

## Contemporary South Korean War Cinema as a Possible Cultural Memory Medium

Tvirmantas Cenka\*  
Yonsei University

### Abstract

This study explores the possibility of Korean War cinema serving as a medium in creation and spreading of new Korean War cultural memory and proposes three theoretical and philosophical approaches. Major findings and suggestions of this research are as follows. First, this study discusses three approaches on how cinema can be involved in the process of cultural memory formation and proposes, as discussed by Alleida Assmann, Astrid Erll, Alison Landsberg and others that cinema can be used in creation of unification discourse within the popular media. Second, this study categorizes recent Korean War movies produced in South Korea as belonging to a new wave of Korean War cinema, which portrays war as a national tragedy, focusing on the damage caused by ideology and outside forces, rather than portraying it only as a North Korean aggression and blaming communists for the tragic destiny of the Korean nation. The study suggests that these movies can be used in creating a new paradigm in remembrance of the Korean War. In conclusion, this study proposes to use recent South Korean war movies as educational material in order to create a South Korean identity based on compassion and solidarity, rather than rigid antagonism and hatred.

Key Words: Korean War, South Korean cinema, Cultural memory, Prosthetic memory, History and cinema

---

\* tvirmantas.cenka@gmail.com

Received September 22, 2016; Revised version received February 15, 2017; Accepted March 02, 2017

## 1. Korean War and the Project of South Korean Identity

When analyzing the project of South Korean identity it is important to include discussions on Korean War and its legacy, which can be considered as the main cornerstone of South Korean identity creation process. It can be argued that Korean War and its aftermath deepened the political and ideological division of Korean peninsula for what would come to be one of the most extreme political and cultural divisions of one nation that the world has ever seen. As a consequence, war imposed a strict ideological antagonism on the peninsula, which found its way to all layers of Korean society, starting from family, culture and politics (Oberdorfer 2001, 10). Therefore, fragile armistice, the danger of military escalation, and dim prospects of unification left Koreans with what Susie Jie Young Kim (2013, 288) calls post-Armistice division consciousness<sup>1)</sup>, which illustrates the struggles for historical truth in today's Korean society.

Furthermore, Duncan Bell (2006) suggests that questions of historical memory play a pivotal role in development of nation's politics, individual, and society, creating and re-creating the individual itself and the society that he lives in. Meanwhile, Astrid Erll (2008a, 6) points out that identities are being reconstructed through the acts of remembering of who we were and the relation between this past subject and the present one. In that sense, identity requires memory as its main component. Moreover, James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger III (2008, 320) suggest that collective remembrance is connected with the project of identity in a way where the understanding of who we are is linked with the remembrance of important events.

While dealing with memory and identity politics, South Korean case provides rather strong evidence in understanding the make-shift processes of such events as war and its consequent remembrance throughout the nation. Important thing to note while analyzing South Korea's identity is that the Korean War has never ended and the looming threat of its renewal requires constantly reinforcing and

---

1) Susie Jie Young Kim suggests that post-Armistice division consciousness in modern South Korea perpetrates an ongoing system of violence that disregards individual memories and voices, which go against the hegemonic agenda derived from the Cold-War anticommunism (Kim 2013).

reinvigorating the modern South Korean identity.

In addition, collective identities require a common remembering of a particular historical event and a certain meaning or narrative, which helps to connect past and present. However, memory is not stable, it is subject to constant reshaping by the ruling elite institutions for the mobilization of nationalistic feelings or as an opposition to the ruling narrative (Bell 2008, 15). Therefore, both South and North Korea constantly engage in producing new representations of the war in order to legitimize their rule and to discredit the opponent (Bleiker and Hoang 2006, 195). Here, history is being reproduced in different ways to secure new national and socio-cultural identities, which could strengthen the ruling elite's right to rule. In such a way, national past becomes a subject of distortion and a tool for creating new cultural memory and cultural identity of a nation.

As argued by Bell, the importance of war's legacy for the country's future political decisions and national identities is ever-present in many countries, notably United States and Germany, where the arguments related to Vietnam War and The Second World War respectively had an undeniable impact on national identity. The factor that reminds Korea of its tragic past is undeniably the political status of division. Kim Kyong-Ju (2006, 152-153) points out that national identities are being created in contexts of institutional or historical power relations. In that sense, Korean identity was being created through the opposition to the enemy, which for long ages was considered Imperial China and after that, Japan. However, after the division of Korean peninsula this role was acquired by North Korea. Therefore, till the very end of the Cold War South Korean government used anti-North Korean discourse as a political tool for mobilizing the country. This construction of the political-other started the erosion of the ethnical unity of Korea and moved towards a distinct South Korean identity (2006, 156-157). Meanwhile, Lee Hyeon-Ju (2010d, 49) argues that 'strategic' remembering<sup>2)</sup> of the Korean War works as a tool for constructing distinct national identity.

While it is clear that commonly accepted and shared memory forms the social identity of a group, in South Korea's case, beginning of the Korean War and

---

2) South Korean narrative of Korean War mainly focuses on the outbreak of the war. In that sense it portrays South Korea as a victim, whereas North Korea as an invader (Lee 2010).

vanishing prospects of unity became an unifying, culturally recognized historical fact, shared by all South Koreans and reinforced by anticommunist and ideological propaganda tools (2010, 50-51).

National identity is the first and foremost criteria of society's solidarity and sense of belonging, therefore a country, who cannot express one solid basis for its identity fails in its most important task (Smith 1999, 257). Thus, creating a national identity based on the memory of a country shattering event was and still is of utmost importance to South Korea, which sought to rebuild itself after the war and mobilize its nationalist sentiment. However, with the end of the Cold War bipolar world system South Korean government needed to create a new national identity, which began to be reconstructed through the paradigm of reunification (Kim 2006a, 161). Recent research on cinema and public opinion suggest that this paradigm is slowly finding its way into the South Korean society (Lee 2010; Choong 2005; Kim 2011), however, with recent political instability in South Korea and growing escalations over North Korean nuclear threat it remains to be seen how real the prospects of unification agenda are.

