

Tracing the Development of Peace and Conflict Studies in South Korea

Hun Joon Kim

The purpose of this article is to study the characteristics and patterns of the field of peace and conflict studies in South Korea by tracing its history. A reflection on peace and conflict studies in Korea shows that the 1987 democratization was a critical moment, and that the subsequent end of the global Cold War initiated the full-blown development of the field. The Korean case shows that the advancement of peace and conflict studies is linked to real-world changes. The recent inclusion of human rights and transitional justice issues is meaningful since rights and justice were core but unaddressed issues in Korea. It is time for peace and conflict studies in Korea to leap forward, and this new attention to human rights and transitional justice can be a way to lead this development.

Keywords peace and conflict studies, South Korea, democratization, rights, justice

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to study the characteristics and patterns of peace and conflict studies in South Korea by tracing its history (hereafter Korea). Peace and conflict studies is known in Korea as *pyeonghwahak* (peace science) or *pyeonghwa yeongu* (peace studies) (Suh 2019; Hwang 2019). It can be defined simply as “a field of research professionally dealing with the issues of achieving peace” (Suh 2019, 25). A more complex definition is “an interdisciplinary field of study combining social science, liberal arts, and natural science, which is aimed at eradicating and preventing violence and building peace and is situated at the intersection of peace studies, peace education, and peace movement” (Hwang 2019, 60). Accordingly, peace and conflict studies is known as an interdisciplinary, multifaceted, intercultural, critical, practical, and ethical discipline (Suh 2019, 31-34).

The field has a unique position in Korea. It is situated within various disciplines—political science, international relations, social science, public policy,

and peace science. Scholars divide peace and conflict studies differently. Suh (2019) posits three areas: unification studies, peace studies, and security studies. Others do not include security studies as peace studies since it does not aim to achieve peace through peaceful means (Gu 2007, 27). In the Korean context, it is extremely difficult to strictly divide security studies from peace studies since, for a long time, security studies dominated and is still dominating any discussions on peace. Reflecting this unique characteristic, both security studies and peace studies are considered in this tracing of the development of peace and conflict studies in Korea.¹

Peace and conflict studies was almost identified with security studies, which aimed at securing peace (“negative peace,” meaning the lack of violence) using military build-up or alliances (Galtung 1996). However, over time, the idea of “positive peace” emerged, which provided a much broader understanding of peace as “a way to build peace through cooperation and enhancing welfare among diverse groups” (Park 2017a, 80-81). In Korea, the definitions of peace and security have expanded with the development of peace and security studies.² More recently, an important additional aspect of sustainable peace has emerged—redressing past wrongdoings and achieving reconciliation.

The present research is mostly limited to the field of political science and international relations. This excludes studies in public policy, which deal with conflict between groups, local governments, and between local and national governments (Kwon and Lee 2015; Jeong and Baek 2016; Kim, Im, and Lee 2019). In Korea, conflict can be translated as both *bunjaeng* and *galdeung*. When conflict is studied in political science and international relations, it is referred to as *bunjaeng*, meaning domestic and international conflicts that often involve the use of violence. When it is used in terms of public policy, conflict is referred to as *galdeung*, which does not necessarily involve the use of violence.

Three methods were used in this study. First, the literature on peace and security studies in Korea was reviewed. There have already been many studies tracing the development of peace and conflict studies (Suh 2015; Suh and Jeong 2016; Suh 2019; Hwang 1985; Park 2020; Ha 2002; Kim 2002; S. L. Kim 2021; Gu 2007, 2008; Kim, Suh, and Hwang 2022). Similar review articles exist in human rights (Kim 2018) and security studies (Park 2017a; Ha 1981). In the past, these reviews treated each area (i.e., security studies, peace studies, and human rights studies) as a separate realm. In this research, I provide a comprehensive summary of any research conducted on Korea’s peace and conflict issues. In addition, scholars have already traced the institutional development of peace studies by focusing on academic societies, journals, and conferences (Suh 2015; Park 2020; Kim 2002). I will not repeat this approach in this article.

Second, I provided empirical evidence from my own research on one of the main conflict events in Korea—the Jeju 4.3 incident. This is a representative case since it occurred during the early stage of nation-building in 1948 and recorded

many civilian casualties, second only to the Korean War. Since the Jeju 4.3 incident happened immediately after the liberation from Japanese colonial rule, I can trace the long history of how this particular conflict event has been dealt with in Korean society and academia over time. Moreover, since it was the first occurrence of a conflict event in Korea, Jeju 4.3 had a significant impact on how subsequent conflicts unfolded, such as the Yeosu-Suncheon incident and Korean War civilian massacres. Not only are studies conducted in Korea considered but so is research conducted abroad since there has been national-international exchange and interaction in Korean peace studies.

Third, I collected research articles on peace and conflict issues and analyzed the results using descriptive statistics. Eleven journals published in Korea (four English-language and seven Korean) were selected based on their area of focus.³ These journals have actively published academic papers on this topic in the past couple of decades. The papers were searched using five keywords (peace, reconciliation, conflict, violence, and justice) using major academic search engines such as DBpia, (Korean Studies Information Service System and Research Information Sharing Service). A total of 127 papers were collected between 1978 and 2022.

What are the characteristic and patterns of Korea's peace and conflict studies? If there has been a significant leap in its development, what is the main factor affecting such change? A reflection on peace and conflict studies in Korea shows that the 1987 democratization was a critical moment, and that the subsequent end of the global Cold War initiated the full-blown development of the field. The Korean case shows that the advancement of this field is linked to real-world changes. The recent inclusion of human rights and transitional justice issues in peace and conflict studies is meaningful. Rights and justice were core but unaddressed issues in Korea.

This article is organized as follows. First, I provide an overview of the major peace and conflict issues in Korea and trace the development of studies before 1987. I examine the development of studies in conjunction with political transitions. Second, I examine the post-Cold War development and the status of peace and conflict studies. In addition to tracing the development of security studies and peace studies, I also integrate my own research that traces the development of human rights research in Korea. In that section, I examine this recent trend by analyzing collected articles on peace and conflict issues. In conclusion, I provide my evaluation of some meaningful achievements of peace and conflict studies and explore some limitations and challenges.

Major Peace and Conflict Events and Trajectories of Relevant Research

Scholars have claimed that there are waves in the study of peace and conflict issues. Park (2020) suggests four stages of development: (1) security studies-types of research in the field of international relations, (2) critical peace studies, (3) the post-Cold War wave, and (4) the current wave. Ha (1981) divides stages of development similarly to Park. The first stage is the study of war; the second stage is peace studies as suggested by Galtung, emphasizing positive peace; and the third stage is Galtung's self-criticism and his emphasis on structural violence. Later scholars generally agree with these stages of the development. However, they often disagree on whether to divide the third stage into an earlier stage of post-Cold War era and more recent ones (Kim 2002).

Major Conflict Events before the Korean War

Peace and conflict studies in Korea was triggered by the shock of the Korean War (1950-1953), which left a deep schism not only between North Korea and South Korea but also among South Koreans (Park 2017a, 83). It has a similar origin to peace and conflict studies in the West, which was affected by World War II (Park 2020, 237). A comparison between the West and Korea is interesting. In the West in the post-WWII moment, there was a dual-track discussion on peace and conflict issues.

On one hand was a discussion on how to create a security bloc with the US against the newly emerging threat of communist Soviet Union. Topics such as the balance of power and nuclear deterrence were discussed (Ha 1981). However, this was not the only post-World War II issue. To achieve a unified front against the Soviet Union and to achieve reconciliation, European scholars and practitioners also discussed how to reconcile the two wartime enemies France and Germany and how to establish a meaningfully unified bloc (Haas 1958). It was a topic of functionalism and European integration (i.e., a story of reconciliation and integration). In Korea, the first aspect of the West's post-World War II security studies and international relations discussions almost dominated peace and conflict studies, while the second aspect of how to integrate the society and heal the deeply wounded past did not emerge until the post-Cold War wave (Park 2020).

