

In *Living Forever* the viewpoint switches between Yi Hyŏngch'il and his fiancée Ch'oe Nami. The story begins in Seoul on the 25th of June 1950, when Hyŏngch'il witnesses a stream of refugees passing by as the North Korean communist army moves southwards. The refugees tell of an invasion from the North, but Hyŏngch'il finds this hard to believe. When a North Korean aeroplane flies audaciously low over Seoul, Hyŏngch'il finally realizes the urgency of the situation. Since he had moved from the North to Seoul himself during the Liberation Period, he is convinced that if the communists get their hands on him, he will surely be seen as a traitor and summarily executed. Consequently,

---

[14] The novel was published as a whole for the first time in 1959, as volume 26 of the *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip* [*Complete Works of Korean Literature*] series, by the publisher Minjung sŏgwan. I will be making use of the 1976 edition, where only the grammar has been adjusted.

[15] This story was included in his *Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl* [*War and the Novel*] published by Kyemongsa. The only differences from the first chapter of *Living Forever* are the names of the main characters and the ending.

[16] Published by Shinjosa, the novel was later reprinted in 1953 by Ilmunsa under the title of *T'angnyu* (*Muddy Currents*).

[17] Kim Song, *T'angnyu sog-esŏ* [*In Muddy Currents*] (Shinjosa, 1951), p. 293.

[18] Published by Paegyŏngsa.

[19] Kim Song, *Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt* [*Living Forever*] (Paegyŏngsa, 1952), p. 250.

he buys some potassium cyanide, so that he can commit suicide if things come to the worst. His sister manages to talk him out of suicide and instead suggests him that he should flee south. This he does, leaving his fiancée Nami to fend for herself.[20]

On his way south, he witnesses the many hardships of refugee life and also meets Kim Chŏngnan, a young woman who has reluctantly married U Sŭngjin. Her husband has sent her ahead of him and therefore she is alone with her child. Hyŏngch'il helps her by carrying the child, who dies not long afterwards. Chŏngnan soon falls in love with Hyŏngch'il, but he does not have feelings for her. Together they flee to Pusan where Hyŏngch'il finds a job in a refugee aid centre, and Chŏngnan at an American PX.[21] After Hyŏngch'il has a fight with his boss about the latter's withholding aid to the refugees, he decides to join the army. He loses a leg in battle after volunteering to crawl to the enemy lines to reveal their position by lighting a flare. In order to get penicillin to treat Hyŏngch'il's wounded leg, Chŏngnan has sex with an American from the PX named John, thereby becoming a *yanggalbo*, a derogatory term for a woman who prostitutes herself to American soldiers. After recuperating, Hyŏngch'il boards an LST to Incheon and witnesses the recapture of Seoul first-hand.[22] Here he is reunited with his mother and Nami.[23]

Soon after, in January 1951, while fleeing to Taegu, Hyŏngch'il falls ill and ends up in hospital. In Taegu he runs into Chŏngnan again, whom he reluctantly moves in with for a short time. He also finds a teaching job at a refugee school, where once again he witnesses the tragic life of the displaced.

---

[20] Up to here the story is similar to "Seoul Tragedy". However, in "Seoul Tragedy" the story ends with Hyŏngch'il committing suicide by drinking the cyanide, and him singing the national anthem, while watching Seoul fall into the hands of the communists.

[21] PX is short for 'Post Exchange' and is a type of retail store operating on US Army military installations.

[22] This part is based on Kim Song's own experiences as a war correspondent when he reported on the amphibious assault at Incheon and the subsequent battle for Seoul. An article about these experiences appeared in the December 1950 issue of *Munye* titled "Kun-gwa hamkke" ("Together with the Army").

[23] This is where the previously published *In Muddy Currents* ends. LST stands for 'Landing Ship, Tank.' Such vehicles were used especially during World War II to support amphibious operations by carrying landing troops, cargo or vehicles directly on shore.

Nami also has a hard time. While Seoul is being occupied by the communists, her younger brother is abducted to fight for the North Korean army and her father, who is a clergyman, is executed. Near the end of this three-month occupation period, she is raped by a North Korean officer named Chu Mongil. After fleeing to Taegu, she finds a job as a war correspondent, and becomes famous for her reports on the Territorial Army Incident (kungmin pangwigun sakŏn).[24] In Taegu she meets Chŏngnan's husband U Sŭngjin who had been collaborating with the communists during the occupation, but somehow got released from prison. He takes her to an office building, where, to her shock, she meets Chu Mongil again and discovers that the two men are part of a fifth column within South Korean territory. She refuses their requests to join them and consequently is held prisoner and raped again by Mongil. Only after several weeks is she freed, thanks to the efforts of an investigative officer, but she has become pregnant with Mongil's child. This shocking discovery causes her to flee to the coast where she contemplates committing suicide. Hyŏngch'il hears of Nami's whereabouts and tries to find her. He discovers her diary, and learns of all that has happened to her.[25] He promises to always stand by her and they marry. They live together for some time, but when, around February 1952, Hyŏngch'il receives news of his mother's death, they try to enter Seoul illegally by using oil drums to float across the Han River. The drums, however, do not stay afloat and they drown.

Appreciating the propaganda novel

Most of the works from the Korean War were written in the realist mode. Besides being in fashion, realism was closely related to the role writers saw for themselves in wartime society. On the one hand, they were ideologues, who could boost the morale and fighting spirit among soldiers and civilians; that is, they could impart the 'correct' mindset to the reader. On the other hand, they

---

[24] This incident will be explained in the pages that follow.

[25] The passage that Hyŏngch'il stumbles on in Nami's diary is a reference by Kim Song to the suicide note of the young writer Chŏn Pongnae (1923-1951). See pp. 34-35 in Chapter 1.

were also 'historians' in that they were writing down and giving voice to the (wartime) experience of the *minjok*.[26] Literary realism was suited to both these roles. In the portrayal of the subjective experience of history, the realist mode gives an aura of objective truth, in the form of the omniscient narrator who shapes and gives meaning to the thoughts and feelings of the characters of a story. Realist fiction can furthermore be used as a technique to endow the main character with specific qualities to represent an unambiguous ideology. The characters in the stories stand for the community and, by extrapolation, for the nation, hereby implying a democratic assumption that the figures are interchangeable social actors.[27] To reduce the ambiguity for the reader as to the character's ideological stance, a few literary tricks are used. Firstly, it is the hero who organizes the moral space. In *Living Forever* commentaries on events driving the story are presented as the thoughts or utterances of either Hyŏngch'il or Nami. The reader is only able to look into the minds of these two characters, even when the narrative involves other characters. The North Korean character Chu Mongil has been endowed with direct speech in the text, but, as a reader, we are never allowed to see into his thoughts. Furthermore, everything he says is filtered and interpreted through the comments or thoughts of Nami, as can be seen in the following passage when Nami is asked to work for Mongil's 'company':

> "What does the Samyuk Company do?"
> "It is working for the benefit of the fatherland."
> "The fatherland?"

---

[26] This opinion can, for example, be found in Yi Hŏn'gu's essay "Munhwa chŏnsŏn-ŭn hyŏngsŏng toeŏnnŭnga?" ["Has a Cultural Front Line Been Established?"], *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 2 (December 1952), pp. 4-7, or in Kim Kiwŏn's "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhak" ["War and Literature"], *Munye* 12 (December 1950), p.18-19.

[27] Auerbach saw realism to involve "the serious treatment of everyday reality, the rise of more extensive and socially inferior human groups to the position of subject matter for problematic-existential representation." See Erich Auerbach, Edward Said, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013): p, 491. Timothy Brennan adds to this that therefore "the [realist] novel brought together the 'high' and the 'low' within a national framework – not fortuitously, but for specific national reasons." As cited in Timothy Brennan, "The national longing for form" in Homi Bhabha ed., *Nation and Narration*, p. 52

> Nami gave a suspicious look.
> "With 'my fatherland' I mean our land…"
> Chu Mongil was using the term 'fatherland' repeatedly, but Nami didn't understand. Because the term is being abused by the communists. They are saying to 'fight for the fatherland', to 'unify the fatherland', to 'defend the fatherland', to 'love the fatherland', but they want to make the fatherland into a state of the USSR and continue the war. South Korean patriots also use the slogans to 'fight for the fatherland', to 'unify the fatherland', to 'defend the fatherland', etc. That is because by fighting communism you can unify and defend the fatherland. This is why the term fatherland can be used by both the communist party and by Korean patriots depending on the circumstances.[28]

Secondly, the way in which the writer describes the characters further reduces the ambiguity. For instance, in ideological literature the hero will often be explicitly called a hero, a traitor will be called a traitor, and so on.[29] Such obvious characterization can also be found in *Living Forever*, for example when Nami contrasts Mongil to Hyŏngch'il:

> Chu Mongil is a human being, just like Hyŏngch'il. As a person Chu Mongil is a devil, while Hyŏngch'il is a good man. However, Chu Mongil could not become a good person because he lost his humanity by becoming an ideological tool. By nature man is good, but Chu Mongil ended up as a human who has become a slave to ideology.[30]

Because of the obvious message that the writer wants to convey in ideological works and the methods used in such fiction, the characters are often judged to be no more than one-dimensional literary types serving a transparent propagandist purpose. This is one of the reasons why, as indicated earlier, literary critics have usually neglected Korea's wartime 'propaganda' literature: they

---

[28] Kim Song, *Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt* [Living Forever], *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Korean Literature] 26 (Minjung sŏgwan, 1976), pp. 173-174.
[29] Lilian Furst (ed.), *Realism* (New York: Longman, 1992), p. 176.
[30] Kim Song, *Living Forever*, p. 255.

believe it to be "of little literary value", and therefore wartime works are generally not included in the literary canon.

In addition to the one-dimensionality of the characters, the endings of propaganda stories, which tend to be open-ended or abrupt, also leave much to be desired. In *Living Forever*, the deaths of all the main characters (Chŏngnan also dies just before the end of the novel, from an unspecified illness) occur suddenly. There is no build-up during which the reader can anticipate the glorious or tragic death of each character. However, in my opinion, the poor quality of the endings of stories written during war is inherent to the fact that the author is situated in history. Since the author does not know how or when the war will end, he cannot maintain the omniscience of the story-teller, and therefore has to resort to abrupt and open-ended endings. The writer cannot conclude the story with the closure that is so important in making the realist novel a coherent whole.

Leaving judgement of the literary qualities of the novel aside, the analysis of propaganda literature does give rise to several interesting insights. The technique of presenting the reader with 'representative' figures to promulgate a certain ideological or nationalistic idea, for example, cannot consist of a monological utterance that organizes and arranges events into a meaningful and unproblematic whole.[31] This is because if the writer's aim is to make the soldiers (or citizens) of their own country look good, he can only achieve this in comparative terms, and hence he will have to depict the enemy as well. Even if one denounces the enemy, he must still be allowed to speak (or be spoken of). Therefore one can find politically sensitive terms in *Living Forever*, for example instances where the North Korean army is called the "People's Army" (*inmin'gun*) instead of the usual "North Korean Puppet Army" (*Pukhan koeroegun*), or where the abbreviated official name for the North Korean state (*in'gong*) appears.[32] By allowing a representation of the enemy and by using the enemy's terminology, the novel does not create a unified ideology, but rather creates a

---

[31] This issue is also raised by Martin Hurcombe in *Novelists in Conflict: Ideology and the Absurd in the French Combat Novel of the Great War* (New York: Rodopi, 2004), p. 143.

[32] *Living Forever*, pages 126 and 15 respectively.

double meaning, that in turn makes a double reading of the text possible.[33]

Also the writer of propaganda literature is constrained by the fact that the novel should not stray too far from reality, so that the reader will accept the events described as true. The author, therefore, needs to address politically and socially sensitive issues in society. Condemnation of these issues in itself is not enough: to make an ideological claim the issue needs to be addressed, and the author must give a satisfactory interpretation of this issue. One example where a sensitive issue is being discussed in *Living Forever* is at the beginning of the novel about the flight of the South Korean government after the Korean War broke out. Hyŏngch'il is working for an engineering company and has a conversation with his colleagues:

> "How could the government leave the people and move the capital?" [...]
> "If the government moves, who can the 1.5 million citizens [of Seoul] trust? Can a child survive without a father?" [...]
> "I think the story of the government moving is just a rumour. I heard that it was discussed in parliament, but to ease the citizens' minds the plan was abandoned." […]
> Taehanminguk has been accepted as a democratic nation. Isn't the UN Commission on Korea still working hard for the unification of north and south as we speak? But if the capital is given up so easily, it will surely be a disgrace to all![34]

An example of this can also be found in Pak Yŏngjun's short story "General Kim" ("Kim Changgun", 1953). At first glance the story seems to be a typical propaganda novel in which not much of interest is happening. General Kim is surveying the defense of a strategically important hill where the Chinese will surely strike in the near future. His example and encouragement lead his men to create an excellent defensive position and when the enemy strikes, a brilliant victory is won. Next to this straightforward and uncomplicated narrative there is a problematic element that has

---

[33] This is what Pierre Macherey argues in his analysis of the realist novel in *A Theory of Literary Production* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
[34] Kim Song, *Living Forever*, pp. 13-14.

been inserted into the text: one of the officers goes away without a leave of absence and only returns a month later. The general has no other option but to imprison the officer. Upon asking the reason for his disappearance the officer answers that when he met his wife again and saw her trying to make a living by selling cigarettes, he started to wonder why he was fighting. He felt that he was fighting for the fatherland, but that this same fatherland had abandoned his family. Therefore he decided to remain with his family and not return. Soon he started to feel guilty, however, and his sense of duty forced him to return to the front. Hearing his story, the general understands his reasons, and thinks to himself that indeed the government should show more responsibility for the population at the home front.

A close reading of the propaganda novel thus raises interesting questions on issues that were deemed important during the war, but were silenced or 'forgotten' afterwards. Far from portraying a unified and logical ideology, the text is filled with tensions and contentious messages.

Excluding the enemy from the *minjok*

In *Living Forever* it is easy for the reader to see which characters are good and which are bad. The North Koreans are generally depicted as cruel, murderous and inhuman, and are frequently associated with creatures that have negative connotations, such as devils (pp. 67, 174 and 255), wolves (p. 174) and vermin (p. 210). Indeed, Chu Mongil is described as having the "face of a savage, while his voice is like the howl of a bloodsucking vampire from hell".[35] Thus throughout the novel, North Koreans are systematically shown in a bad light and denied any human characteristics. Similar depictions of the enemy can be found in wartime propaganda literature all over the world. Since North Koreans could also be seen as part of the same *minjok*, however, the writer must include a specific reason as to why they should be regarded as the enemy. In *Living Forever* there are several instances that explain to the reader why North Koreans should be regarded as the enemy. For example, when Nami finds out that Chu

[35] Ibid., p. 172.

Mongil's company is a cover for fifth-column activities, she reflects on this as follows: "Chu Mongil's fifth-column activities are disturbing and destroying South Korea. If so, he is a secret agent for the Soviet Far Eastern Spy Headquarters. He is not defending, unifying, or liberating the fatherland; he is a traitor selling the fatherland to Russia."[36]

In Kim Song's view, North Korea has squandered any right to be part of the Korean nation, because the North Koreans are selling the country to foreigners, specifically to the USSR. He goes further by claiming that North Korea has lost its legitimacy to represent the nation, because, by selling the country to foreigners, the North Koreans lose their inherent ethnicity. For example, Chu Mongil is described as "eradicating his own ethnicity (*minjoksŏng*) and… becoming a lackey of the USSR".[37] The struggle against North Korea, and specifically against communism, thus seems to be a fight to keep the Korean *minjok* 'pure'. This is further stressed when Hyŏngch'il laments, at the beginning of the novel: "If Korea also becomes communist like China, our ethnicity will be eradicated bit by bit and we will turn into ideological slaves."[38] Therefore Kim Song contrasts both North Korea's adherence to communism and the country becoming a slave to the USSR with the democracy of South Korea, which remains free and 'pure'. The 'purity' of the south is casually implied throughout the novel by, for example, descriptions of Seoul as the "heart of the *minjok*" and the South Korean army as the "descendants of the *hwarang*", hereby making it clear to the reader where the legitimacy of the nation resides.[39]

Kim Song's use of the term *minjok* is never explained in detail and it is therefore taken for granted that the reader knows what the term means. Although we do not ascertain exactly what Kim Song means by *minjok*, he relates the term to a type of purity that can be lost, since a person's ethnicity is eradicated if they adhere to the foreign communist ideology. This association brings to mind the idea of the *minjok* possessing a pure bloodline, which is how Shin

---

[36] Ibid., p. 177.
[37] Ibid., p. 221.
[38] Ibid., p. 16.
[39] Ibid., p. 13 and p. 14 respectively. The Hwarang were an elite group of male youth from the ancient kingdom of Shilla (57BC-935). After the liberation period this group gained increasing symbolic importance, especially in regards to their martial arts skills.

Ch'aeho constructed Korea's history and identity.[40] It is this principle of 'the pure bloodline' that defines who is part of the Korean nation, and it appears that this is what motivates Kim Song's argument of why North Koreans should be seen as the enemy. The contradiction that Kim Song adds to the term here, is that whilst Shin Ch'aeho envisioned the bloodline to encompass all the people of the Korean peninsula and the spirit of the *minjok* could not be lost, Kim Song uses these elements just like Shin does, but inserts the caveat that adhering to a wrong ideology does make it possible to lose this spirit.

Adherence to the idea of the *minjok* possessing a pure bloodline also determines the social issues that Kim Song brings up in the novel, one of which is the problem of prostitutes who sleep with American soldiers. At one point in the story, Chŏngnan, who has just slept with the American soldier John in order to obtain medicine for Hyŏngch'il's leg, considers the status of these prostitutes and their children in Korean society and wonders what role they could now play in the Korean nation. She expresses her concerns to Hyŏngch'il.

> "Whether you call us *yangkalbo* or UN madams, if more women become like me, where will we be able to find the pure blood of our ancestors? Isn't ethnicity (*minjoksŏng*) also mixed in this?"
> It was surprising to hear this come out of Chŏngnan's mouth. Hyŏngch'il was lost for words for a moment and stared vaguely at the sea.
> Ethnicity – The blood of one's ancestors.
> Like the bottom of the ocean this mystical problem that haunted his mind could not be seen clearly. If Chŏngnan gets pregnant with John's baby and gives birth to it, it will obviously be a child of mixed blood. Whether we can expect this child to have the ethnicity and pure bloodline of its ancestors is the problem […]

[40] For a detailed explanation of Shin's views, I refer to Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp.180-192.

> "We cannot draw a hasty conclusion regarding this problem. Maybe when the war comes to an end it will be solved," he said.
> What's the use of finding such purity or bloodline if our country perishes and the *minjok* is eradicated? Since we are at war now, winning is the only duty of our *minjok*, so, whatever the sacrifice, we should win this fight. That is not only what Chŏngnan and Hyŏngch'il wished for, but was desired by the whole *minjok*…
> During war discussing problems like women's chastity or livelihood was nothing more than silly talk. If it was discussed there would be no end to it.[41]

Although Kim Song raises the issue of women who fall into prostitution because of the war, he admits that it is not an easy problem to solve. He justifies his unwillingness to go deeper into the matter by saying that winning the war is the most important task of the *minjok*, and that the issue of prostitution can be resolved after the war ends. Kim Song does, however, make his own views on these women apparent in the novel. In the first part of the book, Hyŏngch'il is quite sympathetic to the reasons why Chŏngnan becomes a prostitute (out of love for him), and sees it as one of the sad but unavoidable side effects of war. In the second part of the novel, however, this sympathy has gone and Hyŏngch'il is now disgusted by her social status, even refusing to drink the coffee Chŏngnan offers him.[42] Indeed, the inconsistency in Kim Song's depiction of Chŏngnan is another feature that contributes to the novel's failure to form a coherent and logical whole. The second part of the novel reads more like a love story, in which Nami's ordeals and her unfailing devotion to Hyŏngch'il contrast sharply with the loose morals of Chŏngnan while the two women vie for Hyŏngch'il's heart.[43]

---

[41] Ibid., p. 121.
[42] Ibid., p. 186.
[43] It is interesting to note that the issue of the *yanggalbo* resurfaced in the 1980s, when it was used in a nationalist narrative by protesters against the US presence in Korea. As Jager points out, the idea that those women who engaged with Americans had loose morals had not changed. See Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea*, Chapter 4.

Hyŏngch'il's questioning of whether children of mixed blood are still part of the *minjok* should be considered more as a comment in the spirit of the ideology of total war, than as a real concern for the social stigma mixed race brings upon the children and their mothers. Since in total war every person is of vital importance to victory, the loss of these women and their children to foreigners weakens the strength of the nation. This aspect of total war ideology is exemplified by Hyŏngch'il's view of the children he teaches at a refugee school as a "source for cultivating the nation's [future] fighting strength".[44] Hyŏngch'il's teaching can therefore be seen as a deeply nationalistic activity, since it helps strengthen the nation's future power, especially when this strength is diminishing every day with young men dying at the front line.

Closely related to the *yanggalbo* problem was the American military presence within Korea, which raised questions over whether South Korea was its own autonomous state. Kim Song was wary of this issue and comments on it in the novel:

> Unification is the wish of all 30 million of us, but since this basically Korean problem has developed into a world war, we cannot know what the future holds […] It is a sad fact that there are both those that have been fooled by the Far Eastern policy of the Soviet Union, but that there are also those sycophants who completely believe and trust the US.[45]

Kim Song laments the fact that Korea has no say in its own future and warns of the people who blindly follow America. But, as with the *yanggalbo* issue, he is unable to give the reader an answer. It is ironic that his portrayal of the North Koreans as traitors selling the nation to foreigners and thereby losing their legitimacy to represent the *minjok* is here inverted and used to judge South Korea as well.[46] These sort of double meanings weaken Kim Song's criticism of the North Korean enemy.

---

[44] Kim Song, *Living Forever*, p. 205.

[45] Ibid., p. 147.

[46] Criticism of Koreans who sell the nation to the Americans is particularly strong in Yi Muyŏng's short story "Human Type Zero" ("0 Hyŏng-ŭi in'gan"), published in *Shinch'ŏnji* 8.2 (June 1953), pp. 274-286, and can also be found in Yu Chuhyŏn's "Weather Map" ("Kisangdo"), which appeared in *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 4 (April 1953), pp. 90-100.

Keeping the enemy included

Even though Kim Song intends the reader to regard North Korea and communism as the enemy, not all North Koreans are excluded from the *minjok*. Although the precise group that should be regarded as the enemy is not explicitly defined in the novel, the impression given is that it must be those in power in North Korean society. The North Korean antagonist Chu Mongil, for example, is an officer in the North Korean army and it is in this role that he commits all his crimes, including raping Nami and plotting a fifth column within South Korean territory. At several points in the text, the common North Korean soldier or civilian is portrayed as the victim of North Korea's army officers and politicians. For instance, a North Korean soldier who is captured while Hyŏngch'il follows the South Korean army during the liberation of Seoul is found to have been deliberately shot in the leg by his own military police:

> It looks like the enemy's military police tied his feet, so that he couldn't retreat at all, and was forced to fight to the death. But in the face of our marines' relentless attack, the enemy's defensive lines broke down completely and their military police shot him, so that he couldn't flee.
> "I wanted to run away and surrender, but because of the military police's supervision I ended up like this," said the boy, who collapsed on the ground and started to cry loudly. Even though he was an enemy, from a human perspective, Hyŏngch'il felt pity for him.[47]

By trying to create a clear division between, on the one hand, North Korean officers and politicians and, on the other hand, the general North Korean populace, Kim Song attempts to resolve the contradictory elements inherent in propaganda literature. This contradiction stems from the fact that the enemy cannot possess any positive traits, for these might confuse the reader into believing that the enemy should be regarded as good. Since North Korea is part of the same *minjok*, however, Kim Song tries to create a

[47] Kim Song, *Living Forever*, p. 137.

narrative in which North Korea can be seen both as evil (those in power in North Korea), and as part of the same nation (the oppressed population and the common soldiers). That Kim Song intends to create such a dichotomy through this narrative is clear from another fragment in the story, when a fellow teacher talks to Hyŏngch'il about his reasons for coming to the south:

> I don't have to tell you that the communist party is bad […] I really couldn't live under such a government. Even when you look at the curriculum they teach more hours of the Russian language than Korean. Communism is a more important subject than civics. They are painting the North all red in the style of the USSR. The people are of the same *minjok*, but they are forced to wear Russian clothes and eat Russian food. If you do not eat it, you are deemed to be a traitor and are in danger.[48]

Thus the general populace of North Korea is depicted as a group of innocent victims who are forced by the communists in power to eat Russian food, an obvious metaphor for Russian communist thought.

We can also see from Kim Song's novel that the ambiguity over which of the North Koreans are to be viewed negatively and which of them positively is not easy to resolve. When Nami's father is taken away, the people who come to the house are described at first as "shadows", but as they leave they are identified as the North Korean army. It is the common North Korean soldier who shows no remorse, even when Nami pleads: "If you are of the same *minjok* and can understand my words, I beg you not to take my innocent father away."[49] Furthermore, it will not be lost on the reader that Chŏngnan's husband, U Sŭngjin, is a South Korean intellectual who used to work for a newspaper before joining the communist North out of his own free will.

The strategy of depicting the North Korean politicians and army officers as evil, while portraying the general populace of the country sympathetically, can also be found in the wartime works of other writers, such as Pak Yŏngjun's "Partisans" ("Ppalch'isan",

---

[48] Ibid., p. 215.
[49] Ibid., p. 76.

1952), Yŏm Sangsŏp's (1897-1963) "The morning of liberation" ("Haebang-ŭi ach'im", 1951) and Chŏng Pisŏk's (1911-1991) *Endless Love* (*Aejŏngmuhan*, 1951). However, even these authors focus more often on a narrative that excludes all North Koreans from their interpretation of who embodies the *minjok*. In Pak Yŏngjun's "A dark night" ("Amya", 1952), for example, it is the protagonist's own brother who commits atrocities against the South Korean army. In Chŏng Pisŏk's short story collection *A Landscape on Colored Paper* (*saekchip'unggyŏng*, 1952), all the North Korean characters are depicted negatively.[50]

By putting the stress on the depiction of virtually all members of North Korean society as committing acts of evil against the South, it remains ambiguous in the propaganda novels of the Korean War whether the general population should be regarded sympathetically by the reader.

Contesting versions of nationalism

An incident from the Korean War that shook the young and fragile South Korean state, and caused quite an uproar in South Korean society, is also described in *Living Forever*. The so-called Territorial Army Incident (Kungmin pangwigun sakŏn) occurred right after a law was promulgated on December 21, 1950 to establish a volunteer reserve corps consisting of men from the ages of seventeen to forty. When the UN army was pushed back at the beginning of 1951, this corps also had to retreat. Several executives of the national defence used the ensuing confusion to pocket a huge amount of funding intended for this militia. As a result, thousands of young men died from starvation, while countless others fell ill. Following a parliamentary inquiry it was established that 2.4 billion wŏn and more than 9 million kilos of grain had been embezzled. Four people were put to death for these crimes.[51]

---

[50] A selection of these stories were republished with the title "Eight War Tales" ("Chŏnjaeng k'ongt'ŭ 8 py'ŏn") in 1969 in the *Han'guk chŏnjaeng munhak chŏnjip* 1 [Complete Works of Korean War Literature] (Seoul: Hwimun chulp'ansa), pp. 173-192.

[51] Yi Hongjik (ed.), *Kuksa taesajŏn* [*Dictionary of National History*] (Seoul: Samyŏngsa, 1984), p. 184. The amount of money embezzled would have been

The importance of this incident is reflected in *Living Forever*, in which several paragraphs are devoted to the description of the patriotism and love for the fatherland of the soldiers of this volunteer corps, and are followed by a contrasting description of the evil committed by their own superiors:

> It is deplorable that there are those among the so-called politicians who train young men, telling them to go to the front line of the fatherland, but who are only dreaming of their own prosperity. Those people are only paying lip service to loving their own country, for in fact they are twentieth-century satans who embezzle billions of state funds and drink the blood of thousands of young men… When thinking of the future of our country, those evil traitors should all be purged.[52]

Although it does not appear that the incident had a lasting impact on Korean society or politics after the war, the shock it initially caused can be clearly discerned from the literature of the war period. Commentaries on the incident can be found in Ch'oe T'aeŭng's (1917-1998) *The Postwar Group* (*Chŏnhup'a*, 1953) and Ch'oe Inuk's (1920-1972) "Undercurrent" ("Chŏryu", 1952). Most notable among the works dealing with the incident, however, is Kim Tongni's (1913-1995) "The Returning Conscripts" ("Kwihwan changjŏng", 1951) about two returnees from the volunteer corps, one of whom dies of starvation. The acute need the writers felt to deal with the incident is mentioned by Kim Tongni in the forward of this story. Here he explains what motivated him to write *The Returning Conscripts*: "First I was planning to write about army life, but when it was not yet clear who was responsible for this incident, and the situation was getting delicate, I decided to change my perspective to the social and political instead of the humanistic."[53]

In *Living Forever*, people within South Korean society who enrich themselves at the cost of others are also excluded from the *minjok*. Another instance where such exclusion appears is when

---

around US$1 million at the time, so would now be valued at approximately US$9 million.

[52] Kim Song, *Living Forever*, p. 164.

[53] Kim Tongni, *Kwihwan changjŏng* (Sudo munhwasa, 1951), p. 184.

Hyŏngch'il finds out, while working for a refugee relief centre, that his boss is systematically keeping goods that are meant for the displaced:

> People like Chief Oh just hang a sign above the door that reads 'Refugee Relief Centre' and then they keep four or five percent for themselves. The hatred that this aroused in Hyŏngch'il towards these worm-eaten beings was the same as his hatred towards the communist party. When thinking of the next generation and the future of the *minjok* it was a deeply deplorable insult to the *minjok*.[54]

Hyŏngch'il also laments elsewhere that there are people who profit from the misery of others: "We are all suffering hardship because of the war, this is our common fate, but can you imagine people living like aristocrats without fighting? They made millions thanks to the war. Can you imagine such rich people among the merchants, politicians and bureaucrats?"[55] The people criticized here are those who selfishly try to amass wealth for themselves, even at the cost of other people's lives.

There are many egoistic characters to be found in South Korea's wartime literature. One instance of this type of story is "Human Type Zero" ("0 hyŏng-ŭi in'gan", 1953) by Yi Muyŏng (1908-1960). A wife writes a letter to her husband in which she tells him that she is fed up with his egoistic behaviour and that she has decided to divorce him. She describes several episodes in her life with him that show what kind of a person he is. During their engagement he had once bought some caramel candies for her. The young boy selling them had mistakenly given him back too much change. Instead of telling the boy of his error, however, the man did not say a word and kept the extra money for himself, feeling happy about this fortunate event. Another time, on their honeymoon to Kyŏngju, they had managed to find a seat in an overcrowded train. When an elderly couple sat down on the floor next to them, he refused to move his luggage that he had stored on top of the seats.

At another time, in an attempt to become a civil servant, he had organized numerous parties for Japanese officials. These efforts all

---

[54] Kim Song, *Living Forever*, p. 90.
[55] Ibid., p. 183.

came to naught when the Japanese were defeated, which angered the husband very much. Soon enough, the Americans came and, since they needed English translators, the husband saw new chances for himself again. In order to get a better position, he brushed all morals aside: he spoke ill of the Korean *minjok* by telling the Americans that every Korean "is a liar, swindler or profiteer", and one time he accused his superior of being a communist.[56] A competitor for a scholarship to study in America received a similar treatment when the husband accused him of having given a large amount of money to the communist party. The woman says of these episodes:

> I have come to know you as a husband who does not care about his colleagues or about loyalty as long as you get your scholarship for a year; You deplored Korea's liberation because of [missing out on] a civil servant position; You drive a jeep out of vanity, smoke Western cigarettes, and chew gum; In order to get a mere can of food you do not only defile the honor of the *minjok*, you even defile the 5000 year old blood purity of the whole *minjok*.[57]

These strategies of depicting the internal enemy by South Korean writers parallel the way the internal enemy was portrayed in Japan during the Second World War. Japanese intellectuals and propagandists argued at the time that "Western" influences ranging from products in the marketplace to popular cultural fashions such as jazz and Hollywood movies needed to be expunged from society. These things were dangerous, since they could weaken the population's support for the war effort and might even lead to the nation's collapse. Therefore, as John Dower notes, "the single most corrupting feature of Western thought was identified as being preoccupation with the self, or the individual, as opposed to the larger collectivity."[58] In the minds of the writers, if war was to be won there could be no room for egoism or

---

[56] Yi Muyŏng, "0 Hyŏng-ŭi in'gan" [Human Type 0], *Yi Muyŏng taep'yojak chŏnjip* [Representative works of Yi Muyŏng] 5 (Seoul: Shin'gu munhwasa, 1975): p. 294.
[57] Ibid., p. 294.
[58] John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986): p. 228.

individualism. If someone did show such behavior it could be equaled to betraying one's own nation.

