DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIETY
Volume 46 | Number 2 | September 2017, 303-316
DOI 10.21588/dns/2017.46.2.005

Nationalism and Reflexive Cosmopolitanism in Korean A-bomb Victims' War Memory and Transnational Solidarity

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In this article, I will trace the history of Korean atomic bomb survivors' solidarity with Japanese civic groups. This case study will show how the history were able to construct a framework of transnational solidarity that extended beyond the borders of Korea and Japan. Through this analysis, I seek to propose that war responsibility and morality of the cosmopolitan era are not produced by the complete transcendence from nationalism, but rather, they are made possible through reflexive cosmopolitanism, the active reflection and self-examination of the nation-states regarding nationalism and their historical narratives. Just as the world history related to the development and use of nuclear weapons is full of paradoxes and contradictions, so is the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors, which cannot be entirely explained by the nationalistic narrative of a single country. This case study shows that the Korean atomic bomb survivors' stories did not replace the Japanese collective memories, but rather, coexisted with them. Nonetheless, the multiple memories of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki constructed a framework of transnational solidarity between the Korean atomic bomb survivors and Japanese civic groups. For them, the sense of belonging to a nation-state coexisted with the transnational values.

Keywords: *Korean atomic bomb victims, war memory, nationalism, Reflexive cosmopolitanism*

Nationalism and Transnationality in the Research of Cosmopolitan Memory

At the base of the massive incidents of violent conflict and struggles over history that occur all over the world today, we find the issue of collective identity, that is, the attachment of people to particular nationalities, ethnicities, races, gender, etc. (Khan 2002). Amongst these, nationalism has long been described as an important source of attachment, that has led to the formation of the modern nation-state. This trend is also true for researchers of social sciences. For a long time, the social sciences have set methodological nationalism as their basic unit of explanation. The nation-state, nationalism and methodological nationalism remain important standards for many analysis in social sciences.

However, such explanations coming from nationalistic perspectives reveal practical and analytical limitations (Beck 2006, 2011; Levy 2015). While conflict and violence emerge along the diverse boundaries of gender, class, ethnicity, generation, region, religion, citizenship, etc., the disasters and dangers of cosmopolitan collapse tend to show segmented expansion along these same boundaries (Beck 2011; Levy 2016). We see incidents in all corners of the world causing fissures between the collective identities, whose boundaries have become blurred over time. Ethical and peaceful relationships, that attempt to overcome collective identities and break down boundaries, coexist with violence and conflict. In this regard, the introduction of transnationality and cosmopolitan scale in social sciences research comes to no surprise.

However, those who adhere to methodological nationalism show skepticism towards cosmopolitanism studies. In this context, Ulrich Beck's suggestion that the introduction of the cosmopolitan scale does not override the local and the national, but rather coexists to show that these are interpenetrating and in a non-linear, dialectic process, is a very well-timed intervention. He suggested a cosmopolitan vision in social sciences while criticized the prevailing methodological nationalism (Beck 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2016) and emphasized that contemporary cosmopolitan research needs to approach the different globalized phenomena from the understanding of the duality of specificity and universality. Especially, Ulich Beck's suggestion of methodological cosmopolitanism inspired many scholars who conduct cosmopolitan memory works as an important research theme within the cosmopolitan turn (Levy 2015; Levy and Sznaider 2004).

The narrative of the history and memory tied to today's nation-state

collides and tensions with different narratives both within and without the country. For us living in Northeast Asia, we know very well why the Northeast Asian nations are engulfed in endless conflict regarding the past. The Asian paradox has become more serious as our countries try to understand their entire past and history from the sole framework of nation and state. In this respect, empirical case studies of Northeast Asian history and war memory bring many challenges (Levy 2016).

