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**Remnants of Empire:
Colonial Memory in Japanese and
South Korean Short Fiction,
1953-1972**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2017

Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies (CCLPS)
SOAS, University of London

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Abstract

This thesis compares the memorial discourse on Japanese imperialism in Korea (1910-1945) in postcolonial South Korean and Japanese short fiction. It focuses on texts written after the Korean War (1950-1953) to 1972. The thesis highlights the production of a collective memory in both national literatures on the historical events as well as the respective ethno-national Self and Other in the crucial years before and after the Japan-Republic of Korea normalisation treaty in 1965.

I rely on concepts coined both within and outside of East Asia in the fields of postcolonial, collective memory and gender studies and make them productive for the East Asian case. In detail, I focus on two social groups that hold key roles for the way colonial memorial narratives came into being after the Korean War but that have so far largely escaped scholarly scrutiny with regard to the momentum of coloniality: Japanese returnees (*hikiagesha*) and the South Korean post-war generation (*chōnhu sedae*) that ascended the literary stage from the mid-1950s onwards. I investigate the recurring themes of 1) gendered allegories towards the ethno-nation, 2) nostalgia in the representation of colonial Korea and 3) language in relation to the fragility of (post)colonial discourse and the postcolonial South Korean doctrine of Korean monolingualism. Based on previous research that argues that East Asia is a historically grown literary landscape with overlaps and shared points of experience, I maintain that the distinctly East Asian genre of short fiction (Japanese *tanpen shōsetsu*, Korean *tanp'yōn sosol*) provides a formal framework for a comparative study of East Asian literature.

In my thesis, I demonstrate how literature functions as a site where repressed memories can resurface and contradictions of (post)colonial discourse are negotiated. Secondly, I highlight commonalities between Japanese and South Korean writers in their memory of the colonial period, thereby underscoring the deep historical connections between the cultural production of both countries. Finally, I argue that colonial-period discourses regain currency in postcolonial East Asia. These discursive remnants shape the two ethno-nations, which had to re-invent themselves as modern nation states within the Cold War world order following the colonial-period narrative of *naisen ittai* (Japan and Korea as One).

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A Note on Foreign Terms and Names

- For transcription of Japanese and Korean terms the modified Hepburn, respectively the McCune-Reischauer system is used.
- Foreign terms that have not been lexicalised in the English language are given in italics.
- Japanese and Korean names are given in the order customary in East Asia, that is, surname first and given name second, unless those being referred to are writing in English.
- The names of Korean and Japanese public figures such as politicians will be given in their usual English transcription.
- Some Korean scholars give an English spelling of their name along with their Korean-language publications. These are indicated in brackets after the Romanisation according to the McCune-Reischauer system.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Postcolonial memory in East Asian literature

The history of Japanese imperialism on the Korean peninsula continues to cast long shadows. Nominally, relations between the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and Japan were steered into calmer waters with the normalisation treaty between the two states in 1965. However, as territory disputes such as the issue of the island Dokdo/Takeshima or controversies surrounding the so-called ‘comfort women’ illustrate, the legacy of Japan’s colonisation of Korea is far from settled and continues to be a constant source of friction in the countries’ bilateral relations.

This thesis is an attempt to cast light on some of the discourses underlying the bilateral tensions that came to define the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nations¹ in relation to the memory of Japanese imperialism in Korea. It will introduce Japanese and South Korean pieces of short fiction written between 1953 and 1972 that deal with the history and effects of Japanese imperialism on the Korean peninsula. Based on a close reading of these texts, this thesis will rely on the three main themes of 1) gendered allegories towards the ethno-nation, 2) nostalgia in the representation of colonial Korea and 3) language in relation to the fragility of (post)colonial discourse and the postcolonial South Korean doctrine of Korean monolingualism to provide a trajectory towards understanding the different subjectivities created by the traumata of colonisation and loss of empire. I have chosen the three themes of gender, nostalgia and language due to the fact that are recurring throughout texts by both South Korean and Japanese authors dealing with the issue of imperialism. The frequency of related motives in works by writers of the two countries indicates the far-reaching commonalities of collective memory production in East Asia. At the same time, an analysis of these themes allows for rifts between the tales of former coloniser and colonised to come to the fore. This thesis thus falls into three

¹ I use the term ethno-nation to refer to the Korean concept of *minjok*, *minzoku* in Japanese. Rather than just defining a nation in terms of territory and citizenship, following its East Asian equivalents I understand the ethno-nation as comprising these slightly elusive elements such as language, culture and what might be termed ‘national identity’. The ethno-nation thus at times takes on a quasi-spiritual and in many cases identity establishing character.

sections, each one dedicated to one of the themes of gender, nostalgia and language as its analytical category.

This thesis is informed by several observations. Firstly, I will bring to light the manifold commonalities (as well as telling differences) between both nations' literature in depicting colonial memory. These commonalities are significant when considering the pressure to disavow all remainders of the colonial period, and, along with them, the deep historical connections between the cultural production of both countries. Secondly, as we will see, despite this disavowal, many colonial-period discourses resurface in new guises in these texts, attesting to the fact that the year 1945 does not constitute a clear-cut caesura in East Asian discourse. Thirdly, it will surface throughout my discussions that the colonisation and liberation, followed by the defeat and loss of empire for Japanese society and the partition of South Korea left a deep-seated feeling of insecurity on both sides. This insecurity frequently resurfaces in writers' works as the characters' perceived powerlessness in the face of the ethno-national or gendered Other. This highlights, I argue, the postcolonial geopolitical situation in East Asia in which both states found themselves dependent on an American hegemon and had to re-invent themselves within the newly-forming Cold War world order. Relatedly, a final theme that runs like a golden thread through this thesis is the question of how members of both respective ethno-nations meet each other in the face of the 'West', which often serves as either a space for encounter or a bone of contention in the narratives discussed here.

With the colonial legacy between Korea and Japan being anything but settled, my research helps to gain a better understanding of East Asian postcolonial and memorial discourses that shape the two countries' relationship to the present day. The period before and after the Japan-ROK normalisation treaty is essential as it experienced a change in the bilateral relations and a shift in discourse on the colonial period, especially in South Korea. My approach is unique in that it takes into account both former coloniser and colonised and thus renders blind spots visible when it comes to commonalities, the respective treatment of relics of colonial-period discourse and continuing cross-fertilisations. This thesis thus contributes to the mapping of the history of contemporary East Asian literature beyond the often limiting paradigms of 'national literature'.

This thesis operates on the assumption of a tangible legacy of East Asian literary confluence during the empire and opposes assertions that with Japan's defeat, all literary contact ended. As Karen Laura Thornber, figurehead in the field of modern and contemporary East Asian comparative literature, contends: "The more we examine post-1945 Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese peoples and cultures, the more the diversity and complexity of their deep interconnections become apparent and the clearer it is that dividing East Asia's creative output along national and linguistic lines can hinder our understanding of the region's vibrant artistic production."² While bearing in mind the differences in historical and social circumstances in former metropole and colony, this thesis will bring together different narratives on the colonial period in order to paint a more comprehensive and nuanced image of postcolonial alternative memory in East Asia. This approach allows accounting for the striking commonalities and parallels in South Korean and Japanese writer's depiction and evaluation of the colonial period – commonalities that no doubt arise from centuries of common cultural history that did not simply cease with the 1945 caesura.

Short fiction can be considered an essential, if not the ultimate, contemporary East Asian literary genre. I argue that what is termed *tanp'yǒn* or *chungp'yǒn sosǒl* in Korean and *tanpen* or *chūhen shōsetsu* in Japanese cannot easily be translated as "short story" or "novella" but instead constitutes a distinctly East Asian literary category that differs in form and content from its European counterparts. Due to space constraints but also in order to provide a structural framework to approach the theme of colonial memory in East Asia, this thesis will thus focus exclusively on short fiction, leaving aside other literary forms.

The focus will be on South Korean and Japanese writers who were born during the colonial period in the 1920s or 1930s, who experienced their childhood and youth under the colonial regime and have active memory of the defeat/liberation in 1945 but were too young to have been actively involved in the imperial project. This generation ascended the

² Karen Laura Thornber, 'National and Colonial Identities. Abusive Medicine and Continued Culpability: The Japanese Empire and Its Aftermaths in East Asian Literatures.', in *Routledge Handbook of Modern Japanese Literature*, ed. Leigh Morton and Rachael Hutchinson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 213-226, 216.

literary stage in the mid- to late 1950s and in the South Korean case is therefore referred to as the post- (Korean) war generation (*chōnhu sedae*). In Japan, it is for the most part one particular group who addresses the issue of imperialism on the peninsula – Japanese returnees from the colonies, the so-called *hikiagesha*, who were born and raised in colonial Korea. They will be the subject of this thesis.

The proposed time frame derives from the period in which texts on Japanese imperialism in Korea were produced by these authors. This thesis will concern itself with literature published in the years following the Korean War in 1953 up to 1972, when Park Chung Hee introduced the Yushin Constitution, marking the beginning of the country's Fourth Republic and the more rigid phase of his military dictatorship. The confluence of paradigms in literature and political caesuras is neither coincidental nor strictly causal but it is striking that during those years, there are several recurring questions and themes in relation to the representation of the colonial experience that differ from those in the decades before and after. While the orientation on political events thus by no means suggests that literature strictly follows political cut-off lines, this time frame serves as a reminder that society and literature stand in dialogue, and throughout this thesis we will see how the pieces of short fiction I will analyse find themselves at times influenced by, at times in opposition to, social discourses of their time. In many ways, the literary field offers the freedom to negotiate the contradictions and ambiguities of colonial memory that political discourse lacks.

While the entire Korean peninsula was subject to Japanese imperialism, this thesis will deal exclusively with South Korean and Japanese short fiction, leaving North Korean literature aside. The reasons for this lie firstly in the relative comparability of the South Korean and Japanese conditions. Both were occupied by the United States following Japan's defeat in 1945 and subsequently had to integrate their national narratives into the newly forming Cold War world system with its rampant anti-communist rhetoric under American hegemony. Furthermore, peace negotiations set in as early as 1952 and eventually led to the Japan-Republic of Korea normalisation treaty in 1965, attesting to the relative proximity of the two countries. Secondly, while the colonial period is a frequent feature in the North's post-Korean War literature, its depiction usually serves as a tool for

the mobilisation of literature for the socialist cause.³ Fiction produced in this heavily regulated and censored environment would thus require yet another analytical approach, which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

A last restriction that has to be addressed is the exclusion of writers who belong to the ethnic Korean minority in Japan, the so-called *zainichi Chōsen, Kankokujin*. Their voices certainly constitute an important fragment in Japanese discourse on the colonial period. However, for two reasons I have decided not to include their works into this thesis. Firstly, in Japan *zainichi* literature began to garner more scholarly concern in the 1990s, followed by studies in Western languages with the new millennium. There now exists a reasonably large body of studies analysing their literature under differing perspectives, with the issue of coloniality being a primary concern.⁴ Literature by repatriates, the *hikiagesha*, meanwhile, has so far largely escaped scholarly scrutiny. Secondly, their literature has been written from a place that differs significantly from that of the *hikiagesha* as well as South Korean writers who remained in the country and do not share their diaspora experience. Their literature thus creates different subjectivities and not only evokes a particular memory of the colonial period but also is informed by the authors' experiences as members of the Korean minority in a Japanese majority society and the two cannot easily be separated. This different background would go beyond the scope of what a doctoral thesis can deliver, which is why their literature is not included in this study.

³ Kwōn Yǒngmin, 'Literature of North Korea', in *A History of Korean Literature*, ed. Peter H. Lee (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 497-511.

⁴ The pioneering works in the field include Isogai Jirō 磯貝治良, *Shigen no hikari: zainichi chōsenjin bungakuron* 始源の光: 在日朝鮮人文学論 [*The Shining in the Origin: on Japanese Korean Literature*] (Tokyo: Sōjusha 創樹社, 1979); Takeda Seiji 竹田青嗣, 'Zainichi to iu konkyo' 〈在日〉という根拠 ["*Zainichi*" as Foundation] (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1995); Kawamura Minato 川村湊, *Umaretara soko ga furusato: zainichi chōsenjin bungakuron* 生まれたらそこがふるさと: 在日朝鮮人文学論 [*Home is Where You were Born: on Japanese Korean Literature*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1999); Kim Hun-a 金壇我, *Zainichi chōsenjin josei bungakuron* 在日朝鮮人女性文学論 [*On Literature by Female Japanese Koreans*] (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha 作品社, 2004); Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2005); Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt, *Alles nur Theater? Gender und Ethnizität bei der japankoreanischen Autorin Yū Miri* [Only Performance? Gender and Ethnicity in the Work of the Japanese Korean Author Yū Miri], Iaponia insula 18 (München: Iudicium Verlag, 2008), bringing about a bulk of PhD dissertations and articles that have been published in recent years.

Despite its relevance for an understanding of East Asian discourses on the colonial period, there is still a surprising dearth in research on the legacy of Japan's empire in literature. While a moderately large body of scholarship addresses various aspects of war memory in Japanese post-war fiction, also pertaining to the atomic bombing,⁵ to date there is no comprehensive study on colonial memory in post-war Japanese literature. It is a welcome development that English-language research on Korean literature has picked up in recent years but the field is still smaller compared to research on other national literatures. Theodore Hughes' work *Freedom's Frontier* has opened up the field for discussions on post-liberation South Korean literature.⁶ He explains how the colonial experience has structured the South Korean field of cultural production, but the representation of Japanese imperialism in Korea is not his main concern.

While, unsurprisingly, in South Korea the discussion of the colonial experience and its aftermath have greater currency than in Japan, the United States or Europe and scholars deal with the topic of colonial memory in literature much more frequently, there are only a few studies that tackle the issue in the form of a survey, with the literary scholars Kim Chöl and Han Suyǒng leading the field. There does, however, exist a large body of studies taking up specific issues or fictional texts and we will encounter them throughout this thesis. A comparative research project on colonial memory in Japanese and South Korean literature, meanwhile, does not exist in any language.

⁵ These include, without claim to comprehensiveness, John Whittier Treat, *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer, eds., *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan* (Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, Md.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Reiko Tachibana, *Narrative as Counter-Memory a Half-Century of Postwar Writing in Germany and Japan* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998); Kawamura Minato 川村湊 and Narita Ryūichi 成田龍一, eds., *Sensō wa dono yō ni katararete kita ka 戦争はどのように語ってきたか [How did the War Come to be Narrated?]* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1999); Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*, Princeton Paperbacks (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000); Marlene J. Mayo and J. Thomas Rimer, eds., *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920-1960* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); Mark Williams and David Stahl, eds., *Imag(in)Ing the War in Japan: Representing and Responding to Trauma in Postwar Literature and Film*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library 34 (Boston: Brill, 2010).

⁶ Theodore H. Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea: Freedom's Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

After an introduction that presents the theoretical and methodological assumptions my research is based on as well as the literary and historical background to my analyses, the main body consists of three sections, each comprising close readings of South Korean and Japanese pieces of short fiction and a conclusion that brings the two sides together.

Chapter two, *Ethno-nation imagined as female: the kisaeng, the docile teacher, the victim*, explains how many postcolonial texts on both sides of the national divide partake in a trope that imagines the ethno-nation as female and is widespread even beyond East Asia. Historical traumata are acted out on women's bodies or are depicted as a crisis of masculinity. At the same time, I argue, despite the fact that they show themselves deeply influenced by an oftentimes simplistic gendered logic, each of the pieces reveals subversive potential in different ways. In some cases, it is exactly this simplistic binary that helps to challenge memorial discourses of their respective time and society. This chapter is also an opportunity to discuss how the colonial experience created different subjectivities for Korean women who were subjected not only to the imperial but also the patriarchal system. Their literature thus throws a different light on how the colonial period is remembered. I discuss texts by Kajiyama Toshiyuki on the Japanese side and Son Ch'angsöp, Ha Kunch'an and Pak Sunnyö for the South Korean perspective.

Chapter three, *Colonial nostalgia and a gendered Korean essence: the mother and the beautiful maiden*, introduces another set of texts that are deeply shaped by a notion of the Korean ethno-nation as female. However, while the pieces discussed in the first chapter are concerned with the humiliation dealt by colonialism and loss of empire to a gendered national union, the texts here attempt to retrieve a pre-colonial Korean cultural essence that again is perceived as female. This is achieved through a nostalgic mode of depiction, which varies greatly between the three different authors in its objects and execution. Relying on concepts coined by scholar Svetlana Boym, I argue that nostalgia can be subversive in criticising not only Japanese imperialism in Korea, but also postcolonial memorial discourses. In this chapter, I contrast a story by Japanese author Morisaki Kazue with works written by the South Koreans Kang Shinchae and Kim Chöngahn.

Chapter four, *Foundational narratives: language and the contradictions in postcolonial discourse*, explains the ways in which literature challenges ideological dichotomies

between the Japanese and South Korean ethno-nation as well as between collaborators and patriots on which the postcolonial South Korean and Japanese ethno-nation rest. All stories discussed in this chapter revolve around issues concerning language to mark the fragility of truth-claiming grand narratives on the colonial period, its legacy and the essence of the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nation. In this chapter, I will revisit the texts by Ha Kŭnch'ān, Pak Sunnyō and Son Ch'angsöp that are introduced in chapter two from a different viewpoint and add my analysis of Kobayashi Masaru, Chōn Kwangyong and Sōnu Hwi's pieces to their discussion.

This thesis covers a wide range of authors, all of whom can be considered as fundamental to an understanding of postcolonial cultural memory in Japan and South Korea. Many of them were either widely read or are considered representative writers of their time. They cover different political spectrums and some of their literature is marketed as highbrow, some as popular literature. I also paid attention to include women writers to the best of my abilities. The limited scope of a PhD dissertation still prevented me from discussing all writers who would have been relevant to the subject matter. Famed Japanese returnees like Gōtō Meisei or nuanced South Korean authors like Pak Yonghŭi had to be omitted. While their literature certainly constitutes a significant momentum of East Asian postcolonial memory, their oeuvre does not fit squarely into the recurrent themes discussed in this study and will therefore be left to future research.