To understand the development of peace and conflict studies in Korea, a timeline of major conflicts and political transitions needs to be explicated.⁴ Korean history was marked by Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), the US military occupation and internal unrests (1945-1948), the Korean War (1950-1953), the dictatorship of Rhee Syngman (1948-1960), and the repressive military regimes of Park Chung-hee (1961-1979), Chun Doo-hwan (1980-1988), and Roh Tae-

woo (1988-1993). Korea experienced four major political transitions. The first transition was away from Japanese colonialism in 1945; the second, from the Korean War in 1953; the third, from the dictatorship of Rhee Syngman in 1960; and the last one, from the long years of dictatorship and authoritarianism under the former military generals in 1987.

Even before the Korean War, there were several conflict-related issues, and notably some that were linked to efforts that claimed to be about “eradicating and preventing violence” (Hwang 2019, 60). The first challenge was how to deal with thirty-six years of Japanese colonialism, which was marked by political oppression. It left a deep divide not only between Korea and Japan, but also among Koreans. Conflicts certainly originated from the harsh and repressive colonial rule of Japan. A nationwide peaceful independence movement in 1919 led to 7,500 Koreans killed, 16,000 wounded, and 47,000 arrested (Robinson 2007). With the outbreak of World War II, many women were forced to work as sex slaves, known as “comfort women,” for the Japanese military, and 140,000 men and women were subjected to forced labor (Robinson 2007, 97-98).

However, Korea-Japan relations were particularly complicated by the fact that there were intermediaries between the colonial authority and Koreans, known as *chinilpa* (pro-Japanese collaborators). Building peace and achieving reconciliation within Korea required addressing the past wrongs committed by collaborators. With the liberation, the congress immediately enacted a law to create a special committee to investigate and punish collaborators. However, Rhee, whose political base consisted of the colonial-era elites, not only refused to cooperate but also obstructed these activities. Furthermore, with Rhee’s support, collaborators accused committee members of being communists who threatened national security; all of the committee’s efforts consequently failed.

This was the first time that “communism” was used to obstruct any discourse on peace, conflict, and reconciliation that was different from the government’s viewpoint. Once initiated, this instrumentalization of communism became a culture in Korea that suppressed views contrary to those held by people in positions of authority. This practice officially lasted until democratization in 1987, but the culture persists in Korean society.

Within this political environment, it was extremely difficult for scholars to engage with any study on reconciliation. To make matters worse, under the Rhee administration, new internal conflicts took place, which left another (a second) layer of violence and conflict. New severe wounds were added to past wounds that had not yet started to heal. Two major conflict events occurred in 1948: the Jeju 4.3 incident and the Yeosu-Suncheon incident. Both began as armed uprisings by local communist groups and ended in mass killings of civilians, mostly by the Korean military. The victims of the Jeju 4.3 incident numbered as many as 25,000 to 30,000 (4.3 Committee 2003, 381) and Yeosu-Suncheon had approximately 2,000 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2010, 93-94).

On top of these two layers, the most severe conflict in all of modern Korean history occurred—the Korean War. The war caused approximately 140,000 combat deaths and 450,000 injuries for the Korean side only. Even worse, the war period marked the height of violence against the civilian population in Korean history. For example, 700 villagers were killed by the Korean military in 1951 (Geochang massacre), and 400 refugees were killed by US troops (Nogunri massacre). Other cases included summary executions of prisoners, killings by indiscriminate bombing of civilians, and executions of collaborators who voluntarily or involuntarily cooperated with enemies. Most striking, the Korean military rounded up and executed anyone who was perceived to have a slight possibility of benefiting the enemy. From June to August of 1950, at least 300,000 innocent civilians were killed. In total, between 500,000 and 1 million people became victims of violence and conflict.

The Rhee Syngman Regime and Peace and Conflict Studies

Although these three layers of past conflicts—Japanese colonialism, pre-Korean War conflicts (the Jeju 4.3 and Yeosu-Suncheon incidents), and the Korean War—caused unprecedented death tolls in Korea, none was properly addressed under the Rhee regime, for two reasons. First, North Korea—the enemy of the state—remained undefeated. Any discourse proposing to ease tensions with North Korea and achieve reconciliation was totally suppressed. The same was true for dealing with ideologically sensitive issues such as the Jeju 4.3 and Yeosu-Suncheon incidents. Even issues that were not so ideologically sensitive, such as addressing the pro-Japanese collaborators, were viewed through an ideological lens. Opponents claimed that any attempt to defame the military or the government constituted dangerous communist propaganda.

Second, the Rhee regime, which was promoting a *myeolgong* (destroy communism) ideology, ran a dictatorship. Any suggestion of reconciliation with North Korea or of addressing the past wrongs of the Korean military was punished under the draconian National Security Act (Park 1994). A proposal to build peace and achieve reconciliation with the North was readily viewed as an activity benefiting the enemy, and consequently an easy target of the National Security Act. Within this political context, positive peace—defined as “a way to build peace through cooperation and enhancing welfare among diverse groups” (Park 2017a, 80-81)—was never pursued.

Past conflict events were still viewed very narrowly as communist-driven events that were properly suppressed with effective military operations (Headquarters of the Korean Army 1954). The conflict events were only viewed as major accomplishments of the Korean military for its early suppression of the “rebellions” against the Republic. During this time, studies conducted abroad that were exclusively about the conflict events in Korea were almost nonexistent. Several studies in the 1950s dealt broadly with the US military government and

Korean politics and society between 1945 and 1948. These studies did not focus exclusively on the major conflict events and only referred to them in passing to provide some background (Green 1950; McCune 1950; Meade 1951).

Under the Rhee administration, scholars pursued peace and conflict studies with a policy aim to frustrate the communist enemies in North Korea and their allies (Park 2017a, 84). Thus, keeping better combat capabilities vis-à-vis North Korea or strengthening the Korea-US alliance was a key priority. Moreover, some proposed building a collective security system, like an Asian NATO, to secure peace in Korea (Limb 1951). At the same time, the concept of peace was used in dealing with North Korea but in relation to achieving unification (Ha et al. 2018). Although the concept of peace was used to discuss unification, Rhee believed peaceful unification was impossible due to the ill-intention of the North, which aimed to achieve unification through violence (Park 2017b, 425-26). Opposition politicians framed Rhee's unification policy as *bukjin muryeok tongil* (unification through advancing to the North with violent means) (Park 2017b, 427).

The Student Revolution in 1960, Coup in 1961, and the Park Chung-hee Regime

The floodgate opened with the fall of Rhee's dictatorship, which was catalyzed by the student-led revolution of 1960. It was a moment when previously suppressed discourse (that challenged permitted discourses of security or anti-communism) first came out publicly. Victims of past atrocities committed by the Korean military started to raise their voices. Others initiated the discussion of unification with the North using means other than confrontational measures. Slogans such as freedom, democracy, and unification were espoused in public. Victims of past atrocities began organizing victims' associations to demand investigations and punishment. Had this trend continued, scholarly research would have followed, reflecting victims' strong demands. However, these revolutionary voices all met heavy backfire when General Park Chung-hee initiated a military coup in 1961. Again, anti-communist and security-driven discourse began, once again, to dominate society. With anti-communism as a core idea of the regime, discourse that differed from official lines was heavily censored and repressed. Discourse on peace, rights, unification, and justice suddenly disappeared from public space.

Regarding peace and conflict studies, the Park regime was not only a redux of the Rhee regime but also much worse (Park 2017b, 428). Park used the same logic, claiming that making accusations about the Korean military or suggesting reconciliation with the North was a communist act that benefited the enemy (Park 1994). In addition to the National Security Act, Park enacted the draconian Anti-Communism Law in 1961, which further punished any challenge to the regime as "an act of communism" (Park 1994). A strong emphasis on anti-communism made any discourse on peace and conflict other than the government's official version a social taboo (Seo 1999, 713).

