

Formation of the *Sasanggye* Group and its Roles in Rebuilding South Korea, 1953-1959

Ah-reum Kim

Introduction

This study investigates print media's role in 1950s' Korean society, focusing on the rise of the intellectual group that formed around the general magazine *Sasanggye* (思想界•The Realm of Thought, 1953-1970). Following the Korean War, publishing capital was intertwined with the process of rebuilding the modern nation, and magazines flourished in the 1950s playing a critical role in disseminating discourses on reconstruction of the nation.

Sasanggye existed as a media space where critical academic discussions, production and circulation of knowledge took place at the height of national reconstruction following the war. The intellectual group that formed around *Sasanggye* functioned as an actual actor that related those cultural products to social, historical structures. Similarly, Chinese cultural intellectual groups during the Cultural Revolution in the 1980s searched for alternative intellectual frameworks to

Maoism. In this process, print media, such as books and journals, functioned as the critical locus to network Chinese cultural intellectuals who initiated independent cultural public spaces in an attempt to exercise cultural pluralism (Gu 1999, 427).

Media studies has so far tended to concentrate merely on cultural semiotic approaches; consequently, it has considered the media as an ideological apparatus or a capitalistic reproduction system (Kellner, 1995). Indeed, media studies has a tendency to be confined to explication of texts and continues to largely ignore the internal and external social contexts within which mass media messages were produced in the past. However, as Bourdieu points out, media itself is the site of actions and reactions performed by the agents who react to relations of forces and to structures of social fields. Agents produce meanings within specific institutions, material and symbolic states and inner

struggles (Bourdieu 2005, 30-33). In this context, it is necessary to take intellectuals, who are actually involved in social communication and cultural reproduction, into consideration in understanding the complexities of media texts; this approach yields the potential to explore extensive social process beyond the media (Garnham 1995, 361). In particular, magazine editors cast a long shadow over the ideological direction and social network of their publications; thus, in order to understand the cultural production of magazines it is necessary to focus on the producers of magazines. For instance, J. Jacobson, the former editor of *New Politics*, consistently pursued his ideological conviction of the Third Camp tradition of socialism through the magazine.

Furthermore, having noted that intellectuals, particularly scholars, often speak out on political and social issues in modern Asia, analytical studies of intellectual history can shed light on the transformation of Asian society (Keddie 1959, 71-72). Korean society of the 1950s was in a transitional period when the intellectual paradigm was shifting from Imperial Japanese to American

influence. Therefore, considering intellectual continuity and discontinuity with the colonial period is an indispensable prerequisite to understanding the relationship between the media and cultural production in postwar Korea.

In this vein, this study was undertaken through textual analysis of *Sasanggye* for the period of the 1950s. Articles, prefaces, and research essays published in the magazine were thoroughly reviewed, while literary works and advertisements were excluded. In an effort to understand the characteristics of the intellectuals from the magazine, memoirs, autographs and articles written by them were closely scrutinized.

This article illuminates the reorganization of both Korean intellectual territory and the media landscape in order to understand the social context in which *Sasanggye* emerged. Second, the rise of the *Sasanggye* group centered around the magazine and its characteristics will be examined. Lastly, discourses on liberal democracy in the process of rebuilding the modern nation following the war are investigated as a result of the melding of both these forces.

1. Reorganization of Intellectual Society Following the Korean War

It is an undeniable truth that Korean intellectuals were greatly affected by anticommunism following the outbreak of the Korean War, but there are limitations in delineating Korean intellectual society in the 1950s by merely focusing on ideological aspects. Cho (2001) argues that Korean intellectual society during that period should not be judged only in terms of left and right. That is to say, the mass exodus of intellectuals in the early part of the 1950s, including Marxist, traditional federalist, liberal bourgeois, and moderate theorists, was the result of a mixture of social conditions and concerns about persecution at the hands of the new government rather than being solely an ideological matter (149).

In particular, the educational backgrounds of leading intellectuals explain the intellectual territory of the times. Kim Ki-seok et al. (1952) testified in the magazine titled *Sasang* (The Thoughts•思想), the forerunner of *Sasanggye*, that intellectuals who graduated from private schools tended to choose the Democratic Camp having a pro-American inclination, while those who went to public schools having a pro-Japanese inclination had no choice other than going to the north along with their acquaintances. Intellectuals who remained in the South took the initiative in solidifying their new position and the mission

of the nation within this context. Therefore, understanding the intricacies of the intellectual society of the early 1950s and the social position of its members is not only limited to ideological matters but also related to their educational backgrounds as well as their everyday lives as ordinary people.