1.2 Theoretical approach

The literary analyses in this doctoral dissertation are anchored in and informed by several currents of theoretical thought, most prominently by concepts coined within the fields of postcolonial, gender, nationalism and collective memory studies. Some of my theoretical tools will be introduced in the respective chapters, namely several scholars' contributions to debates on gender in East Asia in chapter two, Nayoung Aimee Kwon's elaborations on the concept of *colonial kitsch* for the East Asian case in the chapters on Kajiyama Toshiyuki, Svetlana Boym's and Sō Insik's theories of nostalgia in chapter three, Kim Chōl and Serk-Bae Suh's elaborations on Korean monolingualism in South Korean postcolonial discourse in chapter four and, finally, Homi Bhabha's musings on the stereotype in colonial

discourse in the section on Kobayashi Masaru. While those concepts help to sharpen my analytical focus in the respective chapters, the whole of this thesis is built on several underlying assumptions that will be introduced in this section. First, I will deliberate the value of postcolonial studies for the East Asian case. Then I will go on to introduce notions of a comparative East Asian literature, providing the methodological and theoretical background to my approach that considers South Korean and Japanese texts in equal measure, thereby putting former colonised and coloniser on identical footing. Finally, I will present some background relating to how colonial memory came to be shaped in South Korea and Japan, respectively.

The question of referring to mostly Western theory in order to make sense of East Asian cultural products is a contentious one. Margaret Hillenbrand's deliberations on "The Theory Conundrum" prove helpful in this debate. Applying Western theory to Japanese or South Korean literature runs the danger of reproducing neo-imperial structures with 'Western' theory constituting the all-encompassing meta-dimension in which the East Asian text dwindles into an exotic phenomenon at the margins of a universal logical order which positions 'the West' in its centre. At the same time, disregarding theory that has been coined oftentimes in the so-called West risks 'ghettoising' East Asian literature as something so regional and specific that it cannot be understood in wider context. Additionally, neglecting theory also means to deprive oneself of powerful analytical tools to interrogate power structures and cultural phenomena within their social context. Instead, Hillenbrand calls for a dialogical approach in what eventually might become an "East Asian theory".⁷ This thesis will thus try to bring 'Western' and East Asian theories in dialogue, adding that transculturations of European thought by South Korean or Japanese scholars make it equally East Asian thought, simultaneously aware that the potential pitfall of epistemological violence on the part of a White European East Asianist is always looming. At the beginning of all reasoning, however, will stand the literary texts themselves as artistic expressions within their historical and social context, dictating the analytical tools.

⁷ Margaret Hillenbrand, *Literature and the Practice of Resistance: Japanese and Taiwanese Fiction, 1960-1990*, China Studies 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 39-53.

1.2.1 Postcolonial theory

This project was born from the desire to make postcolonial theory productive for the East Asian region. As Nayoung Aimee Kwon explains, there is a time lag of postcolonial concepts to become popular in East Asia where they were enthusiastically embraced around the turn of the millennium before fading into oblivion once more.⁸ She maintains that this, however, is not due to lacking theoretical maturity in the region but rather rooted in limitations of postcolonial theory itself on the one hand and East Asian geopolitical conditions on the other. In connection to this, she holds: "In fact, the deferral of postcoloniality as a discourse to analyse actual conditions in the region was a direct symptom of the very neo-colonial structures of the Cold War that in effect barred a true reckoning with the region's colonial pasts."⁹ The aspect I would like to draw attention to, however, is her argument concerning the inherent shortcoming of postcolonial theory which makes it at times hard to apply beneficially to the East Asian region. First of all, it is striking that the 'Holy Trinity' of postcolonial studies – Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha – and their entourage write from privileged positions in the United States (and Europe) and are mostly concerned with the history of Europe's empires while Japanese imperialism often barely makes it into the footnotes. In a way, they thus turn a blind eye to the complexities of imperialism and reproduce the very discourse of Eurocentrism they set out to criticise, or, as Kuan-Hsing Chen puts it: "Postcolonial cultural studies is at an impasse. The central problem lies in its obsessive critique of the West, which bounds the field by the object of its own criticism."¹⁰ In this context, Nayoung Aimee Kwon's criticism rings particularly true: "[U]nfortunately, postcolonial discourse

⁸ Monographs and collected volumes appropriating 'Western' postcolonial theory include, among others, Kang Sang-jung 姜尚中, *Orientarizumu no kanata e: kindai bungaku hihan* オリエンタリズムの彼方へ: 近代文化批判 [*Towards Orientalism: a Critique of Modern Literature*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1996); Kang Sang-jung 姜尚中, ed., *Posutokoroniarizumu* ポストコロニアリズム [*Postcolonialism*] (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha 作品社, 2001); Komori Yōichi 小森陽一, *Posutokoroniaru* ポストコロニアル [*Postcolonial*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 2001); Sanghō hak'oe 상허 학회, *Han'guk munhak kwa t'alshingminjuui* 한국 문학과 탈 식민주의 [*South Korean Literature and Postcolonial Studies*] (Seoul: Kip'ün saem 깊은 샘, 2005).

⁹ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 208.

¹⁰ Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1.

has been largely about the descendants of former colonial subjects ‘writing back’ to the former metropolitan centers, in privileged imperial languages (primarily English and, to a lesser degree, French), rather than about linking different areas of colonial legacies in productive engagements about materially shared but discursively and historically divided predicaments.”¹¹ While postcolonial concepts can still hold explanatory value for aspects of the East Asian case (see for example my discussion of Kobayashi Masaru’s literature in reference to Homi Bhabha’s concept of the stereotype in colonial discourse), a larger theoretical framework is required in order to evaluate the Japanese empire and its aftermath in all its facets. I will thus borrow from a wide range of theorists who write in either the English or the Japanese and Korean language.

In his study *Asia as Method*, which can also be understood as somewhat of a manifesto, Kuan-Hsing Chen argues that a global de-imperialisation project is necessary and that in East Asia, this process was stifled by Cold War dynamics and has only gained traction with the fall of the iron curtain (a fact to which the relatively recent rise in academic interest in inner-Asian convergences, which I will discuss in the next section, attests). Of particular interest for my purposes is his emphasis on Japan’s “dual status as both colonizer and colonized”, which explains the country’s ambivalence towards both its former colonies and the “neo-imperial” hegemon, the United States.¹² The Japanese literature analysed in this thesis moves between those poles and is informed by the discourses that emerge from them.

1.2.2 Comparative East Asian literature

Recent years have witnessed a surge of intra-regional research pertaining to East Asian literature. Scholars such as Margret Hillenbrand and Karen Laura Thornber have emphasised the need for an approach to comparative literature of East Asia that investigates regional literary trends within their own framework instead of relying on the West as comparator. Hillenbrand’s work on Japanese and Taiwanese post-war literature is particularly helpful in terms of methodology. In Thornber’s compelling study *Empire of*

¹¹ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 205.

¹² Chen, *Asia as Method*, 10.

Texts in Motion,¹³ she explores how authors in the Japanese colonies and semi-colonies of Korea, China and Taiwan engaged with Japanese literature and at times used it as strategy of either affirmation of or resistance against the Japanese empire. Her study is especially valuable as it illuminates how modern Korean literature is heavily influenced by Japan, a fact that is subject to disavowal in the postcolonial period as Theodore Hughes points out.¹⁴ Based on groundwork laid by Thornber and others, I argue that the collective memory production of Japanese imperialism in Korea can only partially be understood if one follows the post-1945 narrative that divides both ethno-nations strictly and confines one's analyses rigorously to national boundaries. In this thesis, I will introduce certain postcolonial discourses that took root in both societies respectively and profoundly shaped the collective memory of the colonial period.

As mentioned, the 1945-caesura by no means meant an end to intra-East Asian literary exchange and cross-fertilisation. While the immediate post-war period experienced a relative stagnation in terms of cultural contact, in subsequent years, literary exchange regained its vibrancy and has become a space in which hierarchical relations are negotiated and subjects such as the Japanese imperial project are brought into the open, as Karen Laura Thornber maintains.¹⁵ Convergences exist both on a structural level in terms of concrete exchange in the form of translations etc. but also as "shared textual concerns".¹⁶ The latter aspect will be the prime focus of this thesis which interrogates the alternative construction of colonial memory in Japanese and South Korean literature and elicits a vast array of commonalities in terms of mode and content.

Despite the potential pitfalls of a comparative approach that lie in for example the danger of conflating phenomena arising from very different circumstances, Margaret Hillenbrand outlines its productivity for understanding cultural production in the East Asian region. Beyond broadening our perspective on cross-fertilisations and confluences

¹³ Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monographs 67 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁴ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*.

¹⁵ Thornber, "Abusive Medicine," 218f.

¹⁶ Thornber, "Abusive Medicine," 213; see also Joshua S Mostow, 'General Introduction', in *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, ed. Joshua S Mostow et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 10-25, 17.

between regional literary trends, in a wider sense an East Asian comparative approach can provide a new and more balanced tactic to encounter world literature. "Thus [the links between East Asian regional literatures] present an effective rebuttal against those detractors who still use the hoary issue of cultural difference as a stick with which to beat the entire project of non-Western comparative literature."¹⁷ However, "most importantly, intraregional comparativism opens up a space within which we can begin to ponder the notion of a meta-theory for the literatures of contemporary East Asia."¹⁸ While this thesis on its own is unable to provide a meta-theory of East Asian literatures, it offers a further angle to look at how colonial-period narrative strands, born from a common, yet altering, experience of modernity, are carried into mid-1950s to early 1970s literary products. Collective memory of the colonial period by no means manifests itself in exactly the same ways in South Korean and Japanese texts, but the parallels are far too numerous to be ignored.

1.2.3 Colonial memory, disavowal and the "foundational narrative"

In South Korea and Japan, the imperial experience became subject to national storylines that were marked by disavowals and embellishment. Almost ironically, former coloniser and colonised share the fact that narratives of victimhood prevailed, while memories of collaboration, of atrocities committed, of the enthusiastic embrace of the imperial project by ordinary citizens in both Japan and Korea, came to be wiped out.

The ideological foundation of the South Korean state took root in a perceived ethno-national unity that worked only on the basis of eradicating the North Korean brother state and aspects of the colonial experience. As Theodore Hughes aptly puts it:

The shifting boundaries of the South Korean cultural field were organized through the late 1980s around three central disavowals: The ban (until 1988) on colonial-period proletarian works, the institutionalized forgetting of the late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization and imperialism, and the effacement of contemporary North Korean cultural production. These disavowals

¹⁷ Hillenbrand, *Practice of Resistance*, 53.

¹⁸ Hillenbrand, *Practice of Resistance*, 53.

are structured by an acknowledgment, often appearing at the border or on the margins of texts, of what is not to be spoken or seen.¹⁹

The disavowal that I will be primarily concerned with throughout this thesis is “the institutionalized forgetting of the late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization and imperialization,” a contentious issue for most Korean writers dealing with the colonial period. Relatedly, Nayoung Aimee Kwon highlights that in late-colonial Japanese discourse, Korean participation in the war effort was encouraged and justified by emphasis of the voluntary momentum, thereby erasing the history of violence in compelling Koreans to participate in labour and military. In postcolonial South Korea, she explains, a similar erasure took place in retrospective calls for unilateral resistance against the colonial system, leading to Koreans having “to violently suppress a whole range of their experiences from their pasts as if they had never existed”.²⁰ Most South Korean writers who proactively address the issue of colonial memory in the heated post-Korean War years challenge the simplistic binary of collaborators versus patriotic heroes and emphasise the involvement of ordinary Korean citizens in the imperial project as well as their enthusiasm for it. This stance also stems from the fact that for the post-war generation of South Korean writers, which is the subject of this thesis, participation in the “institutionalized forgetting” required disavowal of a considerable portion of their childhood and youth memories, as I will discuss in more detail below.

In relation to Japan’s treatment of war memory, meanwhile, it is essential to understand the concept of the “foundational narrative” laid out by Yoshikuni Igarashi. He explains how with the aid of the American occupiers, Japanese civil society embodied by the Emperor (*tennō*) came to see itself as the victim of a ruthless military caste that drove Japan into the war. Igarashi’s elaborations on the foundational narrative are complex, but for our purposes, we will focus on one aspect. He explains how “[a]s the Japanese wartime government leaders prepared the drama of Hirohito’s intervention, they added a subplot to the narrative: the autocratic power of the emperor was attributed to the Japanese

¹⁹ Hughes, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 1f.

²⁰ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 199f.

militarists".²¹ According to this narrative, the emperor as an apolitical figure had been coerced into pursuing an expansionist path by an autonomous and aggressive military caste. By the same token, Japanese civil society came to be exonerated from war-time responsibility as well, "since their will was just an extension of the emperor's will".²² The figure of the emperor thus became a means to distance oneself from war-time responsibility for the Japanese civilian population and partake in the constructed oblivion pertaining to Japanese atrocities.²³

This foundational narrative and the 'collective amnesia' it allowed for in relation to Japan's colonial aggression in Korea is a bone of contention for all Japanese as well as some South Korean writers discussed in this study. The question of colonial responsibility of Japanese civil society in general and the *hikiagesha* in particular is answered differently by each author. While Kajiyama Toshiyuki's texts hold on to the comfortable discursive split between civil society and military in which the former had been involuntarily dragged into the abyss by the latter, both Kobayashi Masaru and Morisaki Kazue take a more critical stance and question the involvement of ordinary Japanese in the colonial regime. While they at least partially take on the foundational narrative, they also reproduce discursive strands of their time, attesting to the fact that literature, and literature that deals with politically delicate issues no less, is not produced in a vacuum but is instead a product of and in dialogue with its social circumstances.

Related to Igarashi's observations on the foundational narrative, research on Japanese post-war literature generally operates on the assumption of 'collective amnesia' or 'intentional forgetting' of Japanese colonial atrocities. Case in point is Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit's contribution in Rimer and Schlant's collection *Legacies and Ambiguities*,²⁴ which uses the German case as point of comparison in order to illustrate the respective treatment of the war, defeat and guilt. In her chapter *The Intellectual Climate of the 1960s and*

²¹ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 26.

²² Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 27.

²³ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 26-28.

²⁴ Schlant and Rimer, *Legacies and Ambiguities*.

1970s,²⁵ she contends: “As the historical distance from the war years lengthens and the interest of the public turns to more immediate contemporary issues, this phase of Japanese history is hardly addressed. Those who speak about the issue treat it in a clearly affirmative, noncritical manner.”²⁶ While I by no means intend to deny the fact of widespread non-engagement with the issue on the part of Japanese authors and concede that in fact it is only returnees from the colony who write openly about the subject, some were widely received and received high literary acclaim. I thus argue that repression is also accompanied by a haunting of that which has been suppressed and that the *hikiagesha*’s literature constitutes an important contribution to social and cultural debates of its time. It must therefore not be neglected in order to arrive at a more comprehensive image of imperial memory in postcolonial Japan.

Two scholars in particular, Isogai Jirō and Kawamura Minato, can be credited with keeping imperial memory as represented in Japanese literature from sinking into oblivion. Isogai presented his study *Nihon sengo bungaku no naka no Chōsen Kankoku (North and South Korea in Japanese Post-war Literature)*²⁷ in 1992, a work that is of great value to my project as it is the only piece of research literature that sheds light on the awareness of Japanese writers of their neighbouring country beyond colonial times. His study is thus significant in that it emphasises Korean influence on Japanese cultural production, and not the other way around, thereby defying the often assumed one-directional flow of influence from (former) coloniser to colony. At the same time, the monograph is descriptive and lacks an overarching analytical frame. Kawamura’s analyses I will discuss in the sections on Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Kobayashi Masaru.

Finally, a particularly helpful collection of literary texts should be mentioned. In 2011-13 the Japanese house *Shūeisha* published a twenty-volume anthology entitled *Korekushon*

²⁵ Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit, ‘Post-World War II Literature: The Intellectual Climate in Japan, 1945-1985’, in *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan*, ed. Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer (Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, Md.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 99-122.

²⁶ Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit, “Post-World War II Literature,” 105.

²⁷ Isogai Jirō 磯貝治良, *Sengo Nihon bungaku no naka no Chōsen Kankoku 戰後日本文学のなかの朝鮮韓国 [North and South Korea in Japanese Postwar Literature]* (Tokyo: Daiwa shobō 大和書房, 1992).

sensō to bungaku (*Collection – War and Literature*)²⁸ encompassing stories dealing with the issue of war from the Sino-Japanese War (1894/95) to today. Of particular interest is volume seventeen, *Teikoku Nihon to Chōsen, Karafuto* (*Imperial Japan and Korea, Karafuto*), as it contains a wide range of texts dealing with Japanese imperialism in Korea. The anthology can thus be understood as an attempt to influence the production of collective war memory in Japan and as a counter movement to the effects of the foundational narrative or even right-wing tendencies of historical revisionism in Japan.

1.3 Historical background

1.3.1 Empire and aftermath

The Japanese-Korean relationship may never have been an easy one. Parts of this thesis have been written in a coffee shop in Seoul, overlooking Gwanghwamun Square and its larger-than-life statue of General Yi Sunsin. The attempted invasion of Korea by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the late 16th century is still anchored in Korea's collective memory and it is surely not without reason that General Yi Sunsin's military calculus against Hideyoshi's troops is revered even today, making him one of South Korea's national heroes. Probably this admiration for Yi Sunsin who dealt serious blows to infamous Japanese general Hideyoshi can also be understood in the light of colonial memory and the way it affected the South Korean psyche.