However, ironically, the government position changed, an inevitability of

the global and regional mood of *détente* (Park 2017b, 429). The change reflected not only the global *détente* but also the improved relations between the North and South, and was represented by the 7.4 South-North Joint Communiqué (1972) and the 6.23 Declaration of Foreign Policy Aimed at Peaceful Unification (1973). Two changes were distinct. First, the security concept itself was expanded from its previous focus on military or strategic issues into a more comprehensive understanding that encompassed economic, social, cultural, and technological issues (Park 2017a, 86). Second, unlike the previous period, where only alliance-building and military buildup against communist threat were important, various threat conceptions were introduced.

However, this change did not directly affect any meaningful change in peace and conflict studies. Certainly, in some security studies, Galtung's concepts (such as negative peace and positive peace) were used, but scholars did not delve into these concepts (Kim 1978). Reflecting these superficial changes in the conceptualization of security, domestic research of past conflict events did not change at all. Most studies parroted an official narrative that painted the events as a "communist rebellion" and the civilian mass killings as crimes committed by the "communist guerrillas" (Committee for Military History 1967). When civilian casualties were mentioned, it was simply as "collateral damage" during perfectly legitimate counterinsurgency operations (Committee for the History of the Korean Police 1972).

A strong assumption was that all past conflict events were already resolved and there was no reason to revisit or unearth the past. Thus, not much academic research was conducted to address them, except for a few studies published abroad.⁵ However, even these studies echoed the government view that these incidents were part of a communist rebellion (Scalapino and Lee 1972). In these studies, although the violence itself was understood as a conflict between ideologies, civilian massacres were not even mentioned.

Nevertheless, there were also a couple of meaningful changes. Global and regional *détente* created some fissure in the traditional understanding of peace and conflict issues (Gu 2007, 19). For example, Paige (1964) provided a somewhat different understanding of the Jeju 4.3 incident by presenting it as a "major internal war event." On civilian massacres, Paige described the government response as "repressive and extremely cruel," which provided an alternative lens with which to understand the nature of the conflict and thus open a new possibility for how to address conflicts. Moreover, Paige provided an alternative discourse on the cause of the incident, stating that it occurred partly due to the communists' opposition but also "partly because of the islanders' long-smoldering resentment against despotic police and corrupt officials" (225). However, this radical view was not publicly available in Korea.

The End of Park in 1979, Coup and Bloody Suppression in 1980, and Chun Doo-hwan

There was a moment of democratization in 1979, after the assassination of Park by one of his associates. Park, during his eighteen-year-long dictatorship from 1961 to 1979, added one more—the fourth—layer of conflict events in Korean history. He silenced his opponents, prevented labor unionization, and terrorized citizens with a surveillance apparatus of police and intelligence services. Prominent political opponents were mysteriously found dead, and some were kidnapped and even disappeared. Secret service and government authorities fabricated spy incidents and sentenced them to death or long-time imprisonment. Student activists, human rights lawyers, labor activists, and dissidents were constantly under close surveillance, illegally arrested and detained, and tortured.

Despite the rarity of large-scale massacres, the culture of violence was systematized and infiltrated into every corner of the society. The end of the Park dictatorship was a chance to resolve not only the three previous layers of large-scale conflicts, but also this structural violence and culture of violence. However, it was not possible because another military group initiated a coup and illegally took power. The coup by Generals Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo met with severe resistance, not only from opposition groups, dissidents, and students, but also from citizens and religious leaders. Instead of yielding power to civilians, the military decided to harshly suppress the opposition using brutal means of violence.

Unfortunately, the military added yet another—the fifth—layer of conflict events: a large-scale massacre in 1980 in Gwangju, known as the Gwangju 5.18 Democratic Movement. Thirty years after the outbreak of the Korean War, another large-scale conflict event took place, which was characterized by mass killings, illegal arrest and detention, torture, and even sexual violence. It left at least 5,807 victims, including 268 deaths, eighty-four disappeared, 2,504 injured, and 2,827 arrested, tortured, and detained. The victims were mostly civilian university students, and sometimes high or middle school students, who opposed another illegal and illegitimate military rule.

To make matters worse, the Chun regime repeated Park's legacy of instituting structural violence—the sixth layer of conflict events. To cover up the crimes committed in Gwangju, the military used harsh and severe measures against dissidents, students, activists, and human rights lawyers who demanded truth and punishment. In addition, many “social undesirables” (criminals, ex-convicts, gangsters, those deemed to be living unhealthy lives, who were consistently blamed by villagers, or who disrupted social order) were forcibly arrested and detained in re-education camps. In the Samcheong Camp, approximately forty thousand victims were detained, forcibly labored, and tortured. In addition, more than five hundred youth were mysteriously murdered in the Brother's Welfare Center. Students were forcibly conscripted to the military and mysteriously found dead during their service, and fabricated spy cases were also frequent.

The political situation under Chun was not amenable to scholars who

examined peace and conflict issues. However, the changing international and regional political context since the 1970s and the political turmoil experienced after the assassination of Park affected intellectuals. For one, détente continued to influence security discourse in Korea (Gu 2007). Expanded understanding of security allowed many nontraditional issues to be discussed under the name of security. Also, the sudden death of Park, another coup by Chun and Roh, and the brutal suppression of Gwangju triggered an underground intellectual movement. Dissidents, students, and activists tried to resolve the perpetual vicious cycle of confrontation with the North and the brutal suppression of pro-democracy movements.

Underground study groups focused on two related issues: peaceful unification with the North, and closure of past conflict and violence events. Domestically, a breakthrough from poems, novels, and memoirs, began in the late 1970s. Compared to other disciplines, literature enjoyed relative autonomy, and these books were clandestinely circulated in the underground study groups. For example, a draft copy of a well-known memoir of the 1980 Gwangju incident, *Jugeumeul Neomeo Sidaeuil Eodumeul Neomeo* (Beyond Death, Beyond the Darkness of Ages), was circulated (Hwang 1985). For the Jeju 4.3 incident, Hyun Gi-young's short story *Suni Samchon* (Aunt Suni) was popular among students and activists in Jeju (Hyun 1978). This was the first time that the massacre-side of the Jeju 4.3 incident was exclusively and publicly addressed.

Slowly, past conflicts events were revisited by scholarly communities. The 1979 publication of *Haebang Jeonhusaeui Insik* (Perspective on the Pre- and Post-History of Liberation) marked a watershed moment (Song 1979). In this sensational book, the history of Korea since liberation was reviewed with a starkly different perspective than that of official narratives. Liberation, the US military government, and the division of the Korean Peninsula were all highly sensitive issues. Past conflict events such as the Japanese collaborators, the Jeju 4.3 incident, and the Korean War were reinterpreted from a relatively sensational viewpoint. For example, the author studied the Jeju 4.3 incident and referred to it as “4.3 *minjung hangjaeng*” (people's uprising), which is different from the official terminology of “4.3 *gongsan pokdong*” (communist riot).

This change was, in part, affected by renewed attention on the Korean War abroad. In 1980, the US released documents from the US military, the military government in Korea, and the Department of State. Students of history started to examine the newly released documents with a perspective that differed from the traditional viewpoint. Not only did real-world changes like détente make the resulting studies possible, but the rise of revisionist views in Cold War history also contributed.

On the Jeju 4.3 incident, Merrill's (1980; 1983) work was translated and circulated. It was the first academic study available in both the US and Korea that focused exclusively on the Jeju 4.3 incident. The translated version of his work

was widely circulated among scholars and students who wanted information. The other breakthrough was Cumings' (1981) work, *Origins of the Korean War*. In his second volume, *The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*, Cumings (1990) closely examined the Jeju 4.3 and Yeosu-Suncheon incidents. He emphasized a deep-rooted social and economic inequality between elites and the masses, which was further exacerbated by misrule under the US and Korean authorities. Unlike previous studies, Cumings described civilian killings that happened before and during the Korean War in detail.