In this article, I will introduce the history of Korean atomic bomb survivors' solidarity with Japanese civic group leaders. This case study will show how their history were able to construct a framework of transnational solidarity that extended beyond the borders of Korea and Japan. Through this analysis, I seek to propose that the memories and morality of the cosmopolitan era are not produced by the complete transcendence from nationalism, but rather, they are made possible through the active reflection and self-examination of the nation-states regarding nationalism and their historical narratives. How to remember and commemorate the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their survivors, is an issue that needs to be addressed in relation to cosmopolitan morality. Just as the world history related to the development and use of nuclear weapons is full of paradoxes and contradictions, so is the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors, which cannot be entirely explained by the nationalistic narrative of a single country.

Nationalistic narratives in the memory of the atomic bombs

The memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs has shown complex and subtle controversies. This is not just because the structure of victim and perpetrator is not fixed regarding the use of the atomic bomb, but also because there are Euro-centric and West-hegemonic presuppositions in an academic world that Ulrich Beck attempted to overcome through active dialogues with many East Asian scholars. Memories of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki provoke deep emotion, guilty, anguish, bitterness, grief and many other attachment of people to particular nationalities and ethnicities. Whilst many controversies were arose about the use of the atomic bombs, President Truman's determination is widely justified in the national narratives of the United States. This is even apparent in the national memorials and monuments. In the United States, the issue of how to exhibit

the Enola Gay[1] in the National Air and Space Museum resulted in a long controversy. In the public exhibit, Enola Gay has been represented as a technological triumph. The museum displays the aircraft as "the most sophisticated propeller-driven bomber of World War II" without explanations about the historic context and casualties.

This draws an extremely contrasting picture to the situation in Japan, where the existence of the atomic bomb survivors holds great political and symbolic significance. In Japan, many national narratives portray Japan, the nation-state itself, as the victim of the bombs. Since 1950s, the existence of atomic bomb survivors has become a key symbol of the application of the cosmopolitan morality of world peace and anti-nuclearism in Japan. As the "core of authenticity" (Lindee 1994, p. 5) of Japanese anti-war, anti-nuclear and peace movements, Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors (Hibakusha) have been actively participated in the fields of anti-nuclear movements, peace education and peace research (Takemine 2008). Hibakusha is a term that has been coined within the national narrative of Japan as the "only country to have suffered atomic bombings." The various monuments and urban representations set up in several places around Hiroshima and Nagasaki, provide important mnemonic places to both the official history formation as well as the individual atomic bomb survivors' memory works. The socio-cultural meanings and symbols of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been understood as an axis of post-war Japanese nationalism. The memories and records of the atomic bombs are circulated in public space, in combination with the national discourse of victimization of the nation-state itself.

Unlike Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors' issues hardly rise to the public sphere in Korea. This is in sharp contrast to the rise of the comfort women issue as an important nationalist narrative in Korean society. The memories and experiences of comfort women inspire strong nationalistic sentiments and serve as a basis for intense anti-Japanese sentiments. However, the experience of the atomic bomb survivors does not coincide with the nationalistic narratives of Korea. The uses of bombs are justified in that it brought liberation, and the experience of the bombing is considered to be just one of the many negative by-products of independence.

Here is where the Korean atomic bomb survivor's war memory and transnational solidarity, simultaneously contradicts and ruptures those nationalistic narratives. The Korean atomic bomb survivors, who returned to

[1] The nickname of B-29 that dropped the first atomic bomb to Hiroshima

Korea after liberation from Japan in 1945, are neither figures that hold relevant significance in the historic discourse, nor can they be easily seen. While the proportion of the Korean atomic bomb survivors have been reported to be approximately 10% of the total number of atomic bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki,[2] their records and memories cannot be seen in neither Korea, nor Japan, nor even the United States. While they are sometimes depicted in public debate or media, this only serves to visualize their pitiful or unfortunate situation. Their life histories hold no other significance in Korea's national narratives. Talking about experiencing the atomic bomb is something "one does not know," "one does not need to talk about" and something "one must not talk about" in South Korea.[3]

The memories and records of the Korean atomic bomb survivors are generally produced in the private space and through small groups of people, like the Korea Atomic Bombs Victim Association (KABVA). The KABVA, founded in 1968, is the only association through which the stories of the Korean atomic bomb survivors are officially circulated. In Korea, the perception of the space and time of Hiroshima and Nagasaki remain mostly on the level of the individual due to the ignorance of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Even in the case of atomic bomb survivors, the stories and information were exchanged through personal or family ties.