## 2. Cultural Memory Transmission Through Cinema

### a) Cultural Memory and Cinema

While analyzing the impact of cinematic experience on the possible creation of cultural memory it is important to define what is the cultural, or in other words, collective memory. However, there is no strict definition of cultural memory, simply because the relation between the memory and culture is a transitional and flexible part of the interdisciplinary study field. Astrid Erll (2008a) points out, that cultural memory is best understood in terms of the relation between past and present, and its results in various sociocultural contexts (Erll 2008a, 1-2). Cultural memory plays its role in such fields as myths, monuments, verbal history, historiography, rites, etc., while every culture connects its individuals with the help of norms, history and memory (Harth 2008, 86). In that sense, cultural memory

can be seen as a defined basis for shared memory of an event, which is important enough to represent the memory itself. With the help of culture that surrounds us people create a memory frame, which transcends the boundaries of individual's lifespan and connects past, present, and the future. According to Aleida Assmann (2008) through different acts like reading, remembering, criticizing and discussion we are creating an essential meaning, which allows people to communicate through time (Assmann 2008a, 97).

In addition, one of the main parts of the cultural memory process is remembering. Assmann distinguishes two types of remembering. First, there is an active remembering or active dimension of cultural memory which 'supports a collective identity' and in which 'texts, places, persons, artifacts, and myths are meant to be actively circulated and communicated in ever-new presentations and performances'; second, there is a passive form of remembering, which derives from forgetting and storing details of the past in the archive. Active remembering or active memory constantly creates and recreates cultural memory messages, which are constantly read, criticized, reproduced and commented on art products (2008a, 99). This study proposes that cinema, as a cultural product that has the ability to translate the message of active remembering and reproduce national myth is important part of cultural memory process. In South Korea's case movies that in one way or another depict the Korean War are being constantly created through new artistic and thematic perspectives in order to shape and reshape existing versions and interpretations of the past. This active remembering turns the past into the visual of present and future thinking, thus keeping the memory of an important event ever alive.

In addition, as part of the active remembering, Assmann distinguishes history itself, where countries create new versions of its history, which are being taught and received in the society as a collective autobiography (2008a, 101). How history is actually perceived and reproduced through cinema has been analyzed in many works, most of which tend to portray a historical movie as an authentic historical experience. Robert Rosenstone (2006) states that history, produced in movies and written in books is similar in at least two dimensions: both depict real historical figures and real events and both tend to include the same amount of fiction and

uncertainty, which derives from our conventional ways of tracking the past and searching for truth (Rosenstone 2006, 2). Therefore, it can be argued that despite the authenticity of the movie itself, it has an effect on questioning and reshaping existing norms about the past. What is more important, as suggested by Assmann is that active remembering shapes and affects the group's cultural identity (Assmann 2008a, 106).

While analyzing historical movies Rosenstone states that all genres of historical movies, whether it is a documentary or a melodrama, are becoming more and more important to our understanding of the past, therefore choosing not to pay attention to the historical movies would mean not paying attention to the significant part of population, who learnt about the historical events through these movies (Rosenstone 2006, 4).

Meanwhile, Erll stresses out that especially today our cultural memory depends on media technologies and circulation of its products (Erll 2008a, 9). One of the most compelling suggestions that Erll makes is that cultural memory is based on communication through the media, where versions of the past are being externalized in various forms, among which cinema is of huge importance (2008b, 389).

According to Maurice Halbwachs (1992), who was one of the first to describe the cultural memory phenomena, important factor during the reconstruction of the past is our dependence on the social environment that surrounds us (Halbwachs 1992, 49). Therefore, contemporary South Korean cinema, in contrast with the era of censorship and ideology is allowing people to see the mood of the society itself rather than the mood of the government. Once again, as Rosenstone points out, whether the historical movie is affected by the ruling ideology or is exaggerating certain details, it still has an effect on our understanding of the past (Rosenstone 2006, 5). In addition, Robert Burgoyne (2003) points out, that today movies have a special degree of social power, because they create an important relation with the past. And it does not matter if they are authentic, what matters is that they have a power to affect the viewer emotionally (Burgoyne 2003, 223).

While analyzing the relation between the cultural memory and cinema Erll proposes the conceptions of remediation and premediation. First, remediation works as a constant recreation of the past in different media, while premediation

can be understood as a recreation of the past using the established framework (Erl 2008b, 392). In that sense, it can be argued that during the authoritarian era and up till the very introduction of Sunshine policy, South Korean war movies that were being produced were following strict government regulations on how to produce movies and what details to include. Therefore, early era of South Korean movie industry<sup>3)</sup>, especially in relation to the war movies can be understood in terms of premediation. Meanwhile, the new wave of Korean cinema and the liberalization of the political system itself brought new ways and new freedoms into the portrayal of the Korean War, which began to be reproduced through different thematic perspectives. This coincides with remediation theory. Although remediation has a potential power to strengthen and stabilize cultural memory and various icons of the past, the co-working of remediation and premediation has the biggest influence on cultural memory (2008b, 393-395).

Furthermore, Jan Assmann (2008b) points out that memory is a form of knowing, which is related to the individual and the social group or the entire collective identity, which is being created by a common remembering and subsequent sense of belonging (Assmann 2008b, 114). Here, important role is being played by war movies, which, as suggested by Burgoyne have a powerful visual and emotional effect that allows viewer to identify himself with the physical and social dimensions of the portrayed war (Burgoyne 2003, 222). However, Erl notes that the process where cinema becomes a powerful transmitter of cultural memory depends on various media strategies, the receiving of a movie, escalation of its meaning in other media products, discussions, advertisement, comments and other parts of the general discourse that creates a collective context, in which movies garner the power to become cultural memory transmitters. In other words, the power of memory production lies not in the authenticity of the movies, but in the context, where these movies become the subject of discussion, study and commentary (Erl 2008b, 395-396). Important thing to note here is that visual media and cinema today became one of the main mediators that connect present,

---

3) Park Seung-Hyun (2007, 15) suggests that early South Korean movie industry can be best understood in the terms of failure, because it was based on extensive government propaganda and forced destruction of unfriendly ideological clichés rather than emphasis on the artistic value of the cinema itself.

past and its understanding (Rosenstone 2006; Grainge 2003).

However, Jay Winter (2006) sees a mistake in understanding movies as having a part in collective memory creation process. Rather, it is suggested that we should treat movies as theatres of memory, in which one group mediates with the other. However, the fact that we use cinema does not mean that we come to share the same collective memory (Winter 2006, 184-185). This proves that treating movies as possible memory transmitters is a risky endeavor in scientific research, because there is no strict consensus about their power to affect memory. Nonetheless, while agreeing that movies contribute to collective and individual memory construction, Winter proposes that this process is not mechanical, but rather individual and affects different groups quite differently (2006, 184-185).