Peace and Conflict Studies, From the Post-Cold War to the Current

In 1987, Chun refused to amend the constitution to elect the next president directly, which the opposition party demanded. His refusal and the death of a university student, Park Jong-cheol, by torture united opposition parties and civil society against Chun. Students, politicians, and citizens participated in nationwide demonstrations. In response to public pressure, Chun promised a direct election, but unfortunately Roh Tae-woo, Chun's successor, won the presidency, mainly due to divisions within the opposition. However, with the direct election and institutional democratization, peace and conflict studies started to develop slowly (Park 2017b, 432). The change was then dramatically accelerated by the ending of the Cold War (Gu 2008, 103).

Post-Cold War Developments in Peace and Conflict Studies in Korea

The end of the Cold War was a watershed moment and critical juncture for peace and conflict studies in Korea. Some claimed that the 1990s marked "the beginning of the peace studies boom" in Korea (Kim 2021, 53), while others referred to it as "a third wave" (Park 2020). Due to the drastically changed environment, Suh and Jeong (2016, 109) even claimed that Korean peace studies only started in 1987. Others went so far as to state that earlier studies on peace and security in international relations were not really peace studies (Gu 2008, 100). Whether it was the third wave or the origin of peace and conflict studies in Korea, there is no doubt that the 1990s was a critical juncture.

An initial change came from security studies in international relations. With the collapse of the Communist Bloc, scholars started to raise issues regarding a traditional security concept. Many demanded that security should be "redefined" (Gu 2007, 19) or that foreign policy should be "democratized" (Suh 2015, 124). A traditional realist perspective, which had dominated security discourse in Korea, faced a strong challenging alternative: liberalism. Park (2017b, 432) claims that three presidents after democratization (Roh, Kim Young-sam, and Kim Dae-jung) all pursued liberal foreign policies, at least in terms of policy toward North Korea and East Asia.

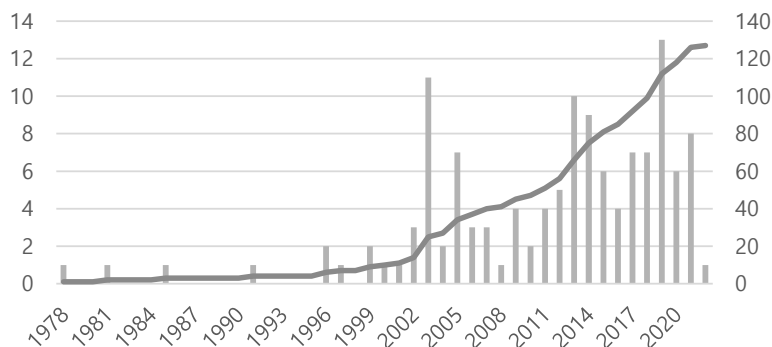
One scholar argued that the concept of security should move beyond military issues to encompass political, economic, environmental, and social issues (Gu 2007, 21). New concepts emerged, such as “economic security, social security, environmental security, resource security, food security, cultural security” (Kim 2002, 141). A comprehensive concept of security was already discussed during the Park regime (Park 2017a), but it had been limited in two ways. First, under the anti-communist regimes, diverse aspects of security-related concern other than military capabilities were treated as secondary. Second, although many areas of security were considered, the final goal of enhancing security was always to defeat, or at least deter, North Korea.

However, a post-Cold War change was fundamental for two reasons. First, ideological confrontation was eased regionally and globally. Roh pursued *bukbang jeongchaek* (a northward policy), establishing normal relations with former-communist East European countries, China, and Soviet Union. Relations with the North improved with both joining the United Nations and agreeing on reconciliation, non-aggression, and exchange (Basic Agreement of 1991). Scholarship on peace and conflict reflected these changes (Park 2017a, 99).

Second, threat perception was also dramatically changed. New security threats both from inside and outside emerged with environmental degradation, ethnic conflicts, natural disasters, refugee flow, and terrorism (Park 2020, 239). Park (2020, 239) further categorized three kinds of “conflict/non-peace” threats that drew scholarly attention during this time: prevention of traditional war between states; prevention of civil and ethnic conflicts among domestic groups based on identities; and prevention of new threat arising from nuclear weapons and facilities, environmental degradation, and resource strain.

Reflecting these trends in security studies, peace and conflict studies changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitatively, the number of studies dealing with peace and conflict issues started to increase in the 1990s and exploded in 2000s (S. L. Kim 2021). A similar study tracing the history of peace education found that peace education was introduced in the late 1980s but developed and intensified in the 1990s (Park 2005). My collected data confirms these findings. Figure 1 shows the number of research articles on peace and conflict issues by year. The bar graph shows the number of articles published each year, and the line graph shows the cumulative number. It demonstrates that the study of peace and conflict was rare in the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the Cold War ending in 1991, it was not until 1996 that articles were consistently published. However, there is a rapid increase of articles starting in the 2000s, which continued into the 2010s.

Qualitatively, a changed mood can be seen in academic studies by scholars with a liberal orientation (Park 2017b, 436), proposing liberal solutions to inter-Korean or international relations. A few studies proposed that domestic issues in Korea should be resolved to achieve inter-Korean peace. For example, Lee (1990) claimed that to ease tensions with the North, not only should the US military and

Figure 1. Number of Research Articles on Peace and Conflict Issues by Year

Source: Author's compilation.

nuclear weapons be withdrawn, but also more radical solutions, such as allowing communist political groups to be active, should be adopted. The fact that this radical claim was published in the flagship journal of the Korean International Studies Association shows that the new era of peace and conflict studies had arrived.

Studies reviewing post-Cold War peace and conflict studies identified three characteristics (Suh 2015; 2019; Gu 2007; 2008; Suh and Jeong 2016; Park 2020). First, military-based security issues were referred to as a “traditional security” and other emerging issues as “nontraditional security” (Park 2017a, 104). The concept of “nontraditional,” or “critical,” security studies (Gu 2007) is important because it has some commonalities with peace studies (Park 2017b, 447). A few scholars criticized this new trend because they claimed that no form of security studies—regardless of the added prefix of “nontraditional” or “critical”—excludes the use of violence to achieve peace and is thus incompatible with a fundamental assumption of peace studies (Gu 2007, 27). Nevertheless, other scholars viewed concepts like “human security” as a bridge between security studies and peace studies (Kim 2002, 144). In another commonality with peace studies, both nontraditional security and critical security studies valued the role of nonstate actors (Park 2017a, 104).

Second, the development of social movements in Korea helped peace studies diversify its attention to issues, including human rights, women's rights, environment, ecology, unification, and peace (Gu 2007, 197). Democratization allowed scholars to examine various ideas that were previously suppressed. This was when the concept of rights became key in social movements. Constitutional rights and human rights were two frequently used concepts (Mosler 2021; H. J. Kim 2021). With constitutional rights claims, the Constitutional Court was created to promote the rule of law (Mosler 2021). Human rights were applied to many issues that had previously not been framed as rights issues (H. J. Kim

2021). Scholars of peace research also started to examine how the promotion of human rights, ecological sustainability, and poverty reduction could contribute to achieving positive peace (Gu 2007, 29). More recently, subject matters such as climate change, multicultural adaptation, and aid and development have been added to the study of peace in Korea.

Third, the real-world dynamics in North Korea influenced the topic of peace and conflict studies in the 1990s. In 1993, North Korea withdrew from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and a few years later a great famine led to a massive outflow of refugees. Both events prompted scholars to rethink North Korean issues and compelled peace activists to initiate a campaign to help North Koreans (*ibid.*, 201). Scholars also began to think that Korean and inter-Korean issues were not just local or regional issues but also international and universal concerns for all humankind (Suh and Jeong 2016, 110-11). Changed political circumstances in North Korea caused a rethink among scholars for how to achieve positive peace on the Korean Peninsula (Suh 2011).