The Korean peninsula was made a protectorate in 1905, formally annexed and integrated into the Japanese empire in 1910 and would remain a colony until Japan's surrender in August 1945. The Japanese case, of course, differs from its European counterparts in that Japan only by a margin avoided colonisation itself. Its colonial doctrine was driven by two tendencies that at times seemed to stand at odds with each other. The first one was a social-Darwinist approach, inherited from European colonial discourse, in which the colonies were regarded as inferior to and distinct from the Japanese homeland. This rhetoric claimed that Japan had a "heavenly calling" (*tenshoku*) to enlighten the other Asian nations by conferring Japan's achievements since the Meiji

²⁸ Asada Jirō 浅田次郎 et al., eds., *Korekushon sensō to bungaku* コレクション戦争と文学 [Collection War and Literature] (Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 2011).

Restoration onto the colonies. The second tendency was a Japanese manifestation of a politics of assimilation (*dōka*), which sought to eliminate all difference between the colonies and the homeland. Mark E. Caprio identifies the Japanese colonisation of Korea as “peripheral”, i.e. the expansion into a neighbouring territory inhabited by a different community as opposed to “internal” colonisation, in which a group within the state territory is assimilated into the national community, or the “external” colonisation of a detached territory inhabited by a people with little or no cultural and ethnic affinity.²⁹ Korea was to serve in Japan’s security strategy: “Assimilation thus served as a rhetorical goal rather than a political assumption. The heavy intrusion into the people’s lives reflected the peripheral territory’s most important responsibility: as a strategic buffer to protect the colonial center from regional rivals.”³⁰ Unique to the Japanese case was the country’s cultural and territorial proximity to its colonies and the purported cultural and racial bond within East Asia, which was coupled with a belief of Japanese cultural superiority and thus led to discrimination of Koreans throughout the colonial period despite the rhetoric of assimilation and equality.³¹

For Korea, “turning [Koreans] into imperial subjects” (*kōminka*) was exemplified by the *naisen ittai* (“Japan and Korea as One Body”) doctrine that was enforced increasingly aggressively as the 1930s progressed and Japan entered war. *Naisen ittai* was aimed at making Korea an inseparable part of Japan and eliminating Korean cultural identity.³² However, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that neither did all Koreans oppose the policy – the Korean bourgeoisie for example enthusiastically embraced it in the hope of new business opportunities – nor were the colonies ever really regarded as on a par with *naichi* (“the inner territories”), the Japanese homeland.³³ As Nayoung Aimee Kwon points

²⁹ Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 6-18.

³⁰ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies*, 10.

³¹ Mark R. Peattie, ‘The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1985-1945’, in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Peter Duus and John Whitney Hall, vol. Vol. 6, The twentieth century (Cambridge, 1997), 217–70, 237-244; Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies*.

³² Carter J Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch’ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945* (Seattle, District of Columbia: University of Washington Press, 2014), 236.

³³ Carter, *Offspring of Empire*, 236-241; Peattie, “The Japanese Colonial Empire,” 230-244; Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, ‘Introduction’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, vol. Vol. 2,

out, the close cultural and ethnical ties between Japan and its East Asian colonies made the *naisen ittai* doctrine an inherently contradictory one as it relied on the “simultaneous production of the colonized as same and yet different.”³⁴ She goes on to explain that imperial discourse shifted between those two poles throughout its existence.³⁵ This aspect is a prevalent theme in the literature of Japanese writers trying to come to terms with the colonial heritage, as we will see.

Throughout the period of colonialism in Korea, the peninsula was governed by ruthless military autocrats, leading to Koreans suffering much more severely under Japanese exploitation than the inhabitants of the empire’s other important colony, Taiwan. This led to an explosion of national sentiment in the March First independence movement in 1919, which was brutally put down by the military leaders. The brutality with which the protests were met led to protests both within Japan and throughout the world. In the period following the March First movement, the governor general administration of Korea was thus compelled to show greater respect for Korean cultural identity. In many cases, however, this remained a mere lip service and with the aggressive nationalism and militarism from the 1930s onwards, the colonies were mercilessly exploited for Japan’s war-time economy.³⁶

With the end of the Japanese empire that caused the liberation of the Korean peninsula in 1945 and the subsequent American occupation of Japan and what is now South Korea, the *naisen ittai* doctrine prevalent in colonial-period propagandistic discourse came to an end. Henceforward, both nations had to imagine themselves anew, as separate and part of a newly forming Cold War world order. The Korean case was, needless to say, infinitely complicated by the emergence of two rivalling brother states and the devastating civil war from 1950 to 1953. The struggle surrounding issues of ethno-national belonging, of what should be included into the collective memory and what constitutes the boundaries of one’s own ethno-nation is a process that to a degree can be said to be still on-going today.

1920-present, ed. Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 10–42, 17f.

³⁴ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 6.

³⁵ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 6f., 157f.

³⁶ Peattie, “The Japanese Colonial Empire,” 229–237.

Those questions are very often answered in relation to the imperial period by the generation of authors born in the 1920s and early 1930s who experienced their childhood and youth under the colonial regime.

1.3.2 South Korean trajectories

With Japan's surrender on 15 August 1945, the Korean peninsula was divided alongside the 38th parallel, with the Soviet Union occupying the northern part while the south fell under the control of the United States Military Government in Korea (USMGIK). The Soviets installed Kim Il Sung as leader in the north, while the south remained caught up in struggles between different political fractions throughout the period of the so-called "liberation space" (*haebang konggan*) from 1945 to 1948. The United States called for elections to be held in 1948 in just the USMGIK-controlled southern part of the peninsula. A revolt against the elections on Cheju island was brutally put down, costing 30,000 lives. The election led to Syngman Rhee being elected as President by a large margin and on 15 August 1948, the Republic of Korea was proclaimed, ushering in the First Republic that would last until 1960.³⁷

The Korean War, which lasted three years and resulted in 750,000 military and 800,000 civilian casualties, broke out on 25 June 1950 when Kim Il Sung's KPA troops invaded the south with Soviet backing. They advanced quickly until the US-led UNC troops entered the conflict on 30 June 1950 and managed to fight back North Korean troops. Against Chinese warnings, the UN army crossed the 38th parallel on 1 October 1950, prompting China to enter the war the following day. Armistice negotiations commenced already on 26 July 1951 but did not lead to an agreement until 27 July 1953. The devastating war, which cemented the division of the peninsula into two opposing states, resulted in the consolidation of Syngman Rhee's grasp on power and contributed to subsequent urbanisation in the South as well as the erosion of traditional family structures – a process that accelerated in the 1960s.³⁸

³⁷ Adrian Buzo, *The Making of Modern Korea* (New York, NY: Routledge 2017), 85-105.

³⁸ Buzo, *Modern Korea*, 106-125.

The Rhee administration proceeded to act increasingly severely against oppositional forces and in 1954 pushed through a law that would enable him to stand for a third term. However, Rhee slowly lost authority and when the massive electoral fraud for presidential election in 1960 led to wide-spread protests that intensified as the police cracked down brutally on the protesters, his days as president were numbered. On 26 April 1960 Rhee was forced to resign and went to exile in Hawaii where he died a couple of years later.³⁹

Elections took place on 29 July 1960, leading to a win for the Democratic Party, which had formed during the Syngman Rhee years. Chang Myon was elected president but his government was weak and his term accompanied by persistent demonstrations. The short-lived democratic dream of the so-called April 19th Revolution and the subsequent Second Republic came to an end on 16 May 1961 with Park Chung Hee's coup d'état, ushering in the Third Republic. Park put economic reform in the focus of his politics and achieved development by rekindling and strengthening ties with the US and Japan, against nationalistic opposition. It might be considered a cynical twist of fate that South Korea's participation in the Vietnam War jump-started its economy in a similar fashion to how the Korean War had started off economic development in Japan. Park won presidential elections in 1963 and then again in 1967. In 1969, he succeeded in what Rhee had failed before him, namely to introduce a constitutional amendment to enable him to accede to a third term. The presidential elections in 1971 Park won once again, however, in December 1971 he declared the state of emergency and in 1972 introduced the *Yushin* constitution which gave him extensive powers, ending the Third Republic and beginning the Fourth with unchecked power for Park.⁴⁰

1.3.3 Japanese trajectories

For most ordinary Japanese, both the imperial endeavour and the war ended on 15 August 1945 with the *tennō*'s radio broadcast that announced the country's unconditional surrender. The defeat ushered in, yet again, a period of profound transformations in the Japanese social and political landscape. The country was placed under the rule of the

³⁹ Buzo, *Modern Korea*, 136-140.

⁴⁰ Buzo, *Modern Korea*, 140-156.

Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), effectively under US occupation. Head of the operation was General Douglas MacArthur who implemented far-reaching reforms in order to de-militarise and democratise the country. From 1946 to 1948, the so-called Tokyo Trials took place, resulting in the execution of seven leading military officers and life-long sentences for sixteen further men. The San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed in 1952, formally ending the war. This was followed by the signing of the US-Japan Security Treaty on the very same day which allowed the United States to station troops on Japanese soil, which would remain a contested issue for many years to come.⁴¹

Japan experienced its economic miracle in the time covered by this thesis, with the GDP in the span from 1950 to 1973 growing by a staggering average of ten percent per year. The period of high growth only ended with the oil shock in 1973. The tragedy of the Korean War jumpstarted the Japanese economy by creating a heavy demand for heavy industry at its doorstep and was, tastelessly, praised by Japanese leaders as a golden opportunity. The economic boom was accompanied by a rise of the birth rate, consumerism, educational level as well as far-reaching changes in infrastructure and the makeup of Japanese society. In the same vein, this period witnessed the proliferation of the publishing industry. The Tokyo Olympics of 1964 further accelerated the image of Japan as a modern nation on a par with its European and American counterparts. The unchained economic growth and consumerism, however, also sparked criticism by intellectuals who saw the alleged individualism and materialism of their time as detrimental to social values in one way or the other.⁴²

The 1950s and 60s were also defined by an on-going struggle between conservative and progressive social forces. The year 1955 marks the beginning of LDP (Liberal Democratic Party, *jimintō*) rule that, with few interruptions, persists to this day. While the world of politics was thus marked by a certain degree of continuity, throughout the mid-1950s to early 1970s, mass demonstrations and sometimes violent protests burst out in response to different social issues, with women and students being the main forces driving the movements. One main bone of contention were American military bases and the Security

⁴¹ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, Third edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 224-241.

⁴² Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 243-267.

Treaty which ignited mass demonstrations that peaked in 1960 when the government forced its renewal but subsided gradually once the treaty had been ratified. The early 1960s also witnessed the anti-nuclear and a strengthened labour movement. The late 1960s and early 1970s, meanwhile, oversaw another peak of anti-American civilian protest, fuelled by the experience of the Vietnam War, as well as massive student and protests relating to environmental issues.⁴³

1.3.3.1 *Hikiagesha*

The Japanese authors treated in this study are all members of the so-called *hikiagesha*, Japanese people who used to live in the colonies during Japan's empire and who upon Japan's defeat had to return to their home country that they sometimes only knew from stories. A definition of the term can be found in Lori Watt's *When Empire Comes Home*,⁴⁴ the most comprehensive study about the *hikiagesha*'s history and their significance within inner-Japanese postcolonial discourse:

Hikiageru, the verb for “to repatriate”, means literally to lift and land, as in bringing cargo onto a dock, and was common usage. But the noun for repatriate, *hikiagesha*, forming by adding the suffix *sha* or *mono* (“person”) to the verb, was a word applied exclusively to Japanese people repatriated from former colonies after defeat. *Hikiagesha* differs from expressions for “colonial returnee” and “repatriate” in other languages.⁴⁵

When Japan capitulated on 15 August 1945, 3.2 million Japanese civilians and 3.7 million soldiers were living outside the Japanese archipelago, accounting for nine per cent of the total population of 72 million.⁴⁶ Under the Allied occupation repatriation began, and no Japanese were allowed to remain in the former colonial territories, not least to avoid acts of vengeance on civilians by the hands of former colonials who had suffered Japanese imperialism.⁴⁷

⁴³ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 268-288.

⁴⁴ Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

⁴⁵ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 56f.

⁴⁶ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 2.

⁴⁷ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 4.

One important task the American occupiers and the new administration faced was to redefine the nation states of Japan and its respective former colonies after decades of discursively integrating the colonies into the Japanese empire with slogans such as *naisen ittai* (Korean *naesōn ilch'e*, literally “Japan and Korea as one body”). While the spatial set-up of the colonial empire was arranged hierarchically in radial lines from the “inner territories” (*naichi*) of Japan proper to the “outer territories” (*gaichi*), which designated the colonies, the entire area was understood as one unified empire, rather than a nation state, united under the *tennō*. However, with the defeat the territories as well as the societies and people shaped by this set-up had to be redefined according to the doctrine of the nation state, and what is more, nation states that fitted neatly into the newly forming Cold War world order and under US hegemony (this, of course, had even more currency for a divided country like Korea than for Japan). The opposition of colony and metropole who had defined each other collapsed overnight and new parameters had to be found for narrating the ethno-national Self.⁴⁸ Throughout this thesis, we will encounter different strategies of narrating the nation state and the ethno-nation and we will see that, indeed, many discursive strands shaped during the colonial period that used Japan or Korea as the counterpoint to the ethno-national Self found their continuation in postcolonial East Asia.

The *hikiagesha* population posed a threat to the new narrative of a homogeneous Japanese society. Speaking Japanese but having been born or lived in the colonies, they defied a notion of Japan as confined to its home islands. In an attempt to distance the Japanese civil society from the history of imperialism, the *hikiagesha* were excluded from the national history of victimisation and the foundational narrative and even became a means to distance oneself from war responsibility: “Defining oneself as a homeland Japanese, and not a repatriate, was a way to place a buffer between one’s self and the imperial project.”⁴⁹ As opposed to other countries such as Germany, the stories of the returnees were not included into the national imaginary of suffering inflicted by the consequences of the war.⁵⁰ Instead, they were confronted with prejudice upon their return to Japan. As Japanese society followed the foundational narrative, the *hikiagesha* became a

⁴⁸ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 3-7, 32-34.

⁴⁹ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 97.

⁵⁰ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 7, 13, 204f.

domestic other, tainted by the undesirable memory of Japan as colonial aggressor.⁵¹ Not only the reinterpretation of Japanese imperialism, also prejudice towards the colonies that regained currency in postcolonial Japan influenced the image of the returnees. *Hikiagesha* from Korea were affected by the pre-1945 notion of Korean colonials being hostile and resilient to Japanese authority as opposed to Taiwanese, for example.⁵² The prejudice and change of social climate impacted especially on *hikiagesha* who were still minors or young adults when Japan was defeated – the generation from which the authors that will be discussed in this thesis hail. Educated with an unwavering belief in imperial greatness, many of them experienced their return to the Japanese homelands as a disappointed and felt betrayed in the face of Japanese mainstream society's often hostile treatment of their group. This perceived conflict, however, led to many *hikiagesha* becoming astute critics and artists.⁵³

Hikiagesha were also cultural producers and from the late 1950s, various representations of the returnees featured in the media, some of them reproducing the narrative that Othered them, others defying it.⁵⁴ As we will see, the *hikiagesha*'s narratives in many ways constituted a powerful counter melody to the huge wall of silence that took hold of postcolonial Japan surrounding the country's imperial legacy. Sin Sungmo notes that in particular second-generation colonialists who were adolescents at the time of the liberation and who ascended the literary stage from the mid-1950s felt estrangement due to the 'collective amnesia' that had taken hold of Japanese society. Korea, the place of their childhood that had played an essential part in their identity formation, is crucial to understanding their literature that could not simply partake in the comfortable oblivion that was widespread in the rest of Japanese society. At the same time, their narratives differ from the previous generation that had been actively engaged in colonialism and

⁵¹ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 17f., 27, 54-58.

⁵² Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 27.

⁵³ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 10.

⁵⁴ Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 138, 165.

war.⁵⁵ In order to draw an accurate picture of colonial memory in Japan, this group of writers must thus not be ignored.

1.3.4 Normalisation treaty

First negotiations for a peace treaty between Japan and the Republic of Korea were taken up as early as 1951 but it took until 1965 for the Japan-Republic of Korea normalisation treaty to be actually signed.⁵⁶ One underlying factor which complicated negotiations was the difference of attitudes on what reconciliation should signify. While, as Byung Chul Koh explains, many Koreans were after “spiritual reconciliation” and emphasised their suffering and the moral wrong of the colonisation, the Japanese side was more pragmatic in that it highlighted the material aspects of the issue.⁵⁷ Adding to Korean chagrin were the repeated displays of relativisation of the misdeeds or even justification and congratulatory remarks on Japanese imperialism by members of the Japanese elite such as Prime Ministers Yoshida Shigeru (1946-1947/ 1848-1954) and Kishi Nobusuke (1957-60). These kind of attitudes on the part of high-ranking Japanese officials continued into later decades as well.⁵⁸ This “cultural gap” between Japan and South Korea, however, while bearing significance, was not the main obstacle to normalisation which was finally achieved due to several circumstances.⁵⁹

While negotiations for a peace treaty were taken up already in 1951 under Syngman Rhee, whose administration also heavily relied on pro-Japanese collaborators, the official rhetoric under his regime was passionately anti-Japanese. The democratic administration under Chang Myon from 1960 to 1961, meanwhile, was eager to normalise relations with Japan. Park Chung Hee, who attended a military academy and fought in Manchuria under

⁵⁵ Sin Sungmo 신승모, “‘Chōnhu’ Ilbon sahoe wa sikmincha 2se munhak ūi tūngchang - Kajiyama Toshiyuki munhak ūl chungsim ūro “전후” 일본사회와 식민자 2 세 문학의 등장 - 가지야마 도시유키(梶山季之) 문학을 중심으로 — [‘Post-War’ Japanese Society and the Ascendance of Literature by the 2nd Generation of Colonists - on Kajiyama Toshiyuki’s Literature]’, *Ilbonhak* 일본학 34 (2012): 215–43.

⁵⁶ Byung Chul Koh, *Between Discord and Cooperation: Japan and the Two Koreas* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2007), 266.

⁵⁷ Chong-Sik Lee, *Japan and Korea: The Political Dimension* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 1985), 24f.

⁵⁸ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 26-31.