On the other hand, Halbwachs (1992) points out that through the act of memory reproduction our identity is immortalized. However, because it is reproduction, rather than the living memory the new acquired memories are not alive anymore (Halbwachs 1992, 47). In that sense, this indicates that reproduction of memories leads straight to new identities, as those that were based on direct past experiences die out. This is exactly the case with Korean War movies and people who actually recall the tragedy of the war themselves. Halbwachs also suggests that for a certain social group to maintain the idea of its existence, it has to produce clear representations of itself. In other words, certain materialistic forms of representation come directly from the need to reproduce the meaning itself, when the individuals that first were creating these meanings die out (Marcel and Mucchielli 2008, 145). Important thing is that collective memory tends to represent only that memory, that best describes the essence of the collective itself (2008, 147). It can be argued that in South Korean case, memory that needs to be constantly reproduced and is the essence of the nation itself derives from the Korean War and its legacy.

Despite the importance of memory and remembrance, cultural forgetting also plays a significant role. According to Aleida Assmann cultural memory is always being followed by forgetting, which allows us to erase 'unnecessary' details from a nation's past (Assmann 2008a, 106). It can be argued that the forgetting of certain details in one's history is as important as remembering. In South Korea's case, as country seeks a consensus on its one identity, government tends to delete certain



elements of the past in order to create a unified common identity (Lee 2010, 49).

Memory of the past can be understood as a process where certain elements of our past are being prioritized while others become unimportant or are forgotten. Best example of this is the Korean War itself, a conflict that is too difficult to understand all of it, therefore the work of historians and other researchers is to gather the details that are worth remembering (Bleiker, Hoang 2006, 201). Myoshi Sheila Jager (2007) points out that this process can be noticed in South Korea as well, when after the end of the Cold war North Korean fault for casualties started to disappear from the history textbooks (Jager and Mitter 2007, 3). As pointed out by Bleiker, remembrance of war includes forgetting as well, and this combination of remembrance and forgetting is an inherited political process, therefore the depiction of the past has an ever important meaning on present and the future (Bleiker and Hoang 2006, 198-199).

As noted above, recent studies suggest that cinema plays its part in the creation of cultural memory process (Assmann 2008; Erll 2008; Rosenstone 2006; Grainge 2006). While there are voices of discontent with this proposal (Winter 2006) it is important to consider movies as a cultural tool for creating the new Korean identity.

### **b) Pierre Nora's *Lieux de Memoire* (Sites of Memory) Approach**

This study proposes that South Korean war movies can be understood using Pierre Nora's sites of memory concept. Firstly, according to Nora (1989), self-awareness and understanding of who we are comes from the events that already happened, therefore we are forced to speak about the memory, because there is only so much of it left (Nora 1989, 7). As Nora points out, "we no longer inhabit that past, we only commune with it through vestiges – vestiges, moreover, which have become mysterious to us and which would do well to question, since they hold the key to our 'identity,' to who we are" (Nora 2002). In that sense, one of the vestiges that tell us about our past can be considered a movie, a cinematic experience, like storytelling. Not because the past is being represented in the movie, rather because the past is being represented in the context of the

present situation. As Nora suggests, past materializes in concrete, in places, monuments and gestures, images otherwise called sites of memory (Nora 1989, 9). And although some studies (Lee 2010) see South Korean sites of memory as monuments and museums, this study proposes to include cinema, which through storytelling and visual tells us a version of our past, just like museums or monuments.

Nora states that memory is life, created for the sake of the existing societies where memory itself stays in a constant state of evolution and is open to dialectical remembering and forgetting. In other words, it is prone to manipulation, deformation, etc. (Nora 1989, 8), which in South Korean case can be understood as government's ideological guidelines on depicting the war in the movies. Memory was constantly reshaped using propaganda and censorship techniques, remembering certain facts and forgetting the others<sup>4</sup>). Meanwhile, modern memory, according to Pierre Nora is based on material, trace, and seeing the image as compared to the past when it was mostly a record in the book (1989, 13). In that sense, Pierre Nora agrees that one of the main elements of today's memory reproduction is the visual. While agreeing with Nora, Jay Winter (2008) points out, that sites of memory are certain fields, through which societies create collective meanings of the past, which form the identity of the group. By visiting and consuming these memory places groups take and add meaning, which is essential to the existence of the sites of memory itself (Winter 2008, 61).

However, as noted by Pim den Boer (2008), sites of memory conception is not an automatic mechanism for saving memory. It is argued that "*lieux de memoire* are also mnemotechnical devices, but extremely ideological, full of nationalism, and far from being neutral or free of value judgements. Most *lieux de memoire* were created, invented, or revoked to serve the nation-state" (den Boer 2008, 21). Therefore, it is important not to forget the ideological context in which the movies are being created.

While elaborating on the concept of sites of memory, Nora suggests three characteristics, which always interact with each other: material, symbolic, and

---

4) For example, civilian massacres committed by South Korean soldiers in Korea and Vietnam for long decades were being forgotten by the official discourse.

functional (Nora 1989, 19). Firstly, it is a material object, tool for saving memory, a museum, monument or even a DVD. Secondly, in case of movies, the portrayed events have a symbolic function, they show the society's urge to find new identities, to uncover the truth and to build new representations of the past. Thirdly, functional use of the cinema, which is best understood in terms of strict ideological restrictions and its use in gathering the popular support for government's anticommunist agenda.

Furthermore, it is argued that driving force behind the creation of sites of memory is the will to remember (1989, 21). In South Korea's case it is important to identify what urges the creation of new representations of the Korean War in the cinema. As discussed above, the meaning and impact of Korean War to the society's identity and structure is too big to be considered just a profitable theme. Rather it is a narrative that needs to be constantly reintroduced through different angles in order to solidify and/or alter the existing discourse on the war. It is important to note that sites of memory serve as links not only for people, who actually experienced it themselves but for people who were born way after the event (Winter 2008, 62).

Although Pierre Nora and Jay Winter talks about places of memory more in terms of monuments and commemoration of certain events (Nora 1989; Winter 2008; Lee 2010d), the concept can easily be expanded to non-material areas, notably cinema. In addition, sites of memory are often realized through art, which can be analyzed through esthetic and semiotic perspectives (Winter 2008, 67).

Korean War was a historical event of great consequences, which require its memory to live on and be passed onto new generations. It can be argued that remembrance and reminding of the war and its memory, which is being externalized through the visual is the site, through which this memory is being represented in order for it to survive and teach. *Spring in my Hometown* (1998), *Welcome to Dongmakgol* (2005), and *The Front Line* (2011), can be considered living monuments of memory, which is being represented in a new way in order to forge new memory of the Korean War. These movies create meanings that could possibly tell the individual and collective meaning of this event to the people, who did not experience it themselves.