It may seem strange to find such a critical view of people who, in political terms, belong to the writer's own *minjok* in a propaganda novel like *Living Forever*. The reason this is possible, though, has its roots in the very concept of the nation itself. Since the term *minjok* has never been defined, and is an empty signifier of sorts, it can be wielded at will by the writer to use the term to promote his own ideological claims. In *Living Forever* the main character Hyŏngch'il is the embodiment of the nation. This personification is explicitly mentioned when Nami talks of her love for him: "He is a patriot. He never stopped fighting after liberation. He then applied for the army and even lost a leg for the nation. This is why I think that loving him is the same as loving the Republic of Korea."[59] However, on closer inspection one sees that even Hyŏngch'il, the character representing the nation, is subjected many times to feelings of pain and despair, which imply that he does not feel he is a part of his own society. For example, Hyŏngch'il is described as feeling like "waste that has been defeated by life".[60]

Although the writer can appropriate the term *minjok* and use it to stress his own ideas and ideals, its fluidity can also have the (unwanted) effect of changing the boundaries of the political community the term is supposed to incorporate. The term *minjok* is a discursive formation that shapes our consciousness, but at the same time is problematic and ongoing. The notion of the nation is therefore in a perpetual dynamic process of being contested, negoted, reformulated and reconstructed whenever the term is used in a text.

That the boundaries of who represents the *minjok* change according to the context and historical circumstance in which the term is used, can be seen in the stories from the final year of the war. In Kim Song's short story "The immortal" ("Pulsashin", 1953) we follow a soldier, Yi Yŏngch'ŏl, who is on leave and on his way to Pusan where he plans to visit his family. On the train he meets a writer who warns him not to have too many expectations of the civilians at the rear, because they are not interested in the war: "It

[59] Ibid., p. 203.
[60] Ibid., p. 168.

doesn't matter how much we writers fight with our pens. To be more specific, even if we plead for an attitude of *minjok* consciousness it falls on deaf ears. It's because they are all extremely egoistical."[61] After meeting with his family Yŏngch'ŏl discovers that his brother is having an extramarital affair with his fiancée, Ch'ohŭi, and that his sister has become a *yanggalbo*, living a Western lifestyle and even speaking only in English. After he meets Ch'ohŭi the next morning and finds out that she is not willing to change her behaviour, he goes back to the front in disillusion, even though he still has one week of leave. On the train back he happens to meet the same writer again and tells him about his disappointment:

> I have been on the verge of death three times. And I will keep on fighting. But I am disappointed by the home front. They are not interested in us. Young men are one by one dying at the front and are shining examples for the fatherland, but just look at the attitude of the home front. They don't show any emotion, any compassion, nothing.[62]

"The immortal" was written in 1953 in a period when the armistice talks were nearing their final stage. The South Korean government at that time was against signing the armistice and many writers joined the government in its protest.[63] Ch'oe Sangdŏk, for example, thought that the armistice would not solve anything and merely lead to "a continuation of the war by other means."[64] In the story, it is clear that Kim Song tries to exhort the home front to be more resilient and supportive of the war, and show that they should follow the example of the soldiers at the front line who show unwavering love for the country. At the same time his story also attempts (unsurprisingly since the story was published in a magazine for soldiers) to boost the fighting spirit of the soldiers, by showing that they are the vanguard of the nation. To create such an

---

[61] Kim Song, "Pulsashin", *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 (May 1953): p. 76.
[62] Ibid., p. 87.
[63] In the end, the South Korean government did not sign the treaty, leading to ongoing difficulties for South Korea in its diplomatic relations with North Korea.
[64] Ch'oe Sangdŏk, "Sŏnjŏnjŏn-gwa munhwain-ŭi immu" [Propaganda warfare and the responsibility of the intelligentsia], *Shinch'ŏnji* 8.3 (July 1953), pp. 70-75.

effect, praise of the soldier for his active participation in the war effort is contrasted with criticism of the passive civilian population. By depicting the nationalist character's sense of alienation from and disappointment in civilian society, the story gives an alternative view of nationalism, implying that the true nationalists are those who have a direct experience of the war.

This different view on nationalism also appears in another short story, this one written by Ch'oe Inuk (1920-1972). In "The sergeant I saw one day" ("Ŏnŭ nar-ŭi iltŭngsangsa", 1953) a peasant rides the crowded bus from Taegu to Kyŏngju. There is a sergeant on the bus, who bosses his subordinates around and is rude to the driver and the other passengers. Seeing this soldier, the peasant thinks of his nephew, who is also a sergeant, and who has received two medals for his courage at the front. It is obvious to him that the sergeant on the bus is serving far behind the front line since he is wearing golden rings and has a suitcase filled with Japanese gramophone records. Two days later the peasant sees a man on the street who looks exactly like the soldier from the bus, but this one is wearing the badges of a second lieutenant. The peasant thinks the soldier must be a fraud and wants to turn him in to the military police. Then his thoughts go out to soldiers like his nephew who fight at the front for the *minjok*. Thinking of these soldiers serving the nation, he refrains from raising an accusation against the man with the second-lieutenant badges, since he is not completely certain he was the same soldier and would dishonour the spirit of the soldiers at the front line if he was wrong.[65] In this story Ch'oe Inuk is also critical of those who enrich themselves thanks to the war. The character of the sergeant in the bus and in particular his predilection for foreign products serves as as sign to the reader that he is not working for the interests of the Korean nation. The author juxtaposes this sergeant with the patriotic nephew who is fighting at the front.

The short stories of Kim Song and Ch'oe Inuk suggest a growing chasm between the military reality at the front and civilian life at the rear. Whilst the intention of the writers, as we have seen in their essays on the function of literature in wartime, was to try to

[65] Ch'oe Inuk, "Ŏnŭ nar-ŭi iltŭngsangsa" [The sergeant I saw one day], *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 6 (August 1953): pp. 4-10. Although the story was not published until after the signing of the armistice, it was written in June 1953.

bridge this chasm, they merely manage to draw further attention to the disparity between the soldier and society. By criticizing the defeatist attitude and egoism of those outside the military, the writers deny that civilians are representatives for the *minjok*. Consequently, the spirit of the *minjok* is embodied almost entirely in the soldiers, who have the true fighting spirit that is so lacking in the self-centred civilian population for whom they sacrifice themselves. The problematic nature of nationalism, therefore, becomes the very subject of these stories, since the groups in society that are being included when the term *minjok* is invoked changes.

It is clear in "The Immortal" that Kim Song's criticism of the general population near the end of the Korean War relates to the armistice, since the climactic scene of the story, the meeting between the soldier and his fiancée, revolves around this issue:

> "The people do not look like they are of a country at war. They all look like they hate war."
> "That is because we all long for peace. It is human nature to search for peace."
> "To not fight a war and long for peace is a mentality which loses wars […] Even now you believe in the talks at P'anmunjŏm? Those armistice talks are only an attractive display for those favouring peace […] Winning by fighting is the only road that leads to peace."[66]

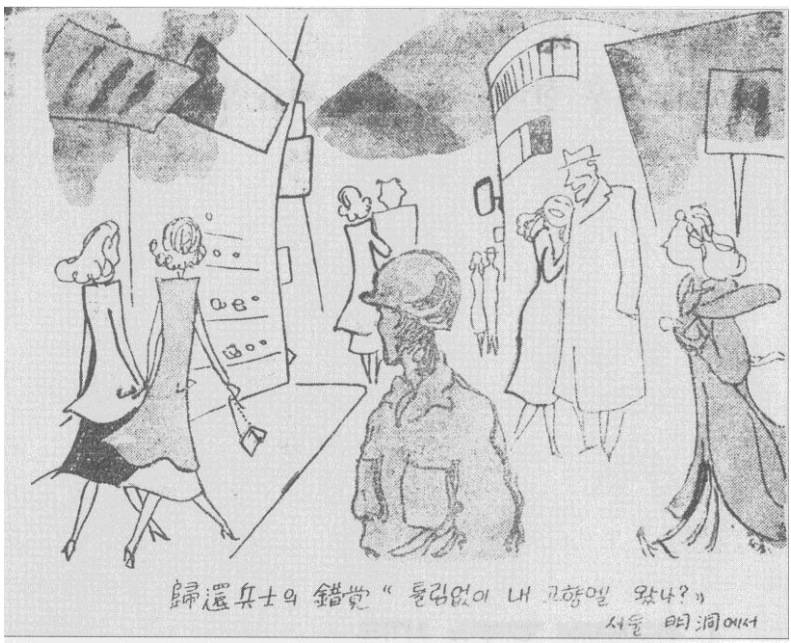
Yŏngch'ŏl tries to explain to Ch'ohŭi why peace at P'anmunjŏm is not the right way forward, but she does not listen to him.

It is interesting that this argument is not only seen in the writers' fiction, but when the signing of the armistice was imminent, it appears in their essays as well. Kim P'albong (1903-1985), for example, writes in his article "The direction of war literature" ("Chŏnjaengmunhag-ŭi panghyang"):

> As war gets more and more prolonged, there is this unchangeable bestial phenomenon that the common citizens

[66] Kim Song, "Pulsashin", p. 83. Criticism of the armistice talks can also be found in *Living Forever* (p. 260), although elsewhere it is Nami who is more positive and says that she hopes the armistice agreement will be signed (p. 231).

become more outspoken in their attachment to their physical lives. I believe, however, that writers should and do display greater wisdom. Therefore you will not find any writers who are similar to the public and approve of the shallowness of the masses. It is the common citizen's instinct and behaviour, but instead of flattering them, the writers should criticize and expose them.[67]



4 A cartoon from 1954 depicting a soldier's disillusion upon his return to the homefront. The caption reads: The spectacle seen by a returning conscript: "Have I truly returned to my hometown?" in Myŏngdong, Seoul

This sentiment is echoed in an article written by Ku Sang, entitled "Two years of war writers' groups" in which he declares that "amidst the decadence and defeatism that is shown at the present moment in our country, only war writers have the spiritual alertness and resolution to serve as the flag bearers of the nation".[68] Even though these remarks can be read simply as laudatory

[67] Kim P'albong, "Chŏnjaengmunhag-ŭi panghyang", *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 3 (February 1953), p. 61.
[68] Ku Sang, "Chonggun chakkadan 2 nyŏn", *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 (July 1953), p. 57.

comments on the efforts of the writers during the war, they can also be read in another way: as the Korean War was nearing its end, the gap between the front and the rear was as wide as ever, with the one difference that now the writer included himself as part of the front line, and claimed that he, along with the fighting soldier, was the true representative voice of the *minjok*.

Summary

By analysing Kim Song's novel *Living Forever*, we can see that the concept of the *minjok* played an important role in giving meaning to many issues that were felt to be acutely important to South Korean wartime society. The term *minjok* is used by Kim Song as a persuasive tool to strengthen his ideological argument of why North Korea should be considered as the enemy. According to him, North Korea is eradicating its own ethnicity by selling itself to the USSR and believing in the foreign communist ideology. This possibility in Kim Song's view to 'eradicate one's own ethnicity' brings to mind the term's connection with Shin Ch'aeho's idea of the Korean nation possessing a 'pure' bloodline. This 'pure' bloodline is considered by Kim Song to be important in regard to social issues like the *yanggalbo* and their children as well. However, the argument he presents for excluding North Korea from the *minjok* is somewhat weakened, since he admits that South Korea is not free from foreign influences either.

Although they are viewed as the enemy, North Koreans are also seen as part of the same *minjok*. In *Living Forever*, Kim Song creates a narrative in which those in power in North Korea are the real evil that must be fought, who are contrasted with the general populace of the country who suffers from great hardship. However, this argument is not emphasized enough to be convincing, since there are also instances in the novel where North Korean civilians commit acts of evil.

The term *minjok* is not only used to criticize North Korea, but is also used to denounce citizens of South Korea. These are usually shown to be profiteers who are only interested in enriching themselves. With the definition of the *minjok* remaining ambiguous, the term can be wielded by the author at will to decide who is represented and incorporated whenever the term is invoked. As an empty signifier, *minjok* can therefore be a powerful concept

invoking and instilling a sense of national unity, especially in times of war. However, its boundaries are never fixed; they change according to the context in which the term is used. Therefore, instead of being a binding force, the term *minjok* can create an (imagined) disparity in society, highlighting the problematic notion of the nation and its perpetual dynamic process of contesting, reconstructing and reformulating existing national narratives.

Chapter Five

The Representation of Evil in North and South Korean Stories from the Korean War[1]

No nation at war with another shall permit such acts of war as shall make mutual trust impossible during some future time of peace. […] Some level of trust in the enemy's way of thinking must be preserved even in the midst of war, for otherwise no peace can ever be concluded and the hostilities would become a war of extermination.[2]

Immanuel Kant, *To Perpetual Peace*

Finding instances of mutual trust in the enemy's way of thinking in a civil war can be difficult, especially when one has to search for such features in wartime literature. This is because the propagandist writer makes use of two different strategies to influence the reader. On the one hand he makes an appeal to the

[1] An earlier version of this chapter has been published as "The Representation of the Enemy in North and South Korean Stories from the Korean War" in *Memory Studies Journal* 6.2 (April 2013).
[2] Immanuel Kant trans. by Ted Humphrey, *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2003), p. 5.

readers to fight for the interest of the nation. This is the aspect that we have been looking at so far in the previous two chapters. On the other hand, the writer tries to make a systematic appeal to the readers' sense of moral outrage in order to move them. This is commonly done by creating a stereotype, for example by stressing the enemy's cruel and vicious nature, and flood public opinion with this preconceived and oversimplified image. By consistently inserting the stereotype in every available medium, the natural diversity of public opinion will eventually be overcome. Colin Moore argues in his work on propaganda prints that "even though the sterotype deviates grossly from individual reality", the stereotype appeals to people since "the stereotype is so convenient, so much easier to use than an objective opinion based on the facts."[3] The stereotype eventually will assume a life of its own and its practicality and pervasiveness in public discourse will attain more credence and power than any appeal to national interest could ever have achieved.

In this chapter I will look at the different stereotypes that are used in North and South Korean stories from the Korean War to describe the enemy and will show that the way in which they depict the enemy is an extension and elaboration of the paradigms that both countries had created during the Liberation Period. For South Korea, the experiences with large groups of insurgents within its own borders, notably the Yŏsu rebellion, their criticism

[3] Colin Moore, *Propaganda Prints – A History of Art in the Service of Social and Political Change*, (London: A&C Black Publishers, 2010), p. 10.

of the enemy more into the ideological realm, so as to be able to cope with both the internal and external problems it was facing. For North Korea this was different. Having been able to quickly establish stable control over society, they could focus on a perceived external threat which during the Korean War focused almost exclusively on America as being an imperialist aggressor. The stories show that as war got more protracted the enhancement and maintenance of morale of the home front became a more difficult task in both societies, as the appearance of internal enemies became more frequent.

The evil characters appearing in the North and South Korean stories lack human traits, and are usually depicted for their barbarism and predatory behavior which are a consequence of their ideological dispositions, or because of their selfish greed. Next to these depictions of the enemy, however, there is certainly an attempt from both South and North Korean writers to keep a human face on the enemy in case Korea will be reunited. The strategy they try to employ in their depiction of the enemy side is to make a distinction between the people in power and the common people. The evil characters appearing in the stories are army officers or political leaders, who hold a firm grip over the normal population. Their actions are described in such a manner that it should become clear to the reader that these characters have no legitimate right to be part of the Korean nation. The common population, in contrast, are described as supporting the good

characters in the stories and are usually awaiting liberation from the hands of the evil characters.

The South Korean representation of the enemy

In South Korea the image of the communist enemy took firm shape after the suppression of the Yŏsu rebellion in October 1948. As soon as the army regained control of the Chŏlla region, the Ministry of Education asked the National Association of Cultural Organizations (NACO) to form two 'writer investigation parties' (*munin chosaban*) who would go to the volatile region to write about the situation. Pak Chonghwa (1901-1981), Kim Yŏngnang (1903-1950), Chŏng Pisŏk (1911-1991), Yi Hŏn'gu (1905-1982) and Kim Song (1909-1988) were chosen as representatives of the literary field to be part of one of these two groups.[4] For six days they toured the area and wrote down what they had heard and experienced. Their writings were swiftly published in the major newspapers.[5] Besides these newspaper publications, their stories were also collected in a book edited by the NACO entitled *Rebellion and the Resolve of the*

[4] Kim Tŭkchung, "Yŏsusakŏn-e taehan ŏllonbodo-wa pan'gongdamnon-ŭi ch'angch'ul" (News reports on the Yŏsu rebellion and the creation of the anti-communist discourse) in Kim Tŭkchung et al. *Chugŭm-ŭrossŏ nara-rŭl chik'ija: 1950nyŏndae, pan'gong, tongwŏn kamshi-ŭi shidae* (Let's guard the nation with our lives: The 1950s, the period of anti-communism, mobilization and surveillance), (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2007): p. 94. The other people who were chosen were cartoonists Kim Kyut'aek and Ch'oe Yŏngsu, photographers Yi Sonyŏng and Ch'oe Hŭiyŏn, and painter Chŏng Honggŏ.
[5] Pak Chonghwa's story was published in the *Tonga ilbo* from 20 November 1948, Chŏng Pisŏk's in the *Chosŏn ilbo* also from the same date onwards and Yi Hŏn'gu's story could be found in the *Sŏul shinmun* of 16 November 1948.

Minjok (*pallan-gwa minjog-ŭi kago*, 1949), which contained forewords written by president Syngman Rhee (1875-1965) and poet Kim Kwangsŏp (1905-1977), who was then holding the position of head of the Presidential Secretariat.

5 A defector from the rebellious 14th Division gives an eye-witness account of the atrocities he experienced during the Yŏsu rebellion in 1948

These publications played an important role in the way the population was informed about the situation in the tumultuous

Chŏlla region and helped to shape the public image of the rebels. In their reports the writers depict the perpetrators of the rebellion as cold-blooded savages who have no respect for life. In a poem titled "Despair" (*chŏlmang*) by Kim Yŏngnang, he describes the rebels as follows: "Completely drunk with the poison of evil, / they killed innocent civilians by cutting off pieces of flesh while they were still alive. / They killed them by gauging out their eyes while alive. / They severed their limbs not by a knife, but by bullets and then burnt their bodies."[6] Pak Chonghwa also stressed the immense cruelty of the rebels and asked himself where such behaviour could have possibly come from: "Which ideology teaches such brutal, cannibalistic, demon-like and savage behaviour that, when they see the blood of their own people, they jump on it like a pack of wolves, gauging out people's eyes, crushing their bones and leaving more than 80 bulletholes on a corpse?"[7] He continuous his account by saying that this kind of behaviour can certainly not be found in the 'true nature'(*ponshim*) of the Korean *minjok* and concludes therefore that it must be derived from some other source.

The communist ideology was to blame for this, and the writers describe the events on the peninsula as a struggle between different ideological elements in society. Kim Song described these competing ideologies and their differences like this:

---

[6] Chŏn'guk munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnhaphoe ed., *Pallan-gwa minjog-ŭi kago* [Rebellion and the resolve of the *minjok*]), (Seoul: Munjin munhwasa, 1949): pp. 31-32.
[7] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

> One [of the ideologies] is *minjok* nationalism, while the other is communist federalism.[8] The former takes as its principal agent the *minjok*, which tradition has handed down for 5000 years. The latter, meanwhile, disregards the minjok and the state, and strives to be incorporated into the Soviet Union. The first aims to break through the boundaries that separate each *minjok* which will be mutually beneficial for all, while the second annihilates ethnicity and, while claiming they are liberating the classes, their actual goal is to rule them with an iron hand.[9]

From this perception, it follows that the people in the South who adhered to communism were henceforth to be regarded as enemies of the Korean *minjok* who should be eradicated from society. Pak Chonghwa describes this attitude towards communism when he cites the words of an army officer who was charged with suppressing the rebellion: "When I saw their stubborn inhumane behaviour resembling that of cruel devils, I realized that these bastards do not belong to my *minjok* and, feeling a righteous sense of indignation, I immediately gave the order to open fire on them."[10] Thus it is made clear that communism and the inherent brutality it unleashes in its adherents are not compatible with the idea of the Korean nation. The words of another young army officer cited by Yi Hŏn'gu also convey this feeling: "The term 'fratricidal war' is not applicable to this incident, because the rebels

[8] Meant with 'federalism' is that North Korea is a satellite of the Soviet Union.
[9] Ibid., pp. 122-123.
[10] Ibid., p. 52.

did not even pretend to regard us as being of the same people."[11] What Yi's words imply here is that since the rebels do not regard us as being of the same ethnicity, "we" should not do so either.

The lesson learnt from the Yŏsu rebellion was that a "national spirit" should be promoted among the population.[12] Education of the people in ideology was seen by the writers as the most important cure for preventing future uprisings. Before the Korean War broke out, this plan was put in motion by the NACO with the organization of a 'Rally of All Intellectuals to Promote the National Spirit' (*minjok chŏngshin angyang chŏn'guk munhwain kwŏlgi taehoe*) and the publication of the magazine *National Culture* (*minjok munhwa*).[13]

The communist enemy during war

When war broke out, the pre-war images of the communist enemy were regurgitated and extended to the North Korean enemy. When the North Korean enemy appears in stories, the ideological

---

[11] Ibid., pp. 76-77.
[12] Kim Song, Chŏng Pisŏk, Yi Hŏn'gu and Pak Chonghwa all plead for such an action be taken in their reports.
[13] The rally was held on the 27th and 28th of December 1948 at the Seoul City Public Theater (*shigonggwan*) in Myŏngdong and was attended by more than 500 people. Pak Chonghwa hosted the event and, after regional representatives of the NACO had reported on the state of cultural affairs in their own region, the findings were written down with the suggestion for a cultural policy. In the final speech, Kim Kwangsŏp argued that intellectuals were to be seen as political activists whose task it was to first of all stir up a 'propaganda enlightment' so that the population would "know what and who Taehanmin'guk, the national flag(t'aegŭkki) and the President is."

differences between the two sides are again stressed. "A dark night" ("Amya", 1952) written by Pak Yŏngjun (1911-1976), deals with the ideological differences between two brothers. The story can briefly be summarized as follows: Captain Im can hardly believe his eyes when he discovers his younger brother Kyŏngjae among the captured North Korean prisoners of war. His brother had been forcefully drafted when the North Korean army occupied Seoul and had not heard from him since. Im is very happy to see him and a tearful reunion ensues. Kyŏngjae tells of his attempts to escape from the army and asks about the well-being of their parents.

The next day he wants to get his brother released, but hears that during his capture he had resisted fiercely and had even killed a soldier. Im feels ashamed and cannot fathom what had possessed his brother at the time. He would like to meet his brother again to ask him directly. Im seeks comfort from his superior officer who tells him: "Meet him if you want, but don't feel too disappointed. […] It doesn't matter how strong your brotherly bond is. When your ideologies are different there is nothing that can be done about it."[14]

When they meet again, his brother's demeanor changes completely when he is not able to give Im a satisfactory answer as to why of all prisoners only he had resisted his capture. His brother's eyes change into those of a 'poisonous snake', and this makes Im realize that his brother is a faithful communist after all.

[14] Pak Yŏngjun, "Amya" [A dark night], *Chŏnsŏn munhak* [Frontline literature] 1 (April 1952), p. 26.

"You have become a true communist who does not care for parents, brothers or the *minjok*!"[15] He leaves the prison crying, after which he again meets his superior who tells him: "We live in unhappy times. The dehumanizing communist ideology is a cruel gift. […] It is better to love your fellow soldiers. This will be the same as loving the *minjok*. Isn't that a greater love than personal attachment?"[16] These words encourage him to forget about his brother and from now on he decides to put all his efforts into fighting for his country. Soon after he joins a battle, he sees two escaped prisoners running his way, one of whom is his brother. He hesitates for a second, but shoots them both.

The story stresses that, even when two people have grown up as brothers, differences in ideology cannot be overcome. What changed his brother is not explained clearly, but it can be assumed that it is the communist ideology. Just as in the pre-war period communism is depicted as an ideology which eradicates the *minjok* and leads to inhumane behaviour.[17] This depiction of communism also appears in another story written by Pak Yŏngjun, "The Partisan" ("Ppalch'isan", 1952). Here, the narrator tells that he

---

[15] Ibid., p. 27.
[16] Ibid., p. 27.
[17] Two stories similar to "A dark night" that deal with South Korean soldiers capturing a Communist whom they were friends with before the outbreak of war are Chŏng Pisŏk's "Member of the communist party" ("Tangwŏn", 1952) and Hwang Sunwŏn's "Cranes" ("Hak", 1953). In the former, the prisoner escapes and kills his South Korean old friend "because he was a member of the Communist Party," hinting at the inherent evilness of the Communist ideology. The latter story, therefore, may have been written in reaction to such negative wartime stories, as in this story the South Korean captor shows an act of kindness to his old friend by treating him as such. Hwang leaves it open whether he releases his prisoner and old friend, or will later hand him over to the authorities.

joined the communist cause out of youthful naivety, but that he soon found out its oppressive nature. As a partisan he fought heroically against the South Korean army and even earned medals for his deeds. When the tide of war changes in favor of the UN army, however, his devotion starts to waver. Around this time he also falls in love with a fellow comrade. From then on his love for humanity returns, something which according to the narrator is suppressed by communism and it made him realize the following: "How could I not feel moved by the grief of my countrymen, who have the same face, clothes, and speak the same language as I do? Communism prides itself on having as its goal to negate everything, but I believe they will never be able to cut out the sweet feeling of love which gives humans their nobility."[18]

The character Pak employs in this story gives an air of authority to the statements on communism, as he is depicted as having had had a first-hand experience of living in communist North Korea. The clear message Pak communicates to his readers is that the communist ideology eradicates people's feelings, which makes them commit hideous crimes even against one's own countrymen. The methods used by communists to create such an effect are peer pressure and self-criticism sessions. "Whenever there was free time we held study or self-criticism sessions. This is the most important method of communism to make men into machines." [19] This debasement of human feelings is stressed elsewhere when the

[18] Pak Yŏngjun, "Ppalch'isan" [Partisans], *Shinch'ŏnji* [New world] 7.3 (May 1952), p. 138.
[19] Ibid., p. 135.

narrator remarks that "Communism dissolves all types of people into one organism. It doesn't matter how precious or how great a person is: individual thoughts cannot survive. The organism is absolute. And within this absolute being, whose principle it is to ignore all things, a great delusion is created."[20]

Pak aims to convince the reader, through metaphors like the above, that everyone in North Korea is enslaved by the system. There are also figures in society, however, who exercise absolute power over the people. For instance, elsewhere in the story the narrator remarks: "I have witnessed and experienced the reality of North Korean communist society: there is a wealthy class centered around high ranking party members who rule over an oppressed class that leads a more miserable life than laborers in a capitalist society. In North Korea, they are the bourgeoisie who rule over the oppressed classes."[21] A distinction is made between the common North Korean civilians and the North Korean politicians in power. An elite group in society forcefully controls the oppressed people, who are also coercing these oppressed people to fight for their regime.

By portraying large parts of the North Korean population as victims of the Northern regime, the writers and ideologues in the South kept them included in their view of who belonged to the Korean *minjok*. Kim Yŏngsu's (1911-1977) "The Prisoner of War I Caught" ("Naega chabŭn p'oro", 1952) is an example of a story of

[20] Ibid., p. 134.
[21] Ibid., p. 131.

such a victimized North Korean soldier who can still be part of the nation. The story is as follows. The first-person narrator has just captured a prisoner of war and leads him down the hill to the army camp. When he notices that the prisoner is trying to loosen his bonds, he grabs his wrists, only to discover a tattoo with "Long live the People's Republic!" on it. He flies into a rage, grabs his knife in order to cut off the prisoner's wrist and shouts: "Because of you People's Republic bastards the fatherland is in ruins and the *minjok* has lost its way…. When the fatherland is lost and the *minjok* perishes, will you still shout these words?"[22] The prisoner begs him not to kill him and tells him that he was forced to let these characters be engraved on his wrist, because of the immense pressure he was under from his working group and its chairman. The I refrains from killing him and instead lectures him that this is exactly what the dictatorship of communism and the fascism of Kim Il Sung lead to.

After delivering the prisoner, he has to stand guard again, and after his duty is over, he decides to return to the prisoner to continue his lecture "about fascism and what democracy is." As he walks up to the prisoner with the intention to ask him whether he has already figured out by himself that he was misled by Kim Il Sung, he notices bandages around the prisoner's wrists. The prisoner informs him with a smile that he ate the letters out of his wrists and that he has the feeling of truly being alive at this

[22] Kim Yŏngsu, "Naega chabŭn p'oro – ŏttŏn poch'obyŏng iyagi" [The prisoner of war that I caught – The story of a guard], *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip* [Ten writers' literary masterpieces] (Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952): p. 30.

moment. Witnessing this scene, the I thinks to himself: "I have to fight! I have to fight! Also for the sake of the freedom of mankind."[23]

This wartime story, as well as others, tries to convey the idea to the reader that the common North Korean soldier or civilian does not believe in communism at all and is only fighting for the communist regime due to the oppression he has to endure. They depict this group as victims who are in need of liberation at the hands of the South Korean regime.

Thus, when the North Korean enemy appears in South Korean stories, the focus is foremost on the differences between the communist and democratic ideologies. The writers portray communism as containing an inherent flaw which leads people to commit barbarous atrocities. Such depictions need to convince the reader that communism is incompatible with the desires of the Korean *minjok*. This exclusion is further enhanced by the external appearance of some enemy characters. In Kim Song's novel *Living Forever*, which I discussed in the previous chapter, the evil protagonist in the story, the North Korean army officer Chu Mongil, is described as having: "the face of a savage, while his voice is like the howl of a bloodsucking vampire from hell."[24] This description of his physical features suggests that the communist

---

[23] Ibid., p. 34.
[24] Kim Song, *Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt* [Living Forever], *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip* [Complete works of Korean literature] 26 (Seoul: Minjung sŏgwan, 1976): p. 172.

ideology, with its inherent ruthlessness, is inscribed in the body, like race.

The face of the Chinese enemy

True racialisation of the enemy is present when Chinese soldiers are portrayed. In Yu Chuhyŏn's (1921-1982) "A Woman's Song" ("Yŏin-ŭi norae", 1952) the Chinese soldiers that appear are depicted as less than human. One of the characters has a deformed nose, because of a bullet that has pierced it, while another is nicknamed Stumpy. These bodily defects suggest that they are closer to animals than human beings. This is further stressed by the depiction of their mental faculties. The Chinese commander's behavior, for instance, is described as stemming from the fact that: "there was no wisdom to be found in him, just as in an animal."[25]

This animalistic nature also leads many of the Chinese characters to have a constant craving to rape Korean women, which even manifests itself when they are facing mortal danger. When the village is bombarded by UN aircraft, and many of the Chinese soldiers are dying, the Chinese commander cannot control his sexual urges any longer and tries to rape Yŏngi's mother. Suddenly he discovers Yŏngi, who had remained hidden in the kitchen, after which he turns into "a devil, who had the bloodshot eyes of a

[25] Yu Chuhyŏn, "Yŏin-ŭi norae" [A Woman's Song], *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip*, p. 72.

starving wolf seeing a young lamb."[26] This same motif can be seen in Pak Yŏnhŭi's (1918-1990) "Weapons and humanity" ("Mugi-wa in'gan", 1953). Here the protagonist finds a mortally wounded Korean girl wearing a Chinese uniform after a fierce battle. Not far away from her, he finds the naked body of a Chinese soldier who, at the time of the attack, was raping the young girl. In Chŏng Pisŏk's "A new pledge" ("Saeroun maengsŏ", 1952) letters are sent by Yŏngae to her older brother in the army to report on the circumstances in the village after the Chinese arrive. Yŏngae's letters describe the behavior of the Chinese soldiers and she lets her brother know that she is certain that the Chinese soldiers will rape her. She decides to commit suicide just before the village is retaken by the UN army unit of her older brother.

