



# Memory of Forgotten War

a film by Deann Borshay Liem and Ramsay Liem

Study and Discussion Guide

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## Introduction

*Memory of Forgotten War* conveys the human costs of military conflict through deeply personal accounts of the Korean War (1950-53) by four Korean-American survivors. Their stories take audiences through the trajectory of the war, from extensive bombing campaigns, to the day-to-day struggle for survival and separation from family members across the DMZ. Decades later, each person reunites with relatives in North Korea, conveying beyond words the meaning of family loss. These stories belie the notion that war ends when the guns are silenced and foreshadow the future of countless others displaced by ongoing military conflict today.

For Korean American survivors and their children, the Korean War remains a source of shared pain and national division. To speak openly about this past is difficult in a larger culture that has “forgotten” this war and in Korean American communities where Cold War divisions linger. *Memory of Forgotten War* helps to break a 60-year silence and for the first time on film tell stories of the Korean War from the perspective of Korean American civilians.

The film introduces all Americans to the lived experience and legacies of a war that forged a lasting, complex relationship between Korea and the United States. The Korean War was responsible for the emergence of a vibrant Korean American community in the U.S. Korean military brides, for example, were among the first sizable group of Koreans to come to the U.S. during the mid 20th Century. Following the end of national immigration quotas with the passage of the 1965 Immigration act, chain migration facilitated by Korean War brides led to the rapid increase in Korean immigrants to this country. Similarly, the Korean War set in motion the adoption of nearly 150,000 Korean children by American families. Korean adoptees now represent a significant sector of the Korean American community that numbers approximately 1.7 million people.

The Korean War also opened the door to a complex economic, military, and cultural relationship to Korea that continues to play a central role in U.S. policy in Asia. As painfully evident today, the status of the Korean War as unfinished, stalemated in an armistice agreement, creates enormous challenges to preventing a renewal of the conflict and to reconciling our differences. The voices of Korean American survivors express the urgency to lower current tensions, deepen our collective memory of the “Forgotten War,” and foreground the human costs of military conflict. Furthermore, the release of *Memory of Forgotten War* this year, the 60th anniversary of the Korean War Armistice signing, underscores the necessity to finally end the first hot war of the Cold War.

## Suggested Audiences for Memory of Forgotten War

1. Korean American community groups
2. Churches and Faith-based groups
3. Veterans groups
4. Peace groups
5. Social Justice groups
6. University and high school students studying:
  - a. Korean and Korean American History
  - b. U.S. History
  - c. World History
  - d. Peace and Conflict Studies
  - e. Asian American Studies
  - f. Asian Studies
  - g. Military History
  - h. Film Studies
7. General public



## Issues Raised by the Film

1. History and Memory
2. Japanese Colonization of Korea
3. Outbreak of the Korean War
4. Civilian Experiences of War
5. War Trauma
6. Geopolitical Legacies of the Korean War
7. Human Legacies of the Korean War
8. The Un-ended Korean War
9. Korean Reunification
10. Cold War Legacies

## Using this Guide

The material in this guide will be useful selectively depending on who is participating in the discussion. For example, some of the suggested discussion questions may be more appropriate for a general audience, others for high school or college students, and others for people with personal experiences of the Korean War. Where possible, having a discussion facilitator or resource person with knowledge of the history of the war and its aftermath would be ideal. In all cases keep in mind that any discussion of the Korean War can be difficult especially because *Memory of Forgotten War* foregrounds personal and often difficult memories of war and survival and also because interpretations of the Korean War are extremely varied. The best discussions create space for everyone to share their thoughts and feelings recognizing that differences in opinion are most likely to contribute to fruitful understanding if they are first acknowledged respectfully.

The Guide begins with a brief historical background to the Korean War, then introduces *Memory of Forgotten War* and the four Korean Americans whose stories unfold in the film,

and concludes with topics and questions for discussion. A list of resources is provided at the end of the Guide some of which may be useful for preparing a discussion of the film and others for viewers to consult at their leisure.