### c) Alison Landsberg's Prosthetic Memory Approach

Another approach, suggesting that cinema can be used as a transmitter of cultural memory is provided by Alison Landsberg (2004), who argues that due to the spread of new media technologies and its consumption alongside the new mass culture of consumerism, memory is being transformed, since the public has gained an easy access to different narratives of the past. In this way modernization creates new version of public memory, which allows a member of a society to participate and become a part of history through means, such as cinema. During this process the viewer is able not only to grasp the essence of a historical narrative, but also to experience it more emotionally and personally, through this act acquiring new memory of an event he or she could not have experienced. Furthermore, this form of memory is strong enough to affect person's subjectivity and politics (Landsberg 2004, 2). It is argued, that various memory technologies were always in use, however, with the influx of cinema technologies and expanded access to narratives of the past it drastically expanded (2004, 222).

Explaining the process of acquiring new, prosthetic memories Landsberg argues that certain filming and editing techniques put the viewer in specific places related to narrative, therefore in these movies viewers experience intimate, emotional contact with the events, that were out of their lifetime (2004, 221). While watching a movie in the theater viewer is being constantly affected by huge images and sounds, whereas during reading one can stop anytime he wants. While watching the movie, viewer has to insert himself into the visual, the narrative, the story, and logic of events. It is argued, that in this act of immersion viewer mimetically answers to the images, even though the shooting technique might put him into disturbing positions (2004, 224). Main claim, made by Landsberg explains that modern mass media technologies allow a person to gain access to the cultural memory of an event, even though one did not live in the time of it.

Landsberg calls it prosthetic memory due to following reasons (Landsberg 2003, 148). First, this form of memory is not authentic or natural, it comes from the relation of representations in the media; second, this emotional memory becomes a part of an individual, just like a prosthetic limb; third, this kind of memory is

subject to change and selling, emphasizing its commerciality; fourth, this kind of memory is useful because it is being perceived as real and has the power to affect person's decisions and thinking, and can cause empathy.

Landsberg points out, that prosthetic memory is available to everyone, due to its highly commercialized nature. Therefore, everyone can access memories, even if they are not related to one's ethnical background. In that sense, a prosthetic memory can have implications on a persons' ethnic stance towards the others (Landsber 2009, 222). Kang Je-Gyu's *Taegukgi: The Brotherhood of War* (2003) is a possible example of this approach. According to the producer himself, movie was created in order to deconstruct existing antagonism between the South and North Koreas. In addition, producer wanted to portray the human side of the war, while presenting war as a national tragedy (Tsai 2004). Furthermore, Susie Jie Young Kim argues that this movie tries to build a bridge between present and the past, using popular movie stars in order to attract more young people, while the structure of the movie suggests that it is trying to create a new memory (Kim 2013). In that sense, a viewer who would go see the movie would get a memory, which explains the Korean War as national tragedy, rather than an act of aggression by the communists. In this way, viewers' position towards North Korea is being affected when North Korea is being transformed from an absolute aggressor to one of the victims. Anger and urge to revenge is being transformed into pity and self-wallow. Although it is difficult to assess movies' potential memory creating power, based on discussions above, it can be argued that they have a certain degree on changing the viewer's perspective on certain events.

However, Landsberg's prosthetic memory conception is being criticized by James Berger (2007), who argues that prosthetic memory is a product of neither a prosthesis nor memory, rather it is a product of contemporary media, which has the power to construct progressive elements of the society (Berger 2007, 598). Although Berger agrees that movies have the power to transmit something to the viewer, he disagrees that it is memory. Instead, he argues, this act might be a simple cultural process of acquiring knowledge and passing it on (2007, 601). Berger argues that today's media technologies, like movies, internet, etc., are only supplements to our mental processes of understanding, perceiving and transmission,

while experiences in the cinema are created through mere symbols, which can be understood as representation (2007, 603-604). Although Berger doubts how a memory of a historical event can be transmitted through cinema, he agrees that representations, which sometimes are traumatizing, have this effect. Nonetheless, Burgoyne argues that cinema is the most emphatic way, which allows us to experience a physical and mimetic confrontation with the collective past (Burgoyne 2003, 225).

Although it can be argued that memory conceptions discussed above are inconclusive to prove that movies have a certain effect on our understanding of the past, they are not invalidated in this discussion. While the ways to measure how a movie affects the memory of a group of individuals are still methodically vague, it can be argued, that there are valid grounds to suggest that movies play a big role in depicting and therefore teaching past to the ones who did not know it.

### 3. Contemporary Representations of the Korean War in South Korean Cinema

#### a) Tragedy and Hope in *Spring in My Hometown*

Lee Kwang-Mo's movie *Spring in My Hometown* provides an intimate and close, innocent and personal view of the Korean War. This movie, while having won several international awards and being well received by critics is an unusual depiction of a war torn country, because war and actual battle scenes are never shown. It can be argued that positive reception and media discourse of this movie, suggests its ability to share the cultural memory (Erl 2008b, 395-396), while cinematic shooting techniques alongside emotionally strong storyline make this movie a possible transmitter of new Korean War memory.

*Spring in My Hometown* depicts the lives of two friends in a distant South Korean village. Throughout the movie close friendship of main protagonists, Sung-Nim and Chang-Hee, is being tested by the shadow of the war. Although the movie starts with somewhat fearful atmosphere when a pro-communist villager

is found and sentenced to severe punishment, eventually an atmosphere of nostalgia and calmness is created, which represents long lost sovereignty of the Korean nation. Movie often depicts child's play and reckless moments of innocent youth, which helps to create melancholic and nostalgic atmosphere, at the same time allowing the viewer to identify himself with the children and in this way gain access to the memory of war. Through the perspective of children *Spring in My Hometown* depicts the obvious and subtle consequences of the Korean War (Kim and Walker 2002, 9).

Despite warm and playful scenes, life in the village is troubled by a potential threat of the war, which is being reminded by the nearby American military base. It can be argued, that this motive directly criticizes American involvement in the Korean War and dislocation of American soldiers in South Korea. Moreover, both Sung-Nim's father and Chung-Hee's mother are forced to work for the American military. In this way, the fault of the Korean War and subsequent tragedy is shifted onto United States, while emphasizing the ideas of Korean unity and victimizing the Korean nation. This movie uses intimate personal identification techniques and allows the viewer to see its own past as a peaceful and intimate friendship, while at the same time disturbing it with the prospects of destruction, thus emphasizing the real cost that the Korean peninsula had to pay, instead of blaming the North.