In this situation, the experiences of the Korean atomic bomb survivors are being shared as a fixed memory that requires document proof and review to be incorporated into the Japanese Hibakusha Relief Policy.[4] Following the transnational implementation of the Japanese Act on Relief for Atomic Bomb Hibakusha, the memories of the overseas Hibakusha, living outside Japan, have been transferred into the Japanese administrative and bureaucratic system through the Hibakusha Techō.[5] In this regard, the Japanese administrative and legislative institutions and local governments, such as Nagasaki District Court and Hiroshima city government, are some of the only places where the records and memories of the Korean atomic bomb

[2] Hiroshimasi-Nagasakisi (City of Hiroshima and City of Nagasaki) 2005; Korea Atomic Bombs Victims Association 1989.

[3] Quoted by a Korean woman atomic bomb survivor.

[4] In the early 2000s, the lawsuit filed by a Korean atomic bomb survivor, Kwak Kwi-hoon brought a new turning point in Japan's Hibakusha Relief Policy. This lawsuit that claimed the illegality of "Directive No. 402" that limited the effectiveness of the Hibakusha Techō to the municipal territory, for which the Osaka District Court gave victory to Kwak Kwi-hoon, after which the atomic bomb survivors who had been issued a Hibakusha Techō was able to receive medical benefits, regardless of their residency.

[5] A certificate that recognizes a person as having been exposed to the atomic bombs' radiation

survivors are still a problematic issue.

Korea-Japan transnational movements and solidarity

The Japanese regional administration issues a Hibakusha Techō, "granting a legal certificate for an individual's experience of exposure to the atomic bomb" (Yoneyama 1999, p. 93). Facing these Japanese authorities, the Korean atomic bomb survivors' memory of the colonial days is reconstructed as "testimonies of the moment of atomic bomb explosion." Through the bureaucratic formalities, the Korean atomic bomb survivors gain the status of Japanese "overseas Hibakusha." The sorrows and memories of losing their families and returning to their homes, are kept as a certificate, recording the moment of the atomic bomb exposure, stored in the filing cabinet of the individual Hibakusha, as a memory that need not and must not be disclosed to others (Oh 2013, 2014).

As Halbwachs (1992) explains, institutions and professional organizations are powerful sources of memory formation. Japanese Hibakusha relief policy have formulated many of the questions and agenda that play an important role in the formation of the Korean atomic bomb survivors' collective memory. However, this transnational application of Japanese Hibakusha relief policy has also resulted from the Korean atomic bomb survivors' struggles continued with the support from Japanese civic groups. It is significant that those who support the Korean survivors are not Korean civic groups or government institutions, but Japanese citizens. Their sense of indebtedness derives from the remorse that their own nation instigated the war and imposed colonial rule. By responding to the suffering of the Korean survivors, Japan's civil society established a sense of solidarity with their Korean counterpart.

Here I will trace the footprints of the Korea-Japan transnational movements and solidarity since 1950s. When the KABVA was first formed in the late 1960s, the Korean atomic bomb survivors demanded redress by not only Japan, but also by the United States. However, Korean security authorities were attentively watching them lest their demand should lead and connect to anti-Americanism in South Korea, a key site of the Far East Asia's Cold War politics. Solidarity with socialist forces within in South Korea was a subject of surveillance by security authorities. In the late 70s, voices demanding the US to compensate began to disappear rapidly from the scene of the Korean atomic bomb survivors. The situation of the atomic bomb

survivors was not much different from that of the other people of the Korean Peninsula, ruined by colonialism and the Korean War. Their movements and voices targeting the Korean government were unable to gain force.