## Background – History is...remembering the past and forgetting the past

The Korean War has often been called “the forgotten war” because most Americans know or remember very little about it, even those who were adults during the war years. The Korean War is also barely mentioned in most elementary, high school, and college history books. Educational texts, if they do not gloss over the war entirely, generally make only brief mention of this conflict often describing it as the successful containment of communism by the United States and the United Nations resulting in freedom for South Koreans. These brief accounts omit a great deal about this painful episode, which ushered in the Cold War era and the enormous significance it has had and still has for Korean, American and world history. For this reason some scholars prefer to call the Korean War *unknown* rather than forgotten.

## History - War Comes to Korea

The Korean peninsula has been home to a people with a common language, culture and history for over two millennia. It was ruled by a series of dynasties until 1910, when Japan annexed Korea as its colony. For the next 35 years, Koreans suffered political suppression, economic exploitation, and forced cultural assimilation. Japan forbade Koreans from speaking Korean requiring them to learn the Japanese language, forced them to abandon their religions and practice Shintoism (worship of the Japanese Emperor), and even required them to adopt Japanese names. Koreans were also kidnapped and sent to Japan and its other Asian colonies, to be used as forced labor and sex slaves - “comfort women.” This oppression created an international diaspora of Koreans comprised of migrants to China, Russia, Japan, and even Mexico and the United States, fleeing poverty and repression.

Independence activists established a Provisional Government in Shanghai, and Koreans around the world participated in the movement for Korean independence. Others engaged in armed struggle against colonial forces in China and Manchuria. In 1945, they began forming People’s Committees throughout Korea to prepare the country for liberation and self-rule. Liberation came in August that same year when Japan was defeated in World War II. By September, Koreans had formed the Korean People’s Republic. But Korea was immediately divided into north and south by the United States and the Soviet Union. The proposal to divide the peninsula at the 38th parallel came at the initiative of the United States. The United States accused the new Republic of being communist and refused to recognize the regional People’s Committees. The United States declared itself an “occupying force” and established a full military government recognized as the sole governing body by international law.

In keen competition with the Soviet Union and largely ignorant of Korea, the United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) created a governance structure that included collaborators from the Japanese colonial regime, refused to work even with conservative nationalists, and began to promote pro-American and anti-communist

activists, most prominently Rhee Syngman. During the three-year reign of the U.S. military government, tens of thousands of suspected leftists were rounded up and killed. Among the worst atrocities was the April 3, 1948 massacre of residents of Jeju Island just off the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula. The victims of fierce suppression under Japanese colonial rule and angered by post liberation conditions of harsh inequality in land relations overseen by an extreme right-wing governor, Jeju Islanders protested the UN/U.S. sponsored proposal to hold separate presidential elections in the south. They feared the election would spell the permanent division of their country. South Korean military, paramilitary, and police forces crushed the rebellion killing between 30,000 to 60,000 islanders. These events took place during the U.S. administered military government in Korea.

In the north, the Soviet Union supported the new Republic but did not establish a governing body. They did, however, exert major influence over postwar recovery in the north by supporting the leadership of independence fighter Kim Il Sung, a communist, and the North Korean Workers Party's policy of land reform. Those viewed as rightists or collaborators with Japan were purged, believers in Christianity were marginalized, and the property of large landlords was appropriated and redistributed among the peasantry. During this period hundreds of thousands of Koreans in the north fled or moved to the south especially between 1945 and 1948 when movement back and forth across the 38th Parallel was relatively easy.

Thus, even before separate governments were formed in 1948, the artificial north/south division was reinforced by ideological splits fostered by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Indeed, as soon as the 38th Parallel was established as the demarcation between North and South, it became a focal point for border skirmishes between leftists based in the north and rightists based in the south.

In 1948 the United States pushed through a separate presidential election in the south under the formal auspices of the United Nations. It acted in spite of protests from the north and nationalists in the south who believed that unilateral elections would formalize national division. Protests were labeled pro-communist, and some of the most violent suppression took place on Cheju Island in 1948 in what is now called the April 3 massacre (see above). Nevertheless, elections were held, Rhee Syngman became president, and the Republic of Korea was founded on August 15th. On September 9th, the north responded by forming the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, installing Kim Il Sung as leader. With continuous border skirmishes between two ideologically opposed states backed by hostile world powers on the eve of the Cold War and each claiming to represent the true interests of the Korean people, the stage was set for the Korean War.