Post-2000 Changes: Inclusion of Rights and Justice Issues

Starting from 2000, peace and conflict studies in Korea became more comprehensive. Park (2020, 240) recognizes the most recent development as a wave, which is “when all kinds of non-peace, anti-peace, war risks, violence and conflicts are erupting” and the solution to peace is never a sole concern for individual states but something that “requires a global response.” Peace and conflict studies in this wave tended to have three trends: (1) building peace at the international level, (2) emphasizing inter-Korean relations, and (3) building peace at the societal level (Suh 2015, 121). First, for a long time, mainly due to its political situation, Korea focused too much on the issue of building regional and international peace. Suh and Jeong (2016, 107) argue that this type of security concern is over-represented and that other important topics such as “justice, equality, human rights, democracy, and diversity” have been overlooked.

Second, a new emphasis on inter-Korean relations was made. Improved relations between the North and South was first explored in the 1970s during the *détente*. A call for unification was made during the 4.19 student revolution in 1960 and also by students and underground activists in the 1980s. However, reconciliation within inter-Korean relations in the 2000s facilitated important changes and a meaningful step was taken in the development of peace education and unification education (Suh and Jeong 2016, 117). In addition, a group of scholars started to discuss the topic of “the right to peace” and the relationship between peace and human rights on the Korean Peninsula (*ibid.*, 40, 118).

Third, since 2000, more attention has been given to the issues of building peace at the societal level, and to two issues—human rights and transitional justice—have led to the advancement of peace and conflict studies. The concept of human rights was always close to the study of peace and conflict since many

conflict events involve gross and systematic human rights violations. Both direct violence and structural and cultural violence are closely related to the concept of human rights, which encompasses social, economic, and cultural rights. The issue of human rights has firmly related to peace since scholars and activists began promoting the right to peace as a human right (ibid., 40).

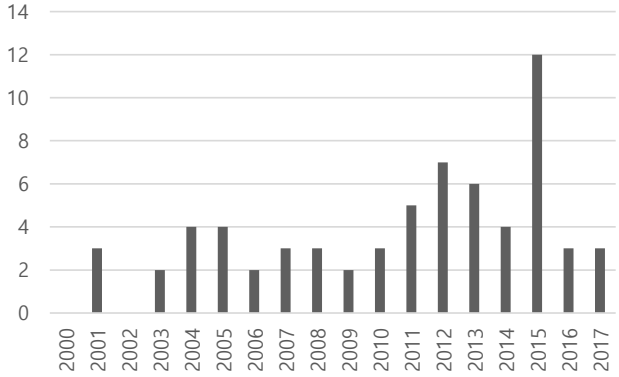
A review of human rights studies confirms that an important breakthrough was made in the 2000s (Kim 2018). Only two articles were published in the 1980s in the field of political science and international relations, and then ten in the 1990s. The two articles in the 1980s tangentially touched upon the topic of human rights. One addressed the relation between security and civil rights, and the other was a comparative study on the relationship between the military and human rights. The first 1990s article was published in 1994, and subsequent publications raised topics that included international human rights, international cooperation on human rights, democratization and human rights, human rights, and nationalism. The number of articles rapidly increased to ninety-one in the 2000s and to 164 in the 2010s (ibid., 173-74).

Scholarship in the post-2000 era has addressed various aspects of human rights (ibid., 177). In the first decade of the century, scholars examined the role of civil society, the concept of cultural relativism, the relationship between sovereignty and human rights, state violence, discrimination, gender, and multiculturalism. New and somewhat unconventional topics also emerged, like witch hunts, the relationship between religion and human rights, and the rights of immigrants. In the 2010s, this trend continued, and new aspects of human rights emerged in the scholarship. These new topics included human rights in the arts and literature (six articles), human security (five articles), and the idea of the human city (five articles).

What was common in the 2000s and 2010s was the focus on human rights in North Korea. In the 2000s, eight out of sixty-five articles (12%) were on North Korean human rights, and in the 2010s, it increased to twenty out of 110 (18%). In both decades, the issue of North Korean human rights was the second most frequently studied topic. Figure 2 shows the number of articles on North Korean human rights from 2000 to 2017. Studies on North Korean human rights are evenly distributed in the 2000s and 2010s, but the total number of articles increased in 2010s, reflecting policy interest of the conservative regimes (ibid., 186).

At the same time, an urgent social issue in Korea was how to address past human rights violations, most of which were committed by the state (Suh 2015). In the 2000s, many truth commissions were created to investigate past human rights violations. Scholars viewed this topic as one of the important components of Korean peace and conflict studies, and Suh (2019, 43) saw it as an important subcategory of *bundan pokryeok* (violence caused by the division). In a recent textbook on peace studies, scholars even included a separate chapter on “truth-

Figure 2. The Number of Research Articles on North Korean Human Rights



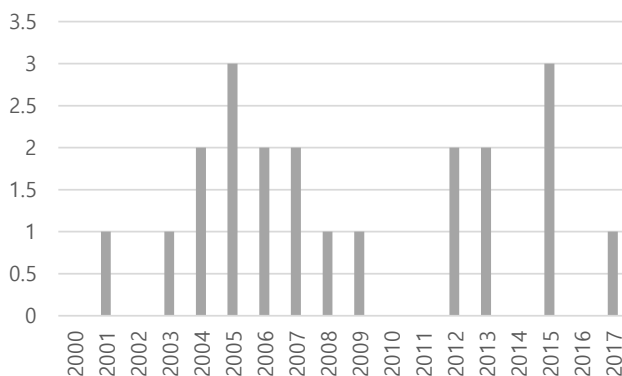
Source: Kim (2018, 179).

seeking and reconciliation” (Kim, Suh, and Hwang 2022). It is an important topic, but is a very difficult one as well (Suh 2019, 45). A government response to past human rights violations is known as transitional justice.

Transitional justice was introduced to “make” or “build” peace during or after a conflict situation (Barnett et al. 2007; Suh and Jeong 2016, 37). The rise of transitional justice as a topic of peace and conflict studies was influenced by the rapid increase in research on the civilian massacres in Korea (Suh and Jeong 2016, 111). It was also affected by real-world change. Public discussions of past conflict events started after 1987 and became full-blown when Kim Dae-jung took office in 1998. Many policy measures—such as criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, and reparations—were adopted during the Kim and Roh Moo-hyun administrations to redress past human rights violations.

Transitional justice marked the most frequently studied topic in the 2000s—thirteen out of ninety-one articles on human rights (14%). It also marked the third most frequently researched topic in the 2010s with eight out of 110 articles (7%). Figure 3 shows the number of articles on transitional justice by year, revealing greater density in the 2000s compared to the 2010s. It reflects the fact that most transitional justice measures were adopted during the Kim and Roh regimes and that the conservative regime (starting in 2008) did not support these activities (Kim 2018).

Recent research on transitional justice focuses on various past conflict events, such as the 1980 Gwangju incident, the Jeju 4.3 incident, the massacre of civilians during the Korean War, and structural violence during the dictatorship. These studies can be broadly divided into three types. First, there has been a rapid increase in research on transitional justice in North Korea (Lee et al. 2016; Baek and Lee 2017). Second, transitional justice was applied to resolve the human rights violations under Japanese colonial rule, especially the Japanese military

Figure 3. The Number of Research Articles on Transitional Justice

Source: Kim (2018, 179).

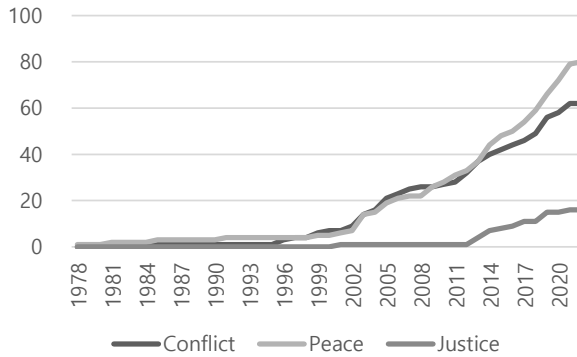
sexual slavery system and forced labor (Chung 2004; Lee 2015). Finally, there is a large body of scholarship on the various cases of civilian massacres before and during the Korean War (Kim 2002; Jung 2010; Han 2009; Han 2010).