These images of vulnerable and young women being raped by the Chinese enemy, or by North Korean army officers as in Kim Song's novel, were meant to evoke hatred in the reader, and also connoted the threat to "Korean purity" that the enemy posed. With its nationalistic rhetoric being based on a perceived pure bloodline that can be traced throughout the centuries of Korea's history, the image of the rape of a Korean woman can therefore be seen as being a direct attack on the identity of the Korean nation.

North Korean images of the enemy

[26] Ibid., p. 79.

In pre-war North Korea, a paradigm was created in which the US was seen as the new imperialist aggressor on Korean territory, whose ambition it was to make a colony out of Korea. The South Korean politicians in power were all pro-Japanese elements, who needed the US in order to rule, for they did not have the support of the people. A speech by Kim Il Sung to writers instructing them in their writing tasks shows this view:

> From the very first day of their occupation of south Korea the US imperialists repressed the democratic forces in south Korea indiscriminately and strung together pro-American and pro-Japanese collaborators and other reactionaries to form their puppet forces.[...] Cultural and propaganda workers should carry on the task of exposing the US imperialist aggressive manoeuvres and the atrocities commited by the Syngman Rhee puppet clique.[27]

Even after American troops had withdrawn from South Korea and when skirmishes with South Korean troops were common along the 38th parallel, the stories written by North Korean writers kept stressing that the US remained the real enemy and had masterminded the South's aggressive manoeuvers. Han Sŏrya's (1900-1976) "At a guard post" ("Ch'oso-esŏ", 1950) reflects this attitude. In the story the South Korean army keeps attacking

[27] Kim Il Sung, "On strengthening cultural and propaganda work and developing foreign trade", *Works 5* (Pyongyang: Foreign languages publishing house, 1981): pp. 128-129. This speech was given in 1949.

villages just across the 38th parallel and massacres its villagers. Even though the attacks are carried out by South Korea, the all-knowing narrator of the story stresses that it is obvious that America is behind the attacks.

> It has already become obvious through the interrogation of POWs that this so-called "army" of Syngman Rhee, or whatever name they are using, are all without exception thankfully taking orders from American officers and that their operations, movements, or battles are almost all directly commanded by them.[28]

In the story, the reason given for the American interest in Korea is that the ultimate aim is the killing of large parts of the North Korean population. A drunken American officer who appears in the story states that the US goal is to achieve this mutual killing by deliberately making the South Koreans attack the North.

> "America needs the South Korean Army and therefore will provide Korea with officers and weapons. When the North Korean population reaches 5 million, they will be able to live happily. Therefore we should kill 2.5 million of them. The South Korean army will have to fight for this aim," said the bigmouthed American officer in his drunkenness. The

[28] Han Sŏrya, "Ch'oso-esŏ" [At a guard post], *Munhak yesul* [Literary arts] 3.1 (January 1950): pp. 136-137.

> Minister of Foreign Affairs and the puppet army military official were praising him as if he were a genuine Messiah.[29]

For the protagonists in the story, therefore, it is America that is seen as the main enemy, who just happens to be helped out by a few South Korean politicians and army officers who are dancing to the Americans' tune without questioning their motives. Just as in South Korea, a distinction is made between this group in power and the oppressed common civilians. In the story this comes about when, after beating off the main attack, they find pro-North Korean pamphlets in one of the pockets of a dead South Korean soldier. This makes the characters in the story realize that the common South Korean soldiers are unwillingly fighting against the North and that Rhee Syngman's regime lacks legitimacy.

Wartime images of the American enemy

In accordance with the pre-war paradigm, the enemy in wartime stories is above all the American enemy in spite of the fact that the actual opponent was a coalition of sixteen countries and South Korea. Invectives leveled against the Americans are either of a bestial nature, "wild beasts" (*yasu*), "(crazy) dogs" (*mich'in kae*), "packs of wolves" (*iri tte*), or "wild dogs" (*sŭngnyangi*), or are of a demonic kind, by mentioning they are like "hungry ghosts" (*agwi*) or "devils" (*angma*). It is more common in North Korea's wartime

[29] Ibid., p. 150.

literature though, to see the Americans being simply described as "those jerks" (*kŭ nomdŭl*) or as "American jerks" (*miguk nomdŭl*).

The focus of many stories is on the Americans' cruel behaviour toward the Korean population. A typical story in this respect is Yi Pungmyŏng's (1910-1988) story "Devils" ("Angma", 1951). 'Old man Pak' is harassed by South Korean intelligence officers Hŏ Manse and Ku Maengho, together with an American named Jack and a Japanese called Yoshida[30]. They question him about the whereabouts of his sons who both hold high positions in communist organizations. They taunt him and soon the American urges him to open a 'present' that they brought for him in a box. When he opens it, he discovers it contains the head of his eldest son. As they leave, they burn down Pak's house and catch his wife and grandchild who were trying to flee the burning building. The next day the whole village is summoned. Hŏ Manse tells them that they are about to enjoy "a good spectacle." At that moment they see old man Pak crawling on his hand and feet. On his back he carries the dead body of his grandchild, while the heads of his wife and eldest son hang around his neck. This scene infuriates the villagers and they take up arms. They kill the enemies and the story ends with old man Pak joining the partisan army to seek revenge.

[30] The appearance in this and several other North Korean wartime stories of Japanese characters who are actively helping or colluding with the Americans is used to enforce the image that the Americans are of the same nature as the Japanese, and reinforces the anti-colonialist/anti-imperialist paradigm that was set up during the Liberation Period (1945-1950).

Besides the massacres and killings, the Americans also are described as possessing a seemingly endless sexual lust for Korean women, as they are constantly trying to rape them. This is comparable to the way the Chinese enemy was described in South Korean stories during the war. In Ch'oe Myŏngik's (1902-1972) "The train driver" ("Kigwansa", 1951) there is a scene in which a girl gets raped by an American. In this story, Hyŏnjun is captured and put to work to drive a locomotive. One night he witnesses that the village where he is held, is set on fire by an American supervisor. Going outside he is immediately pushed back in again by a South Korean MP who just lets the American have his way. Looking through the window he sees how a young Korean woman is raped by the American and then killed. Two days later Hyŏnjun gets the assignment to transport a train with army personnel and ammunition to another town. He speeds up the train, and although he is shot by the American, he manages to remain conscious long enough to derail the train at a bridge, destroying the train completely and killing everyone on it.

Just as the Chinese soldiers are depicted for their sexual lust and inherent bestial qualities in South Korean stories, the American's bestiality appears most explicitly in the story when the scene of the girl's rape and murder is described. In this scene the American soldier suddenly changes into an animal and at that moment is said to be "crying out exactly like a wild beast" and a "two-legged

animal."[31] It is also mentioned that the American appears to be "a hideous creature, such as Hyŏnjun never before had seen in his life."

In the story "Devils" this sexual craving of the Americans is hinted at in a scene where the villagers are gathered and the young women are forced to stand at the front for inspection:

> "Show your faces!", shouted Hŏ Manse in his loudest voice, since he would never want to offend Jack.
>
> "Good! Very Good!"
>
> Whenever Jack let out these words, Ku Maengho would write down that girl's name and address in a notebook.[32]

Just like the description of the Chinese enemy in South Korean wartime stories, the North Korean wartime stories as well use the image of young women as a means to evoke anger in the reader. The foreign male violating the female Korean body serves to strike a chord with the reader by hinting at the purity of the Korean bloodline which also in North Korean nationalist rhetoric runs through women's bodies.

South Korean traitors and victims in the North Korean stories

---

[31] Ch'oe Myŏngik, "Kigwansa" [The train driver] *Munhak yesul 4.2* (June 1951), pp. 14-15.
[32] Yi Pungmyŏng, "Angma" [Devils], *Munhak yesul 4.1* (April 1951), p. 61.

In “Devils” the South Korean characters are depicted merely as servants who cater to all the Americans’ needs. The same can be observed in “The train driver” as the South Korean MP does not do anything to stop the American soldier from destroying the village or raping and murdering the Korean girl. South Korean characters do not appear often in North Korean wartime stories, however, which puts the focus of who is the enemy during the Korean war solely on the American side. As we have seen before, South Korean characters that do appear are frequently described as lethargic side-kicks to the Americans who are only too obliging to let the Americans have their way. This depiction can also be seen in Kim Yŏngsŏk’s “Roar of anger” (“Noho”, 1952). The North Korean POWs in the story have nicknamed their South Korean guards and have given them names such as “Shepherd” and “Bulldog” to stress that they are merely running dogs for their American masters.

Just as we have seen in the South Korean wartime stories, a distinction is made between Koreans in powerful positions and the normal population. While in the South Korean stories this distinction is made by focusing on the evil characters who are in power, the North Korean stories focus almost exclusively on the experiences of the normal population who are all eagerly awaiting liberation at the hands of the People’s Army. One example of this can be found in “Honey” (“Kkul”, 1951) written by Kim Namch’ŏn (1911-1953). Here a soldier tells why he is still capable of fighting at the front. He tells of his experience in August 1950 near the

Naktong frontline. His infiltration group were on a mission to get information about the number of enemy troops and had dressed as farmers while the narrator himself took the guise of a South Korean soldier. On their way back an enemy division approached their position. Covering the retreat for his comrades the narrator held off the attack, but was wounded. He crawled to the yard of an eighty-year old grandmother. He told her he was a communist soldier and upon hearing this she took care of him. The soldier was on the verge of dying and kept losing consciousness. The grandmother sustained him during this time by feeding him honey. A few days later his comrades found him. He hears that the grandmother has lost both her son and grandson. Every now and then her grandson would come to her house and she would give him honey too. Having lost her own male heirs, she shifts her hopes to the communist soldiers and wishes them well. This is seen in the remark of the narrator at the end of the story when he says that "the grandmother is still waiting for her grandson to pass by her house,"[33] drawing the comparison that the North Korean army are seen as being her own grandchildren now. The grandmother wishes the narrator will get well soon, so that he and the other communist soldiers can liberate the country.

When civilians residing in enemy territory such as the grandmother above are depicted, they all without fail have sons either fighting as partisans or in the North Korean army. This was

[33] Kim Namch'ŏn, "Kkul" [Honey], *Munhak yesul 4.1* (April 1951), p. 45.

also the case in the story "Devils", while in Hyŏn Tŏk's "Revenge" it is mentioned that all men had become partisans just before the Americans arrived in the village. These instances all reinforce the image that the general population is in favor of the communist ideology and the People's Army.

The issue of collaboration

Despite the appearance of a harmonic and coherent struggle against a ruthless enemy, instances of the presence of internal enemies in North Korean society can be found in North Korean wartime texts as well. Similarly to the depiction in South Korean wartime stories these elements in society are seen as selfish and egoistic. A speech delivered by Kim Il Sung on February 1, 1952, for example, contains criticism of peasants and bureaucrats who are selfishly trying to amass wealth, instead of working for the war effort:

> Among the peasantry there are both progressive peasants and backward ones who look only after their own well-being without caring about the interests of the state. […] State revenue has dropped sharply as against peacetime, since we have been barred from peaceful construction for 19 months now. […] Nevertheless, some people do not take into account such grave circumstances but behave selfishly to preserve the same living conditions as in peacetime. Government

> functionaries, unable to endure hardships and ideologically corrupt, often commit irregularities and violate financial discipline: they conduct trade hand in glove with profiteers, pilfer and sell off state goods.[34]

Hwang Kŏn's novel "Happiness" contains a chapter in which the issue of selfishness and collaboration makes an appearance. One of the main characters of the story, Chŏngim, is surprised when her husband appears at the hospital where she is working. To her knowledge he had been fighting as a guerilla in the south and she had not heard from him since he left. He was captured by the Americans and severely tortured. He got a choice between living or dying. He tells her that at that moment a lot of thoughts ran through his head: that if he died like this he would not know about Korea's reunification, not know about the fruits of his struggle, or see his wife and daughter again. He chose to live and started to collaborate with the Americans reluctantly. He would give them unimportant or false information while searching at the same time for a way to escape.

After hearing his story, Chŏngim is furious and urges him to turn himself in to the intelligence agency. She tells him that from this moment on she will not be his wife anymore until he has been tried in court. He leaves to give himself up. After he is gone, Chŏngim is not able to get him out of her mind. She regards him now as an

---

[34] Kim Il Sung, "The tasks and role of the local organs of power at the present stage", *On the Building of the People's Government 1*, (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1978): pp. 284, 287. This speech was given on the first of February 1952.

enemy, but at the same time cannot completely ignore the fact that he also was her husband who now has to face the people's court. Eventually she decides that since it is wartime, she has to be a stronger person and she is resolved to hate him even more. A few weeks later during the retreat in September 1950 she suddenly meets her husband again. He is now wearing a brand new army uniform. He tells here that he has been cleared of any misconduct and that he has volunteered to be a partisan again. Chŏngim is very proud of him. Just before he leaves for the front he thanks her wholeheartedly for rebuking him that day.

The anger of the main character is caused by the husband's decision to choose his own life over the greater good of the country. This selfish decision even leads him to work against the country by collaborating with the enemy. It is interesting to note a difference here in the way these subversive elements in society should be dealt with if you compare them with the South Korean wartime stories. Whereas in the South Korean stories such people were described as an affront to the Korean *minjok* who should be excluded, in the North Korean stories there is the possibility for these characters to mend their ways and become a part of the war effort again.

Something similar to this can be seen in Ŏm Hŭngsŏp's (1906-1987) "Crossing the hill once more" ("Tashi nŏmnŭn kogae", 1953). Yunsu has returned to his hometown and is keen to know what has happened to the village. When he asks about the family of "fatso

Ch'oe" his mother tells him that during the retreat some of Ch'oe's family members, especially his eldest son, had helped the American enemy by rounding up villagers who were later executed. This angers Yunsu but on the other hand he is not surprised to hear this. Ch'oe's eldest son had fled to the south right after liberation out of fear of being killed as a pro-Japanese traitor, since he had helped the Japanese as a town clerk to forcefully draft young men from the village into the imperial army.[35] When a few days later Yunsu and some others volunteer to remove unexploded bombs from the fields, the wife of "fatso Ch'oe" also asks for their help. At first a surge of anger wells up in Yunsu, because of the family's earlier transgressions, but he quickly controls himself and answers: "Don't worry! I will remove it [the bomb], so that you can farm your land well again once more."[36]

In this story the act of collaboration by some family members does not necessarily mean that they are ostracized from village life or North Korean society altogether. These stories show that the possibility is left open for the characters to mend their wrong ways after which they can be included in society and, in extension, the *minjok* again. Not coincidentally, this attitude of forgiveness

---

[35] A similar story can be found in Yi Pungmyŏng's "Daughter of Korea" ("Chosŏn-ŭi ttal", 1952) where a landlord tyrannized his tenants during the colonial period, but had quickly fled when Korea regained its independence. When the UN Army occupies large parts of North Korea during the war, however, this same landlord returns to the village with the South Korean army to reclaim his lands. This time the people rebel against his demands and they kill him. As a result the American and South Korean Army retaliate by burning down the village.

[36] Hwang Kŏn, "Tasi nŏmnŭn kogae" [Crossing the hill once more], *Munhak yesul 6.4* (April 1953), p. 77.

towards collaborators followed the wartime party directives of how to deal with the many acts of collusion that had taken place when the UN army had occupied North Korea.[37] These North Korean wartime stories form a great contrast to the South Korean stories. While in the North Korean stories the characters are still able to remain part of the Korean nation even after collaborating with the enemy, in South Korean stories even a mere character flaw like being selfish or egoistic would be enough to be brandished as a traitor to the nation.

Summary

When the enemy appears in North Korean wartime stories, they are portrayed as cruel and barbarous to innocent civilians and serve to evoke feelings of hatred towards the enemy and a willingness to fight in the reader. In South Korea the cruelness and bestiality of the enemy is also stressed in some works, but the emphasis in descriptions of the enemy is mostly on the ideological corruptness of the communist ideology or the differences between both state ideologies.

In order to keep large parts of society included in their vision of what constituted the Korean nation (*minjok*), North and South Korean writers stressed that the people in power were oppressing their own citizens, and that the purpose of their struggle was to liberate these oppressed people. The evil characters appearing in

[37] See Robert Scalapino and Chong-shik Lee, *Communism in Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 410-413.

South Korean stories were therefore usually army officers or political leaders. In North Korea this distinction of the oppressed people versus the people in power was created by focusing on a general population who were indirectly supporting the war by rooting for the communist leadership and by means of their own sons and daughters who were fighting in the communist army.

When reading the wartime stories from both states, one can see that the paradigms which had been established during the pre-war era were continued after the Korean War broke out. In North Korea the emphasis remained on the argument that it was foremost the American enemy that needed to be fought against. In South Korea the focus remained on the ideological incompatibility of communism with what in their mind constituted the Korean nation.

Internal enemies appear in the stories of both belligerent parties. In North Korean stories an idealized image is created of collaborators or profiteers who, after repenting, can become part of society and the nation again. The South Korean authors' depiction of such people is much less lenient, and they even stress that people within one's own society that try to enrich themselves at the cost of the masses need to be expunged from the *minjok*.

The prolonging of war meant that authors on both sides started to focus more on depicting their society's internal problems. This had the visible effect that depictions of the enemy other in wartime stories gradually started to disappear. With the depiction of the

presence of good and evil elements within the enemy's ranks fading from the readers' gaze, it lead to a dissolution of the distinction between the good enemy and the evil enemy which had been present in the earlier wartime stories.

Chapter Six

The Gendered Construction of Womanhood during the Korean War

On a windy and cold winter night in early 1951, novelist Kim Kwangju was waiting for a friend to arrive at the corner of a Pusan theater. While he was waiting, a woman wearing make-up, high heels, and rouge on her cheeks suddenly appeared out of nowhere, tapped a young foreign soldier on his shoulder and quickly vanished with him into a dark alley. This did not happen once, but during the ten minutes that Kim was waiting, he witnessed the same scene around seven or eight times.[1] The sight of these events disgusted him greatly and he described his feelings in the following manner:

> I once tried to discover some sort of humanity in these so called 'western harlots' by trying in vain to see their lot as an inescapable and tragic part of life. When I arrived in Pusan I came to my senses, feeling the utter waste of energy of my endeavor and instead an inexplicable feeling of hatred engulfed me. I can understand that lonely soldiers are in need of comfort by the smile of a beautiful woman. […] Should women always be playthings? Just like South Korea cannot become a sacrificial offering or a toy of other states and nations I cannot bear the humiliation that our women's chastity has become such a cheap plaything. […] Out of curiosity or momentary vanity intelligent women with proper upbringing, education or a family feel proud of

[1] Kim Kwangju, *Chigu-ŭi pigŭk* [Earthly tragedies] (Pusan: Sudo munhwasa, 1951), pp. 31-33.

> themselves when they chew gum, eat chocolate and wear make-up, all the while strutting around as if they are an example that everyone should follow. […] However, whether these things are done for food or out of vanity they should leave their world of 'western prostitution'. Is there no courageous woman in this city who picks up a gun and runs to the front to become the Korean Jeanne d'Arc?[2]

There are several things that are striking about Kim Kwangju's reaction to the scene he witnessed. For one, he does not consider prostitution in a general sense by describing it in terms of a social problem that plagues wartime Korean society. Instead he focusses on the specific phenomenon of Korean women prostituting themselves to foreign soldiers and this particular form of prostitution engulfs him with an indescribable anger. Even though he admits that he does not know why he must feel so angry at this sight, he does describe his anger in comparative terms by comparing the chastity of Korean women to the fate of the South Korean state. He does not see the problem to rest in the presence of the foreign soldiers, however, since he mentions that he can understand the male urge to seek comfort in the company of women. His anger is solely aimed at the Korean women who according to him should have remained faithful and chaste. What is most striking, however, is that these women's behavior makes Kim Kwangju himself feel humiliated, hereby transforming his remark on the occurrence of prostitution during the Korean War from a general lamentation about this social phenomenon into an event that affects his own sense of national identity.

The above passage shows how during the Korean War the actions and identity of Korean women, especially those of prostitutes, were embedded in a constructed national discourse and attached to a specific social and cultural narrative. Such male-dominated

---

[2] Ibid., pp. 33-35.

narratives set the boundaries for what was expected of women and informed them of their roles in wartime Korean society. This narrative often does not just serve to create an image of women in general, but, as Nira Yuval-Davis has shown, plays a central part in the construction and reproduction of national discourses.[3] Such hegemonic social discourses are influential in the organization of sexual differences and to establish the manner in which both sexes are represented. In various nationalist discourses women are seen as bearers of the collective due to their 'natural' individual capacity to bear children. Narratives of this kind expect women to feel an obligation not only to their family, but to their ethnic and national collectivities as well. The stories about women and their role in wartime Korea were not very different from these views. The view of Korean women's role vis-à-vis the nation had its origins in a traditional narrative on the place of women in society, but was furthermore determined by the ideology of total war.[4]

In this chapter I will focus on the gendered constructions of women appearing in the wartime literary works of North and South Korea, how these were related to the nation and how they prescribed the role of women in wartime society of both Korea's. I argue that the stories featuring femininity during the Korean War created a new myth of the public role of women, one which could coexist comfortably with the traditional supportive role that was attributed to women.

The threat to the traditional female image

[3] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, (London: Sage, 2012), p. 3.

[4] There are other instances in Korean literature where the role of women is seen to be important to the whole nation. In 1910, for example, Yi Injik argues in the "discussion novel" (to'ron sosŏl) *Chayu chong* (*Liberty bell*) that educating women would serve to strengthen the nation.

Women and their condition during wartime was a favorite subject among South Korean writers during the Korean War. Numerous short stories and novels were written depicting the life of women during the Korean War. With most men drafted into the army and fighting at the front, Korean women had to fend for themselves to sustain their own and their family's livelihood. Many of these women were not able to make ends meet and saw no other option for survival but to prostitute themselves.[5] By addressing these topics the predominantly male writers showed their sympathy by portraying these women's actions as an unavoidable act of female individuals living in a society at war. Kwak Hashin in particular was moved to address the fate of these Korean women in wartime short stories in which he portrays the reasons and circumstances that led them to their condition.

A show of sympathy for the lot of these women, however, is not the only message that seeps through their texts. When 'womanhood' becomes the central subject in the wartime literary works it does not only tell something about the image of women. The category of 'womanhood' is a relational one, one which is constructed from specific notions of both 'womanhood' and 'manhood'. Joanna Elfving-Hwang has argued that traditional Korean discourses about the nature of the feminine promoted imaginary and essentialized representations of femininity in which the feminine is presented as the negative and is the hierarchical opposite of the masculine.[6] She continues that: "This binary

---

[5] A survey held in May 1952 revealed that there were as much as 25,479 café's catering specifically to UN soldiers. These were not only located in Pusan, but in Kwangwŏn and Chejudo as well. In a survey held in July 1952, 95% of the 368 women questioned in Pusan near the Haeundae beach about the reasons why they lived such a life said they felt forced to do so due to difficulties to make a living. Their ages ranged from in their late teens to their late thirties. Most of these women (246) were war widows. Han'guk chŏngshin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn ed., *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa sahoegujo-ŭi pyŏnhwa* [*The Korean War and Changes in Social Structures*], (Seoul: Paeksan sŏdang, 1999), p. 42.

[6] Joanna Elfving-Hwang, *Representations of Femininity in Contemporary South Korean Women's Literature*, (UK: Brill/Global Oriental, 2010), p. 14.

positioning is not simply to do with describing gender binaries or sexual difference. Rather, the focus is on determining the symbolic value of each gender in relation to the other. Within this discourse, however, the feminine always signifies 'otherness', and is without fail hierarchically positioned below the masculine. […] rather than being a description of an essential or innate quality, femininity is always and continuously *produced* in phallocentric discourses to function as a (negative) point of reference to the masculine."[7]

A subtext that one finds running through the South Korean wartime works is that male writers interpreted the traditional position and role of women in society in combination with the wartime circumstances, and that this traditional image was incongruent with how they saw female behavior during the war. One senses in these texts that to the male South Korean writer, the fate of becoming a prostitute was much more than just a personal tragedy that befell Korean women, but that their unchaste behavior was felt as a threat to Korean masculinity and, in close connection to this, had repercussions for the imagined national identity as well.

Yu Chuhyŏn's "The defeated" ("P'aebaeja", 1953) at first sight looks like a typical wartime story sympathizing with the difficult condition of women in wartime Korea. Chŏngshim is at a loss how she can take care of her ailing husband Hyŏnsu and their child Sunja. Even though they have no money to buy food, her husband keeps repeating that it is more important to abide by one's own moral principles than it is to give in to one's survival instincts. She asks for a loan from her neighbor Ch'angsu who lives as a prostitute. Chŏngshim gets the money, but only on the condition that she will come to Ch'angsu's house in the evening. After buying her husband's medicine, she discovers some leftover food in a garbage can. While scraping some food out of the can, the medicine bottle that she had put aside is accidently run over by a

[7] Idem., p. 14.

passing car. The driver refuses to pay her for the lost bottle and she returns home without the medicine. Her husband's condition is getting worse and he tells her that he does not own her body, and that even though he has his own principles, she has to choose her own direction in life. In the evening she decides to prostitute herself. As she prepares to receive her first customer, however, she hears the cries of her child and the coughing of her husband. She pushes the man away, returns his money and runs back home. She tells her husband that she wants to live as a good person, but Hyŏnsu does not hear her anymore and passes away shortly after.

Yu's story tells of the extreme wartime circumstances in which women have to struggle to find food and money and that when all hope of sustaining oneself is lost, women face the situation that one of the few methods to earn money is to cast off their chastity and become a prostitute. The admonition of her husband to remain true to one's own moral principles and to not give in to survival instincts serves as Chŏngshim's guide in what moral life she should lead and eventually she decides to "live as a good person" even though this choice may lead to her and her child's death. Women's chastity in this story is the main subject of the story and it is this aspect of womanhood that plays an important part in the traditional view of Korean women. The traditional Confucian view on womanhood that was propagated from the early years of the Chosŏn dynasty and which appears in stories such as Ch'unhyang was that women should strive to stay 'virtuous'. A 'virtuous' woman in this ideal image was supposed to be a chaste mother who was able to bear sons. The narratives of womanhood from the Chosŏn period are about women having to endure great suffering in order to become 'virtuous', but by doing so they paradoxically only served to guard a male culture, one from which they were effectively excluded.[8]

[8] Elfving-Hwang, p. 19.

The female protagonist in "The defeated" struggles to maintain her virtue, and her main reason for adhering to these moral rules is that she believes in her own role of remaining chaste, so that she will not be disgraced in the eyes of her husband. Her actions of searching for medicine and food, and even her reason for prostituting her body, stem from her willingness to passively suffer hardships so that her husband and child can live, very much in keeping with the traditional narrative on womanhood.[9]

One would think that the male characters that appear in the stories as the customers of these prostitutes would also be judged with similar moral considerations, but in fact their behavior is never truly problematized. This can be seen for example in Ch'oe Inuk's short story "Materialistic people" ("Songmul", 1952). Mr. Chi is struggling to make ends meet by working as a coolie. He is annoyed with his wife who he thinks is committing adultery as she stays out late each night. She sells cosmetics from door to door, and dresses in a Western way. He suspects she has an affair with their neighbor Mr. Pak. Soon after they have a fight about her long nights away she leaves him, but he only realizes that she has left for good after four days when he discovers she has taken all of her clothes with her. Mr. Pak has also left town, but he manages to find out where he has moved to. Together with a friend he stakes out the house and catches Mr. Pak and his wife in the act. Mr. Chi starts to fight with his wife, but his friend manages to calm him. To settle their dispute Mr. Pak pays him 30,000 wŏn for his wife, which Mr. Chi accepts.

[9] Another wartime story that deals with a woman's shattered self-image due to the circumstances of war is Kim Song's "Nach'esang" ("Nude painting", 1953).

6 A Korean wartime cartoon in which the promiscuous behaviour of the male character is never problematized

Ch'oe Inuk's story is critical of the unchaste behavior that some Korean women indulge in. While the story portrays Mr. Chi's wife as the culprit, Mr. Pak is never criticized. A reason that Mr. Pak's behavior is never problematized can be found in the way masculinity is defined in traditional Korean thought. Elfving-Hwang has shown that men's sexuality was conceptualized as active and that therefore infidelity was generally considered as stemming from their 'natural needs'.[10] Even though it is not denied that Korean women also possess such needs, the ideal image of female sexuality stressed that a woman's virtue and chastity stemmed from absolute sexual passivity. In this manner she would express her 'natural' femininity in the best way possible. It may well be that this narrative of an active male sexuality, therefore did not lead Yu to reflect on the moral behavior of Mr. Pak.

When it concerns foreign men accosting Korean women, however, one sees that such "natural" features of male sexuality are problematized and perceived as a threat to vulnerable female bodies, who have to be protected to remain pure. We already saw earlier that a key narrative element of North and South Korean propaganda literature was the motif that women were weak and had to be protected from the predatory (foreign) males who were only out to rape innocent Korean women and thereby defile the pure Korean bloodline. The plot of many stories that were written specifically for soldiers followed this pattern in order to provoke anger in men. The belief in Koreans' pure bloodline was a powerful myth that would provoke men to fight for the country. Yuval-Davis has argued that countries that believe in such a common origin are also mostly preoccupied with the sexual relationships of their women.

> "The central importance of women's reproductive roles in ethnic and national discourses becomes apparent when one

[10] Elfving-Hwang, p. 19.

> considers that, given the central role that the myth (or reality) of 'common origin' plays in the construction of most ethnic and national collectivities, one usually joins the collectivity by being born into it. In some cases, especially when nationalist and racist ideologies are very closely interwoven, this might be the only way to join the collectivity, as those who are not born into it are excluded. […] It is not incidental, therefore, that those who are preoccupied with the 'purity' of the race would also be preoccupied with the sexual relationships between members of different collectivities."[11]

What we see in the wartime literature of South Korea however is that this preoccupation with the sexual relationships of women also extends to the "active" element of Korean women's sexuality itself. As noted before, men were considered to have an active (prone to infidelity) sexual component, while in contrast women were seen as "passive" (chaste). When, during wartime, men are confronted with Korean women who start to turn this "natural" division upside down it is simultaneously perceived to be a threat to the nation as well and is often directly linked to this. Elfving-Hwang also sees this link between women's sexuality and the nation when she says that chastity was "regarded as one of the cornerstones of (male) cultural stability, and for that reason women's social sexual and intellectual freedom was seen as a potential threat to the existing social organization, and ultimately, the nation's stability."[12] The reason why Mr. Chi in Yu's story is angry with his wife, is that she fails to remain sexually passive, and his suspicions are fuelled by the way she adorns herself in a manner that signifies an "active" sexual role: by dressing in a Western way. That women's chastity was directly linked to the nation and the behavior of women was seen as a social problem in wartime Korea is also the message of the essay "Women and sexual norms" ("Punyŏja-wa sŏngdodŏk")

---

[11] Yuval-Davis, pp. 26-27.
[12] Elfving-Hwang, p. 19.

written by a female police officer in the government magazine *Politics and Economics* (*Chŏnggyŏng*, 1951). She explained here that the problem of Korean women prostituting themselves to foreign soldiers is due to the influx of Western culture, but that the main problem is in the Korean women themselves:

> The sudden influx of foreign influences, along with poverty and social upheaval has caused the rise of these instances. But the real problem lies with the women itself! You are the future mothers of the Great Han who will beget active rights and duties in world politics. Do you not know that your behavior does not fit with how women have been raised for the past 5000 years? What went wrong? The problem lies with the dressing up. There are many women wearing make-up in the streets of the port cities. When in the most advanced democracy which is America, women kiss their husbands publicly on the streets, does this mean we have to follow suit? As one Korean woman to another I appeal to you to go back to your families.[13]

This view is closely related to the earlier discussion about the way South Korean writers depicted internal enemies in wartime Korean society. Western influences ranging from products in the marketplace to popular cultural fashions such as jazz and Hollywood movies needed to be expunged from society as these things were considered to be dangerous, since they could weaken the population's support for the war effort and might even lead to the nation's collapse.

---

[13] Yi Sangun, "Punyŏcha-wa sŏngdodŏk" [Women and sexual norms], *Chŏnggyŏng* [Politics and Economics], 1951.10, p. 51. Recent research has shown that the South Korean government condoned prostitution and even actively set up facilities for UN soldiers. See Yi Imha, "Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa yŏsŏngsŏng-ŭi tongwŏn" [The Korean War and the Mobilisation of Femininity] in Kim Tŭkchung, Kang Sŏnghyŏn, et al., *Chugŭm-ŭrossŏ nara-rŭl chik'ija: 1950nyŏndae, pan'gong, dongwŏn, kamshi-ŭi shidae* [Let's Defend the Country with our Lives: The 1950s period of Anti-Communism, Mobilisation and Surveillance], (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2007), pp. 177-222.