The reorganization of intellectual society was also supported by social conditions such as rising levels of education, the emergence of intellectual groups and reorganization of the media landscape. In reality, since independence, from 1948 to 1960, the Korean government allocated 10.5 percent of the national budget to foster higher education, made elementary education compulsory, and built additional educational facilities (Oh 1998, 296). The increase of higher education was especially conspicuous. Between 1945 and 1960, the number of universities increased 3.3 times, from 19 to 63. Accordingly, the number of students also increased by more than 12 times (Yoo 2006, 463). Further, the annual growth rate of college students was 14.5 percent from 1952 to 1960, which was two times higher than the rate in subsequent years from 1960 to 1970 (Park 2004, 258). As a result, in the case of Seoul, the literacy rate reached 99.27 percent by January 1958. This figure is notable because, when the Korean government recaptured Seoul, the number of

illiterate people was about 72,000, but, in two years, it decreased sharply to 14,000 (Oh 1998, 297). Consequently, these expanded educational opportunities and public

enthusiasm constructed the basis for growth of the reading public, and this rise of highbrow readers led to a flourishing of print media.

2. Magazine Dominance of the Media Landscape of Korea in the 1950s

After Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule, several political forces emerged and exploited newspapers to promote their political ideas. As newspapers increased their circulation following the establishment of the South Korean government, they became spokesmen either for the ruling party or for the opposition parties. Newspapers were partisan for several reasons; first, they had a network of certain political forces¹; second, they attempted to attract readers by focusing on their political colors, and lastly, they were cash-strapped (Park 2007, 190-91). The Syngman Rhee administration constantly infringed freedom of speech and tenaciously tried to legislate controls on the press during its time in office. Eventually, the administration voted for a new regulation governing publications in 1955; this regulation set a limit on who could be a publisher or editor and on importing foreign publications. This regulation was rooted in USAMGIK Ordinance 88, which was about obtaining permissions to issue newspapers. It was actually applied to prevent Kyung-Hyang Shinmoon from expressing an unfavorable

opinion of the Rhee administration. Therefore, although newspapers had a high circulation rate, the restrictions on them made it difficult for them to meet the demand for intellectual content; that is, newspapers of the 1950s were suffering from the double effects of government regulations and partisan positions.

On the other hand, the penetration rate of television was still low; when the first broadcasting station, HLKZ-TV, was established in 1956, there were only about 300 television sets throughout the nation, thus limiting the number of television viewers. The television station's management was also instable. It was constantly in deficit and suffered from a fire of unknown cause in 1959 (Kim 2006, 444). Under these circumstances, television sets existed only as foreign-made goods beyond the reach of the general public (Lim 2007, 440). In the case of radio, although it had a higher penetration rate than television, Rhee's administration exploited its programs to inform people about the government's policies while the bureau of public information set up guidelines

for the news media (Baek 2007, 343-47). Accordingly, contents were mainly focused on entertainment. Acceding to listeners' demands, there was a boom in producing radio dramas and visual shows with audience participation (Baek 2007, 348-51).

Within this particular media landscape of the 1950s, intellectuals who remained in the South felt a thirst for creating their own intellectual arena where they were allowed to discuss the social issues confronting them. Unlike politicized television and radio, magazines were able to deal with a relatively broad range of topics including academic, current events, literary and entertainment materials. For that reason, various types of magazines were issued, including general magazines, student-oriented magazines, popular magazines, women's magazines and literary magazines. The increase of magazines in the 1950s was a unique social phenomenon when compared to the situation of the 1960s in Korea; the circulation of

magazines in the 1960s was superior in number but many of them were regarded as vulgar and accused of corruption in employing reporters (Kim 2006, 425).

Among magazines emerging in the 1950s, *Sasanggye* came to the forefront of the intellectual field. It led to the coining of the term '*Sasanggye* Generation', which refers to most intellectuals of the time who read the magazine in their youth. Since other publications were limited because of the poor condition of publishing businesses, *Sasanggye* functioned as a readily available textbook. The wide circulation of *Sasanggye* also proves its influence beyond a few intellectuals; as a matter of fact, this magazine had a circulation of 40,000 in May, 1959 and it surged to record highs above 97,000 in April, 1960 (Yoo 1995, 275). This number is considered conspicuous when, as of 1955, the circulation of Dong-Ah Ilbo was 170,000, while Kyung-Hyang Shinmoon had a circulation of 100,000 (Kang 1999, 267).