Midst the indifference of the Korean government and society, the only one to pay attention to the Korean atomic bomb survivors' activities was Japanese civil society. Regarding the history of the Korean atomic bomb survivors' campaign, the solidarity of the Japanese civil society is deeply related to the movement for compensation from the Japanese government. Especially, the movement of the Korean atomic bomb survivors was considered under the Japanese Hibakusha relief policy through legal processes, so called "Hibakusha Techō trials." These trials filed by Korean atomic bomb survivors began in the early 1970s and have been leading to continued Japanese legislative reforms for overseas Hibakusha relief policy.

While the results of these trials are lacking the aspect of compensation for the colonial period and war, effort of the Japanese civil society movement deserves attention. Among their activities, there is always a combination of sentiments of self-reflection and atonement, and responsibility for the past colonial rule. Paradoxically, their reflexive acts and practices are much stronger and more persistent than those of the Korean civil society.

This is why it is necessary to examine such reflexive acts and practices shown by the Japanese civil society from the dialectics of nationalism and cosmopolitan morality. For them, identification with a nation-state did not override the need for Hibakusha support and the cosmopolitan values of peace and human rights. Their identification with their nation-state was the foundation for their self-reflection and self-examination. Through their encounters with the Korean atomic bomb survivors, they have committed themselves to reflecting upon their pasts, and practicing transnational morality. Such cosmopolitan commitment does not just mean that they transcended the nation-state framework. Their transnational practice was not a mere refusal or transcendence of nationalism, but rather, it was the act of reflection upon this, and the ensuing transnational application of cosmopolitan morality.

Moreover, the transnational solidarity of the Japanese civil society for the Korean atomic bomb survivors has socio-cultural roots that date back to the colonial period. Regarding the transnational solidary of Korea-Japan civil society, more attention needs to be paid to the historic foundation.

Socio-cultural foundation of reflexive cosmopolitan morality

The transnational ties of former Mayor of Hiroshima, Hiraoka Takeshi who has long been active in the issue of Korean atomic bomb survivors, reflects his personal history as a 'hikiagesha'(returnee) from Korea. Born in Osaka in 1927, Hiraoka's parents' hometown was Hiroshima. In 1934, his family moved to colonial Korea for business purposes, where he spent part of his elementary and middle school years. Before going to Korea, he spent a year at the Hongawa Elementary School in Hiroshima, which would later become the center of Hiroshima A-bomb explosion.

After the war, he returned to this place, only to learn that all his classmates, except two, died from the atomic bomb, which had a profound influence on his later life history. As a local resident reporter for Hiroshima, he followed through a career with liberalist tendencies and high interest in the anti-nuclear peace movement. The impetus for his interest in the Korean Hibakusha issue came from a letter from a Korean survivor in 1964. Park Soo-Am who was hospitalized for tuberculosis at the Masan National Hospital in South Korea made an appeal for the relief of Korean atomic bomb survivors in that letter. After receiving this letter, Hiraoka made plans to visit Korea on the occasion of the Korean-Japanese Normalization Conference, and met the Korean atomic bomb survivors for the first time. Despite the short stay, he was able to meet nine Korean survivors in Seoul and Pusan. In retrospect he said, "I was shocked to see that they were in such a disastrous situation. When I think about it now, I am very ashamed by the fact that it was already late. I had only just realized that the Japanese have been talking of the damage of the atomic bombs, forgetting or ignoring the issue of the Korean atomic bomb victims and have been appealing for peace, from the position of the only country to have suffered the atomic bombs. Moreover, that was 20 years after the war ended" (Hiraoka 1988, pp. 10-12).

Coming back to Japan, Hiraoka continued his activities to support a Korean atomic bomb survivor's trial. Afterwards, despite the strong conservative sentiments of Hiroshima, he was elected mayor of Hiroshima as the progressive candidate due to division of the conservative party. With his re-election, he served for two terms until 1999, during which he continued to show interest and support the Korean atomic bomb survivors.