Explanations for the outbreak of the Korean War are highly contentious. For South Korea and the United States, the North Korean incursion across the 38th parallel on June 25 was a surprise attack with the objective of reunifying the country under communist leadership. According to North Korean accounts, however, the "surprise attack" was a response to incursions northward by the south, which they claim were supported by the United States seeking to instigate war. Still others claim that the June 25th outbreak was merely the culmination of ongoing military clashes between

the north and south and the desire of both Kim Il Sung and Rhee Syngman to reunify the peninsula by force, i.e. the culmination of prior skirmishes into full-scale civil war. Scholars may never be able to completely account for the outbreak of war until a permanent and lasting peace is achieved between North Korea and the United States, and between North and South Korea.

The United States quickly committed air and ground troops to Korea along with token forces from 16 other nations. Urged by the United States, the United Nations served as the sanctioning body for U.S. involvement in the conflict, which the UN called a police action. With U.S. and UN entry into the war, what might have remained a civil conflict became the first “hot” war of the Cold War era. As fighting neared the northern border of Korea, China entered the fighting on the side of North Korea.

The Korean War was an air war, a guerrilla war, and almost became a nuclear war. The United States used bombing raids to a devastating advantage, wiping out entire villages, towns and cities in both North and South Korea. More tons of bombs were dropped on Korea during the war than throughout the Pacific Theater during the Second World War. For the first time napalm became a weapon of choice on a mass scale. Government archives hold documents from August 1950 in which US military officers ask, “to have the following towns obliterated” by the Air Force, listing the towns by name. These same documents show the response a few weeks later: “fired eleven villages.”



On the ground, North Koreans, South Koreans and Americans rounded up and killed civilians they suspected of supporting the other side. The result was carnage so great that European reporters wrote of walking through cities with populations of 20,000 or more in which every building was bombed to rubble and those inhabitants who had not fled in time simply became casualties. When the fighting ended, over 3 million Korean civilians had died – one tenth of the population. So too had 36,940 U.S. military forces and an estimated 175,000 South Korean soldiers, 500,000 North Korean soldiers, 500,000 Chinese Volunteers, and 3,000 UN forces.

The enormity of these losses is magnified by the fact that the war never actually ended. The July 27, 1953 armistice agreement that halted the fighting was merely a temporary military truce. Signed by North Korea, the People’s Republic of China and the United States on behalf of United Nations forces, but not South Korea, the armistice was to be followed by negotiations to establish a peace treaty. However, serious peace talks never took place. Today, 60 years since the signing of the armistice agreement, the Korean War is still not over. Consequently, hostilities from that conflict have never been resolved and continually flare up in moments of serious crisis on the Korean peninsula and in U.S. – North Korean relations, often threatening military engagement. For all

Koreans the possibility of a renewed outbreak of the Korean War is a constant fear. For the United States, the Korean War remains the longest, unresolved military conflict in its history.

The war had profound social consequences for Koreans. Not only did it result in unspeakable numbers of civilian deaths, it also created a huge population upheaval that resulted in orphans, displaced people, and divided families. In all, nearly 10 million Koreans were separated from friends and relatives, fewer than 25,000 of whom have been reunited. The situation is so common that nearly every Korean family is touched in some way by separation, if not directly then through relatives or friends. The war also intensified ideological divisions leading to deep hatreds on each side. In the decades after the war, both the north and south engaged in ideological education of their citizenry, deepening anti-communism in the south and anti-capitalism in the north.

The Korean War also strengthened the unequal and dependent economic and military relationship between South Korea and the United States. Even today the South Korean military remains dependent on U.S. intelligence, training, and technology and falls under the U.S.-led joint command during times of war. South Korean producers rely heavily on American consumers as a key market and the South Korean economy is highly dependent on American and other foreign capital investment, from which great wealth accrues at the expense of Korean national capitalists and laborers.