3. Emergence of the *Sasanggye* Group and its Characteristics

Korean intellectuals who longed to rebuild their new nation began to flock to *Sasanggye* and Jang Jun-ha was at the center of this gathering. Intellectuals centered around this magazine formed the *Sasanggye* group, which can be seen as a loose form of intellectual community. If an intellectual is a person who

communicates with others educated on public values, ethics, interests, science, a sense of aesthetics and ideology, usually through books and journals (Kadushin 1982, 225), networks of social circles centered on publications, such as magazines, can be considered as a form of loose intellectual

community, with magazines representing the consensus of intellectuals (Kadushin, Hover & Tichy, 1971).

The *Sasanggye* group was mainly composed of college professors. They subsequently laid the groundwork for Korean academia by being involved with higher education and since most contributing writers for *Sasanggye* occupied critical positions in academia, the magazine initiated a practical way to produce and circulate academic knowledge. In this process, *Sasanggye* was used as an academic sphere where the intellectuals published their research findings, and these results were republished in textbooks circulated by the publishers of the magazine. For example, the field of history had lost qualified historians through their defection to the North, resignation, and being missing or killed during the war, similar to other academic fields. Against this background, the remaining historians established an academic association called the Historical Society (Yeok-sa hake) and published a historical journal. Along with this journal, the association used *Sasanggye* as a main conduit for diffusing historical knowledge (Lee 2010, 344-46). Similarly, in the academic area of philosophy of law, where there were only two official textbooks written by Koreans, Hwang San-deock and Lee Sung-nyeong, who were also leading authors in the magazine, *Sasanggye* was used to diffuse relevant

knowledge.

Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that 44 percent of the editorial members of *Sasanggye* graduated from Japanese national universities. This proportion increases further if the Imperial University of Kyunsung (Keijo Imperial University), which was established by the Japanese Empire in 1924, and is the predecessor of Seoul National University, is included.²

The major feature of Japanese imperial universities led by Tokyo Imperial University is to have a strong academic tradition of nation schools. Following the national intention to foster outstanding individuals to govern the modern nation by accepting advanced Western culture, national universities did much to build and maintain the Emperor system (Jeong 2009, 62-63). As a matter of fact, Mori Arinori, Japanese Cultural Minister in 1886, searched for the right model for Tokyo Imperial University referring to universities of Western Empires. As a result, he took German universities as the model because he thought they had an efficient management system and yielded a high level of academic ability that functioned for the sake of 'the nation' (Ikuo 2009, 91-103). As the influence of German academic traditions increased, Japanese academia actively translated the general theory of the state, including public administration, constitutional studies, public law, and political

diplomacy. Academics at Tokyo Imperial University reached the pinnacle of German-style academic traditions with the establishment of the Academy of General Theory of the State (Han 1991, 107-08). However, this hardly means that Japanese academia accepted German scholarship without question; Germany had begun to question their academic traditions as its civil society had reached a mature state. Japanese society had not reached the same historical stage as Germany, thus excluding liberalistic perspectives of its academic traditions (Han 1991,109-10). Accordingly, Japanese national universities were prone to introduce institutional aspects focusing on national sovereignty.

4. The Process of Nation-building through the Appropriation of Liberal Democracy

The first issue of *Sasanggye* was published with economic aid from the Minister of Education, Baek Nak-jun, and from the publisher of the Korean edition of Reader's Digest, Lee Chun-woo. In addition, from May 1953, USIS provided printing paper for six months.³ With this support, the first issue was published in the pursuit of clarifying national thought and defining the principles of democracy. Jang Jun-ha, the chief editor of the magazine made clear this intention in the editor's comments.

This suggests the possibility of theorizing about a connection between *Sasanggye* intellectuals' academic experiences during the colonial period and the intellectual paradigm they produced after the war. In fact, Korean politics in the 1950s, which had little room for the left wing to speak out, had not yet diverged from historical studies and remained under the influence of the institutional, legalistic approach of Japanese politics (Kim et al. 2003, 376; Son 2003, 203). Accordingly, the intellectuals of *Sasanggye* claimed the necessity of accepting liberal democracy, though they excluded the practice of it. This will be elaborated in detail in the following section.