Most importantly, Sung-Nim's and Chang-Hee's narrative portrays war as a national tragedy. Having discovered an abandoned millhouse they spend their time playing and fooling around, however having once stumbled upon an American soldier who sexually abuses women there, their story experiences a downward shift. When Chang-Hee's mother gets accused for stealing the laundry, his father repays the guilt by offering his wife to the American soldier. Once again, a scene in which Chang-Hee's mother is being raped by American soldier is seen by Sung-Nim and Chang-Hee. These events change their friendship forever and point to the real struggles of war, such as prostitution, coercion, lawlessness and violence of American soldiers, while at the same time reminding the audience of the issue of comfort women. It can be argued that movie references Korea's division by outside forces through the portrayal of Chang-Hee's mother, who is given away. Sexual exploitation by American soldiers can be interpreted as an assault on

Korea's unity and innocence. Meanwhile, American soldiers personify the phallo-centric aggression of the outside, just like in the case of Vietnam War movies. In this way the blame for the tragedy of the war is shifted from the communist North onto the outside, most notably the United States. It can be argued that *Spring in My Hometown* portrays a new cultural memory. One, which focuses on teaching audience the harsh reality of the war rather than negatively depicting the communists.

After the millhouse scene, life in the village changes dramatically. Millhouse burns down and with it Chang-Hee disappears. Friendship is shattered and divided, just like the Korean peninsula. Chang-Hee's empty coffin is put to the ground while funeral ceremony is symbolically divided by passing American soldiers strengthening the motive of division. In addition, portrayal of Sung-Nim, who longs for Chang-Hee and visits his grave every day transcends the human experience of war and symbolizes the divided Korean nation, where each part is longing for unity, once lost in the hands of the other. However, Sung-Nim never loses hope and waits for the return of his dear friend, a narrative that can be identified as the unification promise – an emerging meta-narrative of Korean War movies, which could be used in addressing the public as well.

*Spring in My Hometown* depicts nostalgia for lost unity in its atmospheric, silent and hopeful scenes, which strengthen the emotional identification. Movie confronts tragedy and hope as two main narratives of the Korean War and its aftermath. Furthermore, one important detail of the narrative shows that Chang-Hee's funeral coincides with the end of the Korean War, a symbolic notion to the final establishment of the division system.

This movie, unlike its predecessors of the authoritarian era, vaguely portrays North Korea as a communist aggressor. Except naming pro-communists as 'reds' and 'communist rats' this movie does not engage in creating negative and cruel image of North Korea. On the contrary, recurring theme of the movie portrays sympathy for the ones, who were labeled as pro-communists. In one scene Chang-Hee's father brings rice for the ostracized family as a token of good will – a scene that was unimaginable during the era of censorship in the Korean cinema. This study argues that *Spring in My Hometown* belongs to a new paradigm



in the Korean cinema, shifting perspective from the North Koreans as an enemy onto the country's inside, its problems and depictions of unity along with the portrayal of American aggression.

In addition, a scene, which portrays Chang-Hee and Sung-Nim's refusal to shout anti-communist slogans along with other kids symbolize the meaninglessness of ideological teachings and politics. Moreover, this movie creates a feeling of pity and compassion. It can be argued that in this way movie is creating a new memory of the war, which instead of blaming proposes compassion for the victims, does not matter who they are.

In the end of the movie Sung-Nim's father is suspected of stealing things from the American military base and is punished by a bucket of red paints. Paradoxically, Sung-Nim dissociates himself from his father, implying the ideological division, although what divides them is just the red color. In this moment of absurdity movie suggests that both Koreas distanced themselves just because of opposing ideologies. In other words, the movie subliminally asks how one ethnic nation can be divided by politics and feel hatred towards each other.

Kevin Tea Kia Choong (2005) suggests that through movies like *Shiri* (1999) and *Joint Security Area* (2000), which depict intimate relations between South and North Koreans, ideology and politics are being transcended (Choong 2005, 325). *Spring in my Hometown* depicts ideological conflict in the most intimate sphere of family. Lee Je-Ha (1999) argues that this movie depicts the chaos and hopelessness of the war time, which affected people, who had nothing to do with the war itself (Lee 1999a, 75). In this way, this movie distances itself from previous representations of Korean war in more than few ways. First, as mentioned above, it never portrays battle scenes. Second, war is being impersonalized by the main protagonists and their friendship. *Spring in My Hometown* leaves ideological antagonism behind and focuses on human tragedy, a narrative that is important in creating a South Korean identity based on humanly compassion towards each other rather than ideology.

In addition, long and distance shooting technique, used by Lee Kwang-Mo keeps the viewer at a distance but at the same time allows him to identify with the main characters. This distance allows the viewer to identify himself emotionally with

the events from a more objective standpoint (Kim and Walker 2002c, 10). This emotional identification technique suggests the movie's potential ability to transmit new cultural memories (Landsberg, 2004), whereas movie's narrative suggests this movie engages in the process of active remembering and remediation (Assmann, 2008a).

This movie mainly depicts war as a tragedy and leaves little hope for regaining the once lost unity of Korea, as immortalized in the friendship of Sung-Nim and Chung-Hee. Moon Suh-Ji (2001) suggests that movies of the new wave Korean cinema try to look at the past with righteousness and compassion, at the same time possibly reflecting the mood of the Korean society (Moon 2001, 151). Moreover, as argued by Alan Confino (2008), main characteristic of historical memory is not how it is being represented, but why it was received or refused, because in order to change the society it is not enough to choose a historical part, what is important is for it to have the power to move, motivate and make people work towards a common purpose (Confino 2008, 81). In that sense, it can be argued that *Spring in My Hometown* is a perfect example of a new era of Korean cinema, which tries to free the movie industry and society from the discourse of the anti-communism era. Moreover, through the emotional identification it allows the viewer to see the past, which suggest that Korean War was a whole nation's tragedy rather than an act of North Korean aggression, in this way carrying a possibility for a more unification-oriented agenda within the popular media.

### b) Visions of Korean Unity in *Welcome to Dongmakgol*

Park Kwang-Hyun's depiction of the Korean War is an elegant, funny, cheerful and contrasting picture that serves as a sad metaphor for tragic faith of the Korean nation. Movie focuses on humanity without demonizing or highlighting any part, instead portraying their destiny and intimate relation. In addition, *Welcome to Dongmakgol* became one of the top-grossing Korean movies of all time and produced a lot of interpretations, opinions and discussions, making it a powerful product, which is able to transmit new versions of the past (Tripp 2008).

This movie depicts a story of North and South Korean soldiers, who in the midst

of Korean War accidentally stumble upon each other in a small village called Dongmakgol. In addition, important part of the narrative is played by an American pilot Smith, whose plane crashes nearby the village and a dozen of naïve villagers, who have never seen war.