In wartime fiction, the immoral sexual behavior of women was often linked to their indulging in Western culture and thereby wartime readers would easily have made the link that their behavior was not in the best interest of the nation. This link between women's behavior and their interest in Western culture is not only made by Kim Kwangju as cited above, when he criticizes the prostitutes he saw as he waited on the street, but can also be seen in many other literary works of the time. In Kim's own short story "I hate you," ("Na-nŭn nŏ-rŭl shirŏhanda", 1952) for example, he denounces the vile behavior of the wife of the president of the Propaganda Bureau (*sŏnjŏnbu*) when she tries to lure the tenor she met at the concert into a Western dancing hall, gets him drunk on Western liquor and ends up in bed together. In Kim Song's "The immortals" ("Pulsashin", 1953) we have met the protagonist's younger sister who speaks English at home, wears Western clothing and is a prostitute for foreign officers.

The numerous depictions in fiction from the Korean War of the dangers of Korean women's exposure and interest in Western products and Western lifestyle time and again show that this was seen by the male writers in particular as a destabilization of the traditional gender hierarchy and a social problem that needed to be dealt with. These women were seen as a threat to male masculinity and by extension to nationhood itself, and therefore they are viewed with contempt and suspicion in Korean wartime literature.[14]

---

[14] Kelly Jeong has shown that this image continued to be the dominant image in postwar literature as well. "Her exposure to modernity and Western culture, which in this context signifies exposure to superior American consumer goods, its popular culture, and most dangerous of all, to dominant foreign masculine subject that American soldier represent [sic], all lead to profound destabilization of gender hierarchy and social status quo in both fictional and real life. In reaction to this development the "exposed" woman is viewed with suspicion, contempt, and resentment as a figure that threatens Korean masculinity, and by extension Korean patriarchy and its nationhood itself."(p. xv) She argues that this image of women made its appearance from 1955 onwards. One can see, however, that this portrayal

The idealized role of women in wartime Korea

The solution that Kim Kwangju proposes for such women is to pick up a gun, run to the front and become a Korean Jeanne d'Arc. While the metaphor of Jeanne d'Arc suggests that the ideal wartime image of women is that of a strong and independent woman who can be regarded as the equal of men, the stories featuring Korean women working for the nation show another picture. During the Korean War many stories are found that involve women in the role of nurses. One reason for the appearance of nurses during the war is linked to the dominant ideology of total war, which stresses the full mobilization of every individual in society to fight for the country. In this respect, the image of the nurse as a national figure was regarded as the model for women to become directly involved in the war.

Chŏng Pisŏk's "Army nurse" ("Kanho changgyo", 1952) is a typical depiction of the ideal role that women should fulfill in wartime Korea. Kim Sŏnju is a nurse who cannot stop thinking of her fiancé Yi Kŏnho, who left her to fight for the South Korean army in early 1951. Upon his departure, he leaves her with the words that, since he has pledged his life for the service of the country, it will be best for her to forget about him and herself devote her life to the country and the nation. These words upset her deeply and she feels his love for her has changed. She is angry at first, but steadily she realizes that his words also showed his care for her. His words encourage her to become a nurse, but while working she cannot stop thinking about the fate of her fiancé. One day a heavily wounded soldier is brought in and Sŏnju is startled when it turns out to be Yi Kŏnho. It is a miracle that he is still alive

---

was already well established during the Korean War. See Kelly Jeong, *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema*, (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011).

as he has a severe head wound from shrapnel and has been hit by five bullets. Sŏnju sits at his bed until he wakes up, but does not let him know that it is her, lest he might get too excited by the news. She therefore tells him a fake name when he asks for it. He is disappointed to hear this and tells her that her voice resembles that of his fiancée whom he tried to forget but never could. He adds that it will probably for the better that he told her these words, as he has no hope that she will marry a wounded soldier like him anymore. Upon hearing his words Sŏnju starts crying and when Kŏnho realizes that the nurse he is talking to is his fiancée they both feel happy.

Sŏnju is portrayed as a national model as she diligently works as a nurse for the benefit of the country. Judging from her mental state, however, one can see that this national image is not one of an independent woman who feels the urgency to take up arms and work for the benefit of the country out of her own accord. Though Sŏnju is portrayed as the main character of the story, the agent steering all her actions is the male figure of Kŏnho. From beginning to end her feelings and actions are completely tied up with what Kŏnho tells her and does. First she feels abandoned by him and cannot understands his words as he leaves for the front. Even her decision to become a nurse is the result of Kŏnho's encouraging words. Then when she is working, Kŏnho never strays far from her mind. All these features show that Sŏnju relies for her emotional being on her fiancé. The preferred wartime role of women, therefore, never strays too far from their traditional image. Talking about the shifting image of womanhood in postwar South Korea, Miyoshi Sheila-Jager has noted that "Whereas traditional heroines had been revered for their virtuous loyalty to their husbands, that loyalty now shifted to the nation. […] traditional loyalties were never entirely abandoned, but merely transferred to a new object of

affection (the nation)."[15] This transfer of affection from the husband to the nation is visible in many wartime stories, but one can see that the previous portrayal of the traditional role is never entirely abandoned either and that it even remains unclear whether the women characters in the stories abandon their affections altogether in favor of the nation as they still struggle with their feelings of affection towards their sons, husbands and fiancés. The story development found in Chŏng Pisŏk's story, about a woman's initial misgivings regarding her husband's choice to fight in the war, but which later turns into direct or indirect support of the war effort, is a common feature of many other wartime stories as well.

In Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi's "Facing heaven" ("Hanŭri matsŏnŭn kil", 1951) we see a mother struggling with her son's decision to join the war. Sŏng Chillyŏ already has lost her husband during the war, and when her son comes to her with the news that he will join the army she is not happy. Her son reprimands her repeatedly for not standing behind his decision to fight for the country. While her son receives training she brings him food every day. Each time she notices that instead of eating the meal himself, he shares the food with his comrades. After a while Chillyŏ receives more pleasure seeing Sŏngsu eat the food with his comrades than when he eats it by himself. All soldiers start to know her well. Then when the soldiers leave for the front she again is out of her wits, but as the trucks drive past her and many soldiers greet her as they move to the front, she finally can "let go" of her son and agrees wholeheartedly with her son's decision.[16] This story shows many similarities with the stories about mothers sending their children off to fight in the imperial army that were written at the end of the colonial period, notably Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi's "Notes on wild

---

[15] Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), p. 44.
[16] This story has also been published as "The Night before Mobilization" (Ch'ultong chŏnya) and is based on her own experiences as a mother when her son was drafted into the army during the Korean War.

chrysanthemums" ("Yagukch'o", 1942) which deals with a mother struggling with her decision to send her son to fight for the Japanese Empire.

In "Husband," ("Namp'yŏn", 1952) written by Kwak Hashin, we encounter Yŏngsuk who is desperately looking for her missing husband. After a few months she is sure that he has left for the army and instead of waiting for his return she decides to become a nurse. She has ambiguous feelings about her husband's choice to not tell her anything, but to drive these thoughts away she concentrates completely on her work. When one day her husband is brought in as one of the wounded soldiers, she is not sure how to treat him. In the end she decides to treat him just like any other soldier. The husband vice versa treats her just like he does the other nurses. When the husband has recovered and is sent back to the front she is not sure whether her aloofness was the right way and sends a letter to her father-in-law voicing her concerns. While reading the letter the father-in-law also receives a letter from his son stating the same doubts regarding his behaviour towards his wife. This makes the father smile as it shows him that husband and wife are very much alike.

Chang Tŏkcho's "Three women" is about Mihye, who is on her way to her fiancé's house. She has received a letter from her fiancé's sister Chŏngsuk with the news that her fiancé Chŏnghun will join the army. As she arrives at the house she is greeted by Chŏngsuk and Chŏnghun's grandmother. At the house she discovers six small children running around, which surprises Mihye. She finds out that grandmother takes care of these children, while the mothers of the children are away earning money. Chŏngsuk tells Mihye that she herself will also contribute to the fight by doing propaganda work and encourages Mihye to put in the same effort for the war just like grandmother and she are doing. After these words a scene like from a movie enters her mind of soldiers advancing towards the front, followed by women. Among those women she sees the three of them.

With these depictions of women as in the three stories above, the writers' create a direct link between the sons, fiancés and husbands at the front while the women stay behind supporting them directly or mentally from the home front. Instead of waiting for their return, the women in these stories decide to play an active role. This is the ideal to be aimed for in total war ideology, for every segment in society should be doing its part if the war is to be won. The final scene that Mihye envisions in "Three women" serves as an apt literary allegory of what women should aim for: to create a strong link between the front and the home front. In order to create this ideal, the writers portray the women as strong and independent, all eventually making the decision to commit themselves to work for the benefit of their fatherland. We also see, however, that just like in Chŏng Pisŏk's "Army nurse", their decision is not easy for them as they have trouble to overcome the strong attachment they feel towards their son, husband, or fiancé as they look up to them as a safe haven on which they can rely. The actions of the female characters are therefore much influenced by the actions of their male counterparts.

In some stories this strong affection of women towards the man they love hampers them from truly understanding their national task during wartime, and in these cases it is the male character who leads them to the right path and shows the correct attitude. One such story is "The power of youth" ("Chŏlmŭn him", 1952) written by female author Chang Tŏkcho. Mihye's parents still have "feudalistic" ideas on women's role in society and therefore refuse to let her do any work once she graduates from school a few months before the war breaks out.[17] They want her to marry a rich doctor, even though Mihye herself is deeply in love with Chŏnghun who she already knows since 1944. Her parents forbid this, however, since Chŏnghun has lost both his parents. When war

[17] Even though chose the same name for the main character of the story as in the previously discussed "Three Women", the characters are not the same.

breaks out and the family has to take refuge in Taegu her father refuses to face the new situation they find themselves in. Once Seoul is recaptured her father starts drinking, since even though he is back in Seoul, he cannot live his old and usual lifestyle anymore. At the same time they keep pressuring Mihye to marry the doctor. Chŏnghun meanwhile has joined the army and keeps writing to her. When he discovers she is wearing make-up, he reprimands her for doing so, after which she mends her ways. When she moves back to Taegu, she can't stand being at her parents' house and pays a visit to Chŏnghun. Chŏnghun tells her he knows that she wants to get married to him, but that his body belongs to the country. He urges her that she herself has to make a decision what she wants to do. After hearing these encouraging words she decides to go against her parents' wishes and take things in her own hands by joining the Women Volunteer Corps.

Chang Tŏkcho's story on the surface resembles a typical 'New Woman' story in which we have the old ways represented by Mihye's parents colliding with the new ways represented in the characters of Mihye and Chŏnghun (including Chŏnghun's sister and grandmother).[18] Instead of gearing these new ways towards modernizing society as was the case in similar stories from the colonial period, this time the aim is to mobilize all young people to become active and fight for the country. Chŏnghun in this story serves as an example and guide to Mihye on how to accomplish this. Therefore his admonition to her for using make-up is to force her to think more of other things (the country) than her own (carefree and rich) lifestyle.[19]

---

[18] Much has been written about the history and concept of the new woman 'shinyŏsŏng'. For a recent study, see Kim Sujin, *Shinyŏsŏng – kŭndae-ŭi kwaing 1920-1934* [*The new woman – an excess of modernity 1920-1934*] (Seoul: Somyŏng, 2009).

[19] Another story by Chang Tŏkcho, "Present" ("Sŏnmul", 1953), has a similar theme in that it both contains the ideological aspect of total war, as well the motivation of the heroine of the story to become active for the country is

Chŏng Pisŏk's story "New principles for love" ("Saeroun sarang-ŭi yulli", 1952) carries a similar message. Son T'aeshik is hospitalized after an appendix operation, when his best friend Kim comes to visit and tells him he will be leaving for the front. Before he leaves, Kim tells him of his intention to break off his engagement to his fiancée Hyeryŏn. He gives the following reason for his decision: "In times of war, friendship between men is more important than love between a man and a woman."[20] T'aeshik understands his friend's position, but tells Kim that his fiancée will surely not understand this kind of argument. After his friend has left, his fiancée comes to visit T'aeshik every day. Before she got engaged to Kim, they had both felt love for each other, but since Hyeryŏn's parents had decided for her to marry Kim, nothing came of it.

These visits continue for quite some time when both Son and Hyeryŏn receive a letter from Kim telling him of his decision to break off the engagement. In the letter he wrote to Son he tells that he feels as if "released from a burden, for now he can give all his love to the fatherland and the entire *minjok*."[21] Hyeryŏn, who is furious at Kim and, as T'aeshik expected, cannot understand what motivated Kim to take these measures, tells T'aeshik that she wants to marry him instead. He suppresses the real feelings he has for Hyeryŏn and explains to her that: "This is not the time to discuss personal problems. […] If at these times there is a true love for young people, it is not the physical love between men and women,

---

instigated by the male character. Oh Ŭnhŭi works as a nurse at a civilian hospital. When her fiancé decides to join the army she wants to find him a perfect present, but cannot find anything special in the stores. On the day of his departure she suddenly has an inspiring idea: she convinces her hospital to volunteer to become a frontline hospital. A picture of her and the hospital appears in the newspaper for their efforts for the country and this makes her fiancé very proud of her and it is the nicest gift he could have wished for.

[20] Yukkun chonggun chakkadan [Army war writers wroup] ed., *Kŏlchak sosŏl ch'irinjip* [Seven authors' novelistic masterpieces], (Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952), p. 143.

[21] *Kŏlchak sosŏl ch'irinjip*, pp. 151-152.

but the transcending love for the fatherland. [Kim] tells of a love for the entire *minjok*; Is there an ideal (*sasang*) holier than this? What would happen if we people at the home front refuse to understand such a holy ideal?"[22] T'aeshik tells her that she should put her grievances aside and just wait and see what happens once the war is over. After hearing Son's explanation Hyeryŏn understands.

The clear message in Chŏng Pisŏk's story, similar to Chang Tŏkcho's, is that women have to learn that love between a man and a woman is not possible during war and has to be put on hold. Instead this love should shift and turn into a deep love for the fatherland. Hyeryŏn in this story has to be enlightened to shed her old views on love in order to learn about a new kind of love. People at the home front should put in every effort to keep the country from perishing. The wartime stories show a tendency to depict the traditional and prewar image of women and shift their position into an active wartime role with the aim to gain support for the war effort in the spirit of total war ideology. As we have seen, though, their depiction remains traditional in that their decisions are motivated and influenced by their affection for the men they love. While men feel an inner calling to join the wartime efforts for the sake of the country, on their own accord, women remain passive and only seem to become active participants when the men on whom they rely emotionally show them the right example. Through these wartime narratives, the patriarchal structure and traditional image of women that existed in prewar South Korean society were further solidified.[23]

That this image of women remained for the most part traditional is not such a strange phenomenon when one considers that most of

---

[22] *Kŏlchak sosŏl ch'irinjip*, pp. 159-160.

[23] Before the Korean War there were certainly attempts by women (such as Na Hyesŏk and Kim Myŏngsun to name but a few) to change society and attain equal rights (including sexual equality) for women. The wartime discourse on women seriously hampered these efforts.

the South Korean wartime stories containing nurse characters were written for a specific male audience. Because of the writers' reliance on the army branches for financial support, paper and publication opportunities, most stories found their way into army magazines. Since these magazines were read most often by soldiers admitted to a hospital, the authors catered specifically to the entertainment of wounded male soldiers. The more severely wounded soldiers were likely to face social difficulties due to their physical defects and therefore the stories served the purpose of increasing their self-esteem and honor them for their sacrifice. In several wartime stories this was done by portraying the female character in the role of a nurse as a caretaker for the hurt male body.

Another such story is Ch'oe T'aeŭng's "Our way" ("Uridŭr-ŭi kil", 1952). Nurse Chŏngsŏn has fallen in love with a patient, Captain Kim Chongil who has lost his leg and one eye. The doctors fear that he may completely lose his eyesight. Since Chongil had been an avid painter before the war, this means that he will likely never be able to paint again. When he is released from hospital Chŏngsŏn asks him to move in with her and her mother, which he does. Thanks to her care and love, he starts to paint again. One day Chŏngsŏn by chance meets her old painting teacher from high school and asks him to have a look at Chongil's paintings. He takes a look and likes his paintings very much, offering to organize an exhibition for him. Right before the exhibition, however, Chongil loses his eyesight completely. At the exhibition Chongil receives a lot of praise and sells many of his paintings. Soon after, Chongil is visited by his old comrades who also lost limbs at the hill where they fought. They tell him that his will to pick up painting again after he got severely wounded has encouraged them all.

This story acknowledges the sacrifices of the wounded soldiers who return from the war maimed for life. It paints a positive picture of the willpower of wounded soldiers even after their part

in the war is over.[24] The story does not shy away from addressing the difficulties these soldiers faced in society as the story ends with the pessimistic remark that the place where they received their injuries is "the space where they lost their sense of honor but also the right to decide with what would happen in their own lives."[25] The character of Chŏngsŏn serves a double purpose in the story, as caretaker to Chongil in her role as nurse, but she also serves the purpose of helping Chongil recover his zeal for life by loving him. Even when his wounds have healed Chŏngsŏn remains a carer in Chongil's life. Ch'oe T'aeŭng's story was written with a male audience of soldiers in mind to ease the mental pain of maimed bodies. To boost their morale and wellbeing Ch'oe imbued the story with a positive message indicating the possibility of wounded soldiers being loved by young women. Through this and other portrayals of female nurses (and thus national women) during the Korean War that we have seen so far, however, an underlying current seeps through the wartime texts in regards to the position of women in Korean society. With their actions being influenced by their strong feelings of love and geared to serve the country for the wellbeing of their male counterparts, their wartime role is relegated to the demands of the patriarchal state. This leads to the view that while men sacrificed themselves for the country

---

[24] Another story containing this message is Yu Chuhyŏn's "Blood and tears" ("P'i-wa nunmul", 1952), where nurse Kim Insuk falls in love with Sergeant Yun. Yun complains that he can see so many young couples walking merrily on the street, going to movie theaters or other places, while they are oblivious of what happens at the front. Insuk manages to comfort him by saying that every wounded soldier should be feeling proud to see such things, since it is because of the sacrifice of people like Yun that they can live such a life. After Insuk manages to save Yun's life by giving a blood transfusion with her own blood her feelings for him get stronger. One day Yun gets a female visitor, who undoubtedly is Yun's girlfriend. She feels disappointed at having given him her own blood, but when she hears laughter coming from Yun's room it changes her mood and she feels happy for what she did. Although in other stories from the Korean War staying passive during wartime is severely criticized, in this story a more positive spin is given to such kind of behavior as it is a sign of a happy carefree society, which can only exist thanks to the soldiers at the front.

[25] *Kŏlchak sosŏl ch'irinjip*, p. 233.

with their lives, the image of a woman serving her country is of someone who sacrifices herself by becoming a caretaker of wounded men. While the South Korean authors try to create a narrative in which the female characters' affection shifted from men towards the country, the depiction of women's wartime role in society never strayed too far from the traditional image that was present in prewar literature.

North Korean warrior women: The quest for equality

The North Korean representation of women seemingly differs starkly from that of the South. Among the many social reforms that the North Korean regime implemented in this period, the establishment of equality between men and women was one of the most important. The first legislation to institutionalize this aim came with the promulgation of the Gender Equality Law on July 30, 1946, which among other things called for the abolition of the practice of forced marriage.[26] During the years leading up to the Korean War, the duties that were expected of women in North Korean society were twofold: at home they should be good mothers, while outside the home they should strive to be good citizens. This "new" role of women still maintained a lot of the veneer of traditional gender divisions by focusing on motherhood. The unconditional sacrifice that women had to make and which as we have already seen was also an element present in the traditional image of women, was now geared towards rearing one's children in order to turn them into productive citizens of the revolution, while their mastery of the household enabled their husbands to

[26] This tradition, however, proved to be hard to eradicate and a separate Law to Eradicate Remnants of Feudal Practices was announced in January 1947 to tackle this issue. See Suzy Kim, "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52.4 (2010), pp. 743-745.

take an active part in the nation-state.[27] This privileging of women and their role in the domestic sphere echoes the "wise mother, good wife" (賢母良妻) ideology that was propagated during the colonial period and which was used by colonial authorities for the wartime mobilization of women. Suzy Kim has shown that in the period leading up to the Korean War, North Korean women struggled with the double duties they were asked to perform. In the magazine *Korean Woman* (*Chosŏn yŏsŏng*), many women complained that it was hard to be both productive mothers and patriotic heroines, especially when their husbands wouldn't help out with taking care of the children or sharing household chores.[28] An important way to attain the complete equality of women in society, according to some opinions voiced in *Korean Woman* was for men to change their views. As one female factory worker put it: "If I were to say what I demanded of men, there are many things, but more than anything in terms of home life, instead of just making laws, they should think of women as equals, in their hearts, and it would be great if we could help each other with the housework."[29] One sees therefore that while equality of women was written into the legislative framework of society, the true attainment of this goal was still in progress.

This quest for equality had not ended when the Korean War broke out and found its way in the wartime stories. The heroine in Im Sundŭk's "Cho Okhŭi" (1951), for example, is not only struggling against an American foe, but throughout the story she also has to fight against the traditional mindset of men, who hamper her in her wish to fight for her country. This first hurdle towards equality was thrown in her path as she joined the

---

[27] Suzy Kim has argued that "Women in North Korea during this period began to participate in the public arena as never before, and yet women's agency was cast within the framework of the home, reinforcing what seem to be traditional roles as wives and mothers." Suzy Kim, p. 743.
[28] Suzy Kim, pp. 756-760.
[29] As quoted in Suzy Kim, p. 758.

communist party in 1947. The administrators were very reluctant to let her join, which angered her. During the war Cho Okhŭi, who is a widow and a mother, tries to join the local partisan movement when the war turns for the worse in October 1950. This time it is the local leader of her village who urges her to "make a safe retreat" and to "take care of her child like a woman should."[30] Conquering these impediments, she quarrels a few times with the leaders of their partisan group, even at the moment just before the decisive fight in which she is captured.

A similar struggle for equality can also be discerned in Hwang Kŏn's novel "Happiness" ("Haengbok", 1953) where the main character wants to enact revenge for the death of her family by fighting at the front lines. At first she is dissuaded from this idea by her close friend and instead becomes a nurse. However, even in this role she does not feel that she is doing enough, and asks for a transfer to the front lines, which is denied. To satisfy her curiosity, in the meantime, she asks the wounded soldier what it feels like to be at the front. When she finally is granted her wish to become a frontline nurse, she gradually inches closer and closer into the thick of the battle, a move which is heavily criticized by her superior officer. The story then all leads up to the big finale where she finally manages to be seen as an equal: by fighting against the Americans during the North Korean Army's retreat around the time of the Inch'ŏn landings. The novel can therefore be read as a continuous struggle to fight against the inequality within North Korean society, with the result that eventually she is able to avenge the death of her family. There is a build-up towards the moment at which the women characters attain their equality vis-à-vis men, which is tragically also the moment they have to pay for this achievement with their own lives.

It should be noted that in their quest, the absence of a husband must is a big help for both women in "Cho Okhŭi" and

[30] Im Sundŭk, "Cho Okhŭi" in *Munhak yesul* (June 1951), p. 18.

"Happiness". It is no coincidence, that the heroines are unmarried or widowed women who do not have the burden of a role to fulfill inside the home by taking care of a child or husband. In "Cho Okhŭi", the problem of the role as a mother is resolved by leaving the child in the care of Cho Okhŭi's mother so that she can focus completely on the nation. What stands out in the North Korean wartime stories, therefore, is that they abound with images of unmarried or widowed Jeanne d'Arcesque characters who fight for their country. Besides the aforementioned stories there are other stories where such characters are to be found as well, for example in Ri Chŏngsuk's "Pobi" ("Pobi", 1952), about a girl who witnesses how Pobi's resistance activities lead to a decisive victory for the partisans, or Ri Pungmyŏng's "Daughter of Korea" ("Chosŏn-ŭi ttal", 1952) another story depicting the actions of the real life character of Cho Okhŭi.[31]

A story that breaks with this image of unmarried or widowed wartime women is Hwang Kŏn's "The wife" ("Anhae", 1951). The main character of the story, T'anshil, is shocked to hear about the retreat of the North Korean Army and is anxious what will happen when the Americans approach. All the party members are ordered to remain and form a partisan army, meaning that T'anshil's husband must do the same. She would very much like to remain by his side so that she can give him his gun and help out in other ways too. Her husband teaches her that from now on, because of the war, everybody is equal and that there are no distinctions between husband and wife. "We should not think any more about possessions. We do not have a family anymore. From now on there are no differences like father and son, brothers, husband and wife etc. We are all equal".[32] She decides to bring her child to her mother,

---

[31] The patriotic efforts of Cho Okhŭi are still often portrayed in North Korea, see for example the Rodong shinmun of July 28-29, 2012: http://www.uriminzokkiri.com/index.php?ptype=gisa2&no=56832 . She also has a teachers' school named after her in Haeju.
[32] Hwang Kŏn, "Anhae" in *Munhak yesul* (September 1951), p. 5.

and returns to the village where by now the Americans are in control. While she witnesses the many cruelties of the enemy there, her true wish remains to get in touch with her husband. Her friend Chŏngok tells her that the only way to accomplish this is to fight. This she does by going out every night to distribute propaganda posters all over town. She gives courage to others to do the same, while T'anshil herself gets her confidence and courage from thinking about her husband and child. Then one day she hears of a plot by the partisans to attack the local police station the next day. She witnesses the struggle and sees how her husband gets wounded in his leg and captured by the enemy. She is distraught by this scene. When she is asked to set fire to a building and mistakenly thinks that one of the cries of the children she sees on her way to the objective is that of her child, she is captured by the enemy as well. She is tortured and when she gets confirmation of her husband's death, she thinks to herself that she can now "die in peace". Just before she is executed, however, she is freed by the North Korean army and is reunited with her child Sang'gi who poignantly asks where his father is. While tears stream down T'anshil's cheeks she hears the celebratory cheers of the victorious army.

Hwang Kŏn's story is different from the stories we have seen so far. The story reverts the role of women in North Korean society back to the traditional one of women as carer for children and husband. In fact, we can see many similarities between the way South Korean women were depicted during wartime, as T'anshil's actions are focused almost exclusively on her husband and child, even so much that when she learns of her husband's death, her own life loses all meaning.[33]

A story that also shows a more traditional side of women is Pak

[33] In Kim Yŏngsŏk's "Beyond enemy lines" ("Chŏkku-esŏ", 1952) we find an example of a North Korean nurse, Kim Myŏngsuk, who develops feelings of love for a wounded soldier she is taking care of, in a similar way as some South Korean wartime nurse stories.

Ch'anmo's "The son" ("Adŭl", 1952). Mother Chŏn Shigyŏng is rejoicing in the liberation of Seoul at the hands of the People's Army and runs out of her house to greet the soldiers. Seeing the youthful faces on the tanks receiving their praise from the crowd makes her think of her eighteen-year old son who is in hiding at his aunt's house. Chŏn had lost her husband during the demonstrations against the South Korean elections in 1949, which had made life difficult for her son as he was bullied at school for being the son of a communist. He had dropped out of school and started selling western cigarettes on the street, while also doing some work for the North Korean intelligence service. Chŏn Shigyŏng disapproved of her son doing such dangerous work even though it also made her feel proud of him.

When the UN Army retakes Seoul, Chŏn joins the Woman's League to help with the war effort. While working there she is given the task to clear up houses that have been destroyed by the American bombardments. At one of the houses she finds a letter from a boy named Tuyŏn who wrote to his mother that he would join the Volunteer Corps. This letter inspires Chŏn, because she realizes that the boy must have written this letter in the knowledge that his mother had perished in the bombardment on the house. While Chŏn knows that the people inside the house had all been rescued and are safe, the boy did not know this. This makes her wonder to whom Tuyŏn actually wrote the letter. Then suddenly it dawns on her: he must have written the letter as a message to all Korean mothers as a way of saying that he would avenge their deaths. That same evening Chŏn receives a letter from her son saying that he too will be joining the Volunteer Corps in order to avenge the death of his father. After reading she calmly walks upstairs, looks out of the window towards the south and thinks to herself: "Fight well and take revenge on the enemy! We shall be victorious!"[34]

In this story the mother first has objections to her son joining in

[34] Pak Ch'anmo, "The Son" ("Adŭl"), *Chosŏn yŏsŏng* (August 1952), p. 65.

any dangerous activities, especially since she already has lost her husband. The letter she reads from a son to his mother, however, makes her realize that fighting for revenge has a noble purpose and that she should not object to letting her son fight at the front. Instead she feels at ease with this and furthermore will help get revenge for the death of her husband. Han Pongshik's "The mother" ("Ŏmŏni", 1951), a story I discussed earlier in Chapter Three, also has this element in the story. The mother at first is very worried about her son joining the army, but after she has experienced the brutality of the Americans firsthand, the only wish she has left is for her son to take revenge for her. Both stories have a theme comparable to Ch'oe Chonghui's story "Facing heaven" discussed earlier, in that the mothers are first struggling with the thought of their sons fighting in the war, but in the end have a realization that enables them to accept their sons' decision. While in Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi's story this understanding came about by witnessing the comradery between the soldiers, in these North Korean stories the opportunity to take revenge make women recognize that their sons fighting at the front is not something which should be feared. Even in these stories, however, we again see that, due to the manner in which these female characters are portrayed in the story, the actions and feelings that the characters are guided by are mostly informed by the memory of their husbands or the lives of their sons. They rely on their sons to be their stand-in to enact the revenge that they cannot attain for themselves. In this way we can see that while some of the North Korean wartime stories show women trying to take matters in their own hands, usually out of a thirst for personal revenge, in most stories their image diverges little from the traditional image of mothers and wives.

In conclusion, the wartime stories from both Korea's show that the narratives on womanhood were still closely intertwined with older narratives that stressed women's purity, chastity, and the subordination of women to family and men, but that these were

now used to stress the importance of the wartime role of women to benefit the nation.

Conclusion

Breaks and Continuities in the Social Processes of a Culture of War

The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 did not signify a major break in cultural practices. While the North and South Korean intellectuals may initially have been startled by the event, they quickly internalized the war that was waging around them according to the insights they had gained from their previous encounter with war from the colonial period. The view of modern warfare, and thus also the Korean War, as a total war gave them the ideological tool to make sense of the wartime environment they found themselves in. Does this genuinely make the Korean War a total war? Not in the sense that all people in both states were completely mobilized, but in the minds of the intellectuals, politicians and military establishment the war was certainly envisioned as being one. More importantly, the total war narrative helped the intellectuals in particular to give legitimacy to their own wartime status. By imbedding the total war ideology in their essays to define the role and function of literature and the writer during war, they not only found a means to actively support their own state, but it indirectly gave them a tool to strengthen their own position in society as well. With the close support of the government, this created a position of power for the writers with which they could dominate the cultural scene during the war, much to the chagrin of non-writing intellectuals.

While the total war narrative legitimized their wartime status in society as a whole, the chaotic beginning of the war in which some

writers managed to flee from the advancing North Korean army, but most did not, led in South Korean society to another area in which the intellectuals would play their wartime power games. While the earlier debates within society on colonial collaboration issues had not been satisfactorily dealt with during the liberation period, now a new debate was added with the issue of pro-North Korean collaboration. This had the effect of merging the views of colonial period and wartime period collaboration into one, which would be seen in the way fellow intellectuals accused each other. While it is hard to judge the reasons why writers would engage in such accusations of each other's character, the state of pre-war South Korean society certainly gives some insights. In the wake of the Yŏsu rebellion of 1948, the anti-communist narrative that was propagated helped to galvanize society, leading to a witch hunt in which nobody would be safe from accusations of having pro-North Korean sentiments. The events at the beginning of the war exacerbated this volatile social situation and many intellectuals had to fear imprisonment, or even death. Even with such possible consequences, the writers accused one another of collaborating. This may have been done out of a genuine feeling of patriotism, or righteousness, but another underlying cause may well have been the desire to conceal or undo one's own problematic past. The confessional writings that appeared during the war served a similar purpose, as they gave writers a chance to redeem themselves by showing patriotism, and thus save oneself from ostracism.