Sasanggye aims to discover ethical thoughts by tracing the history of our nation and revealing the principles of democracy so that we can disclose all thoughts in the world and form the basis of our life (*Sasanggye*, May 1955).

As mentioned in these comments, Jang (1955) advocated "the principles of democracy", which seems natural given that intellectuals of the 1950s were only permitted to promote ideas in keeping with official ideology to reconstruct the new modern

state. Also, Jang, who inclined towards the opinion that establishment of a sole government in South Korea is necessary for the reunification of North and South, actually believed in liberalism as a way to rebuild the modern nation (Moon 2005, 201-02).

Liberal democracy officially became a ruling ideology of the modern nation-building project with the establishment of the South Korean government in 1948; it was

4.1 Colonial Continuity and Appropriation of Liberal Democracy

As stated above, the *Sasanggye* group was under the shadow of the institutional, legalistic approach of Japanese politics. Intellectuals from *Sasanggye* posited a limited role for intellectuals to practice this idea; they placed emphasis on institutional values of liberal democracy and less concentration on popular sovereignty. This point of view could simply be considered as a form of elitism. However, it needs to be explained in relation to intellectuals' academic continuity with Japanese colonialism along with the transitional characteristics of intellectual society at the time. That is, by taking the Japanese academic tradition into consideration, it is possible to verify the way in which intellectuals of the magazine appropriated the undeniable knowledge of the times, American liberal democracy.

Shin Sang-cho, one of the chief writers of *Sasanggye*, also a journalist and a professor,

appropriated in a historical condition where the national division, dichotomous ideological confrontations, and colonial experiences were interwoven (Moon 2005, 201). The key here is to examine how and from what perspective the *Sasanggye* group understood liberal democracy and what kinds of rhetoric they exploited to accept and apply it to postwar Korean society in this context.

provides a representative example. He claimed that democracy in Korea was not something earned but was rather transplanted from America without considering the distinct and traditional characteristics of Korean society. According to him, this was the reason why there was always a gap between social reality and idealism, which led to political corruption. He emphasized the role of informed citizenship and journalism; for the purpose of establishing democratic government in Korea, he stressed the role of the people as revolutionaries as well as the press as "the one supposed to beat off Bolshevism and to found a democratic government" (Shin 1953). He seemed to believe in the force of public opinion, as indicated by his statement that "the public, although they looked absurd from the elites' point of view, because of their popularity, they could have authority and

power, and therefore they have played a positive role in social change" (Shin 1983, 30). As the administration of Syngman Rhee committed illegal acts such as the political upheaval in Busan in 1952 and passing the selected amendment bill to the Constitution in order to secure Rhee's reelection, Shin emphasized popular sovereignty as a way of guaranteeing political movement and organization (Shin 1953). Furthermore, under the military regime, Shin asserted that although representative democracy is inefficient, it is better to have a government *by* the people rather than having a military regime falsely serving for the people (Shin 1962).

However, this is not to say that Shin's expectation for the people was high. His concept of popular sovereignty was conditional, as seen in the following:

Although public opinion is worth respecting, it is unlikely that the populace can produce constructive discourses. The populace needs constant

enlightenment, manipulation, propaganda and leadership, without which it is possible that democracy would be degraded into mobocracy (Shin 1983, 35).

Shin thought that popular sovereignty was something to be exerted but believed that it was premature. According to him, since the populace that is supposed to be the subject of political action is ill cultivated and lacking in political awareness, the leadership of the state needs to educate and control them for their spiritual regeneration. This logic is not only founded in Shin's argument but also founded in other contributing writers' articles. Shin Do-sung (1954) claimed that it somehow makes sense that Korean society hardly developed a sound democracy because Korean people lacked material conditions as well as the spirit of democracy; therefore, the function of political parties should go beyond representation and concentrate on enlightening the public who cannot yet be active political agents.

4.2 Ideological Confrontations and Appropriation of Liberal Democracy

Following the Korean War, South Korea became a close US ally and its domestic and foreign policy became inextricably linked with that of the US, which made the intellectual society also appear to be dominated by the US. Moreover, most Marxist scholars defected to the North, and

due to the black and white ideological confrontations, it was only natural for the intellectuals left in the South to adopt American values. After the truce between the North and the South, American liberal democracy took the ideological place of 'one people (*Il-Min*)', which underlined national

unity in order to fight against communism (Fujii 2008, 136-42). Anticommunism became the most powerful ideological justification establishing a foothold in reconstructing the nation. In fact, with the establishment of the Syngman Rhee Administration, extreme right-wing politicians wielded authority, enacting the National Security Law. Consequently, Korean intellectuals internalized the idea of anticommunism by not only recollecting horrific memories of the war but also abiding by the law.