Dongmakgol is a small, untouched and purely preserved village of peace within the mountains, a utopian image of Korea, still undivided and untorn by war. Villagers have no idea of ongoing war and live their happy lives, while a giant tree in the middle of the village gives utopian and romantic atmosphere for the movie. Location of the village and its archaic nature contrasts the modernity of war, its huge weapons and destruction. In this way, movie presents two opposing views – one that of war and one that of total peace, an innovative depiction of the Korean War.

Although the movie starts with scenes of bloodshed, it quickly evolves into scenes of comedy and absurdity. Compared to the movies of early post-war decades this movie actively engages in portraying North Korean soldiers' humanity. For example, in a scene, unimaginable in the Cold-War era movies, one of the main protagonists, Captain Lee refuses to execute wounded North Korean soldiers. In this way, depiction of North Korean cruelty is slowly being erased from the movies, while also reminding that vicious acts of massacre were also committed by South Koreans. As argued by Halbwachs, collective memory has to be always reproduced and put into the frame of new times with some details being 'evacuated' (Marcel and Mucchielli 2008, 148). In that sense, it can be argued that *Welcome to Dongmakgol* 'evacuates' the portrayal of North Korean cruelties, thus paving a way for a new form of remembering.

War and peace is contrasted when both parties end up meeting in Dongmakgol and engage in a standoff. When villagers find out that the war is happening they immediately ask the soldiers "Where'd they invade from? Are they Japs or Chinks?" An atmosphere of absurdity is being created when the soldiers have to answer that they are essentially in a war with themselves. The contrasting shooting angle of the standoff scene that Park Kwang-Hyun chooses perfectly illustrates the absurdity of the war. In a visual way this scene portrays simple Korean people as victims of the war, who never had any interest in the war itself. This scene

suggests that the real hostage of the war is Korea itself. Dialogue lines “We have our own problems, we don’t need your war” distances the war from the Koreans themselves, as if putting the blame of the war on the other. It is argued that *Welcome to Dongmakgol* demilitarizes the Korean conflict, because guns become pointless in the village (Tripp 2008). With similar comic situations this movie creates a neat and warm, nostalgic atmosphere, contrasting the cruelty of war, pictured in the first shots of the movie. It can be argued that this movie eventually depicts two Koreas, one, that is untouched by war and preserved within the peaceful atmosphere of the village and one, where fighting sides, fueled by ideological orders threaten to destroy it.

Eventually movie pictures an unexpected friendship between the North and South Korean soldiers, which is born not from sympathy towards each other but from the will not to disturb the village’s life. Through a comic depiction of both the villagers and soldiers, movie suggests a vision of peace, where North and South Koreans overcome their ideological antagonism and collaborate towards a common purpose. Once again, this movie portrays war as an unnecessary conflict, which serves no purpose. Moreover, it can be argued that *Welcome to Dongmakgol* creates a vision of unification, as an integral concept of modern South Korean identity, noted by Kim Kyong-Ju (2006). According to the statistics, provided by the Korean Film Council (KOFIC), this movie was seen by nearly 8 million South Koreans, almost one fifth of the population, thus it can be argued that *Welcome to Dongmakgol* played a significant role in representing the new memory of the Korean War to the audience.

Like in previous scenes, the absurdity of war is exposed once more through conversations between the protagonists, where most notably a North Korean soldier admits he does not know why he is fighting. In this way, movie serves as a criticism of ideology and politics. In addition, a possible notion of unity is portrayed in the scenes, where during the hunt of a wild hog, South Korean lieutenant Pyo saves his North Korean counterpart, thus deconstructing the anti-communist agenda in the cinema. Later on both parties, along with American pilot Smith share the hog’s meat, symbolizing a long lost unity of the Korean peninsula. This movie can be seen as a paradigm shift in depiction of North and

South Korean soldiers' relations. As noted by Tripp, few years earlier this kind of movie would have been severely punished by law (Tripp 2008).

Another symbolic event happens when both South and North Korean soldiers get rid of their uniforms and put on traditional Korean clothes becoming one with the villagers and symbolizing the unity of Korea. However, scenes where lieutenant Pyo remembers killing Korean civilians depict South Koreans and militarism in general in a negative way, a cinematic endeavor that was unimaginable in the early post-war decades. Once again, as mentioned by Assmann and others, this type of remembering uneasy details changes the whole way in which a war is remembered in general. This movie not only depicts North Korean soldiers as equal counterparts, it engages in a politically dangerous maneuver of exposing atrocities, committed by South Korean soldiers.

Furthermore, *Welcome to Dongmakgol* symbolically depicts Americans as the main reason for Korean pain, when an American operation to save pilot Smith destroys the naivety of the village. In the final scenes of the movie both South and North Korean soldiers unite once again to stop the American bombardment of the village, however they all die, without leaving any suggestion if the village was saved. With their death the movie shifts blame onto American involvement in the war. Although the movie portrays a certain degree of anti-Americanism, with pilot Smith becoming a part of the village it invites United States to join the project of Korean peace. However, according to Cho Young-Chul it is difficult to portray the unity of both Koreas, because movies have to overcome more than 60 years of ideological and political antagonism, while highlighting the unifying ethnic and cultural factor (Cho 2009, 240).

Kim Suk-Young (2007) argues that during the years of Sunshine policy bilateral antagonism faced new challenges, which in different ways tried to portray the coming-together of North and South (Kim 2007, 225). *Welcome to Dongmakgol* can be seen as one of the ways in which audiences were subjected to a new worldview, where North and South Koreas become friends, rather than enemies. Tolerance, respect, and understanding that are being depicted in this movie are necessary elements in a non-violent creation of a new Korean identity. In this way, expanding these new narratives into the field of cultural memory is the main

element that can help connect different perceptions of history in the peninsula (Bleiker and Hoang 2006, 207), and essentially challenge the existing perception of the North Korea, its people and prospects of unification.

As suggested by Jan Assmann, cultural memory is based on certain points of the past, however past is not a whole, rather it is fixed in symbols, which are being given to us by various means of communication (Assmann 2008b, 113). In that sense, this study argues that *Welcome to Dongmakgol* should be considered as a symbol, through which past tells us our mistakes and teaches the real essence of the Korean War.

### c) Criticism of Meaningless War in *The Front Line*

Jang Hoon's *The Front Line* is a picture shot using best shooting techniques and filled with special effects that bring us closer to war than any other movie. Full of huge battle scenes, explosions and war-like drama *The Front Line* attracted many people and was nominated for several awards abroad, thus making it a popular and able piece of art, through which cultural and/or prosthetic memory can be disseminated not only to Koreans, but to others as well.