Kawamura Torataro was also a Hikiagesha from Korea. He was the first director of Hiroshima Kawamura Hospital, which has supported the treatment of Korean atomic bomb survivors from the early 1970s to this day. During the colonial period, he graduated from Medical College of

Kyeongseong Imperial University in Seoul, and after the war, he ran a general medicine hospital in Hiroshima. On September 1971, he was the first Japanese doctor to visit Korea to treat Korean atomic bomb survivors. Afterwards, he organized a meeting to invite Korean atomic bomb survivors to be treated in Japan.

Nakajima Tatsumi was a journalist who served as the first president of Association of Citizens for Supporting South Korean Atomic Bomb Victims' (shortly, 'Association of Citizens').[6] It was right after the Treaty of Basic Relations between Japan and Korea was signed that she faced the reality Korean atomic bomb survivors. Just before the signing of the Normalization Treaty, one Korean atomic bomb survivor who visited Japan on a tourist visa, had been issued a Hibakusha Techō, having found a witness to prove his exposure to the atomic bomb with the help of Hiraoka from Chugoku Shimbun. He was hospitalized at the Hiroshima Municipal Hospital. Afterwards, he was transferred to a hospital in Tokyo but once his tourist visa expired, it became illegal for him to remain in Japan. Japanase immigration office had ordered immediate repatriation following discharge from the hospital. Nakajima Tatsumi made much effort to help, including sending a letter of appeal to the Minister of Justice but to no avail. The helplessness she felt at her inability to help the first Korean atomic bomb survivor that she had met became a stepping stone to support Korean atomic bomb survivors, Son Kwi-dal and his brother Son Jin-doo (Nakajima 1988).

"The Committee for Korean Hibakusha Support""s visit to Korea was an important turning point in that it informed the Japanese civil society of the existence of Korean atomic bomb survivors in 1960s.[7] The news of the visit was the first official announcement within the Japanese civil society of the fact that "there were also people exposed to the atomic bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Korea". Professor Kamada Sadao who had founded Nagasaki Hibakusha Shougen no Kai (Association for Nagasaki Hibakusha Testimony) and had long been active in the anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movement, recalls the Korean Residents Association's visit to Korea. "In June 1965, after the signing of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, Japanese intellectuals raised the issue of war responsibility. At the time, the Vietnam War had begun and the anti-war peace movement was becoming active in Japan. It was when that the Korean Residents Association's visit to KABVA was

[6] The Association of Citizens was established and started its activities for support the lawsuit of a Korean atomic bomb survivor, Son Jin-doo.

[7] The committee belonged to the Korean Residents Association in Japan based in Hiroshima.

published in the newspaper, and Japanese people began to be aware of overseas Hibakusha, especially Korean Hibakusha for the first time" (Hiroshima · Nagasaki Shougen no Kai 1986).

The solidarity between Korean and Japanese civil societies regarding the issue of the atomic bomb survivors was most active in the 1960s to 1980s, but it was extremely limited under the Korean political order during the Cold War, dominated by security threats and anti-Communist discourse. South Korean's entry into Japan was limited through strict background checks, and the radius of their activities in Japan were limited by anti-communist education. The repressive regimes had maintained power in both South and North Korea since the Korean War. Surveillance were extended onto the Korean community in Japan. This environment had an impact upon the activities of the Japanese intellectuals and civil society activists that were interacting with Korean atomic bomb survivors. The KABVA officials' visit to Japan for solidarity activities was under highly surveillance of the South Korean intelligence authorities.

Hiraoka remembers that "it was a politically very repressive and bad moment. Visiting a Christian organization (supporting Korean atomic bomb survivors) as a Japanese was considered very subversive. A Japanese person helping Korean atomic bomb survivors was considered to be deeply communist, and even midst the Japanese civil society movement, there were some who felt negatively toward supporting Korean atomic bomb survivors". In other words, it was a time when Korean atomic bomb survivors were extremely isolated.