In line with this governmental policy, the intellectuals of *Sasanggye* exploited the concept of anticommunism in order to justify the acceptance of American liberal democracy. The closed regime and the infringement on personal liberty were the main reasons why *Sasanggye* criticized the Communist Camp. It defined communism as an ideology that barely admits the freedom of the individual and as an inflexible ideology, which led to one party dictatorship. In contrast, according to the magazine, American liberal democracy in principle guarantees the political, economic and social freedom of individuals and takes a flexible attitude to resolve contradictions. In this way, anticommunism was used as a rhetorical device to justify the concept of liberal democracy by defining communism as a regime that barely tolerates individuals' liberty, that plots dictatorship, and that

resists modification of the regime.

Intellectuals from various academic fields reproduced this rhetoric repeatedly through *Sasanggye*. For example, Kim Je-jun, who was the leading luminary in the Presbyterian Church in South Korea, argued for 'ecclesiastical anticommunism', asserting that the Liberal Camp guaranteed the freedom of thought and therefore individual subjectivity, while the Communist Camp disregarded both; furthermore, since there was no freedom of thought, the Communist Camp even barely allowed criticism of communism itself, which meant no potential for the development of the idea (Kim 1953, 118).

Historians of *Sasanggye* reflected on the French and English revolution, extracting the values of liberty and equality from Western experiences, which were deemed the fundamental factors of liberal democracy. Min (1959) claimed that those two values should be achieved and be maintained firmly because the right-wing extremists, such as dictators and totalitarians, advocated 'pseudo' constitutionalism.

Kim Sang-hyeop, a political scientist, asserted that the reason why communism became popular in Asia was because of the Communist Camp's treachery; insisting on regaining the Asian colonies from the Western Empires seemed to be for the sake of the sovereignty of Asian countries but it was actually for starting a worldwide

socialist revolution. That is, by appealing to the sentiment of national liberation, the Communist Camp won Asian countries to its side. *Sasanggye* also refuted the Communist Camp's concept of the enfranchisement of subjects by equating proletarian rule with dictatorship by a popular party. The alliance between the Chinese Communists and the

Conclusion

This research has investigated the historical advent of the intellectual group oriented around *Sasanggye* and its cultural production throughout the 1950s. The *Sasanggye* group and its cultural production should be understood in relation to the transitional nature of that time, when intellectual society and the media landscape were being reorganized. That is, rather than considering the 1950s as a preliminary period to the developmental state, this research has concentrated on the dynamics of the 1950s, explaining the intellectual vitality emerging at the height of national reconstruction. Publishing capital enabled that vitality, of which *Sasanggye* was the center. Material and social conditions, such as the flourishing of magazines, the rise of education level, and the increase of the reading public, supported this phenomenon.

Unlike the broadcasting system and newspapers, which were suffering from the

East German Communists was dismissed as nothing but a political tactic to solidify the power of communist parties (Kim 1958).

In this manner, *Sasanggye* re-contextualized the notion of liberal democracy to justify the incorporation of Korea into the Free World in keeping with the agenda of anticommunism and liberal democracy.

double effects of strict government regulations and partisan positionality, magazines of the 1950s were relatively less affected by these pressures, creating a discursive space situated between an academic and journalistic field. A broad range of topics including philosophy, politics, literature and social issues were discussed with regard to reconstructing the nation and especially discourses on liberal democracy were actively discussed. In this way, *Sasanggye* generated a practical route to disseminate knowledge and discourses beyond academia.

The fact that the 1950s was a transitional period when the intellectual paradigm was shifting from Japanese imperialism to Americanization implies that historical continuity with the pre-war period has to be considered to explain discourses produced by *Sasanggye*. *Sasanggye* intellectuals, who could frankly discuss ideas of governance, were

still only permitted to advocate ideas in keeping with the official ideology of the times, and expected to provide their intellectual, ideological sources, wrote a narrative of appropriating liberal democracy. They contributed to a dominant paradigm of appropriating American liberal democracy, focusing on institutional and legalistic aspects under the shadow of the Japanese academic traditions.