*The Front Line* portrays the last battles of Korean War in the Taebaek mountain range bordering today's North and South Korea. Main protagonists of the movie, once close friends Kang and Su-Hyeok, were captured and separated in the early decades of the Korean War. When they are captured by the North Koreans in the beginning of the movie, North Korean general asks them: "Do you know why you're losing? That's because you don't know why you're fighting." This line becomes the main theme of the whole movie symbolizing meaningless nature of the war. Later on in the movie Kang is dispatched to the Taebaek mountain range where he finds his long gone friend Su-Hyeok. However, the portrayal of the military camp puts the viewer in an uneasy and pitiful position. South Korean soldiers are portrayed in total disarray. They are wearing northern uniforms, leader of the camp is a morphine addict, while children without limbs play around. In addition, during one of the battles Su-Hyeok shows his cruelty while mercilessly killing North Korean soldiers, a scene that shocks his friend Kang, who

remembered Su-Hyeok in a different way. It can be argued that such portrayal of Su-Hyeok depicts a psychological impact of the war and continues the deconstruction of portraying North Korean cruelty in the cinema.

Based on discussions above it can be argued that battle scenes, blood, cruelty, explosions and zooming in shooting technique of *The Front Line* allows the viewer to see through the eyes of the soldier and in this way allows for the prosthetic memory to be created. In other words, this movie allows the viewer to ‘participate’ in the act and cruelty of war. Landsberg suggests that we can see through the eyes of the other and think outside the borders of our own social position during the act of cinema (Landsberg 2003, 155).

One of the most interesting symbolic moments of *The Front Line* is the narrative of the secret box that portrays an indirect communication and temporal unity of fighting divisions. Side, who rules the hill always leaves some presents and letters for the other ones to discover when they win the next battle for the hill. Letters for the relatives left in the South by North Korean soldiers and exchanging of gifts illustrates a possible solidarity and union between the South and North Koreans, once again albeit symbolically pointing out to the unification discourse within the popular media.

However, all ideas of unity are quickly destroyed by bloody battle scenes, which are portrayed through the images of piles of dead bodies and stacked helmets. In addition, it can be suggested that war is being transcended through the relation between Kang and Su-Hyeok. While Kang is following rules and order, for Su-Hyeok there is nothing sacred left in war. In this way movie tries to look at the rightfulness of the war and the price of life in it (Orange 2012).

Moreover, scene in which the camp leader recalls killing his comrades once again criticizes militarism and cruelty of the Korean War and South Korean soldiers in general. In *The Front Line* ideology is being criticized for creating an illusion of just and winnable war, while in reality soldiers are killing their compatriots and losing their lives for unknown reasons.

Once again the battle over the same hill starts and while killing, betrayal and unconditional obedience are being criticized, North Korean soldiers are being portrayed as humans, who care for their loved ones and who do not understand

this war, but have to follow orders of the ideology. In the last part of the movie it is announced that the armistice has been signed and South Korean soldiers engage in playful games in the river, where they stumble upon passing North Koreans soldiers. Both sides congratulate each other with the truce and march on. However, absurdity of war is being highlighted when they find out that truce starts only 12 hours after it was signed. Therefore, they have to obey the orders and go fight one more time for the hill. Not only South Korean, but North Korean soldiers as well do not understand why they have to fight more in what is the most absurd moment of the film, once again criticizing politics and portraying the value of life in the war.

“Our enemy is not communists, it’s war” – a phrase that encapsulates the whole essence of the movie. In this way, the tragedy of the Korean nation is being depicted in the last scenes of the movie, where young people die for the sake of ideology. Moreover, when the South Korean soldiers find themselves behind the enemy lines, the hill is being bombarded by American air forces, what once again puts a part of the blame on the other. In the end, Kang and North Korean general find themselves in the very same bunker that bears symbolic meaning to the possible friendship of South and the North. Although they are portrayed enjoying alcohol, the end of the war does not bring happiness, because too many lives were sacrificed for the empty purpose. Depiction of piles of bodies, blood and dirt in the final scenes of the movie leaves the viewer with disgust and hatred towards politics. These emotional visual and narrative devices, which *The Front Line* uses to affect the viewer, are strong indications, which allow this movie to be considered as a powerful and change-inspiring depiction of the Korean War.

As suggested by Landsberg, movies that depict historical event as a subject have better possibility to spread the prosthetic memory (Landsberg 2009, 222). In addition, collective memory itself is a battlefield, where different groups fight with elite and authoritarian institutions for the criteria of understanding the past (Wertsch, and Roediger 2008, 319). In that sense, it can be argued that *The Front Line*, along with many other movies of the post-Cold War era becomes a subject of the war itself. A war over the right to represent and to teach, where early representations of Korean War were meant to provoke hostility, while new ones



are fighting this long overdue agenda to create a new, unifying version of the past.

#### 4. Korean War Cinema as a Possible Contribution to the Creation of Unification Identity

Having analyzed three Korean War movies of recent decades, this study suggests that they are valuable depictions of a new Korean War cultural memory, one that criticizes the war itself. Although these movies account only to a small number of Korean War movies, produced in recent decades, it is important to emphasize their contents. In this sense, it can be argued that South Korean war cinema, compared to the cinema of the early post-war decades portrays war not as a source of pride, but rather as a source of disgust and resentment, thus deconstructing the righteous war illusion. Meanwhile, visual and narrative techniques allow us to consider these modern depictions of Korean War as a national tragedy, which divided the Korean nation. These movies put emphasis not on the belligerent sides, but on the essence of the war itself, its absurdity and its damage on the nation and human being.

While arguing movie's possibility to transmit cultural memory it is important to note, that all three movies possess a strong possibility of emotional identification. Moreover, specific shooting techniques that contrast war and human life allow these movies to portray the tragedy of war in a simple, yet efficient way. Movies' considerable popularity within the Korean society and the following public discourse allows considering these movies as possible transmitters of cultural memory and the imagination of war in general. War, depicted in these movies is not glorified or justified, there are no heroes. Emphasis is being put on the personal level, on simple people like villagers and kids, who transcend the tragic fate of the Korean nation. With the portrayal of meaningless war and politics these movies put the Korean nation into victim's perspective. Important thing to note is that all movies depict considerable amount of criticism towards the United States' policy during the Korean War and the process of division.