Research on the Jeju 4.3 incident took a similar course. There were still studies conducted by scholars who perceived the incident as “a communist riot” and correspondingly focused on counterinsurgency operations (Son 2008; Millett 2005). These scholars shared a traditional anticommunist perspective and viewed military operations as a legitimate use of military force. However, since the 2000s, a new group of scholars began studying the Jeju 4.3 incident as serious human rights violations perpetrated by the state (Kim 2008, 2009; Baik 2007). These scholars were interested in studying the nature of the human rights violations as well as the transitional justice processes and their impact. Similar studies were conducted on other conflict events, such as the Korean War massacres (Kim 2000) and the 1980 Gwangju incident (Shin and Hwang 2003).

Studies focusing on justice issues are increasing in Korean peace and conflict studies, and this trend will continue.⁶ Figure 4 shows the cumulative number of articles in peace and conflict studies by three main keywords: peace, conflict, and justice. Certainly, “peace” and “conflict” remain key terms in many studies. Meanwhile, the term “justice” first appeared as a keyword in 2001, and this type of research has since been slowly but noticeably increasing.

Conclusion

An analysis of peace and conflict studies in Korea shows that the 1987 democratization was a critical moment for the field, and that the subsequent end of the global Cold War initiated its full development. This was a time when

Figure 4. The Cumulative Number of Research Articles by Main Keywords

Source: Author's compilation.

previously suppressed voices suddenly exploded into public and academic space. Diverse perspectives with theoretical and disciplinary backgrounds emerged. It was only after 1987 that human rights and transitional justice issues started to be incorporated into peace and conflict studies. The Korean case shows that the advancement of peace and conflict studies is tightly linked to the real world—not only domestic but also regional and international—changes.

Under the repressive anti-communist regimes, only security-related research was available, and the views therein generally echoed those of the government. Although global and regional détente opened a space for alternative perspectives, the domestic political situation blocked the full development of scholarly discussion. An examination of research trends in human rights and transitional justice demonstrates that the government's position affects the field's course of development. The fact that transitional justice research boomed in the 2000s, followed by North Korean human rights studies in the 2010s, shows that the regime's characteristics matter. Suh (2015, 116) further pointed out that Korean peace studies are too policy oriented.

An expansion of peace and conflict studies has led to important achievements. First, each academic field dealing with peace and conflict issues (e.g., security studies, peace studies, human rights studies) has benefitted from the development of others. Certainly, concerns that security studies has been dominating peace and conflict studies in Korea are understandable (Suh and Jeong 2016, 107). Nevertheless, the synergy effect is real. For one, although security studies dominated peace and conflict studies before 1987, the post-Cold War trend is different. Many issues other than security issues were raised by scholars with various backgrounds (Suh 2015, 141). Additionally, even during the Cold War era, a new development in security studies (i.e., the rise of nontraditional security, or critical security, studies) facilitated the development of peace studies.

Second, the inclusion of human rights and transitional justice in peace and

conflict studies is meaningful. Rights and justice have been core, but unaddressed, issues in peace and conflict studies in Korea. Victims of past conflicts had always demanded the right to know and the right to redress their pains. Previously, peace and conflict studies in Korea had a narrow focus on inter-Korean relations or securing peace on the Korean Peninsula. In other words, negative peace dominated the domestic peace studies discourse (S. L. Kim 2021, 65). In contrast, an important aspect of sustainable peace (i.e., redressing past wrongdoings and achieving reconciliation) was dismissed. With the more recent inclusion of study on human rights and transitional justice, Korean peace studies can also pursue positive peace.

However, there are also major challenges. One limitation is the divided political structure of North and South Korea. This structure has hindered the development of peace and conflict studies in Korea for more than seventy years. One clear effect of this is that many studies, regardless of peace, security, or human rights studies, focus too much on North Korean issues (Kim 2018). Moreover, it is not just political and military confrontation that dominates the structure, but also economic, cultural, and social confrontation. The structure affects not only bilateral relations between North and South Korea, which are unstable and unpredictable, but also the domestic structure of both countries. Importantly, “militaristic culture” in Korea, which is a result of the North–South confrontation, seriously hinders academic freedom (Suh 2019, 40, 44, 50).

Certainly, North Korea has provided a laboratory for enriching peace and conflict studies in Korea.⁷ Already, North Korea’s nuclear weapons and great famine have been important triggers for internationalizing Korean peace studies. However, there are other issues that can and should be addressed. First, the issue of North Korean refugees, or defectors, in Korea and abroad is an important topic, along with the issue of their integration. Second, traditional security issues, such as nonproliferation, arms control, and deterrence, remain unresolved. Third, the recent COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the vulnerability of North Korea’s health system. Finally, how to maintain the eco-diversity of the demilitarized zone between the North and South is also a significant issue that should be addressed.

The other limitation is that the research of peace and conflict studies in Korea is mostly conducted by Korean scholars using Korean language on Korea-related topics (Park 2020, 244). My data on collected articles show that Korea- or inter-Korea-related topics account for over half of all research. In terms of authors, 87% were written by Koreans and 13% by foreign scholars. Of all 127 articles, ninety (71%) were written in Korean and thirty-six (29%) in English. In my dataset, English articles first appeared in 2005 in the *Korean Journal of International Studies* and started to continuously appear after 2012 in the *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* and *Journal of Peace and Unification*.

In sum, the prospect of peace and conflict studies in Korea is neither bright

nor dark.⁸ There have been major achievements, but hurdles and obstacles remain. Scholars who have reviewed Korean peace studies have strongly urged that, with more than thirty years of history, peace and conflict studies in Korea should contribute to global scholarship (Suh 2019, 56). Even before democratization, Ha (1981, 11) demanded that peace studies in Korea have a long-term and macro perspective. Accordingly, it is time for peace and conflict studies in Korea to leap forward, and the recent study of human rights and transitional justice can be one part of the vanguard. There have been many studies on this topic globally, and Korean peace studies can position its findings within and in relation to those from global samples. By engaging with scholarly trends, scholars of Korean peace studies can both better understand the specific contexts shaping their field and identify its unique contributions to the global scholarship.

Acknowledgements

This research was financially supported by a Korea University Grant (K2306951). I would like to thank Joo Hyung Kim and Sung Chull Kim at the Peace Studies in Asia: Seeking Sustainable Peace in Democracy workshop. I thank two anonymous reviewers who made important comments to further develop this paper. I also want thank Chaehyun Im and Shin WooJin for their research assistance.

Notes

1. I use “peace and conflict studies” to include both peace studies and security studies. I use this somewhat unconventional concept to distinguish my work from other studies, which explore peace studies and security studies separately. In addition, by using “conflict,” I tried to include both international and domestic conflicts.
2. I am particularly indebted to an anonymous reviewer on this point.
3. The four journals that are published in English are: *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, *Journal of Peace and Unification Studies*, *Korean Journal of International Studies*, and *Korean Political Science Review*. The seven journals published in Korean are: *Gukjejeongchi Nonchong* (Journal of International Relations), *Minjujuuiwa Ingwon* (Journal of Democracy and Human Rights), *Bunjaeng Haegyeol Yeongu* (Journal of Dispute Resolution), *Tongilgwa Pyeonghwa* (Journal of Unification and Peace), *Pyeonghwa Yeongu* (Journal of Peace Studies), *Pyeonghwahak Yeongu* (Journal of Peace Science), and *Hanguk Jeongchihak Hoebo* (Korean Political Science Review). Certainly, there are many books and book chapters that are relevant, but the purpose of exploring these articles is to provide a snapshot of Korean peace studies.
4. Descriptions of major conflicts and political transitions were developed based on my own work (Kim forthcoming).
5. This part was developed based on my previous research (Kim 2011).
6. One scholar suggested that US-trained scholars are likely to lead this trend since they

dominated Korean academia, policy circles, and think tanks (Suh 2019, 51).