This historical trajectory of the ties between intellectuals and the nation-building project by means of the media can be interpreted as a reflection of a general tendency among Asian intellectuals. As Chen points out, there has been a tradition of

intellectual practitioners placing themselves beyond universities in Asia; accordingly, a close relation between the social, political and intellectual formed in the process of the democratization movement, guaranteeing the originality of Asian intellectual/academic works (Chen 2009, 179). Noticeably, along with the historical, political and journalistic changes in postwar South Korea, the intellectual territory was actually divided into several domains and the magazine media was at the center of this phenomenon. Therefore, further study is necessary to describe this plurality and clarify the intellectual/historical/media paradigm in modern Asia.

Notes

¹ For example, Dong-Ah Ilbo, which had a close relationship with the ruling party, named Han-min party, became the opposition newspaper because of political conflicts with Syngman Rhee. Kyung-Hyang Shinmoon, which was published by Catholics, also became an opposition newspaper since Myeon Jang, who was a devout Catholic struggling against the left wing but switching to the opposition party after the Korean War, had a political disagreement with Syngman Rhee (Song 1990, 91; Park 2007, 189).

² Academic backgrounds of editorial members of *Sasanggye* in the 1950s are as follow:

Name of School	List of Editorial Members
The University of Tokyo	Kang Bong-sik, Kim Sang-hyeop, Kim Sung-ham (Dropout), Shin Sang-cho (Dropout), Lee Man-gab
Kyoto University	Jang Kyung-hak, Lee Jong-jin, Sung Chang-hwan
Tokyo Imperial University (Keijo Imperial University)	Han Kyo-seok, Hyun Seung-jong, Hwang San-duk
Seoul National University	Hag Woo-geun, Jung Byung-wook, Yeo Seok-ki
Waseda University	Lee Dong-uk, An Byung-wook
Yeon Hee College (The predecessor of Yeonsei University)	Um Yo-sub, Hong Yi-sub

³ Regarding USIS's support for publishing *Sasanggye*, Hoe (2004) points out that USIS focused on this magazine in order to expand the influence of American culture and to foster pro-American elites in postwar Korea (103). The USIS Korea was indeed a US institution pursuing propaganda for US cultural policies. Yet as Hoe (2003) shrewdly indicates, the US' attempt was not simply to inculcate Korea with a respect for the superiority of American civilization. Rather, the activities of USIS Korea were designed to

promote self-motivation among the Korean people. Providing paper to print the magazine for six months should be understood in this vein; that is, *Sasanggye* was a channel for American guidance to flow throughout the nation, based upon its own interpretation of the guidance. Therefore, considering *Sasanggye* as a mere reflection of the interests of Cold War propaganda is not a sufficient approach to understand the intricacies of discourses produced in its pages.

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金 娥凜 (キム・アルム)

[生年月] 1984年10月20日生まれ
 [出身大学又は最終学歴] ソウル大学大学院言論情報学科修士課程終了
 [専攻領域] メディア文化研究
 [所属] 東京大学大学院学際情報学府博士課程
 [所属学会] AEJMC, メディア史研究会

Formation of the *Sasanggye* Group and its Roles in Rebuilding South Korea, 1953-1959

Ah-reum Kim*

Abstract

This study investigates the historical advent of the intellectual group oriented around the general magazine *Sasanggye* (思想界•The Realm of Thought) and its cultural production throughout the 1950s. The rise of the *Sasanggye* group and its discursive activities should be understood in the context of the reorganization of both intellectual society and the media landscape. Within the particular media landscape of the 1950s, the *Sasanggye* group created an intellectual field distributing a discursive channel at the height of national reconstruction following the Korean War; that is, the *Sasanggye* group contributed to a dominant paradigm of appropriating American liberal democracy. By examining *Sasanggye* intellectuals' academic experiences during the colonial period, this study attempts to verify the way in which they appropriated American liberal democracy given the dichotomous ideological territory. As a result, the academic continuity with Japanese colonialism and the main ideological tide of anticommunism were intertwined, leading to emphasis being placed on institutional values of American politics and less concentration on popular sovereignty. In this manner, exploring historical trajectories of the *Sasanggye* group deepens the understanding of the close ties between the media and formation of the intellectual paradigm in postwar Korean society.

Graduate School of the University of Tokyo Interdisciplinary Information Studies

Key Words : *Sasanggye*, Korean intellectuals, American liberal democracy, the 1950s, Nation-building.