The possible new Korean War cultural memory that is being created through

these movies has the following characteristics. First, criticism of militarism, politics, and ideology; second, war is portrayed as a nation's tragedy rather than a source of pride; third movies depict visions of Korean unity; fourth, North Korean aggression and cruelty is being forgotten while cruelty of South Koreans is being remembered; fifth, criticism of American soldiers and United States' policy in general. To strengthen the emotional impact these movies use human relations, friendships, inner conflicts, nostalgia and victims as its main narratives. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the selected movies differ in how they portray the war. While *Spring in My Hometown* depicts the war through a personal tragedy in a more dramatic way, *Welcome to Dongmakgol* is a comic, yet dramatically impactful contrast of war and peace. Finally, *The Front Line* is a gruesome action drama, which does not allow viewer to rest and constantly affects him with scenes of blood and gore. Movies' diversity and narratives, representation of war through the lens of different genre, makes them a part of active remembering, as suggested by Assmann, thus incorporating them into a broader agenda of unification is an important task, if the peninsula dreams of ever achieving peace. However, even though *The Front Line* and other movies try to depict North Koreans as positive and human beings, it is suggested that the depiction of North Koreans in a negative way is still a dominating construct in modern South Korea (Bleiker and Hoang, Young-Ju 2006).

Based on earlier discussions, this study proposes that presented movies, as well as many others should be used as an educational material for teaching the misgivings of the war and for demonstrating the real essence of the Korean War, which was largely a geopolitical conflict, inspired by the Cold War rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union. Based on earlier discussions on cultural memory, it can be argued that contemporary South Korean war movies can significantly contribute in creating and strengthening the unification paradigm within the Korean popular media. However, it is yet to be seen how a post-sunshine era South Korean government, especially in a midst of recent political turmoil, will manage the representations of Korean War and a subsequent creation of new cultural memory within the public and popular media.

## Works Cited

- Assmann, Aleida. "Canon and Archive." In *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 97-107. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." In *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 109-118. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Bell, Duncan. "Introduction. Memory, Trauma, and World politics." In *Memory, Trauma, and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*, 1-29. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2006.
- Berger, James. "Which Prosthetic? Mass Media, Narrative, Empathy, and Progressive Politics." *Rethinking History*, 11 (2007): 597-612.
- Bleiker, Roland and Hoang Young-Ju. "Remembering and Forgetting the Korean War: From Trauma to Reconciliation." in *Memory, Trauma, and World Politics. Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*, edited by Duncan Bell, 195-212. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2006.
- den Boer, Pim. 2008. "Loci memoriae-Lieux de memoire." in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 19-25. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Burgoyne, Robert. "Memory, History and Digital Imagery in Contemporary Film." In *Memory and Popular Film*, edited by Paul Grainge, 220-236. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 203.
- Cho, Young-Chul. "Security, Nationalism and Popular Culture: Screening South Korea's Uneasy Identity in the Early 2000s." *East Asia* 26 (2009): 227-246.
- Choong, Kevin Teo Kia. "Old/New Korea(s): Korean-ness, Alterity, and Dreams of Re-Unification in South Korean Cinema." *Contemporary Justice Review* 8(2005): 321-334.
- Confino, Alan. "Memory and the History of Mentalities." In *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 77-84. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Erll, Astrid. "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 1-15. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Power of Fiction: Novels and Films as Media of Cultural Memory." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 389-398. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992
- Harth, Dietrich. "The Invention of Cultural Memory." in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 85-96. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Jager, Myoshi Sheila and Rana Mitter. "Introduction: Re-envisioning Asia, Past and Present." In *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory and the Post-Cold War in Asia*, 1-14. London: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Kim, Kyong-Ju. *The Development of Modern South Korea: State formation, Capitalist Development and National Identity*. London, New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Kim, Kyung Hyun. *Virtual Hallyu: Korean Cinema of the Global Era*. London: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Kim, Min-Jung and Trenia Walker Walker. "Hope, Despair, and Memory of the Koreans' War in Spring in My Hometown." *Education About Asia* 7 (2002): 7-12.
- Kim, Suk Young. "Crossing the Border to the Other side: Dynamics of Interaction between North and South Koreans in *Spy Li Cheol-jin* and *Joint Security Area*." In *Seoul Searching: Culture and Identity in Contemporary Korean Cinema*, edited by Francis Gateward, 219-242. New York: State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Kim, Susie Jie-Young. "Korea Beyond and Within the Armistice: Division and the Multiplicities of Time in Postwar Literature and Cinema." *Journal of Korean Studies* 18 (2013): 287-313.
- Landsberg, Alison. "Prosthetic Memory: The Ethics and Politics of Memory in the Age of Mass Culture." In *Memory and Popular Film*, edited by Paul Grainge, 144-161. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Memory, Empathy and the Politics of Identification." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 22 (2009): 221-229.
- Lee, Je-Ha, "Spring In My Hometown. A Vivid Reminder of Past Tragedy." *Koreana* 13 (1999): 74-75.
- Lee, Hyeon-Ju. "Remembering and Forgetting the Korean War in the Republic of Korea." *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 35 (2010): 48-55.

- Marcel, Jean-Christophe and Laurent Mucchielli. "Maurice Halbwach's *memoire collective*." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 141-149. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.
- Moon, Suh-Ji. "The Korean War in Korean Films." in *Remembering the Forgotten War: The Korean War Through Literature and Art*, edited by Philip West and Chi Mun So, 137-151. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory." Eurozine (April 4, 2002). Accessed May 5, 2012. <<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-04-19-nora-en.html>>.
- Oberdorfer, Don. *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Park, Seung Hyun. "Korean Cinema after Liberation: Production, Industry, and Regulatory Trends." In *Seoul Searching: Culture and Identity in Contemporary Korean Cinema*, edited by Francis Gateward, 15-35. New York: State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Rosenstone, Robert. *History on Film, Film on History*. Edinburgh: Pearsons Education Limited, 2006.
- Smith, Anthony. *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Tripp, Jeffrey A. "The Demilitarized Zone: The Dynamics of Anti-Americanism and New Korean Cinema in *Welcome to Dongmakgol*." *Journal of English and American Studies* (2008). Accessed May 10, 2014. <<http://jeas.co.kr/sub/cnt.asp?num=59&volnum=7>>.
- Tsai, Michael. "Director Shows Human Aspect of War." *The Honolulu Advertiser* (September 3, 2004). Accessed May 5, 2014. <<http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2004/Sep/03/il/i103a.html>>.
- Wertsch, James V. and Henry L. Roediger III. "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches." *Memory* 16 (2008): 318-326.
- Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War." In *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 61-74. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008.