7. I am particularly indebted to Sung Chull Kim on this point.

8. An example of this mixed result is what happened in 2003 when Korean society was divided over the government's decision to dispatch troops to assist the US in Iraq. This also impacted scholars studying peace and conflict studies. Some claimed that the reason why Korean society mostly actively participated in anti-Iraq War protest was due to the similarity between Korea and Iraq (Gu 2007, 204). Others claimed that Korean peace and conflict studies bifurcated.

References

- 4.3 Committee. 2003. *Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report*. Seoul: National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju 4-3 Incident and Honoring Victims.
- Baek, Buhm Suk, and Yun Je Lee. 2017. "Bukaningwonchimhae Gahaejai Hyeongsachaegi-Mgyumyeong" [Pursuing Criminal Responsibility for Human Rights Atrocities in DPRK]. *The Korean Journal International Law* 62 (1): 63-95.
- Baik, Tae-Ung. 2007. "Justice Incomplete: The Remedies for the Victims of the Jeju April Third Incidents." In *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, eds., Gi-Wook Shin, Soon-Won Park, and Daqing Yang, 94-113. London: Routledge.
- Barnett, Michael N., Hun Joon Kim, Madeline O'Donnell, and Laura Sitea. 2007. "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13: 35-58.
- Chung, Chin Sung. 2004. *Ilbongunseongnoyeje: Ilbongun Wianbu Munjeui Silsangwa Geu Haegyeoreul Wihan Undong* [Military Sexual Slavery of Imperial Japan: The Reality of the Comfort Women Issue in the Imperial Japanese Military and the Movement to Solve It]. Seoul: Seouldaehakgyochulpanmunhwawon.
- Committee for Military History. 1967. *Hanguk Jeonjaengsa: Haebang-gua Geonguk* [The History of the Korean War: Liberation and State Building]. Seoul: Department of Defense.
- Committee for the History of the Korean Police. 1972. *Hanguk Gyeongchalsa* [The History of the Korean Police]. Seoul: Committee for the History of the Korean Police.
- Cumings, Bruce. 1981. *Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945-1947*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cumings, Bruce. 1990. *Origins of the Korean War: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Galtung, Johan. 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. London: SAGE Publications.
- Green, A. Wigfall. 1950. *The Epic of Korea*. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press.
- Gu, Gap Woo. 2007. *Bipanjeok Pyeonghwayeonguwa Hanbando* [Critical Peace Studies and the Korean Peninsula]. Seoul: Humanitaseu.
- Gu, Gap Woo. 2008. "Hanbandojeok Maengnagui Bipanjeok Pyeonghwa·Anbodamnon: 'Pyeonghwagukdamnon' Jaeron" [Critical Discourses on Peace and Security on the Korean Peninsula: Peace States Discourse Revisited]. *Korea and World Politics* 24 (3): 95-124.
- Ha, Young Sun, Yul Sohn, Seong Ho Kim, Byoung Kwon Sohn, Yu Mi Moon, Myoung Kyu

- Park, Chae Sung Chun, Joon Suk Kim, and Hun Joon Kim. 2018. *Naengjeongi Hanguk Sahoegwahak Gaenyeomsa* [Conceptual History of Korean Social Sciences in the Cold War]. Seoul: Daehanmingugyeoksabangmulgwan.
- Ha, Young Sun. 1981. "Saeroun Gukjejeongchiironel Chajaseo: Pyeonghwayeongureul Jungsimeuro" [In Search of a New International Politics Theory: Focusing on Peace Studies]. *Korean Journal of International Relations* 21: 3-11.
- Ha, Young Sun. 2002. *21segi Pyeonghwahak* [21st Century Peace Studies]. Seoul: Pulbit.
- Haas, Earnst B. (ed.) 1958. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. 3rd ed. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Han, Hong Koo. 2009. "Cheongsandoeji Aneun Gwageoreul Hancheung Deo Ssaoul Geosinga?" [The Unpurged Past Will Be Cumulative?] *Korean Journal of Genocide Studies* 6: 15-40.
- Han, Sung Hoon. 2010. "Gwageocheongsangwa Minjujuui Silhyeon: Jinsilhwaehawiwonhoe Hwaldonggwa Gwongosahangui Ihaengi Jeonguireul Jungsimeuro" [Transitional Justice and Realization of Democracy: Focus on Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Republic of Korea's Activities and Implementation of Recommendations]. *Critical Review of History* 93: 116-41.
- Headquarters of the Korean Army. 1954. *Gongbi Tobeolsa* [The History of Counterinsurgency Operations Against Communist Guerrillas]. Seoul: Headquarters of the Korean Army.
- Hwang, Sok Young. 1985. *Jugeumeul Neomeo Sidaewi Eodumeul Neomeo: Gwangju 5wol Minjunghangjaengui Girok* [Beyond Death, Beyond the Darkness of the Ages: Records of the May People's Uprising in Gwangju]. Seoul: Pulbit.
- Hwang, Soo Hwan. 2019. "Pyeonghwahakjeok Gwanjeomeseo Bon Hanbando Pyeonghwaui Banghyang" [The Direction of the Korean Peninsula's Peace from the Perspective of Peace Studies]. *The Journal of Peace Studies* 20 (1): 53-72.
- Hyun, Gi Young. 1978. *Suni Samchon* [Aunt Suni]. Seoul: Changbi.
- Jeong, Hyeon Dal, and Yoon Jung Baek. 2016. "Guseongwon Gan Galdeunge Gwanhan Yeongudonghyang: Munheongochal Mit Metabunseok" [Research Trends in Interpersonal-Conflict (Task-Conflict and Relationship-Conflict): Literature Review and Meta-Analysis]. *Journal of Korean Human Resource Development* 19 (1): 109-42.
- Jung, Keun Sik. 2010. "Jinsilgyumyeonggwa Hwahae, Eodikkaji Wanneunga?: Jinsil·Hwahaeiwonhoe Hwaldongui Gyeolsan" [Finding the Truth and Reconciliation, how far Have We Come?: The Conclusion of the Activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee]. *Hwang Hae Review* 67 (0): 86-119.
- Kim, Dong Choon. 2000. *Jeonjaenggwa Sahoe* [War and Society]. Seoul: Dolbegae.
- Kim, Hak Joon. 1978. "Hanbando Pyeonghwaewi Gukjejeok Jogeon: Peonghwaewi 3dangyerone Ipgakhaye" [International Conditions of Peace in the Korean Peninsula: Based on Three Stages]. *Korean Journal of International Relations* 18 (1): 99-110.
- Kim, Hun Joon. 2008. "Expansion of Transitional Justice Measures: A Comparative Analysis of Its Causes." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota.
- Kim, Hun Joon. 2009. "Seeking Truth after Fifty Years: The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth About the Jeju 4.3 Events." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3 (3): 406-23.
- Kim, Hun Joon. 2011. "International Research on the Jeju 4.3 Events and Suggestions for Internationalization." *World Environment and Island Studies* 1 (1): 51-62.
- Kim, Hun Joon. 2018. "Hanguk Jeongchihakeui Ingweonyeongui Hyeonhwang Bunseok;