⁵⁹ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 24f.

the Japanese, is considered a Japanophile and needed Japan for the realisation of his economic ambitions for South Korea.⁶⁰ The regime shifts in South Korea were thus instrumental to the peace negotiations to succeed, whereby the Japanese negotiators welcomed Park's seizure of power as it would be easier to make a deal with a military junta that was not as dependent on public support as a democratic regime.⁶¹

Prime reasons for both the Japanese, South Korean and American administrations to push for normalisation from 1964 onwards were security concerns over China's rising power and the escalating Vietnam conflict that aggravated the threat from North Korea.⁶² Moreover, after Park's first Five-Year Development Plan (1962-1966) was in danger of failing to deliver the expected economic growth, the country needed Japanese investment to aid the ailing economy, which is why business groups lobbied for the treaty. Japanese politicians, meanwhile, saw the Park administration's need for Japanese investment as an opportunity to conclude the treaty under conditions that were favourable for Japan.⁶³ Indeed, in that they succeeded. In the treaty that settled 1) fishery, 2) property claims and economic cooperation, 3) the legal status of Korean residents in Japan, 4) cultural property and cultural exchanges and 5) peaceful settlement of disputes,⁶⁴ Korea had to make concessions on every issue, be it a formal apology or reparations for the damage inflicted by the colonisation, the recognition of the Republic of Korea as the sole legitimate government of the entire peninsula or issues surrounding fishing grounds.⁶⁵

The negotiations and then the conclusion of the treaty met fierce resistance in Korea and, to a lesser degree, in Japan by the Socialist Party.⁶⁶ Protests shook Seoul and other major cities from March to June 1964 until Park declared martial law on 3 June. Much of the controversy was due to South Korea's chief negotiator Kim Jong-pil who was seen as a benefactor of Japanese dominance and who was removed from the position in April.⁶⁷ A

⁶⁰ Koh, *Discord and Cooperation*, 267-271; Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 24-42.

⁶¹ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 48; Victor D. Cha, 'Bridging the Gap: The Strategic Context of the 1965 Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty', *Korean Studies* 20 (1996): 123-60.

⁶² Cha, „Bridging the Gap,” 128-132; Koh, *Discord and Cooperation*, 272f.

⁶³ Cha, „Bridging the Gap,” 128-130.

⁶⁴ Koh, *Discord and Cooperation*, 273f.

⁶⁵ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 54f.

⁶⁶ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 50-55; Cha, „Bridging the Gap,” 134.

⁶⁷ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 50; Cha, „Bridging the Gap,” 135.

breakthrough was reached in March 1965 and the treaty was signed on 22 June of the same year. The process was accompanied by mass protests fuelled by the fear of neo-colonial dependency on Japan but in the end could not prevent the treaty from being ratified.⁶⁸

As Park had envisaged, the normalisation with Japan rapidly accelerated economic ties with Japan and within three years, South Korea became Japan's second largest sales market after the United States and would remain so for the next ten years. The relationship, however, was marked by grave imbalance as the Republic of Korea continuously suffered a stark trade deficit against its neighbour. Until 1973, bilateral relations registered a relatively smooth sailing, until the kidnapping of opposition leader Kim Dae-jung from a Tokyo hotel and the attempted assassination of Park Chung Hee (killing his wife instead) by the *zainichi* Korean Mun Se-gwang once more cast a shadow on the relationship between Japan and South Korea.⁶⁹

1.4 Literary Background

1.4.1 Japan: *Hikiage bungaku*

Pak Yuha defines *hikiage bungaku* as literature by *hikiagesha* that actively deals with the experience in the colonies and the process of repatriation. She states that authors who were minors or young adults at the time of defeat constitute the main protagonists in this field.⁷⁰ Within the context of literature, parallels are readily drawn to the Japanese returnees' European counterparts and names like Marguerite Duras or Albert Camus are adduced. While these kinds of comparisons might be helpful in situating the *hikiagesha*'s case within a wider global framework, as mentioned, their circumstances differed from European returnees and their cultural production has to be considered with its regional particularities.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Lee, *Japan and Korea*, 54f.; Cha, „Bridging the Gap,” 141.

⁶⁹ Koh, *Discord and Cooperation*, 255-285.

⁷⁰ Pak Yuha 朴裕河, *Hikiage bungakuron josetsu: aratana posutokoroniaru e* 引揚げ文学論序説: 新たなポストコロニアルへ [Introduction to the Discourse of Returnees' Literature: Towards a New Postcolonial] (Tokyo: Jinbun shoin 人文書院, 2016), 14-16.

⁷¹ Tsuji Terayuki 辻輝之, ‘Sengo hikiage to iu “hōhō”: kikan imin kenkyū e no shiza 戦後引き上げという方法>—帰還移民研究への視座 [Post-War Returnees as “Method”: Looking at Research on Returnees],

While some of the more renowned writers with a *hikiage* background like Abe Kōbō, Gomikawa Junpei, Kajiyama Toshiyuki, Kobayashi Masaru and Morisaki Kazue (the last three of which will be discussed in this thesis) began their literary activity in the 1950s or even already during the 1940s, the biggest bulk of *hikiage bungaku* was published in the period from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. Their ascent coincided with that of writers of the Korean minority in Japan, the so-called *zainichi Chōsen, Kankokujin*, speaking to the fact that in this period issues of imperialism and its remnants were influential beneath the surface of social debates.

Hikiage bungaku constitutes a curious case as it is at once integral part of Japan's post-war experience that was shared by a huge number of people and pushed to the margins of collective memory. Two texts that enjoyed wide-spread recognition and became bestsellers are an autobiographical essay entitled *Nagareru hoshi wa ikite iru* (*The shooting stars are alive*) by Manchuria-returnee Fujiwara Tei in 1949 and former soldier Gomikawa Junpei's *Ningen no jōken* (*The human condition*) in 1956. Many *hikiage* authors were nominees or awardees of prestigious literary recognitions like the Akutagawa or Naoki Prize⁷² and writers such as Gōtō Meisei and Hino Keizō enjoyed high critical acclaim, but as reminders of Japan's imperial past their works were usually not discussed with reference to their *hikiagesha* status. A wider societal debate on the fate of the *hikiagesha* failed to

in *Hikiagesha no sengo* 引揚者の戦後, ed. Shimamura Takanori 島村恭則, vol. II, *Sensō ga umidasu shakai 戦争が生み出す社会* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha 新曜社, 2013), 375–98.

⁷² Nominees and laureates from the group of *hikiagesha* include, apart from the authors discussed in this thesis:

Ikushima Jirō (1933-2003, b. in China), who was awarded the Naoki Prize for *Oitsumeru* (*Tracking Down*, 1964), Itsuki Hiroyuki (b. 1932 in Korea) who was awarded the Naoki Prize for *Aozameta uma o miyo* (*Looking at the Pale Horse*, 1967), Gōtō Meisei (1932-1999, b. in Korea), who was nominated for the Akutagawa Prize for *Ningen no byōki* (*Human disease*, 1967) and subsequently for three further pieces, Furuyama Komao (1920-2002, b. in Korea), who won the Akutagawa Prize for *Pureō eito no yoake* (*Dawn of Player Eight*, 1970), Hino Keizō (1929-2002, spent his youth in Korea), who won the Akutagawa Prize for *Ano yūhi* (*This Evening Sun*, 1975), Miki Taku (b. 1935, spent youth in Manchuria), who won the Akutagawa Prize for *Hiwa* (*Finch*, 1972), Mori Atsushi (1912-1989, spent youth in Korea), who won the Akutagawa Prize for *Gassan* (*Mount Gassan*, 1973) and Ikeda Masuo (1934-1997, b. in China), who won the Akutagawa Prize for *Ēgekai ni aogu* (*Sacrificing to the Aegean Sea*, 1977). While awardees from the ranks of *hikiagesha* are numerous, the vast majority of works listed here does not address the colonial experience, attesting to the trend among returnees to turn their attention elsewhere.

materialise and attention to the issue remained negligible compared to narratives on defeat and the atomic bombing.⁷³

Hikiage bungaku occupies an awkward place in Japan's post-war, postcolonial cultural memory due to the way it challenges the idea of a monolithic ethno-nation and introduces ambivalent narratives on the former colonies and the process of repatriation into the collective consciousness. Japanese children in the colony saw the discrimination of the colonised peoples first-hand and this fact surfaces often in *hikiage bungaku*, much like the ways they were influenced by the culture of the colonies.⁷⁴ As many of their texts are rife with descriptions of how colonial and Japanese culture mixed in their everyday life, it is not surprising that its memory came to be suppressed because it mirrored Japan as an empire and its hybridity.⁷⁵ As *zainichi Nihonjin*, as Pak puts it in reference to the Korean minority in Japan, indicating their insider-outsider status, many *hikiagesha* felt estrangement towards Japanese society and were subject to discrimination.⁷⁶

At the same time, it would be mistaken to consider the *hikiagesha* a monolithic mass, as their experiences differed greatly depending on where they were based and what their specific circumstances entailed. In their postcolonial stance and literary production, the returnees have to be understood not only in relation to the former territories of *naichi* and *gaichi*, but also in relation to the community of *hikiagesha* amongst each other. For some, like the authors discussed here, their childhood experiences in the colonies and their estrangement in Japan led them to foster a critical attitude towards the imperial project, the discrimination of *zainichi* Koreans and nationalism, but this attitude was not necessarily shared by all returnees.

In terms of research, literature that deals with the experiences of the *hikiagesha* is a much overlooked phenomenon, both within and outside of Japan. The 1970s oversaw a small surge of interest in *hikiage bungaku*, which was mostly carried by intellectuals who were themselves repatriates. The most important publications of that time include *A Study*

⁷³ Pak, *Returnees' Literature*, 23f.

⁷⁴ Pak, *Returnees' Literature*, 53-55.

⁷⁵ Pak, *Returnees' Literature*, 29f.

⁷⁶ Pak Yuha 朴裕河, ““Hikiage bungaku” ni mimi o katamukeru 「引揚げ文学」に耳を傾ける [Listening to “Returnees’ Literature”]”, *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyū* 立命館言語文化研究 24, no. 4 (2013): 115–36.

on the Literature of Former Colonists, penned by Ozaki Hideki, a returnee from Taiwan, a reportage on the “Camus’ of Japan” by Honda Yasuharu in 1979 and a conversation between the *hikiagesha* authors Hino Keizō and Itsuki Hiroyuki published in the literary journal *Bungakkai* in 1975.⁷⁷ After that, the topic vanished entirely from research agendas and has only recently resurfaced. Noteworthy are a special issue of the Bulletin of the International Institute of Language and Culture Studies at Ritsumeikan University based on a symposium held in 2012,⁷⁸ and, most importantly, Pak Yuha’s 2016 monograph *An Introduction to the Study of hikiage bungaku*,⁷⁹ a very welcome and timely intervention in a surprisingly neglected field. *Hikiage bungaku* is usually not included in literary surveys on contemporary Japanese literature, a fact that Pak attributes to its association with Japan as an aggressor in the imperial project and the widespread collective oblivion regarding this aspect.⁸⁰

1.4.2 Korea: Post-war generation (*chōnhu sedae*)

The authors that will be the subject of this study are mostly members of the so-called post-war generation (*chōnhu sedae*), with the war referred to being the Korean War (1950-1953). This generation was born in the 1920s for the most part (with some outliers in the late 1910s and early 1930s) and accordingly experienced their childhood and youth during the colonial period. During the Korean War, they were young adults and for the most part commenced their literary activities after the war in the mid- to late 1950s or early 1960s. According to Kwǒn, this generation was used to deprivation and the collapse of the social value system – aspects that are thought to have influenced their literature. Authors such as Son Ch’angsöp and Sǒnu Hwi, whose texts will be discussed below, are commonly listed as representatives of this generation.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Pak, *Returnees’ Literature*, 14f.

⁷⁸ Ritsumeikan daigaku kokusai gengo bunka kenkyūjo 立命館大学国際言語文化研究所, ed., ‘Gengo bunka kenkyū 言語文化研究 [Language Culture Research]’ 24, no. 4 (March 2013).

⁷⁹ Pak, *Returnees’ Literature*.

⁸⁰ Pak, *Returnees’ Literature*, 14f.

⁸¹ Kwǒn Yǒnmin 권영민, *Han’guk hyōndae munhaksa, 1945-1990* 한국현대문학사, 1945-1990 [A History of South Korean Contemporary Literature] (Seoul: Minǔmsa 民音社, 1993).

There seems to be an understanding in South Korean literary scholarship that while the colonial experience has continued to be a concern for authors from the liberation in 1945 to the present day, in the years following the Korean War, writers were too preoccupied with overcoming the war experience to tackle the issue of imperialism. Accordingly, mainstream literary histories such as Kwŏn Yonmin's *A History of South Korean Contemporary Literature* (*Han'guk hyöndae munhaksa*)⁸² focus on the significance of the Korean War and debates surrounding the respective value of "pure literature" versus "littérature engagée" for South Korean literature of the 1950s and 1960s. Meanwhile, the relationship to the memory of the colonial period and to the former coloniser Japan are treated peripherally at best. Notable exceptions are studies by Han Suyöng⁸³ and Ryu Tongkyu,⁸⁴ who both emphasise this generation of authors' upbringing and education during the colonial period, which they say to have influenced both their work and South Korean society in general. While the significance of the Korean War – the incredible violence experienced on a collective level – the chaos following the war as well as the reformation of the literary landscape following the conflict cannot be overemphasised when analysing South Korean literature of the mid- to late 1950s, the authors' childhood experiences and the traumatic events of colonialism and liberation still resurface in their literature. Theodore Hughes, as mentioned, highlights the influence of the suppressed memory of widespread participation in the colonial regime on the part of Korean civil society.⁸⁵ A further indicator for the on-going significance Japanese literary influence had on that generation is the fact that in the 1960s, subsequent to the April 19th Revolution, South Korea experienced a 'boom' of translation from the Japanese language which surged compared to the decade before and exceeded the number of translations from any other

⁸² Kwŏn, *Contemporary South Korean Literature*.

⁸³ Han Suyöng 한수영, 'Chönhu sosöl esöüi sikminhwatoen chuch'e wa önöchök t'acha - Son Ch'angsöp sosöl e nat'anán ichung önöcha üi chaüsik 전후소설에서의 식민화된 주체와 언어적 타자 - 손창섭 소설에 나타난 이중언어자의 자의식 [The Colonised Subject and Linguistic Other in Post-War Novels - the Bilingualist's Self-Consciousness in Son Ch'angsöp's Novels]', *Inmun yon'gu* 인문연구 52 (2007): 1-33.

⁸⁴ Ryu Tongkyu (Ryu Dong Gyu) 류동규, 'Chönhu chakka üi shingminji kiök kwa kǔ chaehyön 전후 작가의 식민지 기억과 그 재현 [Colonial Memory for Post-War Authors and its Representation]', *Hyöndae sosöl yon'gu* 현대소설연구 44 (2010): 143-69.

⁸⁵ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*.

country.⁸⁶ With the end of the Syngman Rhee administration and its aggressive anti-Japanese rhetoric, the way was paved for wide-spread publication of Japanese literature, which in many ways was perceived as familiar in a discourse that emphasised a dichotomy between ‘Western’ and ‘(East) Asian’ literature.⁸⁷ Rather than experts of Japanese literature, the protagonists of this translation boom, again, were mostly Korean writers who had been educated during the colonial period, the post-Korean War generation (*chōnhu sedae*).⁸⁸

Literature of the 1950s was, as mentioned, marked by the experience of the devastating civil war and the deep ideological schism it caused, with a North Korean communist brethren state that now needed to be extracted from what was to become ‘national literature’.⁸⁹ Only after the mid-1950s could literature gain some stability and rebuild itself as a new *minjok munhak* (national literature).⁹⁰ This new national literature in many respects tied in with colonial-period debates and worked by obliterating North Korean literary production from debates in which it still remained an unspoken spectre. The debates were marked by repeated reference to notions of “tradition” and “the East” (*tongyang*), marking, according to Hughes, “a recovery of space and time from the Japanese imperium and a resistance to the contemporary hegemony of the West.”⁹¹ *Han'guk munhak*, South Korean literature, was evaluated in its global context as “Eastern” literature (without explicit mention of either North Korea or Japan) in opposition to the West. “Korean literature” came to be exemplified by the Korean language (which, as we will see below, became the ultimate symbol of ethno-national unity). Many of the texts

⁸⁶ Yi Hanchöng 이한정, ‘Ilbonmunhag ūi pönyök kwa Han'gungmunhak 일본문학의 번역과 한국문학 [The Translation of Japanese Literature and South Korean Literature]’, *Hyöndaemunhag ūi yön'gu* 현대문학의 연구 55 (2015): 7-51: 7-10; Kang Uwönyong 강우원용, ‘1960nyöndae Ilbonmunhak pönyöngmul gwa Han'guk: ,hogishim’ gwa ,hyangsu’ rül tullössan tokcha ūi p'ungsok 1960 년대 일본문학 번역물과 한국: ‘호기심’과 ‘향수’를 둘러싼 독자의 풍속 [South Korea and Translations of Japanese Literature in the 1960s: Customs of Readers Revolving Around ,Curiosity’ and ,Nostalgia’]’, *Ilbon hakpo* 일본학보 93 (2012): 79-123: 80-83.

⁸⁷ Yi, “Translation of Japanese literature,” 24-29.

⁸⁸ Yi, “Translation of Japanese literature,” 11-18.

⁸⁹ Kwöñ, *Contemporary South Korean Literature*, 104.

⁹⁰ Kwöñ Yöngmin, ‘Late Twentieth-Century Fiction by Men’, in *A History of Korean Literature*, ed. Peter H. Lee (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 468–80: 470; Kwöñ, *Contemporary South Korean Literature*, 105.

⁹¹ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 101.

studied in this thesis are, as we will see, written against this elision of Japan and its role in literary tradition of the Korean peninsula and in their form and references they themselves belie this eradication. Suppression of the memory of Japanese influence on Korean culture and society came along with that of Pan-Asianism and the *naisen ittai* doctrine in the colonial period, which, however, undoubtedly had an enormous and lasting effect on the formation of modern and contemporary South Korean literature.