The war also had significant consequences for the United States, internationally and domestically. Because American politicians saw it as an escalation of the Cold War struggle against worldwide communist domination, the Korean War elevated American containment objectives in Korea to a global policy. War hysteria won congressional and public support for massive federal investment in military and defense production with spending jumping from \$13.5 billion in 1950 to \$52 billion in 1952. This dramatic increase was funded by higher U.S. taxes and cuts in social service programs, and also resulted in a federal deficit that has continued to grow to this day. The political economy of war production that existed during WWII was reinvigorated, renovated, and strengthened to accommodate the demands of the Korean War in the short run and the Cold War in the long run. In essence, the modern U.S. military industrial complex was born in the period of the Korean War. In 1954 Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under the Truman administration, said, "Korea came along and saved us."

The Korean War era also strengthened American anti-communism domestically. Persecution of suspected communist sympathizers that had been on the wane in the mid- 1940s intensified and came to be known as "McCarthyism" in acknowledgement of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the chief anti-communist agitator in the early 1950s. During this period, thousands of Americans lost their jobs, and were forced to appear before loyalty hearings and to testify against friends and family members. Conservative government officials hunted down academics, politicians, entertainers, and other citizens thought to have leftist leanings. Recalling this past period of fear and suspicion, it is little wonder that so few Korean Americans want to talk about their war experiences.

"The Korean War is called 'the forgotten war' in America, because it is forgotten...By calling the Korean conflict a "forgotten war," we both name it, and we remember it—a

paradox: what is it that we are remembering to forget?” Bruce Cumings. *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. II: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1990, p. 767.

In spite of some efforts to recover more of the history of the Korean War, very little is available to help us grasp the enormity of the civilian casualties during this conflict, or the lasting impact of the war on ordinary people. Entirely absent are the actual voices of war survivors and their families, whether North Korean, South Korean, or Korean residents in the United States or other countries.

As scholars such as Bruce Cumings and Howard Zinn have suggested, writing history is about making choices. Authors decide which people, places, and events to highlight, which to make secondary, and which to omit entirely, based on what they believe to be important. They decide whose voices to emphasize, whose to marginalize, and whose to omit entirely. Through conscious choices most American historians write about the Korean War by focusing on the goals, efforts, and achievements of the United States and its emerging dominance in international affairs during this period. They tell the story from the perspectives of America’s leaders, men like President Harry Truman and General Douglass McArthur. These accounts teach us a lot. However, the story of bombings, atrocities, hunger, and poverty that often appears in the recollections of war survivors are generally omitted. Thus, the experiences and histories of ordinary people are forgotten.

Survivors, themselves, who experienced the devastation of this period first hand may have vivid memories from their pasts but they rarely speak about them with each other, friends, or even family members. Korean Americans, like others who have survived traumatic conflicts, often live their Korean War pasts in silence. Speaking about the war can reignite unresolved ideological differences in the community and also reopen deep, personal wounds. Furthermore, the broader cultural landscape that has rendered the Korean War ‘forgotten’ conveys the message that no one is interested in revisiting that period or hearing from those who lived through it.

The silence shrouding the Korean War, however, does not mean that survivors have forgotten. War leaves indelible scars and creates legacies that transcend time and generations. It has hidden impacts on family and community life. These residues are all the more salient for Korean Americans because the Korean War is still not over, ideological divisions remain in the community, and tensions between the United States (now home to many Korean Americans) and North Korea have intensified.

Telling the stories of war is painful and risky and, thus, many Korean Americans continue to live with their war legacies unspoken. In the absence of survivor voices and historical texts that cover the human experience of the Korean War, second generation Korean Americans and the American public-at-large have forgotten the war. We fail to recognize its continued influence on community life and its role in current international affairs.

Is it necessary to speak about the war? What would it mean if Korean Americans and other survivors of war shared their stories? What would it mean if we learned

and talked more about the Korean War and other traumatic political conflicts? The four individuals whose experiences of the war and its aftermath are featured in *Memory of Forgotten War* provide us with an opportunity to ponder these and many other questions. Risking personal pain and uncertain reception by breaking the silence about an un-ended and highly controversial military and geopolitical conflict, they invite audiences to participate in remembering the Korean War and contemplating its continuing significance for global peace building, reconciliation, and international justice in the 21st century.