Both North and South Korean writers had a special role in mind for the way their wartime literature could function in society. Their goal was to boost morale and exhort the readers to come into action to fight for their country, and they wrote their stories with this intention in mind. A major theme running through the North Korean wartime stories is the resilience of the civilian population and the soldiers and the comradeship between them. The communist ideology is present within the stories, but is relegated

to the background to favor the depiction of the personal (inter)actions and experiences of the characters in the story. Especially for North Korea's wartime literature it can be argued that the stories from this period had a formative influence on the way the war was 'experienced', and it warrants further investigation to see whether these portrayals have influenced the way the Korean War has been interpreted and presented after it ended in July 1953.

An analysis of the stories also shows that they were an important vehicle to give an immediate response to sensitive wartime issues. The writers certainly must have thought that in order to keep the reader's support for the war effort, it was necessary to address these issues in a satisfactory manner. The setting of many of North Korea's wartime stories is around the time of the Inch'ŏn landings of September 15th, 1950. The many references to this important episode in the war, when North Korea's attack shifted to a full-scale retreat, shows that writers tried to give the dramatic change in the North's fortunes a positive spin, and present the reader with a plausible reason why this had happened.

In South Korean wartime literature, in contrast, the ideological concept of the Korean *minjok* (nation) is a major aspect of many stories. It serves as an important guide for the characters' actions and thoughts. This concept played a pivotal role in creating a dualism by stressing the good nature of the southern characters as defenders of the Korean imagined nation, while at the same time it explained the reason why the Northern side was to be seen as the enemy. Here as well it was the reliance and collaboration with foreign elements which was seen as a great sin, as this leads to the "eradication of one's own ethnicity". Through these means they helped to create an ideological basis for the South Korean state, which found itself on shaky ground with the many upheavals prior and during the war in the shape of guerilla armies springing up far away from the frontlines. With the definition of the *minjok*

remaining ambiguous, the term was an ideal tool, as it could be wielded by the author at will to decide who was represented and incorporated whenever the term was invoked. The *minjok* concept was a powerful tool for invoking and instilling a sense of national unity, especially in times of war. However, its boundaries are never fixed; they change according to the context in which the term is used. Therefore, instead of being a binding force, the term *minjok* can create an (imagined) disparity in society, which highlights the problematic notion of the nation. For who possesses the Korean spirit? Who can be the true judge of this? And is the southern state truly the flag bearer of the Korean spirit, when the government and many others in society are relying so heavily on the foreign troops within its own territory? This dual nature of nationalism becomes visible in the wartime stories when not only North Koreans, but also South Korean citizens are judged by the authors with the same parameters, criticized for being too much in awe of the foreign soldiers, or enriching themselves while neglecting the necessity of working together for the attainment of victory in war. As war progressed this led to an undermining of the writers' national endeavor, as the view of who possessed the true spirit of the nation became more and more narrow, and towards the end of the war only encompassed the writers and frontline soldiers.

The ideological foregrounding of the *minjok* was also utilized by South Korean writers in their depiction of the North Korean enemy. Here they tried to maintain a distinction between the evil forces within North Korean society that had grabbed power with the help of the Russians and the good North Korean citizens who were in need of liberation at the hands of the South Korean and UN army. This division, however, would not hold up completely, as evil characters portrayed as being internal enemies or as common North Korean civilians also adorned the pages of many wartime works. In the North this dualistic method was also applied, although the majority of the enemy characters appearing in North

Korean wartime stories were American soldiers. Both these views of the enemy were not created during the war, but had already been shaped by the rhetoric used in pre-war North and South Korean society and thus this was a continuation of an existing views. As the war went on, the focus in both Korean societies turned more inward, which meant that the themes of the stories would start to focus more often on internal concerns. The depictions of the enemy not only became more scarce, but the prewar views on the enemy were transformed into a more ruthless characterization in which the common population would be shown to be in the same league as the people in power. It would be this 'disappearance' of the other side and this image of the enemy that would endure in the postwar societies of North and South and certainly must have played a part in widening the psychological division between the two Korean states.

Another frequent theme in the wartime stories concerns the depiction of the role and status of women. Male-dominated narratives set the boundaries for what was expected of women and informed them of their roles in wartime Korean society. In South Korean wartime literature the proliferating problem of prostitution would be addressed frequently, and would be cast as a national problem. Writers condemned prostitutes' behavior as immoral, and saw the causes for their behavior to be directly related to their exposure to Western products and a Western lifestyle. The ideal role of women in wartime was perceived to be a woman who would remain faithful and chaste to her husband or fiancé, and become a nurse to serve the country. The way the female characters are portrayed and their behavior is explained shows that their depiction played a central part in the construction and reproduction of more general national discourses. The North Korean stories containing female protagonists also show such a tendency. The prewar narrative focused on the attainment of equal rights for women in society. During the war this image was recast

for the wartime situation by suggesting that women could attain equality by becoming a nurse, or a guerilla fighter, and by being prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the country just like their male counterparts. Upon closer investigation, however, the wartime stories show that the narratives on womanhood were still closely intertwined with the traditional pre-war narratives of purity, chastity, and women as serving men. In the stories of both North and South Korea, the traditional views on the role and activities of women were simply remolded to fit the wartime needs without significantly altering the status of women.

The previous chapters have shown that there are similarities and differences in the way the North and South Korean writers portrayed their experiences of the Korean War. The writers' activities and works all contributed to create a culture of war in both belligerent states. Most of the wartime discourses were not a break with the narratives and experiences that were present in both societies before war broke out, but the writers actions certainly played an important part in calcifying the preexisting views, while simultaneously ousting and/or suppressing divergent and contesting views. It would be these dominant discourses that would also have an influence once the war had ended in an unsatisfying armistice agreement. As Norris aptly puts it: "When the home front [becomes] the arena of combat […], the boundaries that separate war and peace [become] so thoroughly collapsed and confused that "total war" takes on a temporal as well as an operational dimension, its effects perduring into the future, and into the lives of ensuing generations."[1]

These lasting effects are visible in a wide range of guises. In the South, for example, the war experience created a strong central intelligence apparatus that vigorously spied on its own citizens, and was legitimated with arguments that stressed the constant

[1] Margot Norris, *Writing War in the Twentieth Century*, (Charlotsville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), p. 32.

threat of radical left-leaning elements in society. In North Korea the threat of the imperial ambitions of the US and its inhumanness were frequently conjured up in order to urge the citizens to work hard to prevent a future invasion. The rhetoric along the lines of total war that was used during the war also proved to be very useful for mobilizing the population for major post-war projects, for example to rebuild North Korean society in the 1950s, or for the rapid economic growth in South Korea from the 1960s.

The writers' wartime activities and works would also make a reappearance in postwar society at times in order to influence public opinion. A round table discussion on the state of the North-South frontline by eight of the most prominent writers of the Korean War which was published in the *Kyŏnghyang shinmun* of January 14, 1962 would help give more legitimacy to the coup of Pak Chŏnghŭi as they emphasized (just like Park did) the ever present danger of the North. During the Vietnam War, the wartime stories would see a reprint, while Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi would visit the frontline once more at this time.[2] In the North, the wartime stories would frequently be rewritten and readapted. Even though North Korea's postwar literature has been dominated by eulogies of Kim Il Sung and his offspring (a trend which was already starting to become noticable towards the end of the Korean War), the wartime stories with themes of comradeship have remained popular even to this very day.[3]

---

[2] Many stories from the Korean War were reprinted in 1969 in the *Complete works of Korean War literature* (*Han'guk chŏnjaengmunhak chŏnjip*). The visit of the frontline by Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi appears in the *Tonga ilbo* of February 25, 1967.

[3] Hwang Kŏn's "The burning island" ("Pult'anŭn sŏm"), for example, which was originally written in 1952, saw a reprint in 2010.

Appendix A List of South Korean Wartime Novels and Short Stories

Author	Title	Published in	Year	Remarks
An Sugil	결정 (Kyŏlchŏng)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	July 1953	
An Sugil	고향바다 (Kohyang pada)		1952	
An Sugil	나루터의 탈주 (Narut'ŏ-ŭi t'alchu)	신사조 (Shinsajo)	November 1951	
An Sugil	두개의 발정 (Tugae-ŭi palchŏng)		1952	
An Sugil	명암 (Myŏngam)		Dcember 27, 1951	
An Sugil	변생기 (Pyŏnsaenggi)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
An Sugil	빈자리 (Pinchari)		1952	
An Sugil	시정 (Shijŏng)		1951	
An Sugil	제비 (Chebi)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
An Sugil	제삼 인간형 (Che sam in'ganhyŏng)	자유세계 10 (Chayu segye)	June 1953	
Chang Tŏkcho	논개 (Non'gae)	대구일보 (Taeguilbo)	1951	
Chang Tŏkcho	대열 (Taeyŏl)		1951	
Chang Tŏkcho	매춘부 (Maech'unbu)	코메트 2 (K'ometŭ)	January 1953	

Chang Tŏkcho	선물 (Sŏnmul)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	April 1953	
Chang Tŏkcho	세 여인 (Se yŏin)	걸작소설십인집 1 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	
Chang Tŏkcho	십자로 (Shipcharo)		1953	
Chang Tŏkcho	어머니 (Ŏmŏni)	전시문학독본 (Chŏnshi munhak tokpon)	1951	
Chang Tŏkcho	여인상 (Yŏinsang)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	1951	
Chang Tŏkcho	인간지처유청산 (In'ganjich'ŏyuch'ŏngsan)	1951		
Chang Tŏkcho	젊은 힘 (Chŏlmŭn him)	걸작소성칠인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl ch' irin chip)	August 1952	Also published in 전쟁과 소설 (Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl) (May 1951)
Chang Tŏkcho	정신 (Chŏngshin)		1951	
Chang Tŏkcho	향화 (Hyanghwa)	걸작소설선 (Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	
Chang Tŏkcho	비취 (Pich'wi)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	July 19-August 11, 1952	
Chang Tŏkcho	여자 삼십대 (Yŏja samshipdae)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	May 25-December, 1953	
Chang Tŏkcho	풍설 (P'ungsŏl)	희망 (Hŭimang)	February 1953	
Chang Yonghak	미련소묘 (Miryŏnsomyo)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	

Chang Yonghak	짖어진 윤리학 독본 (Chijŏjin yullihak tokpon)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	Written on April 22, 1951
Chi Wŏn	동방의 새벽 (Tongbang-ŭi saebyŏk)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	January 1-28, 1952	
Cho Chindae	육이오 (Yugio)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Cho Hŭnp'a	가정기상도 (Kajŏngkisangdo)	희망 (Hŭimang)	January 1953	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	낙화 (Nakhwa)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	녹색의 문 (Noksaek-ŭi mun)	서울신문 (Sŏul shinmun)	February 25-July 8, 1953	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	바람 속에서 (Param sog-esŏ)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	March 1952	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	산모롱이 쪽으로 (Sanmorongi tchok-ŭro)	공군순보 17-18 (Konggun sunbo)	June 1952	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	수닭 (Sut'ak)	농민소설선집 1 (Nongmin sosŏlsŏn chip)	December 1952	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	유가족 (Yugajok)	코메트 1 (K'ometŭ)	November 1952	
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	임하사와 그 어머니 (Im hasa-wa kŭ ŏmŏni)	협동 (Hyŏptong)	December 1952	Written in September 1952
Ch'ŏe Chŏnghŭi	하늘이 맞서는 길 (Hanŭri matsŏnŭn kil)	걸작소설십인집 1 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	Written on February 20, 1951; also published as "출동전야"
Ch'ŏe Inuk	구름과 병정 (Kurŭm-gwa pyŏngjŏng)	걸작소설십인집 1 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	Written on February 17, 1951
Ch'ŏe Inuk	면회 (Myŏnhoe)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	February 1953	Written in December 1951
Ch'ŏe Inuk	목숨 (Moksum)	걸작소설칠인집 (Kŏlchak	August 1952	Writen on November 12, 1950;

		sosŏl ch' irin chip)		also published in 문예 (*munye*) (December 1950)
Ch'ŏe Inuk	박군이야기 (Pakkuniyagi)	전시문학독본 (Chŏnshi munhak tokpon)	1951	Written in January 1951
Ch'ŏe Inuk	벌레먹은 장미 (Pŏllemŏgŭn changmi)		1953	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	병돈기 (Pyŏngdonki)	자유예술 (Chayu yesul)	November 1952	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	속물 (Songmul)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	May 1952	Written on April 14, 1952
Ch'ŏe Inuk	어린날의 추억 (Ŏrinnar-ŭi ch'uŏk)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	May 24-26, 1952	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	외투 (Oet'u)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	June 1953	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	이련의 고백 (Iryŏn-ŭi kobaek)	서울신문 (Sŏul shinmun)	January 1-5, 1952	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	저류 (Chŏryu)	자유 세계 (Chayu segye)	August 1952	Written in May 1951
Ch'ŏe Inuk	정찰삽화 (Chŏngch'alsaphwa)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	Also published in 전쟁문학선 4 (Chŏnchaengmunhaksŏn)
Ch'ŏe Inuk	죄의 고백 (Choe-ŭi kobaek)		1952	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	행복의 위치 (Haengbok-ŭi wich'i)		1952	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	어느 날의 일등상사 (Ŏnŭ nar-ŭi iltŭngsangsa)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	August 1953	Written on June 10, 1953
Ch'ŏe Inuk	서리 (Sŏri)	결작소설선 (Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	
Ch'ŏe Inuk	모설 (Mosŏl)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	December 9-14, 1952	

Ch'ŏe Minsun	밤의 일기 (Pam-ŭi ilki)	천주교 회보 (Ch'ŏnchugyo hoebo)	March 25, 1951-February 5, 1953	
Ch'ŏe Sangdŏk	소가 넘은 삼팔선 (Soga nŏmŭn samp'alsŏn)	걸작소설십인집 1 (kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	
Ch'ŏe Sangdŏk	애정무한성 (Aejŏngmuhansŏng)	서울신문 (Sŏul shinmun)	July 16, 1952-February 24, 1953	
Ch'ŏe Sangdŏk	양심 (Yangshim)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	May 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	1952 년의 표정 (1952nyŏn-ŭi p'yochŏng)	자유 세계 (Chayu segye)	April 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	구각을 떨치고 (Kugag-ŭl ttŏlch'igo)	전쟁과 소설 (Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl)	May 1951	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	까치집 소동 (Kkach'ichip sodong)	신시대 (Shinshidae)	May 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	다시 솟는 해 (Tashi sotnŭn hae)	국방 (Kukpang)	April 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	대가 (Taega)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	무지개 (Mujigae)	자유 예술 (Chayu yesul)	November 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	삼인 (Samin)	문화 세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	July 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	우리들의 길 (Uridŭr-ŭi kil)	걸작소설칠인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl ch' irin chip)	August 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	자매 (Chamae)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	July 1953	

Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	장산곶 (Changsankot)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏl chip)	March 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	전후파 (Chŏnhup'a)	한국문학전집 28 (Han'guk munhak chŏnjip)	1953	Novel; Originally published in the 평화신문 from November 1951-April 1952
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	정처 (Chŏngch'ŏ)	해군 (Haegun)	May 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	찬미 소리를 들으며 (Ch'anmi sori-rŭl tŭrŭmyŏ)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	젊은 전사들 (Chŏlmŭn chŏnsadŭl)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	취미와 딸과 (Ch'wimi-wa ttal-gwa)	걸작소설선 (kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	여인의 경우 (Yŏin-ŭi kyŏngu)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	September 1-27, 1952	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	자유 나라로 (Chayu nara-ro)	사병문고 4 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	January 1953	
Ch'ŏe T'aeŭng	봄바다 (Pompada)	희망 (Hŭimang)	June 1952	
Ch'ŏe Yoan	계절의 절규 (Kyejŏr-ŭi chŏlkyu)	자유예술 (Chayu yesul)	November 1952	
Ch'ŏn Sewŏn	배달부와 나자로의 후계들 (paedalbu-wa najaro-ŭi hugyedŭl)	천주교 회보 (Ch'ŏnchugyo hoebo)	April 25-June 5, 1952	
Chŏng Pisŏk	간호장교 (Kanhochanggyo)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	December 1952	
Chŏng Pisŏk	남아출생 (Namach'ulsaeng)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	April 1953	
Chŏng Pisŏk	새로운 맹서 (Saeroun maengsŏ)	걸작소설십인집 1 (Kŏlchak	August 1952	

		sosŏl shibin chip)		
Chŏng Pisŏk	새로운 사랑의 윤리 (Saeroun sarang-ŭi yulli)	걸작소설칠인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl ch' irin chip)	August 1952	
Chŏng Pisŏk	색지풍경 (Saekjip' unggyŏng)		November 1952	Eight of the short stories in this collection republished *in* 한국 전쟁 문학 전집 1 *(Han'guk chŏnjaeng munhak chŏnjip)*
Chŏng Pisŏk	서북풍 (Sŏbukp'ung)		1953	Novel
Chŏng Pisŏk	애욕 (Aeyok)	코메트 (K'ometŭ)	April 1953	
Chŏng Pisŏk	애정무한 (Aejŏngmuhan)		1951	Novel
Chŏng Pisŏk	여성전선 (Yŏsŏngjŏnsŏn)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	January 1-July 9, 1952	Novel
Chŏng Pisŏk	호색가의 고백 (Hosaekka-ŭi kobaek)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	May 1952	
Chŏng Pisŏk	훈풍 (Hunp'ung)	신조 (Shinjo)	July 1951	
Chŏng Pisŏk	세기의 종 (Segi-ŭi chong)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	January 1-July 22, 1953	
Chu Yosŏp	길 (Kil)	동아일보 (Tonga ilbo)	February 20-August 7, 1953	
Han Musuk	군복 (Kunbok)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Han Musuk	굴욕 (Kuryok)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written on July 23, 1953
Han Musuk	귀향 (Kwihyang)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak	1992	Written on June 29, 1952

		chŏnjip)		
Han Musuk	김일등병 (Kim iltŭngpyŏng)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written on April 5, 1951; Also published in 전선문학 6 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)
Han Musuk	노인 (Noin)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	Written on March 10, 1953
Han Musuk	대구로 가는 길 (Taegu-ro kanŭn kil)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written in September 1951
Han Musuk	명옥이 (Myŏngogi)			Written in May 1953
Han Musuk	모닥불 (Motangpul)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written on May 31, 1953
Han Musuk	소년 상인 (Sonyŏn sangin)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written on November 1951
Han Musuk	아버지 (Abŏji)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	
Han Musuk	파편 (P'ap'yŏn)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written in May 1951
Han Musuk	허무진 환상 (Hŏmujin hwansang)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	June 1953	
Han Musuk	환희 (Hwanhŭi)	한무숙 문학 전집 5 (Hanmusuk munhak chŏnjip)	1992	Written in January 1953
Hŏ Yunsŏk	길주막 (Kilchumak)	문예 (Munye)	December 1950	
Hwang	곡예사 (Kogyesa)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	

Sunwŏn				
Hwang Sunwŏn	골목안 아이 (Kolmogan ai)	황순원 전집 2 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in June 1951
Hwang Sunwŏn	과부 (Kwabu)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
Hwang Sunwŏn	그 (Kŭ)	황순원 전집 2 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in October 1951
Hwang Sunwŏn	두메 (Tume)	황순원 전집 3 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in August 1952
Hwang Sunwŏn	매 (Mae)	황순원 전집 3 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in March 1953; Also published in 해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk) (1953)
Hwang Sunwŏn	맹아원에서 (Maengawŏn-esŏ)	황순원 전집 3 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in May 1953
Hwang Sunwŏn	메리 크리스마스 (Meri k'ŭrisŭmasŭ)	황순원 전집 2 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in December 1950
Hwang Sunwŏn	살쾡이 (Salk'waengi)	걸작소설십인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	Written in February 1951; the same story as "솔메마을 사람들"
Hwang Sunwŏn	소나기 (Sonagi)	황순원 전집 3 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in May 1953
Hwang Sunwŏn	솔메마을 사람들 (Solmemaŭl saramdŭl)	농민소설집 1 (Nongmin sosŏlsŏnchip)	December 1952	Same story as "살쾡이"
Hwang Sunwŏn	아이들 (Aidŭl)	황순원 전집 2 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in December 1950
Hwang Sunwŏn	어둠속에 찍힌 판화 (Ŏdumsog-e tchik'in p'anhwa)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	December 1951	

Hwang Sunwŏn	참외 (Ch'amoe)	황순원 전집 3 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in October 1950
Hwang Sunwŏn	포화 속에서 (P'ohwa sog-esŏ)	황순원 전집 2 (Hwangsunwŏn chŏnjip)	2004	Written in January 1952
Hwang Sunwŏn	학 (Hak)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	April 1953	
Hyang Ch'oin	밀항의기 (Mirhangŭigi)	희망 (Hŭimang)	February 1953	
Im Kwŏnjae	일선에서 돌아오는 사나이 (Ilsŏn-esŏ toraonŭn sanai)	협동 (Hyŏptong)	November 1951	
Kang Shinjae	그 모녀 (Kŭ monyŏ)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
Kang Shinjae	눈물 (Nunmul)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	
Kang Shinjae	전투기 (Chŏnt'ugi)	코메트 1 (K'ometŭ)	November 1952	
Kim Chunghŭi	인천작전의 편모 (Inch'ŏnjakchŏn-ŭi p'yŏnmo)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
Kim Hyosŏng	단독호 (Tandokho)	코메트 (K'ometŭ)	May 1953	
Kim Kwangju	불효지서 (Purhyochisŏ)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
Kim Kwangju	빛좋은 개살구 (Pit choŭn kaesalgu)	대한행정 (Taehan haengjŏng)	February 1952	
Kim Kwangju	표정 (P'yochŏng)		1951	(unconfirmed); mentioned in a review by Im Kŭngjae in 신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon), December 1951, p.41
Kim Kwangju	황혼병 (Hwanghonbyŏng)	신시대 (Shinshidae)	May 1953	
Kim Kwangju	나는 너를 싫어한다 (Na-nŭn nŏ-	자유세계 (Chayu segye)	February 1952	Publication of this story was prevented by the Bureau of

	rŭl shirŏhanda)			Public Information
Kim Kwangju	난무 (Nanmu)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	February 16-March 31, 1953	
Kim Kwangju	주말여행 (Chumal yŏhaeng)	희망 (Hŭimang)	June 1952	
Kim Kwangju	흰꽃을 가슴에 안고 (hŭin kkosŭl kasŭm-e ank'o)	희망 (Hŭimang)	December 1952	
Kim Kwangshik	백화의 사전 (Paekhwa-ŭi sajŏn)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
Kim Malbong	망명 (Mangmyŏng)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	
Kim Malbong	바퀴소리 (Pak'wisori)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
Kim Malbong	전락의 기록 (Chŏllak-ŭi kirok)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	July 1953	
Kim Malbong	합장 (Hapchang)	사병문고 4 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	February 1953	
Kim Malbong	눈동자같이 (Nundongchakat'i)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Kim Malbong	파도에 붙이는 노래 (P'ado-e puch'inŭn norae)	희망 (Hŭimang)	June 1952	
Kim Naesŏng	사상의 장미 (Sasang-ŭi changmi)	신시대 (Shinshidae)	May 1953	
Kim Song	공백 (Kongbaek)	해군 (Haegun)	May 1953	
Kim Song	나체상 (Nach'esang)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	
Kim Song	달과 전쟁 (Tal-gwa chŏnjaeng)	걸작소설칠인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl ch' irinjip)	August 1952	Written on November 26, 1950; also published in 전시문학독본 (Chŏnshi munhak tokpon)
Kim Song	탁류 (T'angnyu)		1953	

Kim Song	탁류 속에서 (T'angnyu sog-esŏ)		1950	
Kim Song	두 개의 심정 (Tu kae-ŭi shimjŏng)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Kim Song	방가 (Pangga)	신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon)	December 1951	
Kim Song	불사신 (Pulsashin)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	May 1953	
Kim Song	사진 (Sajin)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	May 17-19, 1952.5	
Kim Song	상처 (Sangch'ŏ)	농민소설선집 1 (Nongmin sosŏlsŏnjip)	December 1952	
Kim Song	서울의 비극 (Sŏur-ŭi pigŭk)	전쟁과 소설 (Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl)	May 1951	
Kim Song	신호탄 (Shinhot'an)		1951	(unconfirmed); mentioned in a review by Im Kŭngjae in 신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon), December 1951, p. 40
Kim Song	영원히 사는 것 (Yŏngwŏni sanŭn kŏt)	한국 문학 전집 26 (Han'guk munhak chŏnjip)	1952	Novel; Originally appeared in the 대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun) from September 1-December 8, 1951
Kim Song	폭풍 (P'okp'ung)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
Kim Song	풍랑 (P'ungnang)	해군 해병 통합지 (Haegun haebyŏng t'onghapchi)	April 1953	
Kim Song	적시 (Chŏkshi)		1952	unconfirmed; review in the 경향신문 (Kyŏnghyang

				shinmun) of August 11, 1952
Kim Song	희망의 전열 (Hŭimang-ŭi chŏnyŏl)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Kim Song	지환 (Chihwan)	희망 (Hŭimang)	June 1952	
Kim Sun'gi	야간 척후병 (Yagan ch'ŏkhupyŏng)	코메트 (K'ometŭ)	May 1953	
Kim Tongni	귀환장정 (Kwihwan changjŏng)	귀환장정 (Kwihwan changjŏng)	1951	
Kim Tongni	순정기 (Sunjŏngki)	서울신문 (Sŏul shinmun)	January 6-14, 1952	
Kim Tongni	우물과 감나무와 고양이가 있는 집 (Umul-gwa kamnamu-wa koyangi-ga innŭn chip)	공군순보 17-18 (Konggun sunbo)	June 1952	
Kim Tongni	풍우 속에 인정 (P'ungu sog-e injŏng)	해병과 상륙 (Haebyŏng-gwa sangnyuk)	March 1953	
Kim Tongni	풍우기 (P'ung'ugi)	문화 세계 1-5 (Munhwa segye)	July 1953-January 1954	
Kim Tongni	한내 마을의 전설 (Hannae maŭr-ŭi chŏnsŏl)	농민소설선집 1 (Nongmin sosŏl sŏnjip)	December 1952	
Kim Tongni	어떤 상봉 (Ŏttŏn sangbong)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Kim Tongni	상병 (Sangbyŏng)	결작소설선 (Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	
Kim Tongni	스탈린의 노쇠 (Sŭt'alin-ŭi nosoe)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	June 7-18, 1951	An incomplete story
Kim Tongsa	별빛 (Pyŏlpit)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	February 1953	Written on December 26, 1952

Kim Tongsa	애정범선 (Aejŏngbŏmsŏn)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	1953	
Kim Tongsa	체온 (Ch'eon)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	December 2-7, 1952	
Kim Isŏk	분별 (Punbyŏl)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	December 1952	
Kim Isŏk	악수 (Aksu)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	April 1952	
Kim Yŏngsu	내가 잡은 포로 (Naega chabŭn p'oro)	걸작소설십인집 (kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	Written on February 19, 1951
Kim Yŏngsu	여성회의 (Yŏsŏnghŏeŭi)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	January 15-February 17, 1952	
Kim Yŏngsu	퇴폐의 장 (T'oep'ye-ŭi chang)	자유세계 4 (Chayu segye)	May 1952	
Kim Yŏngsu	풍조 (P'ungjo)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	1951	(unconfirmed); mentioned in a review by Im Kŭngjae in 신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon), December 1951, p. 41
Ko Wŏnbyŏng	녹색의 서울 (Noksaeg-ŭi sŏul)	노동 (Nodong)	June 1953	
Kong Chungin	바다의 간주곡 (Pada-ŭi kanjugok)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Kwak Hashin	골목집 (Kolmokchip)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	
Kwak Hashin	남편 (Namp'yŏn)	걸작소설십인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	
Kwak Hashin	달은 뜨는가? (Tar-ŭn ttŭnŭnga?)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	Same story as "골목집"
Kwak Hashin	떠나는 날 (Ttŏnanŭn nal)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	May 7-9, 1952	

Kwak Hashin	문둥이 (Mundungi)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	비가 (Piga)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	신작로 (Shinjangno)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	어둠길 (Ŏdumgil)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	여명의 곡 (Yŏmyŏng-ŭi kok)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	여비 (Yŏbi)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	Also published in 수도평론 (June 1953)
Kwak Hashin	여인의 표정 (Yŏin-ŭi p'yojŏng)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	전환의 역정 (Chŏnhwan-ŭi yŏkchŏng)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	죄와 벌 (Chŏe-wa pŏl)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	Also published in 자유세계 (April 1953)

Kwak Hashin	처녀애장 (Ch'ŏnyŏ aejang)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	February 1953	
Kwak Hashin	피난삽화 (P'inan saphwa)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	해녀 (Haenyŏ)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwak Hashin	헌화의 장 (Hŏnhwa-ŭi chang)	공군순보 14-15 (Konggun sunbo)	February 1952	
Kwak Hashin	혼선 (Honsŏn)	곽하신 제 1 소설집: 십작로 (Kwak Hashin che 1 sosŏlchip: Shinjangno)	1953	
Kwŏn Hŏse	감 (Kam)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
No Nŭnggŏl	아무리 옷이 날개라지만 (Amuri oshi nalgaerajiman)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	
O Yŏngsu	노파와 소년과 닭 (Nop'a-wa sonyŏn-gwa tak)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
O Yŏngsu	눈사람 (Nunsaram)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	July 1953	
O Yŏngsu	화산대기 (Hwasandaegi)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	Written in April 1950
O Yŏngsu	아찌아 (Atchia)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Pak Kyeju	아라사 처녀 (Arasa ch'ŏnyŏ)	해군 (Haegun)	December 1951	
Pak Kyeju	수인열차 (Suinyŏlch'a)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Pak Sunju	유동치마 (Yudongch'ima)	노동 (Nodong)	June 1953	

Pak Yŏngjun	가을저녁 (Kaŭl chŏnyŏk)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	December 1952	Also printed in 그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)
Pak Yŏngjun	그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)		1953	Short Story Collection
Pak Yŏngjun	김장군 (Kimchanggun)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	April 1953	Also printed in 그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)
Pak Yŏngjun	변노파 (Pyŏnnop'a)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Pak Yŏngjun	봄하늘 (Pomhanŭl)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	April 27-30, 1952	
Pak Yŏngjun	빨치산 (Ppalch'isan)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	May 1952	Also printed in 그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)
Pak Yŏngjun	삼형제 (Samhyŏngje)	협동 39 (Hyŏptong)	April 1953	Also printed in 그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)
Pak Yŏngjun	암야 (Amya)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	April 1952	Also printed in 그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)
Pak Yŏngjun	애정의 계곡 (Aejŏng-ŭi kyegok)	대구매일신문 (Taegu maeil shinmun)	March 1-July 17, 1952	
Pak Yŏngjun	어둠을 헤치고 (Ŏdum-ŭl hech'igo)	농민소설선집 1 (Nongmin sosŏlsŏnjip)	December 1952	
Pak Yŏngjun	열풍 (Yŏlp'ung)	경향신문 (Kyŏnghyang shinmun)	January 1-June 1, 1953	Novel
Pak Yŏngjun	오빠 (Oppa)	걸작소설십인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	
Pak Yŏngjun	용사 (Yongsa)	걸작소설칠인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl ch' irinjip)	August 1952	Also Published in 전쟁과 소설 (Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl (May 1951)
Pak Yŏngjun	전화 (Chŏnhwa)	걸작소설선 (Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	

Pak Yŏngjun	추운 (Ch'uun)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	December 23-29, 1952	
Pak Yŏngjun	전주곡 (Chŏnjugok)	그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)	1953	
Pak Yŏngjun	지리산근처 (Chirisan kŭnch'ŏ)	그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)	1953	Also published in 전쟁문학선 4 (Chŏnjaeng munhaksŏn)
Pak Yŏngjun	의리와 애정 (Ŭiri-wa aechŏng)	그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)	1953	
Pak Yŏngjun	위문편지 (Wimun p'yŏnji)	그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)	1953	
Pak Yŏngjun	노병과 소년병 (Nobyŏng-gwa sonyŏnbyŏng)	그늘진 꽃밭 (Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat)	1953	
Pak Yonggu	고요한 밤 (Koyohan pam)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	March 1952	
Pak Yonggu	다리 (Tari)	서울신문 (Sŏul shinmun)	January 23-28, 1951	
Pak Yonggu	부마고려국왕 (Pumakoryŏgukwang)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Pak Yonggu	안개는 아직도 (An'gae-nŭn ajikdo)	박용구 소설집: 안개는 아직도 (Pakyonggu sosŏlchip: an'gae-nŭn ajikdo)	March 7, 1953	
Pak Yonggu	제물 (Chemul)	서울신문 (Sŏul shinmun)	July 10-30, 1953	
Pak Yonggu	청색안경 (Ch'ŏngsaek an'gyŏng)	수도평론 2 (Sudop'yŏngnon)	July 1953	
Pak Yonggu	칠면조 (Ch'ilmyŏncho)	문예 (Munye)	December 1950	Incomplete
Pak Yonggu	패장안미 (P'aejanganmi)	박용구 소설집: 안개는 아직도 (Pakyonggu sosŏlchip: an'gae-nŭn ajikdo)	March 7, 1953	