Literature in the 1950s was bound by the limitations dictated by the Korean War and, unable to tackle the traumatising events directly and openly, often resorted to depictions of the authors' interior worlds, sentiments and thoughts rather than the events of the outside reality. At the same time, there was an attempt to create from the rubble a new tradition that rejected the pre-war moral principles and social values of earlier generations.⁹² The April 19th revolution became a turning point and amplified discourses that had already sprung into being in the mid-1950s. Causing a deep desire for freedom, the revolution became an opportunity to overcome the apathy of the immediate post-war period. These hopes, however, were soon to be stifled by Park Chung Hee's coup d' état but nonetheless continued to inform literary debates well into the mid-1960s. A general consensus resurfaced that literature should not merely portray personal feelings but as national literature had to depict society as a whole. Due to the strong influence of French existentialism and its concept of *littérature engagée*, there were actors who altogether condemned the pure literature movement (*sunmunhak undong*), which had begun during the colonial period with Kim Tongin (1900-1951) and favoured attention to literary form and the portrayal of ordinary people's plights over questions of larger political dimension. Instead, they called for a "literature of resistance" (*chōhang ūi munhak*) that should, based on the author's own experiences and insight, express and criticise reality.⁹³ Existentialist thought, which had gained traction since the mid-1950s, became a way to challenge "both the people-place isomorphism of postcolonial nationalism and the essentialisms associated with traditionalism" and to level implicit criticism against first Syngman Rhee and later

⁹² Kwōn, *Contemporary South Korean Literature*, 103-106.

⁹³ Kwōn, *Contemporary South Korean Literature*, 188-196.

Park Chung Hee.⁹⁴ With its calls for “existence over essence” and universal human responsibility, existentialism also offered a way of challenging postcolonial ethno-nationalism, as Hughes explains.⁹⁵ The call for literary social intervention came, needless to say, at a time when under the Park Chung Hee administration, freedom of artistic expression began to be curtailed.⁹⁶

Many of these streams of discourse came to be replaced when literature began to react to the chauvinistic developmental narrative of the Park Chung Hee administration from the late 1960s, accelerated by the emergence of the so-called *hangul* generation in the mid-1960s – a new cohort of writers, educated in the national script and not personally affected by Japanese imperialism.⁹⁷ The early 1970s witnessed a shift of political nature with the introduction of the authoritarian Yushin constitution that did much to politicise writers, as Youngju Ryu analyses in her monograph *Writers of the Winter Republic*.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 104.

⁹⁵ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 106.

⁹⁶ Kwön, *Contemporary South Korean Literature*, 195f.

⁹⁷ Kwön, “Late Twentieth-Century Fiction,” 474f.

⁹⁸ Youngju Ryu, *Writers of the Winter Republic: Literature and Resistance in Park Chung Hee's Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016).

2. Ethno-nation imagined as female: the *kisaeng*, the docile teacher, the victim

It is striking that in both South Korean and Japanese literature, colonial memory and questions of ethno-national delineation are negotiated in gendered terms. In this chapter, I will show how in male authors' postcolonial narratives, women of the respective other ethno-nation become prized objects to reassert the masculine nation whose pride has been shattered by the historical events of the mid-20th century. I conclude this chapter by contrasting these male authors' narratives with an insight into female Korean subjectivities through a story by a woman author.

In the introduction to their ground-breaking collection *Woman – Nation – State*, in 1989 Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias had already outlined five ways in which women and femininity are relevant to and participate in the imagining of the nation:

- a) as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities;
- b) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups;
- c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture;
- d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences – as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories;
- e) as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles.⁹⁹

While some of their observations might by now be considered truisms, we will see throughout this thesis that they regain new currency in and hold explanatory value for the case of colonial memory in East Asia. All five dimensions are crucial in one way or another in the postcolonial separation of the imagined South Korean from the Japanese ethno-nation following the *naisen ittai* doctrine. However, as will become apparent in the textual analyses below, the most prominent strategies in the delineation of ethno-national Self and

⁹⁹ Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds., *Woman - Nation - State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 7.

Other in postcolonial Japanese and South Korean short fiction are the prevalent use of femininity as described in point (c) and (d) above. Less than round characters with complex motivations and personalities, in both South Korean and Japanese postcolonial literature female characters often serve as placeholders for ideological configurations of both one's own and the foreign ethno-nation.

For the Japanese case specifically, Igarashi describes the gender patterns apparent in Japan's pre- and post-war relationships to other nations. He explains that after the war, by means of the Emperor's (*tennō*) effeminate body, Japan was cast as female and in need of saving from the military regime that destroyed the country in relation to the United States.¹⁰⁰ According to Igarashi, this narrative was so successful because it was a simple reversal of Japan's relationship to its colonies prior to 1945 – Japan, imagined as male, had to guide and rescue its effeminate colonies. Now, the United States took the male role while the memory of the colonies and their role in the gendered geopolitical setup came to be suppressed. Thus, "by displacing Japan's role as colonizer with that of the United States, the United States– Japan melodrama assisted in concealing Japan's historical connection with Asia in postwar Japanese social discourse."¹⁰¹ How deeply this gender configuration was ingrained in East Asian discourses will become apparent in my discussion of both Japanese and South Korean texts that carry forth the same kind of logic and create similar points of reference in their attempt to make sense of the events of the colonial period.

Sharalyn Orbaugh's analysis of occupation-period Japanese literature ties in with Igarashi's insight when she highlights how male characters are usually portrayed as inferior and lacking in masculinity in their encounter with the Western occupiers.¹⁰² The colonial period, the defeat/liberation, the occupation and the reformation of the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nations during the Cold War under American hegemony were thus accompanied by shifting ascriptions of gender roles to both one's own and the respective Othered collective. As we will see, particularly the gendered imagery in the postcolonial negotiation of the Japanese-Korean relationship underscores the fragility of

¹⁰⁰ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 35-38.

¹⁰¹ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 35.

¹⁰² Sharalyn Orbaugh, *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library 26 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 103-156.

power relations and the prevalent sense of helplessness imperialism and war have left East Asia with. Depictions that are informed by gendered notions are usually supplemented with an argument that draws on cultural difference rather than race to discursively divide the Japanese and South Korean nations.¹⁰³

Douglas Slaymaker, writing on the phenomenon of "Literature of the Flesh" (*nikutai bungaku*), develops this argument of post-war Japanese emasculation with reference to the way women's bodies were used in this literature.¹⁰⁴ The *nikutai* writers lamented what they understood to be an undervaluation of the physical body under the chauvinistic military regime prior to 1945 when the body was appreciated only as a military tool or in a symbolic way to represent the nation as such ("the national body" – *kokutai*). For them, the way out of this pre-war aporia was a utopian vision in which the body became the source of a new democratic freedom and self-determination. They used the relaxed censorship during the occupation period to include explicit and radical depictions of physicality and sexual acts with often marginalised women such as sex-workers into their fiction as an act of resistance against conceptions of the nation as body. However, similar to Orbaugh's line of argument, Slaymaker explains how male anxiety vis-à-vis the occupiers and the male subject's individual as well as Japan's national position after the lost war plays out in this literature as well. Literature of the flesh relies on the female body as Other and object to reassert and establish a new post-war Japanese masculinity. Thus, Slaymaker argues that in their attempt to renounce the *kokutai*, the *nikutai* writers created an equally restrictive ideology of the flesh: "I am arguing that the flesh writers manage to establish an ideology even as they wish to do away with all ideology. In their imagination of liberation, while attempting to articulate a new place in postwar society, we find the reassertion of male dominance over female bodies. In the face of this sense of male powerlessness (...) the flesh writers imagine a subjugated woman as the key to liberation."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Christopher P Hanscom and Dennis C Washburn, 'Introduction: Representations of Race in East Asian Empire', in *The Affect of Difference: Representations of Race in East Asian Empire*, eds. Christopher P Hanscom and Dennis C Washburn (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 1–18.

¹⁰⁴ Douglas Slaymaker, *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 1-42.

¹⁰⁵ Slaymaker, *Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*, 33f.

We will see the pattern of a sexualised female body as an object to ease ethno-national masculine humiliation repeated in the fiction of Japanese and South Korean writers roughly a decade later, especially with Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Son Ch'angsöp. However, contrary to the *nikutai* writers' fiction, the female body in *hikiagesha* or post-war generation South Korean literature cannot make good on the promise of ethno-national liberation and sexual relationships with women of the respective other ethno-nation fail. I attribute this to the specific positionality of both groups of writers, for whom the colonial experience remains a deep-seated trauma which cannot easily be resolved.

The way colonial and postcolonial relations in Korea came to be imagined in gendered terms is akin to its Japanese counterpart. In colonial Korea, femininity became a symbol for the fate of the colonised nation, and, beginning with Yi Kwangsu, female characters signified the hope for liberation and the hardship the Korean ethno-nation had to undergo, as Sheila Miyoshi Jager points out:

"Woman" turns into a sign of colonial oppression (and potential liberation). By taking woman out of the private domain of traditional domestic relations and transposing her into the realm of the political, the public, and the universal, nationalism turns her into an agent politicizing love, loyalty, and family bonds for the nation. In this way, the image of the loyal wife (or virtuous mother), now deplete of any private, familial, or "bodily" value, gets connected to the universal myth of national liberation.¹⁰⁶

This trend to write the ethno-nation's colonial humiliation and the postcolonial desire for national vengeance onto women's bodies and make female characters empty signifiers of the ethno-nation's fate continued in postcolonial South Korea as well. Kelly Y. Jeong's *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema*¹⁰⁷ is particularly helpful in its illustration of the connection between modernity, patriarchal narratives and nationalism in colonial and postcolonial literature and film. She argues that the "modern Korean

¹⁰⁶ Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 56.

¹⁰⁷ Kelly Y. Jeong, *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema: Modernity Arrives Again* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2011).

masculine subject (...) is identified with nation itself”,¹⁰⁸ a conception that has a long genealogy in Korea’s Confucian tradition. The various historical crises of national unity and modernity from the 1930s to the 1960s are experienced and described as a threat to and a crisis of masculinity: “The postwar South Korean state responded to the threats on its nationhood, both imagined and otherwise, by overmilitarizing the nation, and by constructing a masculine national subject in monolithic, exclusive, and specific ways.”¹⁰⁹

Masculinity not only defines nations as unified while femininity is allocated a subordinate role but also relies on a fraternal network among men of the dominant and subordinate nation. This point can be made with reference to Elaine Kim’s and Chungmoo Choi’s collected volume *Dangerous Women*. Choi explains how Korean men turn the perceived national humiliation of masculinity against women: “colonized Korean men not only deny feminine subjectivity but oppress Korean women, to shed their emasculated and infantilized image and prove their masculinity to a degree of exaggeration that may include violence against women.”¹¹⁰ They become complicit with their colonisers in debasing Korean women, while national pride hinges upon female chastity. This aspect will become evident in the discussion of Son Ch’angsöp’s literature and *Saenghwachök* (*To Live*, 1954) in particular.

After 1945, the gendered imaginary of the ethno-nation developed an additional dynamic with the insertion of Japanese female characters as embodiment of the now-defeated former colonising nation into memorial narratives. As Kim Hyein notes, in Korean fiction there is a shift from dominant male Japanese characters during the colonial period to dependent female ones in post-liberation South Korea. She explains that during the transitional period after the liberation when still many Japanese remained in Korea, they are depicted as enemies of the people and the colonial power-relations are reversed. However, following the Korean War, the nationalist anti-colonial narrative becomes intermingled with Cold War anti-communism and we find a new gendered discourse between colonial memory and Cold War frictions in which Japanese women are portrayed

¹⁰⁸ Jeong, *Crisis of Gender*, ix.

¹⁰⁹ Jeong, *Crisis of Gender*, 77.

¹¹⁰ Chungmoo Choi, ‘Nationalism and Construction of Gender in Korea’, in *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 9–32, 14.

as victims, especially in relation to Soviet internment camps, whereas Japanese male characters are conspicuously absent.¹¹¹ In a way, these narratives establish a new national order in which the humiliation of the masculine national pride is rectified by depicting Japanese women as weak and dependent while the Cold War world order in which Japan and South Korea are aligned is upheld by portraying them as in need of saving from Soviet or North Korean forces. Kim Hyein's analysis is extremely helpful in framing a certain strand in postcolonial South Korean literature and has to be given due credit for this. It is remarkable, however, that she fails to include any female authors in her study or even discuss the possibility of women participating in this kind of discourse. This cements an image of only male voices being relevant to the memorial discourse on colonial Korea. When talking about women as signifiers of ethno-national difference, it should not be forgotten that while being acted upon, women are also actors in shaping national and memorial discourses¹¹² and female authors cannot resort to this simplistic restoration of national pride.

In what is to follow, I will introduce four texts by Japanese *hikiagesha* writer Kajiyama Toshiyuki and contrast them with works by Korean male authors Son Ch'angsöp and Ha Künch'an before concluding this chapter with a discussion of female South Korean writer Pak Sunnyo's literature. All pieces discussed in this chapter share a common theme of negotiating the fact of colonisation and its consequences for the ethno-nation by means of femininity. Both Japanese and South Korean male authors utilise female characters as vessels to convey messages on the injustice of colonialism or to portray the perceived humiliation that colonisation or the loss of empire dealt to their respective own ethno-nation. Often, these narratives are also fuelled by a perceived male impotence in the face of the female ethno-national Other.

The ways these ideas are detailed, however, differs between South Korean and Japanese writers and reflects the discursive and social trends of the authors' respective

¹¹¹ Kim Hyein 김혜인, 'Kusikmincha ūi chentōhwatoen ch'osang - tu kae ūi chōnchu, chentō chōngch'il ūl t'onghan sikmin kiök ūi (chae)kusōng 구식민자의 젠더화된 초상 -두 개의 전후(戰後), 젠더 정치를 통한 식민 기억의 (재)구성- [The Gendered Representation of the Former Coloniser - Two Ways of Post-War (Re)structuring of Colonial Memory Through Gender Politics]', *Yōsōng munhak yōn'gu* 여성문학연구 28 (2012): 579–608.

¹¹² Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Woman – Nation – State*, 1–15.

environments. In his equalisation of the colony with femininity and his reification of Korean traditional culture, Kajiyama Toshiyuki maybe inadvertently reproduces reductive colonial discourses on Korea. Ha Künch'an and Son Ch'angsöp for their part turn to female Japanese characters, following the frequent pattern described by Kim Hyein in postcolonial South Korean literature in order to ease the national humiliation of colonisation. At the same time, Ha's story in particular breaks the mould for describing a tender relationship between a Japanese woman and the Korean protagonist, thereby bringing to the surface an aspect of colonial memory that had long been repressed.

It does not come as a surprise that in Kajiyama's texts, Korean female characters become the object of the protagonists' desire while for the male South Korean writers, it is Japanese women. Female characters of the authors' own nationality, meanwhile, are usually absent or become the ultimate abject, attesting to the fraternity Chungmoo Choi describes in which men are often complicit in the degradation of women of their own ethno-nation.

For women and female writers in particular, it is much more difficult to partake in an ethno-national narrative in which the national community is understood as a male and national humiliation can be exemplified or even overcome by acting upon Othered females of the respective opposing ethno-nation. Pak Sunnyo's text thus serves as an interesting point of comparison as it vividly depicts the subjectivities the colonial experience created for Korean women and points to the double subjugation they faced as disadvantaged members of both the empire and the patriarchal ethno-nation.

2.1 “A Scenery of Sexual Desire” – Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Colonial Korea

Kajiyama Toshiyuki is probably the best received *hikiagesha* writer, selling more than sixteen million copies of his books during his lifetime and temporarily ranking among the top five of the best earning authors in Japan.¹¹³ His opus encompasses a wide range of genres from spy to mystery, to pornographic novels. However, as Kajiyama's life work

¹¹³ Toshiyuki Kajiyama, *The Clan Records: Five Stories of Korea*, trans. Yoshiko Kurata Dykstra (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 1-6.

Kawamura Minato lists not these commercially successful pieces.¹¹⁴ Instead, he names Kajiyama's texts on the three spaces of first, the place of his childhood – Korea; second, his paternal Hiroshima and the atomic bombings; and finally Hawaii, where his mother was born as an ethnic Japanese, in relation to issues of migration.¹¹⁵ This chapter will deal with Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono*, his 'Korea stories'.

Kajiyama was born as second of four children in 1930 in Seoul, where his father held a post in Japan's governor-general administration of Korea. Upon the Korean liberation, the family repatriated to his father's native Hiroshima. On a research trip to Hong Kong in 1975, he suddenly died of oesophageal varices, aged just forty-five, leaving his last work, the full-length novel *Sekiran'un (Beneath the Storm Clouds)*, unfinished.¹¹⁶

Before diving into the textual analysis, let us look briefly at the reception of Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono* as it appears to be a good barometer of some currents in postcolonial Japan. First of all, it is striking that the vast popularity of Kajiyama's works and the fact that some of his pieces have been translated into English and Korean stands in stark contrast to the fact that in terms of academic engagement, he is a relatively understudied author both in- and outside of Japan.¹¹⁷

As mentioned, in the 1960s up to his death in 1975, he was one of Japan's best-selling authors and his *Richō zan'ei (The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty, 1963)*,¹¹⁸ which will be discussed below, was nominated for the prestigious Naoki Prize, indicating a desire within Japanese society to address the colonial past.¹¹⁹ However, as Kawamura notes, most

¹¹⁴ Kawamura Minato 川村湊, 'Kajiyama Toshiyuki "Chōsen shōsetsu" no sekai 梶山季之「朝鮮小説」の世界 [The World of Kajiyama Toshiyuki's "Korea stories"]', in *Richō zan'ei: Kajiyama Toshiyuki Chōsen shōsetsushū 李朝残影: 梶山季之朝鮮小説集* [The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty: A Collection of Kajiyama Toshiyuki's Korea Stories], ed. Kawamura Minato 川村湊 (Tokyo: Inpakuto shuppankai インパクト出版会, 2002), 312–62, 312.