- Donghyanggua Jeonmang” [Analysis of the Current Status of Human Rights Studies in Korean Political Science: Current State and Prospect]. *Korean Political Science Review* 52 (1): 171-200.
- Kim, Hun Joon. 2021. “A Clash of Claims: The Diversity and Effectiveness of Rights Claims around the Jeju 4.3 Events.” In *Rights Claiming in South Korea*, eds. Celeste L. Arrington and Patricia Goedde, 85-105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, Hun Joon. Forthcoming. “South Korea.” In *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, 2nd ed., eds., Lavinia Stan and Nadya Nedelsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, Myeong Seop. 2002. “Pyeonghwahakeui Hyeonhwanggua Jeonmang” [Current State and Prospect of Peace Science]. In *21segi Pyeonghwahak* [21st Century Peace Studies], ed., Young Sun Ha, 127-53. Seoul: Pulbit.
- Kim, Sang Lae. 2021. “Hanguui Pyeonghwa Yeongu Donghyang: Myeongchingye Tpyeonghwatga Pohamdoen TyukIdeungjae Haksuljireul Jungstimeuro” [Trends of Peace Research in Korea: Focusing on KCI Registered Journals with “Peace” in the Title]. *The Journal of Peace Studies* 22 (1): 49-73.
- Kim, Yeh Lin, Da Hee Im, and Seon Woo Lee. 2019. “Hanguui Galdeunggwallyeon Yeongugyeonghyang Bunseok: Sahoegwahakbunyau Juyo Haksulji Surok Yeongureul Jungstimeuro” [Analysis of Korean Conflict-Related Research Trends: Focused on Research in Major Journals of Social Sciences]. *Hangukgonggonggwallyehakbo* [Korean Public Management Review] 33 (2): 237-63.
- Kim, Yeon Cheol, Bo Hyuk Suh, and Soo Hwan Hwang. 2022. *Pyeonghwahak Gaeron* [Introduction to Peace Science]. Seoul: Bakyounsa.
- Kwon, Kyeong Deuk, and Ju Ho Lee. 2015. “Hanguk Gonggongjeongchaekgaldeung Yeongugyeonghyange Daehan Sironjeok Yeongu: Hangugyeongujaedan Sahoegwahakbunya Deungjaehaksuljireul Jungstimeuro” [A Preliminary Study on the Research Trends of “Public Policy Conflicts” Studies in Korea: Focused on KCI Journals in the Field of Social Science]. *The Korea Public Administration Journal* 24 (1): 37-65.
- Lee, Jang. 1990. “Nambukhan Ginjang Wanhwaleul Wihan Jean” [Some Suggestions to Resolve Tension between North and South]. *Korean Journal of International Relations* 30 (1): 113-31.
- Lee, Jun Sik. 2015. “Dwineujeun Gukgachawonui Chinilcheongsan: Chinilbanminjokaengwijinsanggyumyeongwiwonhoeui Hwaldongyeul Jungstimeuro” [Delayed Settlement of the Pro-Japanese Collaboration over Half a Century: Focusing on Activities of the Presidential Committee for the Inspection of Collaborations for Japanese Imperialism]. *Korean Journal of Law & Society* 49: 33-67.
- Lee, Kyu Chang, Hun Joon Kim, Kyung Ok Do, and Buhm Suk Baek. 2016. *Bukaningwon Chaegimgyumyeong Bangangwa Gwaje* [Measures and Tasks to Identify Responsibility for North Korean Human Rights]. Seoul: Tongilyeongwon.
- Limb, Ben C. 1951. “The Pacific Pact: Looking Forward or Backward?” *Foreign Affairs* 29 (4): 539-49.
- McCune, George M. 1950. *Korea Today*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Meade, E. Grant. 1951. *American Military Government in Korea*. New York: King’s Crown Press.
- Merrill, John. 1980. “The Cheju-Do Rebellion.” *Journal of Korean Studies* 2: 139-97.
- Merrill, John. 1983. “Internal Warfare in Korea, 1948-1950: The Local Setting of the Korean

- War." In *Child of Conflict: The Korean-American Relationship, 1943-1953*, ed., Bruce Cumings, 133-62. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Millett, Alan. R. 2005. *The War for Korea, 1945-1950: A House Burning*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Mosler, Hannes B. 2021. "The Constitutional Court as a Facilitator of Fundamental Rights Claiming in South Korea, 1988-2018." In *Rights Claiming in South Korea*, eds., Celeste L. Arrington and Patricia Goedde, 126-50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paige, Glen D. 1964. "Korea." In *Communism and Revolution: The Strategic Uses of Political Violence*, eds., C. E. Black and T. P. Thornton, 215-42. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Park, Bo Young. 2005. "Hangukeui Pyeonghwagyoyuk Yeongusa: 1980nyeondae Ihuleul Jungsimeuro" [History of Korean Peace Education Studies: Focusing on Post-1980 Period]. *Journal of Christian Education in Korea* 11: 1-21.
- Park, Myoung kyu. 2020. "Pyeonghwayeonguui ne Beonjjae Heureumgwa Hanbandohyeong Pyeonghwahak" [Fourth Flow of Peace Research and Korean Peninsula-type Peace Study]. *Journal of Peace and Unification Studies* 12 (2): 229-56.
- Park, Weon-sun. 1994. *Gukga Boanbeop Yeongu 1: Gukga Boanbeop Byeoncheonsa* [A Study of the National Security Law, vol. 1: The Development of the National Security Law]. Seoul: Yeoksa Bipyong.
- Park, Young June. 2017a. "Hanguk Gukjejeongchihage Isseo Anboyeonguui Gyeonghyang Pyeonggawa Jeonmang: 1963-2000nyeongan Gukjejeongchinonchonge Gejaedoen Gwallyeon Nonmun Naeyong Bunseogeul Jungsimeuro" [The Evolution and Prospects of Security Studies in the Korea's International Studies: Focusing on the Analysis of Related Papers Published in *International Politics Review* between 1963 and 2000]. *Peace Studies* 19 (1): 79-116.
- Park, Young June. 2017b. "Hangugui Pyeonghwadamnon Jeongaewa Daeojeongchaengnon: Yeokdae Daetongnyeongdeurui Jeongchaekgusanggwa Gukjejeongchinonchong Gejae Gwallyeon Yeongureul Jungsimeuro" [The Evolution of Peace Discourses in South Korea and Its Implication for Foreign Policy: Focusing on the Policy Ideas of Past Presidents and Research Related to the Publication of *International Politics Review*]. *Korean Journal of International Relations* 57 (3): 419-54.
- Robinson, Michael E. 2007. *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Scalapino, Robert. A., and Chong-Sik Lee. 1972. *Communism in Korea, Part II: The Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Seo, Jung-seok. 1999. *Jo Bong-am-gua 1950-nyeondae (Ha)* [Jo Bong-am and the 1950s, vol. 2]. Seoul: Yeoksa Bipyong.
- Shin, Gi Wook, and Kyung Moon Hwang. 2003. *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Son, Kyengho. 2008. "The 4.3 Incident: Background, Development, and Pacification, 1945-1949." Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University.
- Song, Geon Ho. 1979. *Haebang Jeonhusaewi Insik* [Perspective on the Pre- and Post-History of Liberation]. Seoul: Hangilsa.
- Suh, Bo Hyuk, and Wook Sik Jeong. 2016. *Pyeonghwahakgwa Pyeonghwaundong* [Peace Studies and Peace Movement]. Seoul: Mosineunsaramdeul.
- Suh, Bo Hyuk. 2011. *Koria Ingwon: Bukanui Ingwongwa Hanbando Pyeonghwa* [Human

- Rights in Korea: Human Rights in North Korea and Peace on the Korean Peninsula]. Seoul: Chaeksesang.
- Suh, Bo Hyuk. 2015. "Hanguk Pyeonghwayeonguui Hyeonhwangwa Gwaje" [The Current Situation and Future Tasks of Korean Peace Studies]. *Korea and World Politics* 31 (2): 115-48.
- Suh, Bo Hyuk. 2019. *Hanguk Pyeonghwahagui Tamgu* [Exploration of Korean Peace Studies]. Seoul: Bagyeongasa.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 2010. *Comprehensive Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Seoul: Commission for Verification of Historical Events for Truth and Reconciliation.

Hun Joon Kim is Professor at the Department of Political Science in Korea University. He has research interests in human rights, transitional justice, international norms, and US-China relations. He is author of *The Massacres at Mt Halla: Sixty Years of Truth-Seeking in South Korea* (Cornell University Press, 2014) and co-editor of *Transitional Justice in the Asia Pacific* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Email: hunjoon7@korea.ac.kr

Submitted: September 15, 2022; Revised: March 08, 2023; Accepted: March 10, 2023