### Korean Americans Featured in Memory of Forgotten War

*Memory of Forgotten War* builds on the success of the traveling exhibition, “Still Present Pasts: Korean Americans and the Forgotten War” ([www.stillpresentpasts.org](http://www.stillpresentpasts.org)). Based on oral histories collected over a three-year period by Ramsay Liem, Emeritus Professor of Psychology at Boston College, the exhibit includes oral history excerpts, original artwork, interactive installations, video art and historical photographs from the Korean War. “Still Present Pasts” opened at the Cambridge Multicultural Art Center in Boston in January 2005, then traveled to a variety of galleries in the U.S. including Wellesley College, Pro Arts Gallery in Oakland, LA Artcore, Queens Museum, Intermedia Gallery in Minneapolis, Wing Luke Museum in Seattle, Bishop Museum in Hawaii). The exhibit traveled to South Korea in November 2007. Three of the people featured in *Memory of Forgotten War* were participants in this exhibition. The fourth, Heebok Kim, attended the exhibit when it was featured in Los Angeles.

Originally from northern Korea, **Heebok Kim** recalls the hardships of living under Japanese colonial rule and her overwhelming joy when Korea achieved independence at the end of WWII. But her euphoria was short lived when Korea was immediately partitioned at the 38th parallel. Having moved to Seoul with her new husband, she was now separated from her family who remained in the North. North Korean soldiers killed her only brother and she soon joined the millions of internal refugees when she fled to the southern tip of the peninsula. There she lived with two children in a ‘hakkobang’, a cardboard hovel, for three years until the armistice was signed.

**Kee Park** is the granddaughter of a wealthy landowner living in northern Korea before the country was partitioned. Her grandfather was stripped of his property when the North Korean leadership instituted land reform shortly after the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea was established in 1948. Mrs. Park fled to the south with her family before the war broke out and was plunged into poverty and desperation when the fighting began. She lost her father to unknown causes and a sister to malnutrition. Her brother was spared starvation, ironically with the help of a man who had previously been a worker on her grandfather’s farm.

**Min Yong Lee** was a resident of Seoul, South Korea when the war broke out. Nine years old when the fighting commenced, he lost a brother to right wing youth who attacked people suspected of sympathizing with the North. Later, two older brothers and a sister went to the north leaving him in constant fear of being ostracized as a member of a ‘communist’ family. As a result, he turned inward, hiding his identity as best he could.

After the war, his mother changed the official family registration wiping out all traces of his older siblings. Mr. Lee eventually immigrated to the United States in an effort to escape his pariah status in South Korea.



Minyong Lee reunites with his brother in Pyongyang.

**Suntae Chun** was a young teen from the city of Kaesong just south of the 38th parallel. The war began for him when bullets hit the waters where he and other members of his school's swimming team were practicing on the morning of June 25, 1950. Through a terrible irony, he was separated from his family when Kaesong became the first site of the two-year long armistice negotiations. He had left his home in search of his father who, in turn, returned to Kaesong unbeknownst to him. The city was immediately cordoned off; residents could not leave and outsiders like him could not enter. Mr. Chun survived the remainder of the fighting as a child laborer by working on U.S. military bases. His life on the run left him with deep scars, some of which continue to haunt him today.

Although unique in many respects, the accounts of each of these individuals also reveal one of the most painful, unresolved legacies of the Korean War – the over half century of family separations, as many as 100,000 of which include Korean Americans. Each person in *Memory of Forgotten War* suffered different but equally arbitrary circumstances that led to their family estrangements. Kee Park fled south leaving behind grandparents, cousins, and nieces and nephews. Min Yong Lee lost brothers and a sister who joined thousands of other southerners who went north during the war. By accident of marriage and resettlement, Heebok Kim ended up in the south leaving behind her entire immediate family. And Suntae Chun was permanently separated from his family when the final border between the North and South negotiated during the armistice talks placed his hometown, Kaesong, on the northern side. Blocked from returning home when the armistice talks began, Mr. Chun lost his family again when the arbitrariness of war literally moved his hometown into forbidden territory.

The emotional arc of *Memory of Forgotten War* reaches its peak when each of these individuals, having immigrated to the United States, reunites with remaining family members in North Korea, nearly four decades after their estrangements. Their reunions are at once heart-breaking but also stark reminders that the Korean War is still un-ended for countless others on the Korean Peninsula and in the diaspora.