¹¹⁵ Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 312; It should be noted that this focus stems from a rather normative view on "literary quality" that marks Kawamura's analysis.

¹¹⁶ Kajiyama, *Clan Records*, 1-6; Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 312f.

¹¹⁷ Having said that, his *Chōsen mono* have still been subject to greater scholarly concern than the other Japanese authors discussed in this thesis, with the possible exception of Morisaki Kazue.

¹¹⁸ Henceforward *The Remembered Shadow*.

¹¹⁹ His narrations *Richō zan'ei* [Kajiyama Toshiyuki 梶山季之, *Richō zan'ei: Kajiyama Toshiyuki Chōsen shōsetsushū 李朝残影: 梶山季之朝鮮小説集* [The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty: a Collection of Kajiyama Toshiyuki's Korea Stories], ed. Kawamura Minato 川村湊 (Tokyo: Inpakuto shuppankai インパ

of his works went out of print after 1985 and have regained currency only recently. In 2002, Kawamura edited *Richō zan’ei: Kajiyama Toshiyuki Chōsen shōsetsushū*, including a commentary written by himself which to my knowledge constitutes the most comprehensive analysis of Kajiyama’s *Chōsen mono* to date. Further, two pieces of his short fiction – *Seiyoku no aru fūkei* (*A Scenery of Sexual Desire*, 1958, discussed below) and *Zokufu* (*The Clan Records*, 1961) have been included in the twenty-one-volume anthology *Korekushon sensō to bungaku* (*Collection War and Literature*), published between 2011 and 2013, in the volumes *Samazama na 8, 15* (*Various [Stories of] August 15th*) and *Teikoku Nihon to Chōsen, Karafuto* (*Imperial Japan and Korea and Karafuto*), respectively.¹²⁰

I read this reception of Kajiyama’s *Chōsen mono* as an indicator of the struggles within Japanese society concerning the treatment of the country’s imperial past. While, as discussed above, there is an overwhelming tendency to disavow the imperial aggression and exclude it from the foundational narrative, certain **factions** in Japanese academia – currently most famously represented in figures such as Kawamura Minato and Komori Yōichi – attempt to reveal what has been suppressed and include narratives of colonial Korea into the literary canon and thereby into the collective memory.

In addition to this, some commemorations have been published in recent years, partly emerging from symposia held in the author’s honour. What many of those latter texts have in common is a strong focus on the person of Kajiyama himself and an emphasis on his love for Korea and his opposition to the discrimination of Koreans during the colonial period.¹²¹ A memorial piece in the journal *Bungei shunjū* by Narita Yutaka, head of the Dentsū publishing house which had Kajiyama under contract for a while and former school mate of his in Korea, makes a point of underscoring that in contrast to most of his fellow Japanese, Kajiyama treated Koreans with respect and even thought of them as “superior” to the Japanese. Here and in other non- or semi-academic texts he is portrayed

クト出版会, 2002), 48-89.] and *The Clan Records* have both been made into films in South Korea, a fact that for space constraints will be discussed elsewhere.

¹²⁰ Asada Jirō 浅田次郎 et al., eds., *Teikoku Nihon to Chōsen, Karafuto* 帝国日本と朝鮮・樺太 [*Imperial Japan and Korea, Karafuto*], vol. 17 (Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 2012).

¹²¹ A notable exception is Isogai Jirō, who claims to trace the author’s own discriminatory attitude in some statements of his characters and his usage of discriminatory vocabulary (this point will be discussed below). Isogai Jirō 磯貝治良, *Sengo Nihon bungaku no naka no Chōsen Kankoku* 戦後日本文学のなかの朝鮮韓国 [*North and South Korea in Japanese Post-War Literature*].

as a ‘good coloniser’, as a counterpoint to the imperialist, ultra-nationalist framework of Japanese militarism.¹²²

Another important trend in the Kajiyama reception that brings us closer to the textual level of the analysis is the discussion of his frequent use of colonial period jargon that is deemed discriminatory and offensive in a postcolonial world. Examples include first and foremost “Keijō”, the name in use for Seoul during Japan’s imperial occupation, elliptic words such as “Senjin” instead of “Chōsenjin” for Koreans or “Sengo” instead of “Chōsengo” for the Korean language and the reference to the March First independence movement in 1919 (also known as Manse incident) as “Mansei sōjō” – the Manse riot.¹²³ Critics such as Isogai Jirō read this use of discriminatory jargon as alleged proof for the author Kajiyama’s own possibly unconscious discriminatory attitude.¹²⁴ While this might strike one as a far-fetched and hardly helpful statement, it is true that language usage constitutes an explosive political subject which is also underscored by the fact that after intervention from *zainichi* associations the anthology *Seiyoku no aru fukei*, published in 1985 by Kawade bunko, went out of print for exactly this reason.

Kawamura takes a much more balanced stance than Isogai and while he condemns the “word hunt” (*kotobagari*) in the 1970s and 1980s, he also critically remarks that the use of problematic vocabulary in Kajiyama’s works by no means constitutes an exception in Japanese society and argues that, given the political nature of his life work, it is important to analyse and criticise these texts with care. I agree with Kawamura on this point, however, I contend that, beyond the ethical dimension of this issue, it should be asked why Kajiyama’s literature evokes the colonial period in the way that has been chosen here

¹²² Hiroshima Chōsenshi seminā jimukyoku 広島朝鮮史セミナー事務局, ed., *Kajiyama Toshiyuki wo shinonde: Kajiyama Toshiyuki kinen kōza hōkokusho* 梶山季之を偲んで: 梶山季之記念講座報告書 [*Remembering Kajiyama Toshiyuki: Report of the Symposium for Commemorating Kajiyama*] (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Chōsenshi seminā jimukyoku 広島朝鮮史セミナー事務局, 2007); *Kajiyama Toshiyuki kinen jigyō jikkō iinkai* 梶山季之記念事業実行委員会, ed., *Jidai wo sakitorishita sakka: Kajiyama Toshiyuki wo ima minaosu* 時代を先取りした作家: 梶山季之をいま見直す [*An Author who was Ahead of His Time: Re-examining Kajiyama Toshiyuki Now*] (Hiroshima: Chūgoku shinbunsha 中国新聞社, 2007); Amase Hiroyasu 天瀬裕康, *Kajiyama Toshiyuki no bungaku kukan: Souru, Hiroshima, Hawai, soshite hitobito* 梶山季之の文学空間: ソウル, 広島, ハワイ, そして人びと [*Kajiyama Toshiyuki’s Literary Space: Seoul, Hiroshima, Hawaii, and Their People*] (Hiroshima: Keisuishisha 溪水社, 2009); Narita Yutaka 成田豊, ‘*Souru no Kajiyama Toshiyuki* ソウルの梶山季之 [The Kajiyama Toshiyuki of Seoul]’, *Bungei shunjū* 文芸春秋 87, no. 11 (September 2009): 284–86.

¹²³ Isogai, *Korea*, 159.

¹²⁴ Isogai, *Korea*.

and whether in some ways the usage of those words cements the colonial period power hierarchy in the postcolonial memory and relationship between members of both nations. Whether intentional or not, given that in a couple of instances it is the narrative voice and not the characters that uses discriminatory vocabulary,¹²⁵ the texts revive the colonial Japanese administrative voice and evoke a memory of its order.

The fact that Kajiyama's work is primarily evaluated on moral grounds and in terms of whether or not he is or was 'guilty' of (neo-) imperialism attests – as is hardly surprising – to the politically explosive nature of the issue of Japanese imperialism in Korea even today. In this way, the case of Kajiyama and the reception of his work serve as an example of how literature forms a part of overall societal discourses and fuels them. While Kajiyama Toshiyuki's work is politically appropriated as a stronghold against the right and nationalistic discourses in an attempt to keep the colonial memory alive, few stop to analyse which kind of memory is actually perpetuated in his work.

In the last ten years or so, Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono* have also been researched in South Korea with most studies focussing on *The Clan Records* and *The Remembered Shadow*, the latter of which will be analysed below.¹²⁶ Other than their Japanese counterparts, the South Korean studies focus more on Kajiyama's texts and less on Kajiyama as a person (albeit his background as a *hikiagesha* remains a fundamental precondition to all South Korean analyses as well). In general, there is a tendency to regard Kajiyama's portrayal of colonial Korea in a critical light. However, much like Kawamura Minato, South Korean researchers give him credit for addressing the injustices of Japanese imperialism and attribute the perceived shortcomings in his works to the framework of the Japanese post-war foundational narrative.

¹²⁵ For example, in *The Remembered Shadow*, on page 60, the Korean character Pak Kyuhak is referred to by the narrative voice as the "Senjin assistant professor of the Severance Medical School".

¹²⁶ Examples are Cho Mikyōng (Cho, Mee-Kyoung) 조미경, 'Ilbon hyöndae munhakcha ūi shingminji chibae insik yōn'gu - Kajiyama Toshiyuki ūi "ijojanyōng", "chokpo" rūl chungshim ūro - 일본현대문학자의 식민지 지배인식 연구 - 가지야마 도시유키(梶山季之)의 『이조잔영(李朝殘影)』,『족보(族譜)』를 중심으로 - [A Study on a Japanese Contemporary Writer's Awareness of Colonial Rule - on Kajiyama Toshiyuki's "Richō zan'ei" and "Zokufu"]', *Ilbon kündae hak yōn'gu* 일본근대학연구 52 (2016): 183–98; Sin Sūngmo, "Ascendance"; Yi Wōnhŭi 이원희, 'Kajiyama Toshiyuki wa Chosōn 가지야마 도시유키(梶山季之)와 조선 [Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Chosōn]', *Ilbonō munhak* 日本語文學 38 (2007): 405–22.

Kajiyama's literary Korea is populated with *kisaeng*,¹²⁷ fatherly Korean characters and young guileless Japanese protagonists. In what now follows, I will discuss three texts of his that feature *kisaeng* as their female lead – *The Remembered Shadow*, *Mokuge no hana saku koro* (*When the Hibiscus Blooms*, 1973) and *Keijō, Shōwa jūichi-nen* (*Seoul in 1936*, 1969) as well as *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* which describes the adolescent protagonist's experience of 15 August 1945. I will analyse the deeply gendered relationship between the respective male protagonists and their female and male Korean counterparts in these stories. It is striking that in all of Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono*, social relations between Japanese and Korean characters are negotiated through sexuality, and sexual experience becomes the fundamental social currency. I will illustrate how these pieces that on one level are very critical of Japanese imperialism still perpetuate an Orientalist image of Korea as a backward place that becomes the object of desire of the male protagonists who engage in the epistemologically violent act of speaking for the beautiful infantile colony.

Looking at the historical significance of *kisaeng* in 20th-century Japanese-Korean relations, the interpretation of Kajiyama's works gains a further dimension if considering that the *kisaeng* system has been intrinsically linked to prostitution. *Kisaeng* restaurants already had currency during the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), but the system eroded during the colonial period. Instead, *kisaeng* schools were introduced by the Japanese, the first of which was opened in 1926. During the colonial period, *kisaeng* catered their services primarily to Japanese and Korean men of high status and in the 1950s and 1960s as well, *kisaeng* restaurants were reserved for the elite.¹²⁸ The normalisation treaty in 1965, the rising disposable income of the Japanese middle class and the encouragement on the part of both the South Korean government and Japanese businesses led to a massive upsurge of *kisaeng* sex tourism that began in the late 1960s and peaked in the 1970s. Japanese white collar workers in the thousands flocked South Korea to attend "kisaeng parties", thereby cementing a new kind of symbolic postcolonial South Korean dependency on Japan.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Female entertainer, akin to the more widely known Japanese *geisha*.

¹²⁸ John Lie, 'The Transformation of Sexual Work in 20th-Century Korea', *Gender & Society*, 1995, 310–27.

¹²⁹ Lie, "Sexual Work"; Caroline Norma, 'Demand from Abroad: Japanese Involvement in the 1970s' Development of South Korea's Sex Industry', *Journal of Korean Studies* 19, no. 2 (2014): 399–428.

Significantly, one of the three *kisaeng* stories discussed in this chapter was written in 1963, before the commencement of the mass phenomenon of *kisaeng* tours, the second one in 1969, when it took its beginning and the last one in 1973, with the high tide of Japanese sex tourism to South Korea. While I am by no means trying to argue that Kajiyama's work in any way contributed to the establishment of the *kisaeng* tour system in the 1970s, it is still remarkable that his stories fit into the same imaginary of a dependent and exotic former colony represented by a temperamental beautiful woman that can be thought to have formed the ideological background of *kisaeng* sex tourism in the 1970s.

Reading Kajiyama's texts that feature *kisaeng*, the Orientalist and sexist depiction of Korea as a beautiful woman that needs to be seduced versus Japan as embodied by the male characters that fall for them is evident at first glance. In the following discussion of the pieces I will dissect and analyse this structure further and point out the extent to which Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono* are complicit in reproducing a neo-imperialist discourse of the former colony while on the surface advocating anti-imperialism. At the same time, however, his female Korean characters cannot be described as wooden and in no instance are portrayed as in need of saving. Further, the three *kisaeng* characters in the texts that are discussed here do not blend into each other but all possess their own distinct character. Kajiyama's work, then, offers us insight into the multi-faceted and often even contradictory postcolonial discourses on Japan and Korea from a *hikiagesha* point of view.

2.1.1 *Richō zan'ei* (*The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty*, 1963)

Richō zan'ei (*The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty*, 1963),¹³⁰ next to *The Clan Records*, is probably Kajiyama's best received work dealing with Korea, having been nominated for the prestigious Naoki Prize and even made into a South Korean film in 1967.¹³¹

The story is set in Seoul during the span of about a year from summer 1940 until shortly after Japan's entry into the Pacific War in December 1941 and follows protagonist Noguchi Ryōkichi as he falls in love with a Korean *kisaeng*. Noguchi is a Japanese man in his mid-twenties who to the disappointment of his strict former soldier father could not pursue a

¹³⁰ Kajiyama, *Remembered Shadow*, 48-89. Translated in Kajiyama, *Clan Records*, 111-160.

¹³¹ Kajiyama, *Clan Records*, 3.

military career due to his short-sightedness and instead studied art to become a painter and a teacher at a girls' school in Seoul. The plot picks up speed after Noguchi is introduced by Korean intellectual Pak Kyuhak to a traditional dance from the Yi Dynasty, performed by the *kisaeng* Kim Yōngsun who is famed for her beauty, pride and refusal to ever have sex with a man, in particular Japanese men. He sets his mind to painting Kim Yōngsun and starts to frequent the establishment to ask her to become his model. At first, she remains cold to his pleas, but eventually she agrees to pose for him. When visiting him in his atelier one day she comes across an old picture of his parents, his father wearing his uniform. She leaves the atelier in a rage and Noguchi never manages to speak to her again. He starts investigating the possible causes of her fury and learns that she is from Suwon County where his father was based during his army days. During the March First Movement in 1919, twenty Korean men, among them Kim Yōngsun's father, were massacred by the captain of the garrison. Kajiyama here refers to the Cheamni massacre that took place on 15 April 1919.¹³² Noguchi suspects that said captain could have been his father but does not reach certainty until his picture of Kim Yōngsun wins the special prize in a competition. It thus comes to the attention of a Japanese lieutenant who calls Noguchi to his office to interrogate him on his relationship with the *kisaeng*. He orders him to change the title of the picture as he purports that *The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty*, as Noguchi has named the painting, is unpatriotic in times of a newly begun war. When Noguchi refuses, the lieutenant assaults him and he is held in prison for the night. The next day he learns from the lieutenant that his father was indeed the captain responsible for the death of Kim Yōngsun's father. Upon receiving this information, Noguchi stands firm in his decision to keep the title of the painting and as he is beaten further his mind wanders off to Kim Yōngsun, which is how the story ends.

Kawamura Minato reads this story like Kajiyama's other *Chōsen mono* as the attempt to gain atonement by the Japanese son of a former colonist and points to the sexist and Orientalist structure of the piece. He argues that while the piece is a well-meaning attempt by the son of a coloniser to take responsibility for his father's generation's sins, the "story

¹³² Cho, "Awareness".

is bound by the imperialist fixed narrative structure of the archetypal coloniser = man = writing person and colony = woman = person whom is written about" and the character of Kim Yōngsun remains a simplistic Orientalist stereotype. "However, one cannot completely wipe away the criticism that this is simply the self-satisfied, self-righteous one-sided love towards a 'colonised'." At the same time, Kawamura concedes that Kajiyama has to be credited with being one of few Japanese authors who write openly about the March First Movement.¹³³ While agreeing with the general direction of Kawamura's argument that the story is carried by the underlying generational conflict between the father as coloniser and the son as torn between his love for Korea on the one hand and his identity as a Japanese on the other, in the following I will take those observations further and embed them into the socio-political discourse of post-imperial Japan and the *hikiagesha* condition. In addition, there is no doubt as to the simplistic gendered representation of colony and coloniser in Kajiyama's work, but I will nonetheless take a closer look at the relationship between the two main characters to reveal frictions within the at first glance all too even power hierarchy.

In my discussion of *The Remembered Shadow*, I will focus on three aspects. First, I will illustrate the piece's critical stance towards Japanese imperialism and the author's awareness of his instructive role in educating his Japanese contemporaries about the country's imperial past, which undoubtedly arise from his position as a *hikiagesha*. At the same time, I will argue that secondly, *The Remembered Shadow* implicitly partakes in the foundational narrative detailed by Igarashi Yoshikuni that pins blame for Japanese atrocities solely on the military caste and thus exonerates the civil society from interrogating its own responsibility. Finally, I will focus on the small disruptions within the gender hierarchy between the protagonist and Kim Yōngsun that belie a simplistic conception of effeminate colony versus male coloniser whilst still maintaining the protagonist's authority to represent what he deems "Korean beauty". I will show how *The Remembered Shadow* carries forth colonial discourses that reserve the right for the protagonist as well as the author Kajiyama himself to represent the former colony in a reductive and sexist way, thereby entrenching an unequal hierarchy between the

¹³³ Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 352.

postcolonial imagined communities of Japan and South Korea. At the same time, I will dwell on the failed sexual relationship in the text – a common trope in East Asian postcolonial narratives.