Pak Yonggu	하늘은 오늘도 프르러 (Hanŭrŭn onŭlto pŭrŭrŏ)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	April 1953	
Pak Yonggu	함락직전 (Hamnak chikchŏn)	박용구 소설집: 안개는 아직도 (Pakyonggu sosŏlchip: an'gae-nŭn ajikdo)	March 7, 1953	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	무기와 인간 (Mugi-wa in'gan)	전선문학 6 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	July 1953	Written on May 20, 1953
Pak Yŏnhŭi	병정 노름 (Pyŏngjŏng norŭm)	해군 (Haegun)	May 1953	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	빙화 (Pinghwa)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	뿌르조아지의 후예 (Ppurŭjoaji-ŭi huye)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	May 20-21, 1952	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	새벽 (Saebyŏk)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	February 1953	Written on October 26, 1952
Pak Yŏnhŭi	섬사람들 (Sŏmsaramdŭl)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	소년과 "메리"라는 개 (Sonyŏn-gwa "meri"ranŭn kae)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	July 1953	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	인간실격 (In'ganshilkyŏk)	자유예술 (Chayu yesul)	November 1952	
Pak Yŏnhŭi	중립지대 (Chungnipchidae)	전시한국문학선 (Chŏnshi han'guk munhaksŏn)	February 1954	
Pang Kihwan	골육 (Koryuk)	코메트 4 (K'ometŭ)	May 1953	
Pang Kihwan	금원 (Kŭmwŏn)	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)		
Pang Kihwan	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)		
Pang Kihwan	마돈나의 집 (Madonna-ŭi chip)	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)		
Pang Kihwan	물은 물대로 (Mur-ŭn multaero)	코메트 (K'ometŭ)	February 1953	

Pang Kihwan	방매가 (Pangmaega)	공군순보 17-18 (Konggun sunbo)	June 1952	Also published in 동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)
Pang Kihwan	뱀딸기 (Paemttalki)	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)		
Pang Kihwan	인형과 고덕 (Inhyŏng-gwa kodok)	공군순보 16 (Konggun sunbo)	March 1952	Also published in 동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)
Pang Kihwan	처가삼간 (Ch'ogasamgan)	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)		
Pang Kihwan	포연의 동화 (P'oyŏn-ŭi tonghwa)	동첩 (Tongch'ŏp)		
Seŏ Kwŏnbae	성격 (Sŏngkyŏk)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	Incomplete
Seŏ Kwŏnbae	항구 (Hanggu)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	
Seŏ Kwŏnbae	흥부네 형제 (Hŭngbune hyŏngje)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	April 1953	
Son Ch'angsŏp	공휴일 (Konghyuil)	문예 (Munye)	June 1952	
Son Ch'angsŏp	사선기 (Sasŏn'gi)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	Written in February 1953
Son Sohŭi	거리 (Kŏri)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	May 1953	
Son Sohŭi	결심 (Kyŏlshim)	적화삼삭구인집 (Chŏkhwa samsak kuinjip)	April 1951	
Son Sohŭi	그날에 있은 일 (Kŭnar-e issŭn il)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	December 1952	
Son Sohŭi	다라진 나사 (Tarajin nasa)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	Written on March 15, 1953
Son Sohŭi	반기 (Panki)	협동 34 (Hyŏptong)	April 1952	Written in May 1950
Son Sohŭi	불꽃속에서 (Pulkkot sog-esŏ)	신시대 (Shinshidae)	May 1953	
Son Sohŭi	제모과 위신과 (Chemo-wa	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	January 24-28,	

	wishin-gwa)		1953	
Son Sohŭi	쥐 (Chwi)	문예 (Munye)	January 1952	
Son Sohŭi	향연 (Hyangyŏn)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	December 1951	
Son Sohŭi	사변과 소녀 (Sabyŏn-gwa sonyŏ)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Yi Chŏngsu	여배우 (Yŏbaeu)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	July 23-November 29, 1952	
Yi Hŏn'gu	무지개 (Mujigae)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	January 29-31, 1953	
Yi Hŏn'gu	어머니 (Ŏmŏni)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	0 형의 인간 (0 hyŏng-ŭi in'gan)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	June 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	기우제 (Kiuje)	농민소설선집 1 (Nongmin sosŏlsŏnjip)	December 1952	
Yi Muyŏng	밀양박씨 (Miryangpakssi)	군항 (Kunhang)	September 1952	
Yi Muyŏng	바다의 대화 (Pada-ŭi taehwa)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	February 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	범선에의 길 (Pŏmsŏne-ŭi kil)	사병문고 4 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	January 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	사랑의 화폭 (Sarang-ŭi hwap'ok)	희망 (Hŭimang)	September 1952	
Yi Muyŏng	사의 행렬 (Sa-ŭi haengnyŏl)	국방 (Kukpang)	April-May 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	소방랑 (Sobangnang)	학주 (Hakchu)	December 1951	
Yi Muyŏng	암야행로 (Amyahaengno)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	Incomplete
Yi Muyŏng	어떤 부부 (Ŏttŏn pubu)		1951	

Yi Muyŏng	원균휴일담 (Wŏngyunhuiltam)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	육이오 (Yugio)	군항 (Kunhang)	March 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	일야 (Irya)	수돌평론 2 (Sudop'yŏngnon)	June 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	젊을 사람들 (Chŏlmŭn saramdŭl)		1951 or 1953	
Yi Muyŏng	초향 (Ch'ohyang)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	February 12-20, 1953	
Yi Ponggu	사랑의 순례 (Sarang-ŭi sullye)	노동 (Nodong)	June 1953	
Yi Ponggu	참새 (Ch'amsae)	문예 (Munye)	February 1953	
Yi Sŏgu	애정항로 (Aejŏnghangno)	해군 (Haegun)	August 1951	
Yi Sŏn'gu	고향 (Kohyang)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Yi Sŏn'gu	홍국백국 (Hongguk paekkuk)	희망 (Hŭimang)	January 1953	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	가댁수색 (Kadaek susaek)	대한신문 (Taehan shinmun)	July 20, 1953	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	가두전묘 (Kadu chŏmmyo)		March 1953	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	가위에 눌린 사람들 (Kawi-e nullin saramdŭl)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	거품 (Kŏp'um)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	March 1952	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	산도깨비 (San tokkaebi)		July 1951	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	새 설계 (Sae sŏlgye)	농민소설선집 1 (Nongmin sosŏlsŏnjip)	December 1952	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	소년수병 (Sonyŏnsubyŏng)	군항 (Kunhang)	September-November 1952	Also known as "그리운 남의 정" (Kŭriun nam-ŭi chŏng)

Yŏm Sangsŏp	순정 (Sunjŏng)	희망 (Hŭimang)	December 1951-January 1952	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	욕 (Yok)	신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon)	November 1951	Written on September 25, 1951
Yŏm Sangsŏp	자전거 (Chajŏn'gŏ)		June 1952	Also known as "생지옥" (Saengjiok)
Yŏm Sangsŏp	잭나이프 (Chaengnaip'ŭ)		September 1951	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	취우 (Ch'wiu)	조선일보 (Chosŏn ilbo)	July 18, 1952-February 10, 1953	Novel
Yŏm Sangsŏp	탐내는 하꼬방 (T'amnaenŭn hakkobang)	신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon)	July 1951	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	해지는 보금자리 풍경 (Hae chinŭn pogŭmjari p'unggyŏng)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	July 1953	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	해방의 아침 (Haebang-ŭi ach'im)	신천지 (Shinch'ŏnji)	January 1951	Written on November 24, 1950; also published in 전쟁과 소설 (Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl) (May 1951)
Yŏm Sangsŏp	혈투 (Hyŏlt'u)		March 1953	
Yŏm Sangsŏp	홍염 (Hongyŏm)	자유세계 (Chayu segye)	January 1952-February 1953	
Yu Ch'ijin	청춘은 조국과 더부러 (Ch'ŏngch'un-ŭn choguk-kwa tŏburŏ)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	그는 살아 있다 (Kŭnŭn sara itta)	국방 (Kukpang)	March 1952	
Yu Chuhyŏn	기상도 (Kisangdo)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	April 1953	

Yu Chuhyŏn	만가 (Man'ga)	영남일보 (Yŏngnam ilbo)	December 15-21, 1952	
Yu Chuhyŏn	부부서정 (Pubusŏjŏng)	한국공론 (Han'guk kongnon)	September 1951	Also published in 자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	불량소년 (Pullyangsonyŏn)	희망 (Hŭimang)	December 1951	Also published in 자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	새로운 결심 (Saeroun kyŏlshim)	국방 (Kukpang)	May 1951	
Yu Chuhyŏn	슬픈 인연 (Sŭlp'ŭn inyŏn)	신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon)	December 1951	Also published in 자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	신기루 (Shin'giru)	신조 (Shinjo)	July 1951	Also published in 자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	심화 (Shimhwa)	자유예술 (Chayu yesul)	November 1952	Also published in 자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	애원 (Aewŏn)	신태양 (Shint'aeyang)	February 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	어떤 어머니의 이야기 (Ŏttŏn ŏmŏni-ŭi iyagi)	학원 (Hagwŏn)	June 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	여인의 노래 (Yŏin-ŭi norae)	걸작소설십인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip)	August 1952	Written on February 18, 1951
Yu Chuhyŏn	여정여탄 (Yŏjŏngyŏt'an)	희망 (Hŭimang)	March 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	연설 (Yŏnsŏl)	전선문학 (Chŏnsŏn munhak)	February 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	영 (Yŏng)	창공 (Ch'anggong)	March 1952	Also published in 자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	윤리 (Yulli)			Unconfirmed
Yu Chuhyŏn	자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)	자매계보 (Chamaegyebo)	January 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	절정 (Chŏlchŏng)	대구신보 (Taegu shinbo)	January 1952	Also published in 자매계보

				(Chamaegyebo)
Yu Chuhyŏn	젊은 사람들 (Chŏlmŭn saramdŭl)	병우 (Pyŏngu)	April 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	춘추 (Ch'unch'u)	연합신문 (Yŏnhap shinmun)	May 10-15, 1952	
Yu Chuhyŏn	퇴근시간 (T'oegŭn shigan)	공군순보 17-18 (Konggun sunbo)	June 1952	
Yu Chuhyŏn	패배자 (P'aebaeja)	문예 (Munye)	June 1953	Written on June 6, 1952
Yu Chuhyŏn	포로와 산 시체 (P'oro-wa san shich'e)	창공 (Ch'anggong)	March 1953	
Yu Chuhyŏn	피와 눈물 (P'i-wa nunmul)	결작소설칠인집 (Kŏlchak sosŏl ch' irinjip)	August 1952	
Yu Chuhyŏn	새벽 안개 (Saebyŏk an'gae)	결작소설선 (Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	
Yu Kiyŏng	연정 (Yŏnjŏng)	결작소설선 (Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn)	August 1952	
Yun Hŭiyŏl	참호 (Ch'amho)	코메트 (k'ometŭ)	May 1953	
Yun Kŭmsuk	동창생 (Tongch'angsaeng)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	1952	
Yun Kŭmsuk	들국화 (Tŭlgukhwa)	신생공론 (Shinsaeng kongnon)	November 1951	
Yun Kŭmsuk	명동주변 (Myŏngdong chubyŏn)	희망 (Hŭimang)	1951	
Yun Kŭmsuk	바다가에서 (Padaga-esŏ)	사병문고 2 (Sabyŏng mun'go)	May 1951	
Yun Kŭmsuk	아들의 일기 (Adŭr-ŭi ilki)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	1951	
Yun Kŭmsuk	여행 (Yŏhaeng)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	1953	
Yun Kŭmsuk	편지 (P'yŏnji)	해양소설집 (Haeyang	March 1953	

		sosŏlchip)		
Yun Kŭmsuk	행복 (Haengbok)	문화세계 1 (Munhwa segye)	1953	
Yun Kŭmsuk	허망 (Hŏmang)	자유예술 (Chayu yesul)	November 1952	
Yun Paengnam	군부인 (Kunbuin)	해양소설집 (Haeyang sosŏlchip)	March 1953	
Yun Paengnam	낙조의 노래 (Nakcho-ŭi norae)	조선일보 (Chosŏn ilbo)	February 12-August 1, 1953	
Yun Paengnam	명공의 신필 (Myŏnggong-ŭi sinp'il)	후백제비화 (Hubaekchebihwa)	December 30, 1952	
Yun Paengnam	사방기현 (Sabanggihyŏn)	후백제비화 (Hubaekchebihwa)	December 30, 1952	
Yun Paengnam	사정 (Sajŏng)	후백제비화 (Hubaekchebihwa)	December 30, 1952	
Yun Paengnam	야화 (Yahwa)	동아일보 (Tonga ilbo)	August 15, 1952-February 15, 1953	
Yun Paengnam	운명 (Unmyŏng)	해군 (Haegun)	August 1951	
Yun Paengnam	후백제비화 (Hubaekchebihwa)	후백제비화 (Hubaekchebihwa)	December 30, 1952	

Appendix B List of North Korean Wartime Novels and Short Stories

Author	Title	Published in	Year	Remarks
An Taesŏng	진대성 영웅의 그 후 이야기 (Chin Taesŏng yŏngung-ŭi kŭ hu iyagi)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April 1951	
Ch'ae Kyuch'ŏl	빛나는 고지 (Pit nanŭn koji)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	December 1951	Written on July 10, 1951
Cho Chŏngguk	불꽃 (Pulkkot)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	July 1953	
Cho Pyŏgam	소년근위대 (Sonyŏn'gŭnwidae)	조선녀성 3 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	May 1951	
Ch'oe Myŏngik	기관사 (Kigwansa)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	May 1951	Also in story collection 기관사 (Kigwansa, 1952)
Ch'oe Myŏngik	영웅 함남수 (Yŏngung Han Namsu)		August 1951	Written in May 1951; Also in story collection 영용한 사람들 (Yŏngyonghan saramdŭl, 1952)
Ch'oe Myŏngik	운전수 길보의 전투 (Unjŏnsu kilbo-ŭi chŏnt'u)	소설집: 기관사 (Sosŏlchip: kigwansa)	1952	
Ch'oe Myŏngik	조국의 목소리 (Choguk-ŭi moksori)	소설집: 기관사 (Sosŏlchip: kigwansa)	1952	
Ch'oe Myŏngik	소년 권룡주 (Sonyŏn Kwŏn Ryongju)	조선녀성 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	March 1952	Also in story collection 기관사 (Kigwansa, 1952)
Ch'ŏn	정찰병들 (Chŏngch'alpyŏngdŭl)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	March 1952	

Ch'ŏngsong				
Ch'ŏn Sebong	고향의 아들 (Kohyang-ŭi adŭl)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	January 1952	Written on August 30, 1951; also in story collection 하눌의 성벽 (Hanur-ŭi sŏngbyŏk, 1952)
Ch'ŏn Sebong	소나무 (Sonamu)		September 1953	Written in 1951?
Ch'ŏn Sebong	싸우는 마을사람들 (Ssaunŭn maŭlsaramdŭl)		September 1953	Written in July 1952
Chŏng Munhyang	그는 이렇게 걸어갔다 (Kŭ-nŭn irŏk'e kŏrŏkatta)		1951?	Unconfirmed
Han Pongshik	어머니 (Ŏmŏni)	조선녀성 2 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	April 1951	
Han Hyo	서울 사람들 (Sŏul saramdŭl)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	August-October 1951	
Han Sŏrya	격침 (Kyŏkch'im)		1950	
Han Sŏrya	기적 (Kijŏk)	소설집 황초령 (Sosŏlchip: hwangch'oryŏng)	August 1950	
Han Sŏrya	김두섭 (Kim Tusŏp)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	March 1953	Written on February 8, 1953
Han Sŏrya	땅크 214 호 (Ttangk'ŭ 214ho)	소설집 황초령 (Sosŏlchip: hwangch'oryŏng)	May 1953	Written in March 1953
Han Sŏrya	력사 (Ryŏksa)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April-July 1953	
Han Sŏrya	승냥이 (Sŭngnyangi)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April 1951	
Han Sŏrya	전별 (Chŏnbyŏl)		June 1951	Written in March 1951
Han Sŏrya	황초령 (Hwangch'oryŏng)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	June 1952	Written in February 1952; Also in story collection 황초령 (Hwangch'oryŏng, 1953)

Hwang Kŏn	그가 돌아온 길 (Kŭ-ga toraon kil)		January 1952	
Hwang Kŏn	막씸 156 호 (Makssim 156ho)		October 1952	Written in October 1952; also in story collection 불타는 섬 (Pult'anŭn sŏm, 1952)
Hwang Kŏn	불타는 섬 (Pult'anŭn sŏm)		October 1952	Written in January 1952; also in story collection 불타는 섬 (Pult'anŭn sŏm, 1952)
Hwang Kŏn	안내 (Annae)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	September 1951	Written in September 1951; also in story collection 불타는 섬 (Pult'anŭn sŏm, 1952)
Hwang Kŏn	행복 (Haengbok)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	February 1953	Novel; Writing finished on July 2, 1952
Hwang Kŏn	8 월 15 일 (8wŏl 15il)	소설집: 불타는 섬 (Sosŏlchip: pult'anŭn sŏm)	1952	
Hyŏn Tŏk	복수 (Poksu)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	May 1951	
Hyŏn Tŏk	아름다운 사람들 (Arŭmdaun saramdŭl)	소설집: 영용한 사람들 (Sosŏlchip: yŏngyonghan saramdŭl)	1951	
Hyŏn Tŏk	척전투에서 (Ch'ŏkchŏnt'u-esŏ)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	October 1952	
Hyŏn Tŏk	하눌의 성벽 (Hanur-ŭi sŏngbyŏk)	소설집: 하눌의 성벽 (Sosŏlchip: hanur-ŭi sŏngbyŏk)	1952	Written in 1951
Kang Hyŏnggyu	림진강 (Rimjin'gang)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	October 1951	
Kim Hyŏnggyo	뼉다귀 장군 (Ppyŏktagwi changgun)		September 1953	Written in May 1953

Kim Hyŏnggyo	조가령 삭도 (Chogaryŏng sakto)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	March 1953	Written on February 11, 1953
Kim Mansŏn	당증 (Tangjŭng)		1951	
Kim Mansŏn	사냥꾼 (Sanyangkkun)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	August 1951	Written on May 25, 1951; Also in story collection 하눌의 성벽 (Hanur-ŭi sŏngbyŏk, 1952)
Kim Mansŏn	오직 조국을 위하여 (Ojik chogug-ŭl wihayŏ)		1951	
Kim Namch'ŏn	꿀 (Kkul)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April 1951	Written in December 1950
Kim Sango	보선 이야기 (Posŏn iyagi)	조선녀성 7 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	July 1951	
Kim Yŏngsŏk	노호 (Noho)	격랑: 김영석 소설집 (Kyŏngnang: Kim Yŏngsŏk sosŏlchip)	1956	Written in 1952
Kim Yŏngsŏk	승리 (Sŭngni)	격랑: 김영석 소설집 (Kyŏngnang: Kim Yŏngsŏk sosŏlchip)	1956	Written in 1951; Published in January 1952
Kim Yŏngsŏk	적구에서 (Chŏkku-esŏ)	격랑: 김영석 소설집 (Kyŏngnang: Kim Yŏngsŏk sosŏlchip)	1956	Written in 1952
Kim Yŏngsŏk	화식병 (Hwashikpyŏng)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	July 1951	Written in June 1951
Kwŏn Chŏngnyong	도강 (Togang)		November 1953	Written in July 1953
Ŏm Hŭngsŏp	다시 넘는 고개 (Tashi nŏmnŭn kogae)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April 1953	Written on March 23, 1953

Pak Ch'anmo	수류탄 (Suryut'an)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April 1951	Written in January 1951
Pak Ch'anmo	혈맥 (Hyŏlmaek)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	February 1952	Written on December 25, 1951
Pak Ch'anmo	밭갈이 (Patkari)	소설집: 밭갈이 (sosŏlchip: patkari)	1951	
Pak Ch'anmo	영광의 봉우리 (Yŏnggwang-ŭi ponguri)	소설집: 밭갈이 (sosŏlchip: patkari)	1951	
Pak Ch'anmo	개나리 (Kaenari)		1952	
Pak Ch'anmo	꽃방 처녀 (Kkotpang ch'ŏnyŏ)	조선녀성 6 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	August 1951	Also in story collection 밭갈이 (Patkari, 1951)
Pak Ch'anmo	불길 (Pulgil)	조선녀성 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	February 1952	
Pak Ch'anmo	아들 (Adŭl)	조선녀성 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	August 1952	
Pak Sŏlli	작렬 (Changnyŏl)		1951	
Pak T'aemin	벼랑에서 (Pyŏrang-esŏ)		1952	
Pak T'aewŏn	조국의 깃발 (Choguk-ŭi kipal)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April-June 1952	
Pak Ŭngho	어린 복쑤자들 (Ŏrin pokssujadŭl)	조선녀성 3 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	1951	Published source unknown
Pak Unggŏl	공병소대장 (Kongbyŏngsodaejang)		July 1951	Also in story collection 나의 고지 (Na-ŭi koji, 1952); and in 상급 전화수 (Sanggŭp chŏnhwasu, 1959)
Pak Unggŏl	나루터 (Narut'ŏ)		January 1952	Also in story collection 상급 전화수 (Sanggŭp chŏnhwasu, 1959)
Pak Unggŏl	나의 고지 (Na-ŭi koji)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	July 1952	Written on May 12, 1952; also in story collection 나의 고지 (Na-ŭi

				koji, 1952)
Pak Unggŏl	상급 전화수 (Sanggŭp chŏnhwasu)		November 1952	Written in February 1952; 나의 고지 (Na-ŭi koji, 1952); and in 상급 전화수 (Sanggŭp chŏnhwasu, 1959)
Pak Unggŏl	불사조 (Pulsajo)		September 27-28, 1950	
Pyŏn Hŭigŭn	천문 (Ch'ŏnmun)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	December 1952	Written on May 24, 1952
Pyŏn Hŭigŭn	행복한 사람들 (Haengbokhan saramdŭl)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	June 1953	
Ri Chongmin	궤도 위에서 (Kwedo wi-esŏ)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	November 1951	
Ri Chongmin	남강 마을의 새로운 노래 (Namgang maŭr-ŭi saeroun norae)		February 1951	Written on February 22, 1951; published source unknown
Ri Chŏngsuk	보비 (Pobi)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	November 1952	
Ri Ch'unchin	고지의 영웅들 (Koji-ŭi yŏngungdŭl)		September 1953	Written in April 1953
Ri Ch'unchin	말 (Mal)		September 1953	Written in December 1950
Ri Ch'unyŏng	투쟁 (T'ujaeng)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	July 1952	Written on March 30, 1952
Ri Kapki	강 (Kang)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	May 1952	
Ri Kapki	사진 (Sajin)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	September 1952	Written on April 29, 1952
Ri Kapki	죽령 (Chungnyŏng)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	January 1953	
Ri Kiyŏng	38 선 (38sŏn)	인민 (Inmin)	1952	
Ri Kiyŏng	김봉호 영웅 (Kim Bongho yŏngung)		1951	

Ri Kiyŏng	선로원 리 웅선 (Sŏllowŏn Ri Ungsŏn)	로동신문 (Rodong shinmun)	September 1950	
Ri Kiyŏng	김병옥 (Kim Pyŏngok)		1951?	Unconfirmed
Ri Kŭnyŏng	고향 (Kohyang)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	November 1951	Written on October 9, 1951
Ri Pungmyŏng	악마 (Angma)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	April 1951	
Ri Pungmyŏng	조선의 딸 (Chosŏn-ŭi ttal)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	October-December 1952	
Ri Pungmyŏng	포수부부전 (P'osububuchŏn)	소설집: 포수부부전 (Sosŏlchip: p'osububuchŏn)	1951	
Ri Sanghyŏn	아들은 전선에 있다 (Adŭr-ŭn chŏnsŏn-e itta)		1952	Unconfirmed
Ri Sanghyŏn	고압선 (Koapsŏn)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	August 1953	Written in July 1953
Ri T'aejun	고향길 (Kohyangkil)	소설집: 고향길 (Sosŏlchip: kohyanggil)	1951	
Ri T'aejun	고귀한 사람들 (Kogwihan saramdŭl)	민주 조선 (Minju chosŏn)	1951	
Ri T'aejun	누가 굴복하는가 보자 (Nu-ga kulbokhanŭnga poja)		1951	
Ri T'aejun	미국 대사관 (Miguk taesagwan)		April 1951	
Ri T'aejun	백배 천배로 (paekpae ch'ŏnbaero)		April 1951	
Ri T'aekchin	춘보 령감 (Ch'unbo ryŏnggam)		1952	
Ri Yunyŏng	전우 (Chŏn'u)		1953	
Rim Sundŭk	조옥희 (Cho Okhŭi)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	June 1951	Written in June 1951; also in

				story collection 영용한 사람들 (Yŏngyonghan saramdŭl, 1952)
Rim Sundŭk	꽃병 (Kkotpyŏng)		1951	Published source unknown
Rim Sundŭk	한 쌍의 사과나무 (Han ssang-ŭi sagwanamu)	잊을 수 없는 사람들 (Ijŭl su ŏmnŭn saramdŭl)	August 1955	Written in August 1951
Rim Sundŭk	한 장의 정보문 (Han chang-ŭi chŏngbomun)	잊을 수 없는 사람들 (Ijŭl su ŏmnŭn saramdŭl)	August 1955	Written in April 1952
Ryu Hangnim	소년 통신병 (Sonyŏn t'ongshinbyŏng)		1953	
Ryu Hangnim	진두평 (Chin Tup'yŏng)		1951	Story collection
Ryu Hangnim	최후의 피 한방울까지 (Ch'oehu-ŭi p'i hanbangulkkaji)		1950	
Ryu Hangnim	누가 모르랴 (Nu-ga morŭrya)	조선녀성 9 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	December 1951	
Ryu Kŭnsun	회신 속에서 (Hoeshin sog-esŏ)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	December 1951	
Ryun Sejung	구대원과 신대원 (Kudaewŏn-gwa shindaewŏn)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	August 1952	
Ryun Sejung	분대장 (Pundaejang)		July 1953	
Ryun Sejung	분조장과 신입대원 (Punjojang-gwa shiniptaewŏn)		1952	
Ryun Sejung	우정 (Ujŏng)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	June 1951	Written on April 28, 1951
Ryun Sejung	편지 (P'yŏnji)		1951	
Ryun Shich'ŏl	나의 옛친우 (Na-ŭi yetch'in'u)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	July 1951	Written on June 25, 1951
Ryun Shich'ŏl	나팔수의 공훈 (Nap'alsu-ŭi konghun)	지질기사: 륜시철 단편집 (Chijilkisa: Ryun Shich'ŏl	1956	Written in August 1952

		tanp'yŏnjip)		
Ryun Shich'ŏl	네번째 돌격 (Nebŏntchae tolgyŏk)		1951	
Ryun Shich'ŏl	세 간호원 (Se kanhowŏn)	조선녀성 7 (Chosŏn nyŏsŏng)	October 1951	A revised version of this story appears in 지질기사 (Chijilkisa, 1956)
Shim Sanghak	꼬마 습격조원 (Kkoma sŭpkyŏkchowŏn)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	September 1952	Written on February 15, 1952
Shin Tongch'ŏl	분대장의 목소리 (Pundaejang-ŭi moksori)	문학예술 (Munhak yesul)	February 1952	

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Ch'anggong (Blue Sky)
Chayu segye (The Free World)
Chayu yesul (The Free Arts)
Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl (War and the novel)
Ch'ŏnjugyo hoebo (The catholic bulletin)
Chŏnshi kwahak (Wartime science)
Chŏnsŏn munhak (Frontline Literature)
Chŏnsŏn munhak: Munhak chŏnship'an (Frontline Literature: Literature Wartime Edition)
Chosŏn ilbo (Chosŏn daily)
Chosŏn nyŏsŏng (Korean woman)
Haebang Ilbo (Haebang daily)
Haegun (The Navy)
Haegun haebyŏng t'onghapchi (Journal of the marines and navy)
Haeyang sosŏlchip (Anthology of maritime novels)
Hakchu (The principal)
Hagwŏn (The educational institute)
Hŭimang (Hope)
Hyŏptong (Cooperation)
Hwangsŏng shinmun
Hwarang (Flower Youth)
Inmin (The People)
Inmun p'yŏngnon (Liberal arts criticism)
Kŏlchak sosŏlsŏn (Selection of literary masterpieces)
K'ometŭ (Comet)
Konggun sunbo (Air Force Periodical)
Kukpang (National Defense)
Kunhang (The Naval Port)
Kyŏnghyang shinmun (Kyŏnghyang newspaper)
Minju chosŏn (Democratic Korea)
Munjang (Literary writings)
Munhak yesul (Literary arts)
Munhwa ch'unch'u (Culture years)
Munhwa segye (Cultural World)
Munye (Literature and Art)

Nodong (Labor)
Nongmin sosŏl sŏnjip (A selection of farmer novels)
Pyŏngu (Comrade)
Samch'ŏlli (3000 li)
Samch'ŏlli munhak (3000 li of literature)
Sasanggye (the world of thought)
Shinch'ŏnji (The New World)
Shinjo (New Currents)
Shinsaeng kongnon (New popular opinion)
Shinsajo (New Trends)
Shinshidae (New times)
Shint'aeyang (The new sun)
Sŏul shinmun (Seoul newspaper)
Sudo py'ŏngnon (Public Opinion from the Capital)
Taegu ilbo (Taegu daily)
Taegu maeil shinmun (Taegu daily newspaper)
Taegu shinbo (Taegu news)
Taehan haengjŏng (The administration of the Korean Republic)
Taehan shinmun (Taehan newspaper)
Tonga ilbo (Tong-a daily)
Yŏngnam ilbo (Yŏngnam daily)
Yŏnhap shinmun (Yŏnhap newspaper)

Korean Language Materials

An, Hamgwang. "1951 yŏndo munhak ch'angjo-ŭi sŏnggwa-wa chŏnmang" (Prospects and results from literary production in 1951). *Inmin* 1952.

Anonymous. "Munhwain-ŭi ch'aengmu" (The Duties of People in the Cultural Field). *Inmun py'ŏngnon* 2 December 1939: 2-3.

Ch'a, Yŏngae, ed. *Chosŏn munhaksa: Haebanghup'yŏn (chosŏn haebang chŏnjaeng shigi) 11* (*History of Korean Literature: Volume after the liberation (The period from the Korean liberation war)*). Pyongyang: Sahoe kwahak ch'ulp'ansa, 1994.

Chang, Sŏkchu. *20 segi han'guk munhag-ŭi t'amhŏm: 1935-1956* (*Exploration of Korea's 20th century literature: 1935-1956*). Seoul: Shigongsa, 2010.