## Suggestions for Discussion

Viewers of *Memory of Forgotten War* are likely to have diverse reactions to the film depending on their age, gender, and ethnic background. Some will also have personal or family connections to the Korean War while others may have ties to different wars or traumatic events. A productive discussion needs to create space for the many different ways audience members may respond to the narrative and emotional content of our film.

**General discussion questions like these will help to invite everyone to share their thoughts:**

*What did you learn from the film?*

*How did the film make you feel?*

*What themes in the film resonated with you most?*

*If you could ask anyone in the film a question, what would it be?*

*What do you think you will remember about the film a year from now?*

**More focused discussion questions:**

### **I. Historical context:**

**A)** After 35 years of colonization by Japan, Korea gained its independence on August 15, 1945. Historian Ji-Yeon Yuh describes people's joyful reaction with the term, "kwangbok – the recovery of the light." Heebok Kim responds saying, "I went around marching all day shouting "hooray", we're liberated!" Yet immediately following liberation, the country was divided at the 38th parallel at the initiative of the United States.

*How would you have responded to this turn of events?*

*Did you know it was the United States that proposed dividing Korea at the 38th parallel? Why was this done and what do you think about this decision?*

**B)** Historian Bruce Cumings remarks that, "in the south, most Americans have no idea that we set up an occupation. It was a military government. We were the legal occupants of this Korea south of the 38th parallel."

*Were you aware of the existence of a U.S. Military Government in Korea and how do you feel about the decision of the United States to become an occupying force in Korea?*

**C)** Suntae Chun says, "There were many small wars [before the big war broke out]. A friend of mine was killed, a classmate was killed...lots of people died." And Ji-Yeon Yuh says, "The two Korean states, in the early 1950s, they wanted reunification and they

wanted to do it by force.”

***The causes of the Korean War are highly contentious. What do you think caused the war and what questions about how the war broke out does the film raise for you?***

**D)** Bruce Cumings says, “An armistice was signed on July 27, 1953 with the U.S. signing and North Korea and China but not South Korea.” South Korean president Syngman Rhee opposed the armistice, preferring to fight on until Korea was unified.

***What is an armistice agreement? What do you think about the fact that 60 years since the signing of the armistice agreement, no peace treaty has been signed?***

## **II. Surviving War:**

**A)** Heebok Kim lived in a hakkobang (cardboard house) for three years, Suntae Chun did menial labor on military bases, Kee Park escaped from the north when her mother gave border guards silver spoons and chili powder, and Min Yong Lee enjoyed the candies and chewing gum given to children by GIs.

***What do these stories and the other archival photographs and film footage tell you about the lives of civilians during the war?***

***How do you imagine you would have survived as a young person during the Korean War or similar military conflict?***

## **III. Family Separations:**

**A)** Estimates are that 10 million Koreans were separated from family members during the Korean War the vast majority of whom have yet to reunite after 60 years.

***What did you learn about how the tragedy of separation occurred from the experiences of each person in the film?***

***What were your reactions to the family reunion experiences of Heebok Kim, Kee Park, Min Yong Lee, and Suntae Chun?***

**B)** After reuniting with his brother and sister in North Korea, Min Yong Lee says, “After I met my siblings, I then knew who I was and I was very relieved.”

***What does he mean by this comment?***

**C)** Some people say that reuniting with family members after a half-century can be a mixed blessing.

***Why might this be?***

#### IV. Ending the Korean War:

**A)** In the final scene in the film, Heebok Kim offers the cameraperson a bite of kim-chee saying, “Korean kim-chee is delicious. Reading about how delicious the kim-chee is does not matter. You have to eat it.”

*What does she mean?*

*Can the Korean War finally be ended? What would it take?*

#### Taking Action

At each screening of *Memory of Forgotten War*, we invited audiences to participate in a solidarity photo booth (see [www.peaceinkorea.tumblr.com](http://www.peaceinkorea.tumblr.com)). We also provide viewers with a postcard addressed to President Obama urging a peace treaty to end the Korean War.