The surveillance upon the possibilities of the Korean atomic bomb survivors' movement being aligned with the 'leftist movements' of Japan and Korea had an impact upon the self-censorship of Korean atomic bomb survivors on their own activities and remarks. On August 6 of 1987, when the excitement of the democratization struggle of June the same year had not yet faded, the Korean Atomic Bomb Victims' memorial service, the greatest annual event of the KABVA, was held. Ichiba Junko, the president of the Association of Citizens, had attended the event every year to talk with the Korean atomic bomb survivors. She recalled that the testimonies of the Korean atomic bomb survivors had also been limited to the day of the atomic bombing, or the hardships after returning to Korea. However their conversations became much freer and more diverse since 1990s. Nevertheless, even at that time, the activities of the Korean atomic bomb survivors were still under surveillance.

Through such encounters with the Korean atomic bomb survivors, the

Japanese civil society organizations worked to evoke the old memories of the atomic bomb that they had kept undisclosed for a long time. Their activities revealed the records and memories which were "too old" and had been buried under the historic situation of Korea, Japan and the United States. These memories revealed how people were colonized and mobilized into war by force and committed the anti-humanitarian crime of dropping the atomic bomb on innocent civilians.

The activity of the Japanese civil society is more meaningful because the issue of the atomic bomb damage was one that many Korean citizens had not looked into. Moreover, they found greater motivation in the sense of debt and responsibility of the war and colonization perpetrated by their country. This is also closely related to the shock that they encountered the colonized who they had forgotten in the belief of Japan as the 'only country to have suffered atomic bombs' and the 'Hibakusha as the cornerstone of peace.' Until then, the discourse of Japan as the 'only country to have suffered atomic bombs' had been a universal rhetoric of mainstream nationalism that allowed Japan to maintain an ambiguous position and evade taking responsibility on past colonization and war perpetration. However, it was by the encounter with the Korean survivors that awareness of its inherent contradictions and gaps was born in Japan. In this respect, remembering and commemorating the multiple histories and memories of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs will only be possible not through mere transcendence of nationalist or nation-state-centric discourses, but through thorough reflection on them.

Conclusion

Considering the cosmopolitan scale in the research of memory does not mean it transcends the individual life histories, the regional histories, or the narratives at nation or state level. Instead it entails focusing on how they are interconnected and intersected with each other. From this perspective, the cosmopolitan turn in the study of history and memory needs to reveal the complex process that combines the multi-layered scales of individualization, regionalization, socialization and nationalization of memory. What is important in the research of memory studies is not to isolate nationalism or cosmopolitanism as separate units. By juxtaposing many personal life histories, national narratives, and transnational stories that contradict a single narrative about the past, it is possible to understand the real cosmopolitanism emerges from the intersection of new boundaries.

This case study showed that the Korean atomic bomb survivors' stories did not replace the Japanese collective memories, but rather, coexisted with them. Nonetheless, the multiple memories of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki constructed a framework of transnational solidarity between the Korean atomic bomb survivors and Japanese civic groups. The transnational solidarity is based on the memory of the atomic bomb survivors, the life trajectories of Japanese Hikiageshas' migration, and the resulting identity as a person between their national boundaries. For them, the sense of belonging to a nation-state coexisted with the cosmopolitan values of anti-nuclearism, peace, and human rights. They committed themselves to the cosmopolitan values and morality of global citizens, based on their reflection of their nation-state identification.

Moreover, the cosmopolitan practices of the Japanese civil societies were made possible through the reflection upon this, and the ensuing transnational application of cosmopolitan morality. Even under the constraints of the Cold War political order of East Asia, their responsibilities became a driving force for the transnational solidarity between civil societies of Korea and Japan. Especially, the transnational solidarity is rooted in the historical reflection of their personal experiences under the colonization of imperial Japan. The solidarity shows the limitations of the existing nationalistic explanations and the framework of boundaries between nation-states in the research of memory regarding the atomic bomb. Transnational solidarity based on such political and socio-cultural foundations holds important implications for the reconciliation of Korea and Japan in the future.

(*Submitted*: August 20, 2017; *Accepted*: September 15, 2017)

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