Chin, Sunae. *Chŏnjaeng-gwa inmunhak: chŏnjaeng-gwa hyŏngmyŏng-ŭi munhaksa* (War and the humanities: Literary history of war and revolution). Seoul: Sŏnggyun'gwan taehakkyo ch'ulp'ansa, 2006.
Chin, Sunae. *Chŏnjaeng-gwa shi-wa p'yŏnghwa*. Seoul: p'urŭn sasang, 2008.
Cho, Kapsang. "6.25 sosŏr-ŭi nat'anan Pusan" (The appearance of Pusan in novels from the Korean War). *Munhwa chŏnt'ong nonjip* 4 October 1996: 257-280.
Cho, Kyuil. "Hwang Sunwŏn-ŭi chŏnjaengsosŏl sogo" (Paper on Hwang Sunwŏn's war novels). *Nonmunjip* 13 1984: 161-171.
Cho, Sangwŏn, ed. *Kŏlchak sosŏl sŏnjip* (Selection of literary masterpieces). Taegu: Hyŏnŭmsa, 1952.
Cho, Ŭnjŏng. Han'guk chŏnjaenggi pukhan-esŏ misurin-ŭi chŏnjaeng suhaeng yŏkhar-e taehan yŏn'gu (Research into the wartime efforts of North Korean painters during the Korean War). *Misul hakpo* 30 2008: 93-123.
Cho, Yŏngam. "Challyuhan puyŏk munindŭr-ege – Podo yŏnmaeng chaep'an-ŭl kyŏnggohanda" (To the collaborationist challyu writers – A word of warning before the trial of the Guidance League). *Munye* December 1950.
Cho, Yŏnhyŏn. "Chŏkcha saenghwal" (Living with a deficit) *Hyŏptong* November 1951: 86-87.
Cho, Yŏnhyŏn. "Chŏnshi munhwain-ŭi chip'yo" (Pointers for intellectuals during war) *Hyŏptong* April 1952: 110-114.
Cho, Yŏnhyŏn. *Munhakchŏk sanbo* (A literary stroll). Seoul: Munyesa, 1951.
Cho, Yŏnhyŏn. "Munhaknon tansang" (Thoughts on Literary Theory). *Munhwa segye* 1953: 145-150.
Cho, Yŏnhyŏn. *Nae-ga saraon han'guk mundan* (The Korean literary scene I experienced). Seoul: Yŏmunsa, 1977.
Ch'oe, Chŏnghŭi. "Na-ŭi insaeng na-ŭi munhak: Tamin Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi" (My Life and literature: a conversation with Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi). *Wŏlgan munhak* September 1976: 12-20.
Ch'oe, Inuk. "Chŏryu" (Undercurrent). *Chŏryu: Ch'oe Inuk sosŏlchip*.
Seoul: Hŭngguk yŏnmun hyŏphoe, 1953: 85-121.
Ch'oe, Inuk. "Ŏnŭ nar-ŭi iltŭng sangsa" (The Sergeant I Saw One Day). *Chŏnsŏn*
munhak 6 August 1953: 4-10.

Ch'oe, Myŏng-ik. "Kigwansa" (The train driver). *Munhak yesul* 4.2 May 1951: 4-24.
Ch'oe, Sangdŏk. "Ch'anggansa" (Foreword to the inaugural issue). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 1 April 1952: 9.
Ch'oe, Sangdŏk. "Sŏnjŏnjŏn-gwa munhwain-ŭi immu" (Propaganda warfare and the
responsibility of the intelligentsia). *Shinch'ŏnji* 8.3 July 1953: 70-75.
Ch'oe, Sŏngshil. *Kŭndae, tachung-ŭi nasŏn* (The modern, a multitude of screws). Seoul: Somyŏng ch'ulp'ansa, 2005.
Ch'oe, T'aeŭng. "Chŏnhup'a" (The Postwar Group). *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip* 28. Seoul: Minjung sŏgwan, 1959: 303-450.
Chŏng, Chuyŏng. *Kŭktan shinhyŏpsa yŏn'gu* (A Study of the history of the Shinhyŏp theater group). Thesis: Tongguk University, 2004.
Chŏng, Pisŏk. "Aechŏng muhan" (Unlimited Love). *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip* 20. Seoul:
Minjung sŏgwan, 1959: 107-216.
Chŏng, Pisŏk. "Chŏnjaeng k'ongt'ŭ 8 py'ŏn" (Eight War Tales). *Han'guk chŏnjaeng*
munhak chŏnjip. Seoul: Hwimun chulp'ansa, 1969: 173-192.
Chŏng, Pisŏk. *Saekchi p'unggyŏng* (Landscape of colored paper). Taegu: Han'guk ch'ulp'ansa, 1952.
Chŏng, Pisŏk. "Saeroun maengsŏ." *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibinjip*. Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952: 99-120.
Chŏng, Sŏnt'ae. "Ch'ongnyŏkchŏn shigi chŏnjaeng munhangnon-gwa chonggun munhak" (The discourse on war literature and the reportage in the era of total war). *Tongyang chŏngch'i sasangsa* 5.2 2005: 131-153.
Chŏn'guk munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnhaphoe. *Pallan-gwa minjog-ŭi kago*. Seoul: Munjin munhwasa, 1949.
Chŏn, Kapsaeng. "Tto tarŭn chŏnsa, chonggun kija-ro nasŏn chakkadŭl" (A different kind of soldier: writers dispatched as war correspondents). *Minjok* 21 February 2011: 94-100.
Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng, ed. *Che 2 ch'a chosŏn chakka taehoe munhŏnjip* (Proceedings of the second meeting of North Korean writers). Pyongyang: Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng ch'ulp'ansa, 1956.
Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng, ed. Sosŏlchip: hanur-ŭi sŏngbyŏk (Story collection: The

ramparts of the sky). 1952.
Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng, ed. Sosŏlchip: Yŏngyonghan saramdŭl (Story collection: Brave people). 1951.
Chungang ilbosa, ed. *(Han'guk chŏnjaeng shillok) Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn* ((Historical records of the Korean War) National testimonies). Seoul: Ŭryu munhwasa, 1973.
Chungang ilbosa, ed. *Minjog-ŭi chŭngŏn* (National testimonies). Seoul: Chungang ilbosa, 1983.
Fujii, Takeshi. "Che 1 konghwagug-ŭi chibae ideollogi – pan'gongchuŭi-wa kŭ pyŏnyongdŭl" (The dominant ideology of the first republic – Anti-communism and its transformations). *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 83 2008: 117-151.
Han'guk chŏngshin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, ed. *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa sahoe kujo-ŭi pyŏnhwa* (The Korean War and Changes in Social Structures). Seoul: Paeksan sŏdang, 1999.
Han'guk munin hyŏphoe, ed. Haebang munhak 20 nyŏn (Twenty years of liberation literature). Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1966.
Han'guk munin hyŏphoe, ed. *Han'guk chŏnjaeng munhak chŏnjip* (Complete works of Korean War literature). Seoul: Hwimun chulp'ansa, 1969.
Han, Hyo. "Uri munhag-ŭi chŏnjaengjŏk mosŭp-kwa chegitoenŭn myŏkkaji munje" (Some problems arising from the warlike features of our literature). *Munhak Yesul*, 1951.
Han, Kyŏnghŭi. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi chŏnjaengshi-ŭi kukkajuŭi-ŭi shisŏn" (The Gaze of nationalism in the war poetics of the Korean War period). *Han'guk shihak yŏn'gu* 21 2008: 201-228.
Han, Musuk. *Han Musuk munhak chŏnjip: tanp'yŏnjip taeyŏl sok-esŏ* (Complete works of Han Musuk: story collection "Inside the ranks"). Seoul: Ŭryu munhwasa, 1992.
Han, Pongshik. "Ŏmŏni" (The mother). *Chosŏn Yŏsŏng* 2 April 1951.
Han, Sŏnghun. *Chŏnjaeng-gwa inmin* (War and the people). P'aju: Tolbaegae, 2012.
Han, Sŏrya. *Han Sŏrya sŏnjip* (Collected works of Han Sŏrya). Pyongyang: Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng ch'ulp'ansa, 1960.
Han, Sŏrya. "Ch'oso-esŏ" (In a guard post). *Munhak yesul* 3.1 January 1950: 133-193.
Han, Sŏrya. *Sosŏlchip: Hwangch'oryŏng* (Hwangch'o pass), 1953.
Han, Sŏrya. "Sŭngnyangi" (Jackals). *Munhak yesul* 4.1 April 1951: 2-34.

Hong, Chŏngsŏn, ed. *Kim P'albong munhak chŏnjip II: hoego-wa kirok* (Complete works of Kim P'albong II: Reminiscences and documents). Seoul: munhak-kwa chisŏngsa, 1988.
Hwang, Kŏn. "Anhae"(The wife). *Munhak yesul* September 1951.
Hwang, Kŏn. "Haengbok" (Happiness). *Munhak yesul* 6.2 February 1953: 4-69.
Hwang, Kŏn. *Sosŏlchip: pult'anŭn sŏm* (Story collection: The burning island). 1952.
Hwang, Kŏn. "Tashi nŏmnŭn kogae" (Crossing the hill once more). *Munhak yesul* 6.4 April 1953.
Hwang, Sunwŏn. "Hak" (Cranes). *Shinch'ŏnji* 8.1 April 1953: 283-287.
Hwang, Sunwŏn. "Sonagi" (Shower). *Hwang Sunwŏn chŏnchip* 3 (The Complete Works of Hwang Sunwŏn) 3. Seoul: Munhak-kwa chisŏngsa, 2005.
Hwang, Yunmi. "Haebanggi chagi pip'an sosŏr-ŭi kyoyukchŏk hyoyongsŏng yŏn'gu" (Study into the educational utility of self-criticism novels from the liberation period). Thesis: Yonse University, 2006.
Hyŏn, Su. *Yŏkch'i 6 nyŏn-ŭi pukhan mundan* (The North Korean literary scene under 6 years of communist rule). Seoul: Taehan ch'ulp'an, 1952.
Hyŏndae sasang yŏn'guhoe. *6.25 tongnan-gwa namhan chwaik* (The left-wing in South Korea and the Korean War). Seoul: Inyŏngsa, 2010.
Hyŏn, Tŏk. "Poksu" (Revenge). *Munhak yesul* May 1951: 25-38.
Im, Chongguk. *Ch'inil Munhakron* (Theory on pro-Japanese literature). Seoul: P'yŏnghwa ch'ulp'ansa, 1966.
Im, Much'ul. "Kim Song-ŭi saengae yŏn'gu" (A Study of Kim Song's Life). *Hanminjokŏ munhak* 16 1989: 301-329.
Im, Sundŭk. "Cho Okhŭi" (Cho Okhŭi). *Munhak yesul* June 1951.
Im Sundŭk, *Ijŭl su ŏmnŭn saramdŭl* (Unforgetable people). 1955.
Kang, Chinho. *Han'guk mundan imyŏnsa* (An inside history of the Korean literary scene).Seoul: Kip'ŭnsaem, 1999.
Kang, Yŏhun. "Chonggun chakka parabon chŏnjaengt'ŏ" (The front as seen through the eyes of war correspondents). *Han'guk ilbonŏ munhak hakhoe* 4 2008: 165-168.

Kim, Chaep'il. *Haebanggi changp'yŏnsosŏl yŏn'gu* (Research on novels from the liberation period). Thesis: Sŏgang University, 2005.
Kim, Chaeyong et al. *Ch'inil munhag-ŭi naejŏk nolli* (The internal logic of pro-Japanese literature). Seoul: Yŏngnak, 2003.
Kim, Chaeyong. "ch'ogi pukhan munhag-ŭi hyŏngsŏnggwajŏng-gwa naengjŏn ch'eje" (The formation process of early North Korean literature and the Cold War system). *T'ongil munje yŏn'gu* 6.1 1994: 211-234.
Kim, Chaeyong. "Hoego-rŭl t'onghae ponŭn ch'ongnyŏkchŏn shigi ilche-ŭi sasang kwalli" (The ideological oppression of imperial Japan in the era of total war as shown in recollections). *Han'guk munhak yŏn'gu* 33 2007: 307-338.
Kim, Chaeyong. "Munhag-ŭi chŏngch'isŏng-gwa chŏngch'ijuŭi" (The politicism and political nature of literature). *Hyŏnsang-gwa inshik* 19.3 1995: 47-66.
Kim, Chaeyong. "'Pandong' ideollogi-wa minjung-ŭi sŏnt'aek (Reactionary ideology and the choose of the people). *Yŏksa munje yŏn'gu* 6 2003: 97-110.
Kim, Chaeyong. "Pukhan-ŭi yŏsŏng munhak" (North Korean women's literature). *Han'guk munhak yŏn'gu* 19 March 1997: 151-168.
Kim, Chinhŭi. "Mo Yunsuk-kwa No Ch'ŏnmyŏng shi-e nat'anan 'haebang'-gwa 'chŏnjaeng' – haebang ihu-put'ŏ chŏnjaengkkaji-ŭi shi-rŭl chungshim-ŭro" (Liberation and war in Mo Yunsuk and No Chŏnmyŏng's poetry: Focusing on the liberation and war period). Han'guk shihak yŏn'gu 28 August 2010: 261-293.
Kim, Chin'gi. "Pan'gong hoguk munhag-ŭi kujo" (The structure of anticommunist country-defending literature). *Sanghŏ hakpo* 20 June 2007: 347-379.
Kim, Chonghoe. "Pukhan munhag-e nat'anan 6.25 tongnan" (The Korean War in North Korean literature). *Hanminjogŏ munhak* 49 2006: 267-284.
Kim, Chŏngja. *Han'guk hyŏndae munhag-ŭi sŏng-gwa maech'un yŏn'gu* (A study on sex and prostitution in Korean modern literature). Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1996.
Kim, Chuin. "Minjok, minjokchuŭi susang" (Some thoughts on the nation and nationalism). *Hyŏptong* 32 November 1951: 38-44.

Kim, Ch'ŏl. "Han'guk posuuik munye chojig-ŭi hyŏngsŏng-gwa chŏn'gae (The establishment and development of right-wing Korean literary organisations). *Shilch'ŏn munhak* 1990.
Kim, Ch'ŏl. *Kungminiranŭn noye* (Slaves called citizens). Seoul: Samin, 2005.
Kim, Ch'ŏl and Shin, Hyŏnggi. *Munhak sog-ŭi p'ashijŭm* (Fascism in literature). Seoul: Samin, 2001.
Kim, Houng. "6.25 chŏnjaeng-gwa nambuk pundan-e daehan sŏngch'al-gwa munhakchŏk sŏsa" (Reflection and literary narrative on the Korean War and the Korean division). *T'ongil inmunhak nonch'ong* 51 May 2011: 7-35.
Kim, Kiwŏn. "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhak" (War and Literature). *Munye* 12 December 1950: 18-19.
Kim, Kwangju, *Chigu-ŭi pigŭk* (Earthly tragedies). Pusan: Sudo munhwasa, 1951.
Kim Kwangju, "nanŭn nŏrŭl sirŏhanda" (I hate you). *Han'guk hyŏndae taep'yo sosŏlchip* 7. Seoul: Ch'angjak-kwa pip'yŏngsa, 1996: 358-374.
Kim, Munsu. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi sosŏl yŏn'gu" (A study of Korean wartime literature). *Ŏmunhak* 22 2001: 239-273.
Kim, Munsu. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi sosŏr-ŭi ideollogi suyong yangsang" (Aspects in accepting ideology in Korean wartime novels). *Urimal kŭl* 18 1999: 203-243.
Kim, Munsu. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi sosŏr-ŭi nat'anan p'inanmin-ŭi sam-kwa ŭishik" (The conscious and life of refugees appearing in novels from the Korean War). *Urimal kŭl* 16 1998: 295-330.
Kim, Myŏngsŏk. "Yi Tonggyu sosŏl yŏn'gu" (A study of Yi Tonggyu's novels). *Uri munhak yŏn'gu* 23 2008: 185-223.
Kim, Namch'ŏn. "Kim Ilsŏng changgun-ŭi 'hyŏngyedan-e issŏsŏ chibang chŏnggwŏn kigwandŭr-ŭi immu-wa yŏkhar'-e taehan kyoshi-ŭi malssŭm-ŭl chakka yesulgadŭr-ŭn ŏttŏk'e shilch'ŏn-e omkil kŏshin'ga" (How will writers realize general Kim Il Sung's teachings in 'on the current tasks and role of regional political authorities'?). *Munhak yesul* 5.3 1952.
Kim, Namch'ŏn. "Kkul" (Honey). *Munhak yesul* 4.1 April 1951: 36-45.

Kim, Oksŏn. "'Chŏnsŏn munhag'-e nat'anan kamchŏng chŏngch'i" (The politics of sentiments appearing in the magazine 'Frontline Literature'). Inmunhak nonch'ong 25 February 2011: 103-129.
Kim, P'albong. "Chŏnjaeng munhag-ŭi panghyang" (The Direction of War Literature). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 3 February 1953: 58-63.
Kim, P'albong. "Paekho tongin-gwa chonggun chakkadan" (The Paekho journal and the war writers group). *Hyŏndae munhak* 9.9 1963: 29-31.
Kim, Song, ed. *Chŏnshi munhak tokpon* (Reader of wartime literature). Taegu: Ch'ŏlmongsa, 1951.
Kim, Song. "Kun-gwa hamkke" (Together with the Army). *Munye* 12 December 1950: 65-67.
Kim, Song. "Minjumunhwa-ŭi panghyang – Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhag-ŭi sŏnggyŏk" (The
Direction of Democratic Culture: War and the Character of Literature). *Chayu yesul* 1 November 1952: 32-36.
Kim, Song. "Pulsashin" (The Immortal). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 May 1953: 74-87.
Kim, Song. "Sŏur-ŭi pigŭk" (Seoul Tragedy). *Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl*. Kyemongsa, 1951: 47-90.
Kim, Song. *T'angnyu sog-esŏ* (In Muddy Currents). Shinjosa, 1951.
Kim, Song. *Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt* (Living Forever). Baekyŏngsa, 1952.
Kim, Song. "Yŏngwŏnhi sanŭn kŏt" (Living Forever). *Han'guk munhak chŏnjip* 26.
Seoul: Minjung sŏgwan, 1976: 7-289.
Kim, Sujin. *Shinyŏsŏng – kŭndae-ŭi kwaing 1920-1934* (The new woman – an excess of modernity 1920-1934). Seoul: Somyŏng, 2009.
Kim, Tongin. "Pukchi chŏnsŏn-ŭl hyanghaya" (Going to the northern front). *Samch'ŏlli* July 1939: 232-233.
Kim, Tongni. "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhag-ŭi kŭnbonmunje" (Fundamental problems of literature and war). *Hyŏptong* June 1952: 43-51.
Kim, Tongni. *Kwihwan Changjŏng* (The Returning Conscripts). Sudo munhwasa, 1951.
Kim, Tongni. *Munhag-gwa ingan* (Literature and humanity). Seoul: Ch'ŏngch'unsa, 1952.
Kim, Tŭkchung et al. *Chugŭm-ŭrossŏ nara-rŭl chik'ija: 1950 nyŏndae, pan'gong, tongwŏn kamshi-ŭi shidae* (Let's defend the nation with

our lives: The 1950s, time of anti-communism, mobilization and surveillance). Seoul: Sŏnin, 2007.
Kim, Yangsŏn. "Pan'gongchuŭi-ŭi chŏllyakchŏk suyong-gwa yŏsŏng mundan" (The Strategic Acceptance of anti-Communism and the woman literary field). *Ŏmunhak* 101 September 2008: 333-357.
Kim, Yongjik. *Pukhan munhaksa* (North Korean literature). Seoul: Ilchisa, 2008.
Kim, Yŏnghŭi. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi pukhan-ŭi namhan chŏmnyŏng chiyŏk sŏnjŏn tongsaŏp" (North Korea's Propaganda & Agitation Projects in the Occupied Area of the South during the Korean War). *Han'guk ŏllon hakbo* 54.6 2010: 150-172.
Kim, Yŏngmi. *Tongwŏn-gwa chŏhang: haebang chŏnhu sour-ŭi chumin sahoesa* (Mobilisation and resistance: A social history of the citizens of Seoul before and after liberation). Seoul: p'urŭn yŏksa, 2009.
Kim, Yŏngsŏk. *Kyŏngnang: Kim Yŏngsŏk sosŏljip* (Raging waves: Kim Yŏngsŏk story collection). Pyŏngyang: Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng ch'ulp'ansa, 1956.
Kim, Yŏngsu. "Naega chabŭn p'oro" (The prisoner of war that I caught). *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip*. Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952: 21-34.
Kim, Yunshik. Han'guk kŭndae munhaksa-waŭi taehwa (A conversation with modern Korean literary history). Seoul: Saemi, 2002.
Kim, Yunshik and Chŏng, Houng. *Han'guk sosŏlsa* (History of the Korean Novel). Seoul: Munhak tongne, 2000.
Kim, Yunsŏng. "Haebang-gwa tongnan-ŭi hollan sog-eso" (Inside the confusion of liberation and war). *Hyŏndae munhak* 9.10 1963: 252-253.
Ko, Ŭn. *1950 nyŏndae* (The 1950s). Seoul: Hyangyŏn, 2005.
Ku, Myŏngsuk, ed. *Han'guk chŏnjaenggi yŏsŏngmunhak charyojip* (Sourcebook of women's literature from the Korean War). Seoul: Yŏngnak, 2012.
Ku, Sang. "Chonggun chakkadan 2 nyŏn" (Two Years of War Writers' Groups). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 May 1953: 57-59.
Kwak, Chongwŏn. "Chŏnjaeng munhagiran muŏshinga" (What is war literature?). *Wŏlgan munhak* 2.10 October 1969: 217-222.

Kwak, Chongwŏn. "Munhakchŏngshin-ŭi hwangnip" (The establishment of literary consciousness). *Chayu segye* January 1952: 161-167.
Kwak, Hashin. *Shinjangno* (A new road). Seoul: Hŭimang ch'ulp'ansa, 1953.
Kwak, Yŏngmi. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi sosŏr-e nat'anan yŏsŏsang yŏn'gu" (Study of the image of women in novels from the Korean War). Thesis: Yŏngnam University, 2004.
Kwŏn, Yŏngmin. "Chŏnhu-ŭi hyŏnshil-gwa munhag-ŭi punyŏl" (Post-war reality and the literary division). *Han'guk munhak* April 1985: 388-403.
Kwŏn, Yŏngmin. "Haebangjikhu-ŭi mundan-gwa wŏlbukmunin" (The literary field just after liberation and the writers who would go north). *Han'guk munhwa* 8 1987: 212-216.
Ma, Haesong. *Chŏnjin-gwa insaeng* (Progress and life). Seoul: Hŭngguk yŏnmun hyŏphoe, 1953.
Minjok munhaksa yŏn'guso, ed. *Sae minjok munhaksa kangjwa 2* (New lectures on national literary history). P'aju: Ch'angbi, 2009.
Munhag-gwa yŏn'gu pip'yŏnghoe, ed. *Han'guk munhaggwŏllyŏg-ŭi kyebo: Haebangihu-put'ŏ 1970 nyŏndae-kkaji*. (Genealogy of Korea's literary power: From the liberation period until the 1970s). Seoul: Han'guk ch'ulp'ansa mak'et'ing yŏn'guso, 2004.
Munhak yesul ch'ulp'ansa, ed. *Choguk haebangjŏnjaeng sŭngni-rŭl wihayŏ: tanp'yŏn sosŏljip 1* (In order to attain victory in the fatherland liberation war: story collection). Pyongyang: munhak yesul ch'ulp'ansa, 2010.
Mun, Kyŏngyŏn, et al. *Chwadamhoe-ro ingnŭn 'kungmin munhak'* (The 'kungmin munhak' magazine as read through its round-table discussions). Seoul: Somyŏng ch'ulp'an, 2010.
Nasiyama, Junko. Han'guk yŏsŏng chonggun chakka yŏn'gu: Han'guk chŏnjaenggi-rŭl chungshim-ŭro (A study on Korean female war correspondents: focussing on the Korean War). Thesis: Tongguk University, 2002.
No, Ch'ŏnmyŏng. *Han'guk hyŏndae shiin yŏn'gu 16: No Ch'ŏnmyŏng* (Study in modern Korean poetry 16: No Ch'ŏnmyŏng). Seoul: Munhak segyesa, 1997.
No, Ch'ŏnmyŏng, *Chajŏn esei: irŭm-ŏmnŭn yŏini toeŏ* (Biographical essays: Becoming a woman without a name). Seoul: Ch'unch'ugak, 1985.

O, Chedo et al. *Chŏkhwa samsak kuinjip* (Nine people's accounts of three months under communist rule). Pusan: Kukche podoyŏnmaeng, 1951.
O, Yŏngjin. *Hana-ŭi chŭngŏn* (A testimony). Kungmin sasang chidowŏn, 1952.
Ŏm, Hosŏk. "Chakkadŭr-ŭi saŏp-kwa chŏngyŏl" (Writers' tasks and passion). *Munhak yesul* 4.4, 1951.
Ŏm, Hosŏk. "Choguk haebangjŏnjaeng shigi-ŭi uri munhak" (Literature from the Fatherland Liberation War). *Hyŏndae munhak pip'yŏng charyojip (Ipukp'yŏn/1950-1953)*. Yi Sŏnyŏng et al., ed. Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1993.
Ŏm, Hŭngsŏp. "Tashi nŏmnŭn kogae" (Crossing the hill once more). *Munhak yesul* 6.4 April 1953: 52-87.
Ŏm, Miok. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi yŏsŏng chonggun chakka sosŏl yŏn'gu" (A Study on women writers' novels from the Korean War). Han'guk kŭndae munhak yŏn'gu 21 2010: 261-292.
Pae, Kaehwa. "Munhag-ŭi hŭisaeng: pukhan-esŏŭi Yi T'aejun" (The sacrifice of literature: North Korea's Yi T'aejun). *Han'guk hyŏndae munhak yŏn'gu* 34 2011: 247-282.
Paek, Ch'ŏl. *Chilli-wa hyŏnshil* (Truth and reality). Seoul: Pagyŏngsa, 1976.
Paek, Ch'ŏl. "Mosaekhanŭn hyŏndae munhak" (In search of modern literature). *Sudo p'yŏngnon* June 1953: 56-63.
Paek, Ch'ŏl. "Munhakcharosŏ-ŭi na-ŭi ch'ŏse-wa kŭ moral" (My conduct and moral as a writer). *Shinch'ŏnji* November 1953.
Paek, Ch'ŏl. "Mundan-ŭl wihan puŭi: kŭ kusŏng-e taehan il kyŏnhae" (Addition to the discussion on the literary field: an opinion on its composition). Munhwa segye July 1953.
Pak, Ch'anmo. "Suryut'an" (The grenade). *Munhak yesul* 4.1 April 1951: 66-75.
Pak, Ch'anmo. "Adŭl" (The son). *Chosŏn yŏsŏng* August 1952.
Pak, Ch'anmo. *Sosŏljip: patkari* (Story collection: plowing), 1951.
Pak, Chŏngae. "'tongwŏn'toenŭn yŏsŏng chakka: Han'gukchŏn-gwa pet'ŭnamjŏn-ŭi kyŏngu" ('Mobilized' women writers in the case of the Korean and Vietnam War). *Yŏsŏng munhak yŏn'gu* 10 2003: 69-87.
Pak, T'aegyun. *Han'guk chŏnjaeng* (The Korean War). Seoul: Ch'aeg-gwa hamkke, 2005.

Pak, P'irhyŏn. *Haebanggi munhak pip'yŏng-e nat'anan minjoktamnon yŏn'gu* (Study into the national narrative appearing in literary criticism from the liberation period). Dissertation: Ihwa University, 2010.
Pak, Shinhŏn. "Han'guk chŏnchaenggi sosŏr-e nat'anan aeguk ŭisig-ŭi t'ŭkching yŏn'gu" (A study into the aspect of patriotism in literature from the Korean wartime period). *Ŏmunhak* 59 August 1996: 263-282.
Pak, Wŏnsun. "Chŏnjaeng puyŏkcha 5 man yŏmyŏng ŏttŏk'e ch'ŏri toeŏnŭnga" (How were the more than fifty thousand war collaborators dealt with?). *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* May 1990: 172-198.
Pak, Yangho. *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa shi, kun'ga, ppira* (Poems, military songs and propaganda leaflets from the Korean War). Seoul: Hwanam, 2010.
Pak, Yongch'an. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi P'albong Kim Kijin-ŭi munhak hwaltong yŏn'gu" (A study into the literary activities of Kim Kijin). *Ŏmunhak* 108 June 2010: 303-328.
Pak, Yŏnghŭi. "Chŏnjaeng-gwa chosŏn munhak" (War and Korean literature). *Inmun p'yŏngnon* October 1939: 38-42.
Pak, Yŏnghŭi. "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhakcha-ŭi immu" (War and the responsibilities of the writer). *Samch'ŏlli* July 1939: 234-235.
Pak, Yŏnghŭi and Kim, Kijin. "Chŏnjaeng munhag-gwa chosŏn chakka" (War literature and Korean writers). *Samch'ŏlli* January 1939: 206-215.
Pak, Yonggu. Pak Yonggu sosŏlchip: angae-nŭn achikdo (Pak Yonggu story collection: And still the fog). Seoul: Sudo munhwasa, 1953.
Pak, Yŏngjun. "Amya" (A Dark Night). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 1 April 1952: 24-29.
Pak, Yŏngjun. "Chayu segye isang ŏptta" (There is nothing wrong with the free world). *Shinch'ŏnji* 7.3 May 1952: 49, 67-73.
Pak, Yŏngjun. "Kunin-gwa chŏngch'i" (Soldiers and Politics). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 2 December 1952: 14-17.
Pak, Yŏngjun. *Kŭnŭlchin kkotpat* (A flowerbed in the shade). Seoul: Shinhan munhwasa, 1953.
Pak, Yŏngjun. "Ppalch'isan" (Partisans). *Shinch'ŏnji* 7.3 May 1952: 129-140.

Pak, Yŏngjun, ed. *Sabyŏng mun'go 2: Tanp'yŏn sosŏljip* (The soldiers' library 2: Short story collection). Taegu: Yuggun ponbu chŏnghun kamshil, 1951.
Pak, Yŏngjun, ed. Sabyŏng mun'go 4: Chŏnjaeng munhaksŏn (The soldiers' library 4: Selection of war literature). Taegu: Yuggun ponbu chŏnghun kamshil.
Pak, Yŏnhui. "Mugi-wa ingan" (Weapons and humanity). *Chŏnson munhak* 6 1953: 11-23.
Pang, Kihwan. *Tongch'ŏp* (The young concubine). 1952.
Shin, Hŭigyo. *Ilche malgi sosŏl yŏn'gu pangbŏb-ŭi mosaek* (A methodological invistigation to study novels from the end of the Japanese colonial period). Seoul: Saemi, 2007.
Shin, Hyŏnggi, and O, Sŏngho. *Pukhan munhaksa: hangil hyŏngmyŏng munhag-esŏ chuch'e munhak-kkaji* (History of North Korean literature: From anti-Japanese revolutionary literature to juch'e literature). Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 2001.
Shin, Hyŏnggi. *Haebang chikhu-ŭi munhak undongnon* (Literary activities just after liberation). Seoul: Che 3 munhaksa, 1989.
Shin, Hyŏnggi. *Minjok iyagi-rŭl nŏmŏsŏ* (Beyond the story of the nation). Seoul: Samin, 2003.
Shin, Hyŏnggi. "Shiryŏn-ŭi kyŏnghŏm – Han'guk chŏnjaenggi-ŭi pukhan munhak" (The experience of hardship: North Korean literature during the Korean War). *Inmun kwahak* 80 June 1999: 207-240.
Shin, Kyŏngdŭk. "6.25 Chŏnjaeng ch'ogi chosŏn chonggun sirhwaro pon min'ganin haksal" (The civilian massacres as seen in war writers' reports from the early period of the Korean War). *Sahoe kwahak yŏn'gu* 19.1 2001: 5-41.
Shin, Kyŏngdŭk. "6.25 Chŏnjaeng ch'ogi pukhan-ŭi kŭngmunhak yŏn'gu" (Study of North Korean plays from the early period of the Korean War). *Asea yŏn'gu* 43.2 2000: 225-267.
Shin, Kyŏngdŭk. "Inmin haebanggonggan-ŭi chonggun munhak yŏn'gu" (A study on the war literature from the space liberated by the people's army). *Kŏn'gugŏ munhak* 21-22 1997: 1-54.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "1950 nyŏndae chonggun chakkadan chojik mit kŭ hwaltong" (Organisation and activities of the war writers' group in the 1950s). *Munhak chŏngshin* 62 December 1991: 111-118.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. *Chŏnjaeng-gwa sosŏl* (War and the novel). Seoul: Yŏngnak, 2007.