Beginning with my first point, I will explain which mode of representation the text chooses to educate its Japanese audience on colonial Korea and Japanese imperialism on the Korean peninsula. It is quite apparent that the intended readership of the story are Kajiyama's Japanese contemporaries, as can be seen from the extensive and detailed descriptions of Seoul's quarter of Chongno, where a large portion of the plot is set (51-54),¹³⁴ Korean traditions (first and foremost the *kisaeng* system whose vanishing the story laments [48-50]), eating habits (53f.), as well as the overall strong moralistic undertone of the narrative. From those clues, it can be inferred that the text is also meant to educate Japanese readers who are neither familiar with Korea nor Japan's imperial history. In this way, the piece can be read as an attempt to negotiate Japan's memory of the colonial period, and, like most literature in Japanese that deal with imperialism in Korea, it is quite conscious of this role.

The plot follows the protagonist's trajectory in his realisation of the structural violence entailed in the imperial system and superficially, he takes responsibility and atones for his father's sins. However, the text has also been profoundly shaped by the so-called foundational narrative laid out in the introduction that Japanese post-war society is built upon. In the beginning of the story, Noguchi feels unjustly treated by the Koreans who see in him nothing but a coloniser:

In the beginning he tried not to feel that antagonism, but gradually he began to wonder about it. "Why?" he asked himself. "Why me?" He knew that some Japanese residents treated the Koreans almost as slaves and abused them with names like *yobo*. But Noguchi, born and raised in Seoul, had always held friendly feelings toward Koreans and had been fascinated by their customs and habits. Why did they look at a pro-Korean man like him so coldly and hatefully?

¹³⁴ Page numbers usually refer to the Japanese original (Kajiyama, *Clan Records*). In the case of direct quotations, the first one refers to the English translation (Kajiyama, "Remembered Shadow"), the second one to the Japanese original.

Noguchi could not understand such an attitude. The Korean dancer Kim Yōngsun finally answered this question (116/52).¹³⁵

Noguchi is also galled by the fact that Kim Yōngsun refuses him simply on the grounds of his being Japanese. In the end, however, as alluded to in the quote above, when he is confronted with the Japanese lieutenant, he understands the violence originating in the colonial system and purportedly takes responsibility as a Japanese and son of a military man: "He hated the despot who had hit him (...). Now, at last, he understood all too clearly how brutal Japanese soldiers could have committed that massacre at Cheam-ni, and burned the helpless village, too" (159/88).¹³⁶ Realising that he carries his father's sin on his shoulders, he thus takes responsibility by withdrawing the picture from the competition.

Now let us look at how the story is influenced by what Igarashi terms the foundational narrative. Having found out that Kim Yōngsun's father has been killed by the Japanese in the Cheamni-massacre, he starts pondering: "'What if my father was the captain of the garrison? And the very man who killed her father?' Taking upon himself a guilt that was not his own, Noguchi brooded over this curse of fate" (152/81).¹³⁷ Indeed, the whole story is laid out to evoke sympathies for Noguchi who has to unfairly suffer the consequences of his father's generation's poor decisions whilst himself innocently worshipping Korean traditional culture.

The Remembered Shadow follows the logic of the foundational narrative that exonerates *tennō* and civil society from responsibility for war and imperialism to an almost surprising degree by introducing a generational divide between Noguchi, the artist, and his strict military father. Noguchi's father as a former military captain who ordered the suppression of the March First movement in his region clearly represents the Japanese military establishment that drove Japan to become an imperial power. He is the reason for Kim Yōngsun's hatred towards Noguchi, thus preventing a sexual relationship between the two characters.

¹³⁵ App. i.

¹³⁶ App. ii.

¹³⁷ App. iii.

Meanwhile Pak is presented as an ‘alternative’ father who introduces him to Kim Yōgsun and is painted as a kind and knowledgeable man, a member of the intelligentsia. Often, he is referred to by his profession as Assistant Professor Pak Kyuhak of the Severance Medical School (56, 59, 63, 68, 72, 73), indicating respect for this character who is described as Japanophile and a well-meaning intermediary between Noguchi Ryōkichi and Kim Yōgsun. However, ultimately this character remains a ‘native informant’, probably due to the fact that he is a *Senjin*, the derogatory term for Koreans that the narrative voice calls him on page sixty. In the end, as a Korean he cannot have the same impact as the impressive figure of Noguchi’s father.

Noguchi Ryōkichi is portrayed as fundamentally different from his military father, which is the reason why he feels Kim Yōgsun’s rejection towards him is unjust. Due to his strong near-sightedness, he could not go to a military academy and was free to become an artist instead which he perceives as a relief (50). When the war breaks out, he cares more about Kim Yōgsun’s anger towards him than the fate of his country (81). In this way, a generational and societal break is introduced into the narrative. It was his father’s generation who drove Japan into imperialism and eventually war while the son has to suffer the consequences of the military’s atrocities, both in the form of Kim Yōgsun’s rejection and his assault by the military police.

Accordingly, the reader is invited to sympathise with and relate to the protagonist as a victim of the crimes of his father’s generation who is not to blame for what happened before his birth. The narrative strictly follows his perspective and paints him as a martyr for his love for Kim Yōgsun and Korean tradition more generally when he decides to withdraw his picture and faces the consequences for this act. Accordingly, while clearly intended to educate its Japanese readers about the country’s imperial past, the narration also guards them from having to question their own (post)colonial responsibility. Just like Noguchi, the audience is free to deplore the injustice and cruelty of Japanese imperialism in Korea while detaching the issue of responsibility from their own position as members of the civil society.

Lastly, I will demonstrate how *The Remembered Shadow* is an instance of colonial-period discourses being carried into postcolonial Japan and regaining currency within the

framework of Cold War Japanese-Korean relations. At first glance, the character of Kim Yōngsun is described as independent and as possessing a certain degree of agency. Throughout the text the autonomy of first the traditional *kisaeng* in general and then Kim Yōngsun herself is emphasised. In the exposition the narrator informs us that “[a]ccording to old documents, those *kisaeng* entertained high government officials with music, dances, and refreshments at gatherings held in several palaces. Quite probably they influenced indirectly the country's political affairs because of the control they gained over a few of the kingdom's important personages. They must have wielded great power in arranging promotions and in deciding lawsuits” (112, 49).¹³⁸ When Noguchi's father introduces him at the onset of the narrative to the different ranks in the old *kisaeng* system, one feels reminded of a military hierarchy. Indeed, Kim Yōngsun is presented as proving resistant to the Japanese authority (be it the protagonist or the lieutenant), and tellingly the Kōmukan (*the House of the Red Dream*) where she dances is mentioned as having strong connections to the March First Movement (50). In this way, the world of the *kisaeng* is presented as the centre of Korean autonomy. However, ultimately, her sexuality is her only leverage (82).

Kim Yōngsun is described as proud, stubborn and eccentric, and throughout their relationship it is she who defines the rules while Noguchi has to defer to her temper. There are occasions when he clearly is in the inferior position, most palpably in a scene when he visits her at home and she refuses to welcome him due to the strict Korean social rules regarding contact between man and woman: “This disastrous visit filled him with the same kind of uneasiness that seized him when he went alone to sketch people and places in rural villages. The people there made him feel like an intruder because he was different from them” (135, 68).¹³⁹ Suddenly, he is the one who is out of place and has to adapt to the Korean customs (but this is short-lived). Furthermore, in the end she is able to refuse her sexuality to both Noguchi and the Japanese lieutenant. As opposed to many colonial narratives, the colonised woman until the very end is able to withstand the coloniser and is not conquered. The fact that the romantic relationship in this piece is doomed to failure

¹³⁸ App. iv.

¹³⁹ App. v.

can, following Kawamura, be read as the atonement of the coloniser's son for his father's sins.¹⁴⁰ Going beyond Kajiyama's literary framework and acknowledging that this is a common trope throughout both South Korean and Japanese postcolonial narratives, the failure of sexual relationships between Japanese and Korean characters also seems to point to the profound rupture the colonial experience created for both postcolonial societies. In East Asia, which suffered the traumata of colonialism, war, defeat and liberation from outside, retrospective reconciliation between Japanese and Korean colonial characters seems unfeasible.

However, despite the relative agency that is granted to the character of Kim Yōngsun, in the end it is still the Japanese male protagonist who holds the authority to represent what he, fuelled by colonial period discourses, understands to be "Korea's beauty" and she is merely a stereotypical embodiment of the beautiful colony, as I will go on to explain now. The plot follows a trite pattern in which a woman represents the colony and Kim Yōngsun is quite directly set in relation with the Korean land and the tradition she embodies in her dance, as can be seen from this quote:

Yōngsun pondered for a moment and then gave him a challenging look. "Mr. Noguchi, do you want to paint the Korean dance or me? Which?"

Her sharp tone and direct question intimidated him. Avoiding her glance, he stuttered: "What I want to paint is neither the court dance alone nor you alone, but the beauty of Korea expressed in the dance and in you. And in you yourself I want to depict the sad beauty (*kanashii utsukushisa*) in Korean things that are dying away (*horobitsutsu aru*) ... " he faltered, "before they are lost forever."

(...) Yet did his words tell her the truth? This can be doubted. Didn't he really mean the beauty of the three years older Kim Yong-sun, when he spoke of the beauty of Korea? Yong-sun was the kisaeng who had declared that she would never sleep with any Japanese man and had been resisting the attentions of even the powerful ones. She was a Korean woman who embodied the sensuous aroma and the warming taste of the igangju spirit. Wasn't that Kim Yōngsun? Wasn't he attracted to her precisely because of her cold attitude, her cold look, and the dark shadows in her face, rather than by the grace of her dancing? (137).¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 355.

¹⁴¹ App. vi. The translation is taken from *The Clan Records* and has been slightly modified by me for the sake of more accuracy.

The reference to the igangju spirit refers to an earlier scene during a visit to the mountains in which the protagonist unsuspectingly gulped down a whole glass of the liquor, expecting it to be akin to Japanese *sake*. However, the rich flavour and strong taste of the beverage causes him to spit it out immediately, coughing. This quotation thus is one of several in *The Remembered Shadow* that relates Kim Yōngsun's beauty to that of Korea, its landscape, traditions and customs, whose perishing is lamented nostalgically.¹⁴² At the same time, the passage insinuates that the protagonist's main incentive is not to preserve Korean tradition as he purports but to conquer the cold, resisting Korean woman who to him represents all that – an old colonial trope. The colony, defined through female qualities, is depicted as vivacious and resisting the hero's advances until she is finally subdued. In this respect, Kajiyama's literary world ties in with imperial discourses all over the globe and at the same time reiterates Japanese colonial period discourses that mark Japan as male and the colonies as female.¹⁴³ As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Yoshikuni Igarashi explains that during the Japanese empire, Japan was imagined as male in opposition to the effeminate colonies, but with the country's defeat, the archipelago was re-drawn as female in the newly defined relationship to the United States.¹⁴⁴ This instance thus shows how colonial period discourses did not simply cease with the 1945 caesura, but were instead submerged in the postcolonial narratives that defined the East Asian nations.

The text also suggests that the protagonist and his motives cannot be trusted. While generally, the piece raises sympathies for his position, at the same time, Noguchi is deconstructed when the narrator doubts the sincerity of his words, leaving space for a reading of this character as less concerned with the preservation of the Korean culture than rather his own pleasure. In this short interjection, the narrative points to the fragility of a perceived monolithic postcolonial memory that leaves little room for interpretation on good and evil. Even a relatively simplistic text such as *The Remembered Shadow* with a clear

¹⁴² A similar point is made by Yi Wönhüi, "Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Chosön."

¹⁴³ Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Woman - Nation - State*; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York; London: Routledge, 1995); Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, Politics and Culture (London: Sage Publications, 1997).

¹⁴⁴ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 14f.

moral agenda thus underscores the complexities of colonial memory and the postcolonial Japanese-Korean relations, which holds true especially for *hikigeshi* writers.

A further aspect to the one-dimensional sexist depiction of the former colony can be discerned in relation to Aimee Nayoung Kwon's study *Intimate Empire*. She describes the phenomenon of *colonial kitsch* that took hold of 1930s and 40s Japan in the course of the so-called *Korea Boom* that "refers to the devaluation and exoticization of elements of the colony's culture becoming mass-produced objects for indiscriminate imperial consumption".¹⁴⁵ While the nostalgia expressed in the phenomenon "may appear as innocently genuine appreciation for colonial culture," it in fact perpetuated a reductive image of "Korean-ness." Each object, regardless of position within Korean culture and society, came to signify the whole and thus was complicit in the epistemological violence that was part and parcel of the imperial project.¹⁴⁶ Another scholar concerned with Japan's fascination with things Korean during the colonial period is Taylor E. Atkins.¹⁴⁷ Atkins, who calls Kwon's Korea Boom "the First K-Wave", argues that the fascination with Korea constituted a way to negotiate the Japanese sense of loss caused by the experience of modernity: "The Japanese gaze on Koreana articulated anti-modern ambivalence, offering concrete images of pre-modern 'others' with whom the modern 'self' could be readily contrasted. Contradiction and nostalgia were thus defining aspects of Japanese colonial discourse."¹⁴⁸ In this vein, he explains that cultural contact under the colonial regime was a transformative experience for both Japanese and Koreans. He rejects a reading that sees Japan's cultural interest in Korea as a mere tool to ensure imperial domination (although he acknowledges this dimension as an important factor in the phenomenon), insisting that such a view disregards the genuine appreciation for Korean culture on the part of Japanese individuals and society. This view is supported also by his observation that Japanese interest in the colony skyrocketed at a time when the pressure to assimilate was strongest. Atkins also investigates the pivotal role *kisaeng* played in the Japanese

¹⁴⁵ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*.

¹⁴⁶ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*.

¹⁴⁷ Taylor E. Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁸ Atkins, *Primitive Selves*, 2.

imaginary of the time, which no doubt can be thought to be one source of inspiration for Kajiyama's numerous *kisaeng* characters:

(T)he *kisaeng* represented for Japanese the Korea that most enchanted them, the authentic Korea as yet unblemished by modernity. Japanese media celebrated *kisaeng* (...) as exemplars of filial sacrifice on behalf of parents and proper deference to Japan's authority. *Kisaeng* "comfort troupes" (*kiisen iantai*) who visited injured soldiers in military hospitals modeled patriotic conduct for all imperial subjects. In visual culture, the *kisaeng* lent her elegance and erotic glamour to enhance any setting; in aural culture, she preserved and vocalized the songs that expressed the lamentations of countless generations of Koreans; in literature, she embodied the "mournful beauty" (*hiai no bi*) Japanese detected at the heart of the Korean aesthetic. In essence, she represented everything many Japanese wished their Korean subjects to be.¹⁴⁹

The phenomenon of the Korea Boom or the First K-Wave thus produced a particular notion of 'Korean beauty', which was effeminate, exotic, melancholy and found its embodiment in the *kisaeng*. Kajiyama taps into this colonial-period imagery, as I will demonstrate in the following.

Noguchi himself is an actor in the Korea Boom as his paintings throw a nostalgic gaze onto the colony's traditions whose demise due to a rampant Japanification (*Nihonka*) the text laments – another feature of colonial kitsch: "The main subjects of his painting in those days were the interesting native customs that were rapidly disappearing as life in Korea was Japanized. (...) [R]ecently he could not find such charming yutnori or nolttwigi [traditional Korean games] players unless he visited country villages. Noguchi truly regretted their disappearance from Seoul's neighborhoods" (114).¹⁵⁰ Noguchi's interest is framed as innocent within the narrative and proof that he indeed is a 'good Japanese' who appreciates Korean culture rather than seeking to destroy it. This is precisely the colonial kitsch Kwon refers to. He claims the authority to represent the colonial-period Japanese idea of 'Korean beauty', underscored by the fact that he is described as a connoisseur of the Korean ways (50, 52, 53). When Kim Yōngsun agrees to let him paint her, it seems at first as if he has succeeded in his desire to fixate her, who to him represents 'Korean

¹⁴⁹ Atkins, *Primitive Selves*, 159.

¹⁵⁰ App. vii.

beauty', on canvas. However, seeing his father's picture, she throws the album at the canvas, assumedly to destroy the picture and the accompanying authority it gave to the Japanese painter (but tellingly, she fails). In the end, it is still the Japanese male protagonist who holds the prerogative to represent 'Korean beauty', and while he withdraws the picture from the competition since he does not want to exhibit Korea in a framework dictated by the military, there seems to be no awareness of the epistemological violence done to the colony by representing it in a sexist and stereotypical way. This suggests that implicitly, the text merely seeks a new, postcolonial way of maintaining national and patriarchal dominance that differs from the approach of the fathers' generation in that it sustains a cultural rather than a military dominance. While violence is condemned, an essentialist division of the Korean and Japanese ethno-nations with clearly defined roles is upheld. Furthermore, looking beyond the immediate realm of the text, in his short fiction Kajiyama as an author retains the right to educate his fellow country people on Korea and represent it in a nostalgic and Orientalist way.

Kawamura draws the following conclusion on *The Remembered Shadow*: "[E]ventually, [Kajiyama] could not overcome the framework of suzerain state – man – perpetrator versus colony – woman – victim. One can think that it is still premature to draw a conclusion here on whether this has to be seen as Kajiyama Toshiyuki's limitation or the aporia of imperialism in Japan's modern and contemporary literature."¹⁵¹ While the failed sexual relationship as atonement for Japan's military aggression corresponds to a surface reading of the text, it overlooks the story's complicity in the foundational narrative of Japan as a victim of its military class, as I have pointed out. Maybe that is the aporia Kawamura does not feel comfortable identifying yet.