**Action 1:** Take a photo and submit it to [www.peaceinkorea.tumblr.com](http://www.peaceinkorea.tumblr.com).



**Action 2:** Write your own letter to President Obama. The message on our postcard is:

Having watched the new Korean War documentary, *Memory of Forgotten War*, I have been reminded once again that the human costs of war persist long after the guns have been silenced. Thousands of Korean Americans have been separated from family members in North Korea for more than a half-century because the war never ended. It has been stalemated in an armistice agreement for 6 decades.

As the principle signatory to the armistice agreement for the allied forces, the United States has an obligation to work to end the longest military conflict in American history. I urge you to end this anachronism of the Cold War and firmly commit to replacing the armistice with a peace agreement.

*What more can you do to end the Korean War?*

*What more can your group do to end the Korean War?*

## Resources

### The Korean War

Kim Dong Choon, Uncovering the Hidden History of the Korean War: The Work of South Korea's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Lecture at the University of California Berkeley, April 1, 2009. (Filmed by Ubuntuworks Productions, Eric Sirotkin, <http://vimeo.com/4448282>)

The Center for the Study of the Korean War  
<http://www.koreanwarcenter.org/>

Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History*. New York: Modern Library, 2010.

William Stueck, *The Korean War in World History*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Jae Jung Suh, ed., *Truth and Reconciliation in South Korea: Between the Present and Future of the Korean War*. //N.Y.: Routledge, 2012.

Truman Library: The Korean War and its Origins, 1945-1953  
[http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/korea/large/index.htm](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/korea/large/index.htm)

### Comprehensive Korean War Bibliography

(Books and scholarly articles by U.S., Korean, and Korean American writers)

Kenneth Robinson, *A Korean War Bibliography*, Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii. [http://www.hawaii.edu/korea/biblio/korean\\_war.html](http://www.hawaii.edu/korea/biblio/korean_war.html)

### Korean War Memories and Legacies

(Books, scholarly articles, novels, poetry)

Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Grace M. Cho and Hosu Kim, Dreaming in tongues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11, 2005, 445-457.

Susan Choi, *Foreign Student*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1998.

Richard Kim, *The Martyred*. New York: Penguin Books, 2011.

Suji Kwok Kim, *Notes from a Divided Country*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2003.

Chang-rae Lee, *The Surrendered*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2010.

Ishle Park, *The Temperature of this Water*. Los Angeles: Kaya Press, 2005.

### **Korean War Memories and Legacies**

(Writing by Ramsay Liem)

When a fireball drops in your hole: Biography forged in the crucible of war. In G. Yoo (Ed.), *Koreans in America: History, Culture and Identity*. Ch. 40. San Diego, CA: Cognella Academic Publishing, 2012.

Silencing historical trauma: The politics and psychology of memory and voice. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 39, 2007, 153-174.

“So I’ve gone around in circles...”: Living the Korean War. *Amerasia Journal*, 31, 2005, 157-177.

History, trauma, and identity: The legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans. *Amerasia Journal*, 29, 2003/4, 111-129.

### **Korean War Memories and Legacies**

(Art and Exhibition)

*Still Present Pasts: Korean Americans and the “Forgotten War.”* Multi-media exhibition of Korean War memories and legacies. [www.stillpresentpasts.org](http://www.stillpresentpasts.org)

Ramsay Liem, War and the art of remembering. *International Journal of the Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*, 3, 2008, 111-116.

### **Education, Policy and Action**

Association of Scholars Concerned about Korea, <http://www.asck.org/>

Korea Policy Institute, [www.kpolicy.org](http://www.kpolicy.org)

National Association of Korean Americans, [www.naka.org/](http://www.naka.org/)

National Campaign to End the Korean War, [www.endthekoreanwar.org](http://www.endthekoreanwar.org)

Working Group for Peace and Demilitarization in Asia and the Pacific, [www.asiapacificinitiative.org](http://www.asiapacificinitiative.org)

This Study Guide is adapted from Ji-Yeon Yuh, “The Korean War: A Still Present Past” and Wol-San Liem, “Still Present Pasts Exhibit Study Guide, Teacher’s Edition” (<http://stillpresentpasts.org/history>)

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