Shin, Yŏngdŏk. *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa chonggun chakka* (The Korean War and War
Writers). Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 2002.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Hwang Sunwŏn-ŭi chŏnjaengsosŏl yŏn'gu" (A study on the wartime literature of Hwang Sun-wŏn). *Han'guk munhak iron-gwa pip'yŏng* 10 2001: 201-221.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Munindŭr-ŭi haegun ch'ehŏmgwa munhak hwaltong-ŭi ŭiŭi" (The importance of the writers' navy experiences on their literary activities). *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏn'gu* 8 1998: 383-395.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Chŏnjaenggi Yŏm Sangsŏb-ŭi haegun ch'ehŏm-gwa munhak hwaltong" (Yŏm Sangsŏp's wartime literary activities and experiences in the navy). *Han'guk hakbo* 18.2 1992: 36-54.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi chŏnjaengsosŏr-ŭi yangsang" (Aspects of wartime novels during the Korean War). *Kongsa nonmunjip* 37 February 1996: 25-42.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi haegun chŏnghunmun'go 'haeyang sosŏljip' yŏn'gu" (A study on the "anthology of maritime novels" published by the navy during the Korean War). *Hanjung inmunhak yŏn'gu* 16 2005: 195-213.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi nambukhan sosŏl-gwa migun–Chungguggun-ŭi hyŏngsŏnghwa yŏngsang" (The depiction of the Chinese and American army in North and South Korean novels from the Korean War). *Hanjung inmunhak yŏn'gu* 10 June 2003: 1-26.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi nambukhan chŏnjaengsosŏr-ŭi t'ŭksŏng" (Characteristics of North and South Korean war novels from the Korean War). *Han'guk hyŏndae munhak yŏn'gu* 14 2003: 75-109.
Shin, Yŏngdŏk. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi nambukhan sosŏr-ŭi t'alshingminjuŭijŏk yŏn'gu" (A postcolonialist study of North and South Korean novels from the Korean War). *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏn'gu* 23 2004: 69-91.
Sŏ, Chungsŏk. *Chibaeja-ŭi kukka/minjung-ŭi nara* (A ruler state/A people's country). P'aju: Tolbegae, 2010.
Sŏ, Kyŏngsŏk. "6.25 chŏnjaeng munhak, nam-gwa pugi ŏttŏk'e tarŭnga (Korean War literature: How do the North and the South differ?). *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 13 November 1990: 400-410.

Sŏ, Pŏmsŏk. "Chŏnjaengmunhak, kŭ sarang-ŭi yŏksŏl" (War literature, its paradox of love). *Munye undong* 108 2010: 116-126.
Sŏ, Sŭnghŭi. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi taejungsosŏr-ŭi sŏsa chŏllyakchŏk chendŏ chŏngch'i" (Strategic gender politics in the narratives of popular novels from the Korean War). *Yŏsŏnghak nonjip* 30.2 2013: 3-24.
Sŏ, Tongsu. *Chŏnjaeng-gwa chugŭmŭishig-ŭi mihakchŏk t'amgu* (Study of the aesthetics of death consciousness and war). Seoul: Saemunsa, 2005.
Sŏ, Tongsu. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi pan'gong teksŭtŭ-wa kobaeg-ŭi chŏngch'ihak" (Anti-communist literature and the politics of confession during the Korean War). *Han'guk hyŏndae munhak yŏn'gu* 20 December 2006: 79-110.
Sŏ, Tongsu. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi munhak tamnon yŏn'gu" (Study on literary debates during the Korean War). *Uri ŏmunhak yŏn'gu* 27: 385-418.
Sŏ, Tongsu. "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi munye pip'yŏng-gwa pan'gongmunhwa-ŭi kihoek" (Literary criticism during the Korean War and the creation of anti-communist culture). *Hyŏndae munhak yŏn'gu* 32 2007: 409-445.
Sŏn, Anna. "1950 nyŏndae adong munhak-kwa pan'gongchuŭi" (Anti-Communism in 1950s children's literature). *Hangugŏ munhak yŏn'gu* 46 February 2008: 325-355.
Song, Hach'un, and Yi, Namho, eds. *1950 nyŏndae-ŭi sosŏlgadŭl* (Writers of the 1950s). Seoul: Nanam, 1994.
Sŏng, Tongmin. "Nambukhan chŏnshi munhag-ŭi yangsang" (Aspects of North and South Korean wartime literature). *Hangugŏ munhak yŏn'gu* 43 August 2008: 203-224.
Sŏng, Tongmin. *Nambukhan chŏnshi sosŏl yŏn'gu* (Study on North and South Korean wartime novels). Dissertation: Tongguk University, 2003.
Yi, Ch'ŏlchu. "Pukhan-ŭi 6.25 chŏnjaeng munhangnon" (Discussion on North Korean literature from the Korean War). *Pukhan* 1983: 143-149.
Yi, Ch'ŏlchu. *Pug-ŭi yesurin* (The North Korean Artists). Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1966.
Yi, Chongmun. Han'guk chŏnshi sosŏl yŏn'gu (A Study on Korean wartime novels). Thesis: Tongguk University, 2002.

Yi, Hongjik, ed. *Kuksa taesajŏn* (Dictionary of National History). Seoul: Samyŏngsa, 1984.
Yi, Hŏn'gu. "Munhwa chŏnsŏn-ŭn hyŏngsŏng toeŏnnŭnga?" (Has a Cultural Front Line
Been Established?). *Chŏnsŏn Munhak* 2 December 1952: pp. 4-7.
Yi, Hyejin. "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhak: ch'ongnyŏkchŏnha-ŭi chŏnjaeng munhak chakpŏp" (Literature and war: Writing war literature under total war). *Han'guk munye pip'yŏng yŏn'gu* 25 2008.
Yi, Iksŏng. "Chŏnjaenggi Hwang Sunwŏn tanp'yŏn sosŏl yŏn'gu" (A study on the short stories of Hwang Sunwŏn from the Korean War). Kaesŏnŏ yŏn'gu 38 2013: 169-193.
Yi, Kibong. *Pug-ŭi munhak-kwa yesurin* (The North's literature and artists). Seoul: Sasayŏn, 1986.
Yi, Kiyun, Shin, Yŏngdŏk and Im, Tohan, eds. *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa segye munhak* (The Korean War and world literature). Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 2003.
Yi, Kyŏngch'ŏl, "Wŏlbuk munindŭr-ŭi chakp'um-gwa hwaltong" (The works and activities of writers who went to the north). *T'ongil han'guk* 66 1989: 30-34.
Yi, Minsu. *Han'guk sŏngjang sosŏl yŏn'gu – chŏnjaeng ch'ehŏm sosŏr-ŭl chungshim-ŭro* (A study on coming of age novels with a focus on novels concerning wartime experiences). Dissertation: Sŏnggyungwan University, 2000.
Yi, Muyŏng. "Chŏnjaeng-gwa munhak" (War and literature). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 5 May 1953: 4-8.
Yi, Muyŏng. "0 hyŏng-ŭi ingan" (A type zero human). *Shinch'ŏnji* 8.2 June 1953: 274-286.
Yi, Muyŏng. *Yi Muyŏng taep'yojak chŏnjip* 5 (Representative works of Yi Muyŏng). Seoul: Shin'gu munhwasa, 1975.
Yi, Myŏngchae. "Munhag-esŏŭi chŏnjaeng taeŭng yangsang" (Aspects of responses to war in literature). *Uri munhak yŏn'gu* 18 August 2005: 3-21.
Yi, Myŏngchae, and Ŏm Tongsŏp, eds. "Yi Myŏnchae p'yŏn 'pukhan munhak sajŏn' p'osok" (Preparation for the "North Korean literature dictionary" compiled by Yi Myŏngchae). *Ŏnŏ nonjip* 27 1999: 483-515.
Yi, Myŏngchae, and Ŏm Tongsŏp, eds. "Wŏlbuk mit chaebuk munin chosa yŏn'gu" (Research of writers who went north and

were present in the north). *Ŏmun nonjip* 27 December 1999: 61-104.
Yi, Pungmyŏng. "Angma" (Devils). *Munhak yesul* April 1951: 51-65.
Yi, Pungmyŏng. *Sosŏljip: P'osu bubuchŏn* (Story collection: Story of a hunting couple). 1951.
Yi, Sangun. "Punyŏja-wa sŏngdodŏk" (Women and sexual norms). *Chŏnggyŏng* 1951.10.
Yi, Sŏnyŏng et al. *Hyŏndae munhak pip'yŏng charyojip 2 (Ibukp'yŏn 1950-1953)* (Sourcebook on modern literary criticism (volume North Korea/1950-1953)). Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1993.
Yi, Sŭngwŏn. "Chŏnjang-ŭi shimyullak'ŭrŭ" (Simulacre of the battlefield). *Chŏngshin munhwa yŏn'gu* 30.4 2007: 223-249.
Yi, T'aejun. *Sosŏljip: Kohyanggil* (Story collection: The road home). 1951.
Yi, Ŭnja."Nambukhan chŏnshisosŏr-e nat'anan yŏsŏngsang yŏn' gu" (A study of the image of women shown in North and South Korean War novels). *Hanjung inmunhak yŏn' gu* 15 2005: 77-101.
Yŏm, Sangsŏp. *Yŏm Sangsŏp chŏnjip* (Complete works of Yŏm Sangsŏp). Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1987.
Yŏm, Sangsŏp. "Haebang-ŭi ach'im" (The Morning of Liberation). *Shinch'ŏnji* 6.1 January 1951: 98-107.
Yŏm, Sangsŏp. "Ch'wiu" (Shower). *Yŏm Sangsŏp chŏnjip* 7. Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1987: 11-261.
Yu, Chino, Mo, Yunsuk et al. Konan-ŭi 90 il (90 days of hardship). Seoul: Sudo munhwasa, 1952.
Yu, Chuhyŏn. *Chamaegyebo* (A genealogy of sisters). Tonga munhwasa, 1953.
Yu, Chuhyŏn. "Kisangdo" (Weather chart). *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 4 April 1953: 90-100.
Yu, Chuhyŏn. "Yŏin-ŭi norae" (Woman's song). *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibinjip*. Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952: 61-83.
Yu, Hangnyŏn. "1950 nyŏndae Han' guk chŏnjaeng – chŏnhu sosŏl yŏn'gu" (Study in 1950s Korean war novels from after the war). Seoul: Pukp'ollio, 2004.
Yu, Imha. "1950 nyŏndae pukhan munhag-gwa chŏnjaengsŏsa" (North Korea's literature in the 1950's and its war narrative). Tonamŏ munhak 20 2008: 188-216.

Yukkun chonggun chakkadan, ed. *Kŏlchak sosŏl ch'ilin chip* (Seven authors' novelistic masterpieces). Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952.
Yukkun chonggun chakkadan, ed. *Kŏlchak sosŏl shibin chip* (Ten authors' novelistic masterpieces). Taegu: Ch'ŏnggu ch'ulp'ansa, 1952.
Yun, Paengnam. *Hubaekchebihwa* (A secret story on Hubaekche). Seoul: Samjungdang, 1952.
Yun, Shich'ŏl. *Yun Shich'ŏl tanp'yŏnjip: Chijil kisa* (Yun Shich'ŏl short story collection: The geologist). Pyongyang: Chosŏn chakka tongmaeng ch'ulp'ansa, 1956.

Western Language Materials

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.
Armstrong, Charles. *The North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950*. London: Cornell University Press, 2003.
Armstrong, Charles. "The Origins of North Korean Cinema: Art and propaganda in the democratic people's republic." *Acta Koreana* 5.1 January 2002: 1-19.
Auerbach, Erich and Said, Edward. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
Bhabha, Homi K., ed. *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
Birrer, Christopher. "A Critical Analysis of the Allied Blockade of Germany, 1914-
1918." *Journal of the Center of First World War Studies* 1.2 November 2004: 35-67.
Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. Oxford: Polity Press, 2009.
Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford university Press, 1990.
Chickering, Roger. *A world at total war: global conflict and the politics of destruction, 1937-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Cumings, Bruce. *The Korean War: A History*. New York: Random House, 2011.
David-West, Alzo. "North Korean Literature and 'Theoretical Problems of Literary Studies': Tatiana Gabroussenko's Soldiers on the Cultural Front." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47(2) 2012: 236-249.
De Wit, Jerôme. "Rousing the Reader to Action: North Korean Wartime Literature." *25 Years of the SOAS Centre of Korean Studies*. Ed. Andrew Jackson. Leiden: Brill/Global Oriental, 2013: 107-122.
De Wit, Jerôme. "The Dilemmas of Nationalism during Civil War: in Kim Song's Living Forever." *Korean Histories* 2.2 December 2010.
De Wit, Jerôme. "The Representation of the Enemy in North and South Korean Stories from the Korean War." *Memory Studies Journal* 6.2 April 2013.
Dower, John. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
Duara, Prasenjit. *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995.
Eagleton, Terry. *Criticism and Ideology*. London: Verso, 1984.
Eagleton, Terry and Milne, Drew, eds. *Marxist Literary Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.
Eckart, Carter J. "Total War, Industrialization, and Social Change in Late Colonial Korea." *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*. Eds. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996: 3-39.
Elfving-Hwang, Joanna. *Representations of Femininity in Contemporary South Korean Women's Literature*. Leiden: Brill/Global Oriental, 2010.
Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. New York, Random House, 1973.
Em, Henry. "*Minjok* as a Modern and Democratic construct: Sin Ch'aeho's
Historiography." *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Eds. Gi-Wook Shin and
Michael Robinson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999: 336-361.

Epstein, Stephen. "North Korean Short Stories on the Cusp of the New Millennium." *Acta Koreana* 5.1 January 2002: 33-50.
Freedman, Lawrence, ed. *Oxford Readers: War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Furst, Lilian. *All is True: The Claims and Strategies of Realist Fiction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
Furst, Lilian, ed. *Realism*. New York: Longman, 1992.
Gabroussenko, Tatiana. *Soldiers on the Cultural Front: Developments in the Early History of North Korean Literature and Literary Policy*. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 2010.
Gaston, Sean. *Derrida, Literature and War: Absence and the Chance of Meeting*. London: Continuum, 2009.
Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
Han, S. Park, ed. *North Korea: Ideology, Politics, Economy*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996.
Hodgson, Katherine. "The Soviet War". *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of World War II*. Ed. Marina Mackay. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009: 111-122.
Hughes, Theodore. *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
Hurcombe, Martin. *Novelists in Conflict: Ideology and the Absurd in the French Combat*
Novel of the Great War. New York: Rodopi, 2004.
Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Literary Response*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1980.
Jager, Sheila Miyoshi. *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of*
Patriotism. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003.
Jeong, Kelly. *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema*. Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011.
Kant, Immanuel. *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. Trans. Ted Humphrey. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2003.
Kim, Il Sung. "On Developing literature and the arts and activating mass cultural work." *Kim Il Sung: Works* 3. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980.
Kim, Il Sung. "On some questions arising in our literature and art: talk with writers and artists." *Kim Il Sung: Works* 6. Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1981.

Kim, Il Sung. "On Strengthening Cultural and propaganda work and developing foreign trade." *Kim Il Sung: Works 5*. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981: 126-135.
Kim, Il Sung. "Our art should be conducive to early victory in the war." *Kim Il Sung Works* 6. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981.
Kim, Il Sung. "Some tasks before writers and artists at the present time." *Kim Il Sung Works* 5. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981.
Kim, Il Sung. "The tasks and role of the local organs of power at the present stage." *On the Building of the People's Government* 1. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1978: 269-291.
Kim, Il Sung. "To raise our art to a higher level." *Kim Il Sung Works* 6. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981.
Kim, Michael. "The Aesthetics of Total Mobilization in the Visual Culture of Late Colonial Korea." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8 3-4 September-December 2007: 483-502.
Kim, Suzy. "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52.4 2010: 742-767.
Koo, Eunsook. "Ambivalent Images of America: Representations of Korean Women's Experiences in Modern Korean Novels." *Chendŏ-wa sahoe* 7 2008: 154-182.
Kushner, Barak. *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 2006.
Kwon, Young-min. "Literature and Art in North Korea: Theory and Policy." *Korea Journal* 31.2 1991: 56-70.
Kwon, Youngmin. "The Logic and Practice of Literary Nationalism." *Korean Studies* 16 1992: 61-81.
Lee, Dong-bae. "Portrayals of Non-North Korean in North Korean Textbooks and the Formation of National Identity." *Asian Studies Review* 34.3 2010: 349-369.
Lee, Peter. *A History of Korean Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2003.
Leitch, Vincent and Cain, William Eds. *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001.
Lukacs, Georg. *The Theory of the Novel*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974.

Ludendorff, Erich. *Der Totale Krieg*. München: Ludendorffs Verlag, 1935.
Macherey, Pierre. *A Theory of Literary Production*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
Mackay, Marina, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of World War II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
McLoughlin, Kate, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Mommsen, Wolfgang. "German artists, writers and intellectuals and the meaning of war, 1914-1918." *State, Society and Mobilisation in Europe during the First World War*. Ed. John Horne. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 21-38.
Mommsen, Wolfgang, ed. *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und*
Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg. München: Oldenbourg, 1996.
Moore, Colin. *Propaganda Prints – A History of Art in the Service of Social and Political Change*. London: A&C Black Publishers, 2010.
Myers, Brian. *Han Sŏrya and North Korean Literature: The Failure of Socialist Realism in the DPRK*. New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1994.
Myers, Brian. "Mother Russia: Soviet Characters in North Korean Fiction." *Korean Studies* 16 1992: 82-93.
Norris, Margot. *Writing War in the Twentieth Century*. Virginia: Virginia University Press, 2000.
Park, Sunyoung. "The Colonial Origins of Korean Realism and Its Contemporary Manifestation." *Positions* 14.1 2006: 165-192.
Pickowicz, Paul. "Revisiting Cold War Propaganda: Close Readings of Chinese and American Film Representations of the Korean War." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 17 2010: 352-371.
Pihl, Marshall. "Engineers of the Human Soul: North Korean Literature Today." *Korean Studies* 1 1977: 63-109.
Prochasson, Christophe. *Les Intellectuels, le socialisme et la guerre: 1900-1938*. Paris: Seuil, 1993.
Prochasson, Christophe and Rasmussen, Anne. *Au Nom de la Patrie: Les Intellectuels et la Première Guerre Mondiale (1910-1919)*. Paris: La Découverte, 1996.

Pucek, Vladimir. "The Impact of Juche upon Literature and Arts." *North Korea: Ideology, Politics, Economy*. Ed. Han S. Park. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1996: 51-70.

Rüsen, Jörn. *Meaning and Representation in History*. Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2008.

Scalapino, Robert and Lee, Chong-shik. *Communism in Korea*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Schmid, Andre. *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Segal, Joes. "Krieg als erlösende Perspektive für die Kunst." *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Ed. Mommsen, Wolfgang. München: Oldenbourg, 1996: 165-170.

Sherry, Vincent, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Shin, Gi-wook and Robinson, Michael, eds. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Boston: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999.

Shin, Gi-Wook. *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Stacy, Robert. *Russian Literary Criticism: a short history*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975.

Stone, Marla. "The Changing Face of the Enemy in Fascist Italy." *Constellations* 15.3 2008: 332-350.

Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Trans. Rex Warner. New York: Penguin Books, 1954.

West, Philip and Suh Ji-moon, eds. *Remembering the "Forgotten War": The Korean War Through Literature and Art*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.

White, Hayden. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

White, Hayden. *The Fiction of Narrative: Essays on History, Literature, and Theory 1957-2007*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Yamanouchi, Yasushi. *Total War and Modernization*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Gender & Nation*. London: Sage, 2012.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift is een onderzoek naar Noord- en Zuid-Koreaanse korte verhalen en romans die geschreven zijn ten tijde van de Koreaanse Oorlog (1950-1953). Literatuur is een product dat onstaat uit sociale processen die beïnvloed en ingebed zijn in ideologische formaties en historisch gevormd worden. Een schrijver schrijft altijd vanuit een bepaalde positie die in relatie staat tot het ideologische klimaat waarin hij zich bevindt. De schrijver is nooit in staat om te ontsnappen aan het creeëren van een specifiek ideologisch beeld dat los staat van zijn eigen sociale of historische omgeving. In plaats van dat een schrijver met zijn werk een spiegel voorhoudt aan de samenleving, is het het werk en de auteur zelf die onderwerp wordt van onderzoek. Het literaire werk is doordrongen door de ideologische visie en standpunten van de auteur en verraden hiermee de sociale en historische omstandigheden waarin het werk is geschreven.
Het is mijn mening dat zulke eigenschappen vooral duidelijk zichtbaar worden tijdens een oorlog, aangezien een samenleving in oorlog de neiging heeft zich meer op zichzelf te gaan richten. De oorlogscultuur en de literatuur die gecreeërd worden tijdens deze periode laten hierdoor duidelijker zien welke ideologische discoursen aanwezig zijn in de samenleving, vooral omdat er pogingen zichtbaar zijn om bestaande discoursen te herdefiniëren. De studie naar de ideologische oorlogsliteratuur in het bijzonder is een aantrekkelijk onderwerp aangezien de literaire werken passages laten zien waarin de auteur worstelt met zijn onzekerheid over het verloop van de oorlog. De realistische manier van schrijven die de Koreaanse auteurs gebruikten voor de oorlog uitbrak, was altijd een effectief middel gebleken om het literaire werk meer autoriteit uit te doen stralen. Dit kwam vooral door het gebruik van een alwetende verteller in het werk. De functie van deze alwetende verteller is meestal om de gedachtegang en

gevoelens van de personages in het verhaal weer te geven aan de lezer, of om aan de lezer een algemeen beeld te schetsen van wat er in de fictieve wereld gaande is, iets dat de personages in het verhaal zelf niet kunnen weten. Tijdens oorlogstijd verloor deze methode echter veel van zijn overredingskracht aangezien de alwetende verteller zelf in een crisis geraakte. De lezer steunt op de alwetende verteller voor vastigheid, maar als deze verteller poogt om een te rooskleurig beeld te schetsen van de oorlog, zal dit de lezer niet weten te overtuigen. De lezer weet namelijk dat de auteur van het werk zelf ook geen kennis heeft over hoe de oorlog zal gaan verlopen en de manier waarop het literaire werk geschreven is verraadt deze onzekerheid ook.

De Koreaanse oorlogsliteratuur geeft daarom een uniek beeld van de directe respons van de schrijvers op de Koreaanse Oorlog. Dit spontane element gaat verloren zodra de oorlog ten einde is. Na de ondertekening van het wapenstilstandsverdrag, was het namelijk mogelijk om de oorlog als een afgesloten geheel te beschouwen en kon er een begin gemaakt worden om te reflecteren over hoe de oorlog te beschouwen. Het is mijn mening dat vanaf een dergelijk moment de oorlog geïnterpreteerd en gebruikt wordt voor lauter contemporaire doeleinden.

Het onderzoek is verdeeld in twee delen. In het eerste deel richt ik mij op de sociale en historische processen die leidden tot de formatie van een dominante ideologie in zowel Noord en Zuid Korea. In het eerste hoofdstuk geef ik een overzicht van de activiteiten die de schrijvers en intellectuelen ontplooiden vanaf het einde van de Japanse koloniale overheersing tot het einde van de Koreaanse Oorlog. Naast het geven van een geschiedkundig beeld van de activiteiten van de schrijvers, is het doel van dit hoofdstuk om aan te tonen dat het idee van de totale oorlog een zeer dominante factor speelde in de overwegingen van de schrijvers over wat de rol van literatuur en de schrijver zelf tijdens oorlog was. De ideologie van de totale oorlog deed zijn intrede in Koreaanse intellectuele kringen vanaf de jaren 30, en beïnvloedde

de manier waarop schrijvers de Koreaanse Oorlog benaderden. Deze ideologie was mede bepalend in de manier waarop literatuur geschreven zou worden en zelfs hoe de schrijvers zichzelf tijdens de oorlog zouden organiseren.
Het tweede hoofdstuk gaat over de sociale omstandigheden waarin de Zuid-Koreaanse schrijvers zich bevonden voor de uitbraak van de oorlog en ik beargumenteer hier dat voor sommigen de vooroorlogse sociale situatie mede bepalend was voor hun keuze om anti-communistische literatuur te schrijven. Vanwege de vele populaire opstanden die in Zuid-Korea plaatsvonden voor de oorlog begon, werd er een anti-communistisch discours opgebouwd in de samenleving. In deze periode werden vele burgers ervan beticht communistische sympathieën te hebben. Na de uitbraak van de oorlog en met de grote en grillige wisselingen van de frontlinie in de vroege oorlogsmaanden verergerden de beschuldigingen zich. Vooral de bevolking in Seoul die drie maanden lang onder gezag van Noord-Korea kwam te staan, kreeg met veel argwaan te maken. Vele schrijvers die Seoul niet hadden weten te ontvluchten, werden met wantrouwen bejegend door de Zuid-Koreaanse regering. Om dit wantrouwen weg te nemen, kozen velen ervoor om anti-communistsche teksten te schrijven, of om deel te gaan nemen aan de door de overheid gefinanciërde oorlogsschrijvers organisaties.
In deel twee ligt de nadruk op themas en kwesties die naar voren komen in de oorlogsliteratuur. Het derde hoofdstuk legt zich toe op de beschrijving van de oorlogsliteratuur in Noord-Korea. De Noord-Koreaanse schrijvers zagen literatuur als een uitstekend middel om bepaalde emoties los te maken in de lezer en om de lezer te bewegen om in actie te komen. Om dit te bewerkstelligen portreteerden de schrijvers de overwegend Amerikaanse vijand als kwaadaardig en wreed, terwijl de eigen helden in de verhalen beschreven werden als puur en onschuldig. Hiernaast beschreven de verhalen een gevoel van kameraadschap onder de soldaten aan het front als manier om de lezer te overtuigen in actie te komen om

hetzelfde te doen. Ik betoog hier dat een dergelijke beschrijving van een actieve en deelnemende rol in de natie tot een smallere definitie leidde van het concept van wie tot de natie behoorde. Ook al werd er in de meeste verhalen een ideeël beeld geschetst van een homogene en zorgeloze Noord-Koreaanse samenleving, de propagandaliteratuur die geschreven werd kon niet volledig voorbij gaan aan de realiteit. Hierdoor zijn sociale problemen en kwesties die van acuut belang geacht werden ten tijde van de oorlog ook zichtbaar in de werken. De dramatische terugtocht van het Noord-Koreaanse leger na september 1950 is dan ook een vaak terugkerende setting in de verhalen. Dit in een poging om deze tegenslag uit te leggen aan de lezer en om ze ervan te overtuigen dat dit niet ontstond door incompetente politieke beslissingen van de politieke en militaire leiders.

In het vierde hoofdstuk komt de analyse van Zuid-Koreaanse oorlogsliteratuur aan bod. De oorlogsliteratuur uit Zuid-Korea richtte zich bijna exclusief op de uitleg van ideologische verschillen tussen communisme en democratie. Dit kan uitgelegd worden als een poging van de regering om de eigen bevolking te overtuigen van de levensvatbaarheid van de eigen democratische ideologie in een tijd waarin populaire opstanden tegen het regime de boventoon voerden. Schrijvers in Zuid-Korea droegen hier hun steentje bij door de communistische ideologie te beschrijven als een ideologie die onverenigbaar was met hun ideaalbeeld van de Koreaanse natie. Democratische principes strookten volgens hen wel volledig met dit beeld en zij poogden hiermee de lezer ervan te overtuigen dat de legitimiteit van de claim op de Koreaanse natie in Zuid-Korea rustte. Een diepgaande analyse van Kim Song's roman *Living Forever* laat deze nationalistische constructie zien. Dit ideaalbeeld zorgde er echter voor dat niet alleen het noorden, maar ook elementen binnen de Zuid-Koreaanse samenleving buitengesloten werden van deelname aan de natie. In de verhalen komt dit naar voren door de beschrijving van personages die zichzelf proberen te verrijken en niet het beste voorhebben met het

idee van de natie. Ik betoog dat via deze retoriek de schrijvers bepaalde groepen binnen de Zuid-Koreaanse uitsluitten, en dat ze tegelijkertijd hiermee hun eigen positie in het culturele veld probeerden te verstevigen. De schrijvers eigenden zichzelf de correcte uitleg van het concept nationalisme toe en begonnen de definitie van wie als ware nationalisten gezien konden worden, toe te spitsen op diegenen die een directe ervaring had met de oorlog zelf. Hierdoor begon deze definitie tegen het einde van de oorlog enkel de soldaten aan het front en de schrijvers zelf te omvatten.
Het vijfde hoofdstuk vergelijkt de manier waarop de vijand geportreteerd wordt in Noord- en Zuid-Koreaanse oorlogsliteratuur. De afbeelding verschilt onderling vanwege het vooroorlogse paradigma die beide staten hadden gecreeërd. Met de grote populaire opstanden waar de Zuid-Koreaanse samenleving mee te maken kreeg, centreerde het vijandsbeeld zich bijna volledig op de ideologische corruptie van de vijand. Noord-Korea wist snel een stabiele sociale samenleving te vormen, waardoor de aandacht gericht kon worden op een vijand die buiten de eigen staat lag. Daarom worden in de Noord-Koreaanse verhalen de Verenigde Staten vooral als grootste vijand gezien die imperialistische ambities het Koreaanse schiereiland zichzelf toe te eigenen. Beide staten claimden dat de gewone bevolking in de overheerste gebieden smachtten op bevrijding uit handen van de wrede (Noord- of Zuid-Koreaanse) onderdrukkers. De verhalen doen dan ook een poging om een menselijk beeld te schetsen van een vriendelijke bevolking in het vijandelijke gebied en van vijandelijke soldaten die tegen hun wil in vechten voor de tegenstander. Hun verhalen laten echter zien dat het tijdens een burgeroorlog bijna onmogelijk is om een duidelijk afgebakende verdeling tussen goede en slechte vijanden te behouden. De buitenlandse (Chinese of Amerikaanse) vijand daarentegen wordt op een meer ongenuanceerde manier weergegeven aangezien zij vaak racistische of beestachtige eigenschappen worden toebedeeld.
Het zesde hoofdstuk tenslotte bevat een analyse van de

oorlogsliteratuur in Noord- en Zuid-Korea naar de rol en positie van vrouwen tijdens de Koreaanse Oorlog. De traditionele rol die de Koreaanse samenleving vrouwen had toebedeeld was er een van onderdanigheid aan en ondersteuning voor de man. De man op zijn beurt moest zorgen in het onderhoud van de vrouw. Toen tijdens de oorlog de meeste mannen naar het front moesten, waren het de vrouwen zelf die voor het onderhoud moest zorgen van haarzelf en haar familie. Een hiermee gepaard gaand sociaal probleem die vooral in Zuid-Korea zichtbaar werd tijdens de oorlog was prostitutie. Vele schrijvers in Zuid-Korea kozen dit onderwerp voor hun verhalen en zochten via hun werken naar een oplossing voor dit maatschappelijke probleem. In hun optiek was een manier om dit lot te ontlopen om zich in te zetten voor de natie. Ziekenhuiszusters werden de heldinnen in hun verhalen om dit over te brengen op de vrouwelijke lezers. Wanneer men de beschrijvingen van deze zusters echter analyseerd, merkt men op dat de traditionele rol van vrouwen nog steeds erg zichtbaar is. Men ziet namelijk dat hun inspanningen zich niet richten op de natie, maar meer op het onderhouden en ondersteunen van de man. Ook in Noord-Koreaanse verhalen zijn veel heldinnen te vinden. Deze vrouwen proberen zich te ontdoen van de traditionele rol die hen wordt toegeschreven zodat ze zichzelf kunnen presenteren als gelijke aan de man. De verhalen laten echter zien dat deze strijd om gelijkheid niet makkelijk te bewerkstelligen is, en dat ze worstelen met hun gevoelens van moederschap of moeten strijden met mannen in Noord-Korea die de nieuwe positie van de vrouw in de samenleving nog niet geaccepteerd hebben. Echter zijn ook in de Noord-Koreaanse oorlogsverhalen vrouwelijke personages te vinden die zichzelf schikken naar het traditionele beeld waarin de vrouw ondersteuning moet geven aan de man.

Curriculum Vitae

Jerôme de Wit is op 21 augustus 1980 te Gouda geboren. Na eindexamen gymnasium te hebben gedaan in 1999, ging hij in Leiden Talen en Culturen van Korea studeren. 2002-2003 bracht hij door in Zuid-Korea ten behoeve van taaltraining en scritptieonderzoek. In 2005 studeerde hij af met een scriptie over oorlogstrauma in de verhalen van Hwang Sun Wŏn. Na zijn afstuderen ontving hij een beurs van de Sungkyunggwan University om op de Graduate School van de Academy of East Asian Studies te studeren en werkte hij tevens als universitair docent aan de Hanguk University of Foreign Studies.
In 2009 keerde hij terug naar Leiden om onder het door de Academy of Korean Studies gefinanciërde project History as a Social Process een proefschrift te schrijven over de modern Koreaanse literatuur.