In my discussion of *The Remembered Shadow*, I have emphasised the ways in which the narrative can on the one hand be understood as an attempt to re-introduce the memory of colonial Korea into the collective consciousness. On the other hand, *The Remembered Shadow* reproduces colonial and postcolonial (neo-) imperial discourses such as the colonial kitsch of the Korea Boom and the foundational narrative. While there are small reversals in the hierarchical relationship between male Japanese protagonist and female

¹⁵¹ Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 355f. App. viii.

Korean love interest, the epistemological violence of representing the colony in a sexist and essentialist way is not called into question. Meanwhile, the fact that a sexual relationship does not materialise can be read as the protagonist's atonement for his father's generation's sins but at the same time constitutes an indicator of collective trauma the events of the first half of the 20th century left East Asia with.

Kajiyama's ambivalent stance on Japanese imperialism is emblematic for *hikiage* authors' positionality in relation to postcolonial discourses that eradicated their experience. In this way, *The Remembered Shadow* can be read at an attempt to re-introduce the *hikiagesha* perspective into public awareness. While influenced by narratives of his time, Kajiyama's position as a returnee seems to have forbidden him not to take a political stance on the colonial issue and his text thus ambivalently oscillates between condemning and relativizing the impact of Japanese imperialism on the Korean peninsula. While, as shown, *The Remembered Shadow* in a way cements a supremacist view on the former colony and perpetuates a neo-colonial essentialist image of the Korean land while exonerating post-war Japanese society from interrogating its own complicity, Kawamura Minato is right in pointing out that Kajiyama Toshiyuki is one of the few who do write about the March First Movement and the Japanese authority's harsh reaction to it.¹⁵² As a best-selling author, Kajiyama Toshiyuki has thus to be given credit for bringing this topic into public awareness.

While Kawamura's argumentation about the failure of sexual or amorous relationship at least in some respects seems plausible, he holds that the romantic relationship in *When the Hibiscus Blooms* is "pseudo and deceptive",¹⁵³ a view I do not agree with. Unfortunately, Kawamura does not elaborate on his claim. However, the romantic relationship between a Korean woman and a Japanese man in this understudied text is possibly the most multi-faceted among Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono*, as I will proceed to show in the next sub-chapter.

¹⁵² Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 352.

¹⁵³ Kawamura, "Kajiyama," 356.

2.1.2 *Mokuge no hana saku koro* (*When the Hibiscus Blooms*, 1973)

The plot of *Mokuge no hana saku koro* (*When the Hibiscus Blooms*, 1973)¹⁵⁴ spans the period from briefly after the annexation of Korea in 1910 through to the liberation in 1945. Naïve Japanese protagonist Ikeda Shinkichi, an English teacher in his late twenties, finds employment in Seoul at a school where he teaches the bright Korean student Cho Ch'olin. The student's father, a wealthy industrialist, takes him to see the *kisaeng* Yi Kǔmchu dance and Shinkichi is swept away by her beauty. Kǔmchu develops an interest in him and arranges for a meeting at a hut in a remote village where she seduces him. It is here that he discovers Korean pottery whose beauty startles him while the Koreans in his environment have little sense for their traditional craft. Shinkichi starts selling the goods in Japan through a friend who acts as an intermediary. Soon after, his brother sets him up with his superior's daughter who is, as Shinkichi learns later, pregnant with another man's baby and had to marry quickly in order to cover up the scandal. Shinkichi is enraged with his brother and proves unable to love his wife but still raises her daughter as his own. He uses his wife's money and the handsome revenue he makes from selling the pottery in Japan to quit his job and keep Kǔmchu as a mistress. His wife commences an affair with Shinkichi's former student Cho Ch'olin who has returned from the United States, where he had gone to study. He is involved in the independence movement and uses her to gain information concerning Shinkichi's older brother. Shinkichi only learns of this when his wife strangles her daughter and commits suicide after becoming pregnant, leaving him and Kǔmchu to feel desperate and guilty. With the outbreak of the war Shinkichi moves to the countryside with Kǔmchu who continuously refuses to marry him. After the liberation, Cho Ch'olin visits him and they reconcile. Finally, as Japanese are forced to return to Japan, to his surprise Kǔmchu refuses to accompany him, stating that she is Korean and he is Japanese, so they part tearfully, never to see each other again.

When the Hibiscus Blooms shares some features with *The Remembered Shadow*. First, the protagonist is portrayed as not stereotypically masculine – he is a late bloomer (212) and his courting of Yi Kǔmchu is described as clumsy and ineffective (226, 227). As we will see, both in relation to the women he has sexual relations with and other men he takes a

¹⁵⁴ Kajiyama, *Remembered Shadow*, 212–48. Translated in Kajiyama, *Clan Records*, 73–110.

subordinated role. This perceived lack of masculinity is a feature the text shares not only with all *hikiagesha* literature that pertains to colonial Korea and the aftermath of imperialism but is a recurring theme in post-war Japanese literature, as Sharalyn Orbaugh points out.¹⁵⁵ Secondly, in this story as well the *kisaeng* Kǔmchu comes to directly represent both the hibiscus flower and an alleged Korean national essence. Moreover, she is set into relation with the Korean traditional pottery, which becomes a fetish for her body, as will be discussed below.

Much like *The Remembered Shadow*, *When the Hibiscus Blooms* reveals the inherent contradictions of the *hikiagesha* disposition in postcolonial Japan, expressed, as always with Kajiyama, in terms of sexuality. In my literary analysis, I will focus on first, how the text on the one hand is a further example of Kajiyama's tendency to depict the colony as backward and in a highly gendered way while at the same time standing out for its depiction of a successful romantic relationship between a Japanese and a Korean character. Secondly, I will expand on Shinkichi's trade with pottery that, rather than constituting real appreciation for Korean culture, cements the unequal relationship in which Korea is in need of representation through the coloniser and carries this logic into 1960s East Asia when presented to the story's Japanese readership. Finally, I will explain the different kind of masculinities in the piece as represented by the protagonist Shinkichi, his older brother and the Korean Cho Ch'ǒlin and how they tie in to postcolonial narratives on the colonial period.

While carrying on several features of Kajiyama's other *Chōsen mono* in terms of gendered representation such as the equation of the colony with a female character, at the same time, *When the Hibiscus Blooms* stands out in its detailed description of a romantic relationship between a Japanese man and a Korean woman. Throughout the story, once more the beautiful sadness of Korea is romanticised, this time not through lament of the perishing of Korean tradition but rather as the melancholy that lies in a simple people that has been enslaved. The symbol for this becomes the national flower of Korea, the hibiscus, as can be seen in this conversation with Shinkichi's boss, the headmaster of the school:

¹⁵⁵ Orbaugh, *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation*, 103-153.

"These hibiscus bushes have large and full blossoms, but sometimes to me they appear very sad and lonely. I love these flowers precisely because of that effect of loneliness. Other kinds of flowers bloom unknown, even unseen, in wild, far-off places. But these hibiscus bushes grow as high as three meters and bear large blossoms. Their faces are big, but their hearts are lonely." The principal lowered his voice, as if afraid the thought police would hear him. "Japanese want to live like cherry blossoms, which bloom all at one time and then scatter their petals quickly, in a rush. By comparison, Koreans are very tenacious. Like these hibiscus flowers." The principal's poetic metaphor caught Shinkichi's attention (77, 215f.).¹⁵⁶

In this quotation, the Korean ethno-nation in a very stereotypical way is equated with its national flower that subsequently is marked as female when represented by Kǔmchu, as we will see below. Korea once more is described in a melancholic way, as simple and rustic, but as being somewhat dim and possessing little agency in comparison to the quick and passionate Japanese.

At first glance, the story opens a simplistic Madonna-whore binary with Kǔmchu being the warm and gentle woman he longs for all his life while Taeko is his wife whom he can never love, who foisted another man's child **on him** and **commits adultery**: "'Saa!' thought Shinkichi, borrowing the wisdom of his principal, 'my Kǔmchu is a hibiscus from Korea. This one is just a thorny rose from Ueno'" (94, 233).¹⁵⁷ Women are thus represented by flowers and Kǔmchu becomes the very embodiment of the Korean national flower and thus by extension of the entire ethno-nation. Indeed, Taeko's promiscuity is underscored by the fact that after complaining about the pain on the wedding night, she becomes sexually demanding on several occasions (235, 241), suggesting that she is a character of little integrity. Through the introduction of a Japanese female character of questionable morals who is contrasted with the virtuous Korean Kǔmchu, the text manages to raise sympathies for Japan's former colony. Female characters as national symbols linked to flowers are used to put an – albeit Othered – face on the two ethno-nations of Japan and

¹⁵⁶ App. ix.

¹⁵⁷ App. x. As in the previous section, the translations taken from *The Clan Records* have been slightly altered, in this case, the spelling of the name of the female protagonist, Kǔmchu instead of Kǔm-ju.

Korea and drive forth the story's superficially critical message in regard to Japanese colonialism.

However, while the depiction of Taeko leads to an assumption that promiscuity or sexual assertiveness are condemned for women within the logic of the text, it is remarkable that it is also Kǔmchu who initiates her and Shinkichi's first sexual encounter (228f.). Throughout the piece, the autonomy of *kisaeng* in general and herself in particular is emphasised (223, 225, 228), and even though she offers herself to him sexually, she refuses to marry him even after Taeko's death, indicating that he can never fully possess her (245). With the liberation, suddenly she is in a position to save him from anti-Japanese Korean youths (246f.). When to his surprise she refuses to accompany him to Japan after the liberation, explaining: "Because I am a Korean woman! I belong here. But you – you are a Japanese man, so you must go back" (109, 248),¹⁵⁸ she implies that ethno-national belonging is something inherent to a person and while there can be encounters, an amalgamation is not possible, refuting the doctrine of *naisen ittai*. While *When the Hibiscus Blooms* thus stands out in its depiction of a Japanese-Korean romantic liaison, in the end, the relationship can only last as long as the unnatural state of colonisation, and the two have to be divided once Japan and South Korea are established as separate nation states. Ultimately, the text is thus confronted with the same postcolonial dilemma of failed reconciliation between Japan and South Korea that marks other narratives as well and points to the trauma the defeat meant for *hikiagesha* such as Kajiyama Toshiyuki.

As mentioned, *When the Hibiscus Blooms* is remarkable as the only example of the texts discussed in this thesis where not only a sexual, but also a romantic relationship between a Japanese and Korean character unfolds. While none of Kajiyama's protagonists can be described as the pinnacle of traditional masculinity, Shinkichi is by far the most naïve, and even though he longs for Kǔmchu, his desire seems to be of a more romantic than sexual nature as from the beginning he intends to marry her (226). In this way, even though Korea and the female character of Kǔmchu can be said to be represented according to tired old Orientalist and sexist stereotypes, the text is unique in that it gives the lead to its female and colonial character who is not, as opposed the female character of *Seoul in 1936*

¹⁵⁸ App. xi.

sharing her name (see below), described as a cunning woman that uses her sexuality to achieve her ends.

The second point I will draw on is how Shinkichi's trade with pottery described in the text relates back to the above-mentioned late 1930s and early 1940s phenomenon of the Korea Boom in Japan and how the story's mode of depiction carries forth the colonial-period logic of colonial kitsch as described by Nayoung Aimee Kwon. While in *The Remembered Shadow*, traditional dance as practiced by the *kisaeng* Yōngsun comes to represent a perceived Korean cultural essence, in *When the Hibiscus Blooms*, it is pottery. Yuko Kikuchi's monograph *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory*¹⁵⁹ is helpful for understanding the Japanese colonial-period fascination with Korean pottery. In her study, Kikuchi establishes the concept of "Oriental Orientalism" and explains how in an attempt to appropriate Western-style Orientalism, Japan put itself at the centre of an imagined Asian sphere which embraced cultural diversity within the Orient in opposition to the Occident but which "was [always] shepherded and contained by Japan."¹⁶⁰ She focuses her study on Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-1961), an implemental figure in the popularisation of Korean pottery to Japan during the colonial period. Yanagi published extensively on Korean pottery during the 1920s and in 1924 opened the Korean Folk-arts Gallery in Seoul together with two of his friends. It was the "'beauty of sadness' (*hiai no bi*)" that struck Yanagi's fancy, a beauty that was also feminised in his writing, along with admiration for the simplicity of Korean pottery.¹⁶¹ Utterances like the one by Shinkichi's superior on the loneliness of the Korean people or the Japanese characters' approach to Korean craft discussed in the following thus stand in a long discursive tradition that finds its roots during the colonial period.

In *When the Hibiscus Blooms*, first of all, the pottery is directly related to Kǔmchu as her body repeatedly is compared to porcelain (229) in an astonishing scene when a vase serves as a fetish for Kǔmchu's body:

¹⁵⁹ Yuko Kikuchi: *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

¹⁶⁰ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory*, 124.

¹⁶¹ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory*, 124-142.

And, to compound his misery and his shame, each night he took a special one of the vases into his bed, to use it as he wanted to use Kǔmchu, and tearfully remembered the fleeting moments he'd spent with her in Segǒmjǒng. The vase was as smooth as the skin of Kǔmchu but, where she had been warm and living, the substitute was cool and unresponsive (90f., 230).¹⁶²

In this way pottery, the hibiscus flower and the Korean *kisaeng* are equated and become interchangeable as an object of the protagonist's desire that strives to possess the colony in all its facets. While in Freudian psychology the fetish serves as a substitute for the mother's lack of phallus, here, it is the pottery and flower that substitute Kǔmchu who in turn is a *pars-pro-toto* of the entire Korean colony that the Japanese protagonist as representative of his ethno-nation seeks to possess.

It thus does not come as a surprise that the characters' relationship among each other and the description of the pottery conveys a strong Orientalist undercurrent. The pottery is said to have a naïve and rustic charm (229), as can also be seen from this conversation between Shinkichi and his art historian friend Yamanoi:

"Yes, they're not bad at all. But somehow they convey low or depressed feelings on the part of the potters. A kind of despair ... "

(...) Their simplicity of form and their obvious naturalness, a freedom from artificiality, make them very interesting. I would say," and here he allowed himself to sound like a Buddhist priest, "they convey a sense of desire growing out of non-desire."

"Indeed. That's why they're beautiful."

"The wares from Kiyomizu and Kutani are very rich in complex decorations, in the ornate geometric designs and patterns they favor. But this Korean vase is different: all those open spaces in the pattern create warm, relaxed feelings in the user. If I had the chance, I would definitely buy this vase," declared Yamanoi (95, 234).¹⁶³

The simplicity of Korean pottery is contrasted with the delicate craftsmanship of Japan in a discussion that is reminiscent of Yanagi's colonial-period writings on Korean craft. At the same time, the text emphasises how Koreans do not appreciate their own potter ware, and it is the Japanese protagonist who has to discover it for them (232, 239). In this way, the

¹⁶² App. xii.

¹⁶³ App. xiii.

Korean people as a whole is related to its naïve style of pottery and is described as infantile and in need to be guided to enlightenment. *When the Hibiscus Blooms* thus, rather than displaying real appreciation for Korean culture on equal terms, fails to critically engage with the problematic aspects of colonial kitsch and carries forth its logic in a postcolonial East Asian context.

The third point worth discussing is that we encounter a theme familiar to us from *The Remembered Shadow* in a protagonist portrayed as a counterpoint to Japanese masculinity embodied by the military. Shinkichi's lack of masculinity becomes apparent not only in his relationship to women but also to other men. Again, similarly to *The Remembered Shadow*, we meet a towering figure associated with the Japanese colonial regime, this time in the form of Shinkichi's older brother who tries to pressurise him to work for the purposes of the empire in the Research Section of the Manchurian Railways (233) and sacrifices him in order to save his superior's face when arranging his marriage to the pregnant Taeko. This story as well seems to tell the reader that the forceful military invasion of Korea was morally unjust (which is why Shinkichi easily agrees when Cho Ch'olin tells him that he wants to chase the Japanese out [238]). At the same time, it condones a nostalgic gaze on the raw beauty of the Korean colony that has to be discovered by a particular type of colonist man that differs from the military caste.

Shinkichi's relationship to Cho Ch'olin is particularly interesting as his student embodies an alternative to his Japanese brand of masculinity. Even when he is still a schoolboy, Cho seems superior to Shinkichi in every respect, be it that he as the student is in a position to pass judgement on his English language ability (216), that he is already married while his ten years older teacher is still single (which is explicitly described as an indicator of lacking virility) and thus can talk about male-female relationships with an air of indifference (220, 222), or that he is very mature when he comes back from America (237). His prediction that Japan is on its way to self-destruction also proves correct (238), as the post-war, postcolonial reader knows. Furthermore, he cuckolds Shinkichi when starting an affair with his wife Taeko. Throughout the text rivalry as well as a bond of sympathy is expressed between the two characters, and after the liberation Shinkichi is able to forgive him and they are reconciled. Taken together, the protagonist's relationship

to the two Korean characters Yi Kǔmchu and Cho Ch'ōlin reveals a multi-layered power balance that defies a unilateral power flow in the colonial and postcolonial relationship between the two countries. Those seeming contradictions – the Japanese whore character versus the Korean Madonna, who yet can be thought to represent Korea in a reductive way, as well as the positive male Korean character Cho Ch'ōlin – exemplify Kajiyama's ambivalent positionality as a *hikiagesha* whose writing is caught up between different discursive strands of postcolonial Japan, a point I will explain in detail below in my discussion of *Seoul in 1936*.

To sum up, *When the Hibiscus Blooms* constitutes a rare example of a successful Japanese-Korean romantic relationship. However, as the Japanese and Korean ethno-nations are divided into independent nation states with the defeat/liberation, this relationship between a Japanese man and a Korean woman needs to be separated as well, thus asserting that Japanese-Korean conciliation can only take place within the fleeting realm of colonialism and again pointing to the rift the defeat constituted for the Japanese population in general and *hikiagesha* in particular. At the same time, the text reiterates the identification of the colony as female and the reductive gaze on Korean traditional culture that we have already encountered in *The Remembered Shadow*. Finally, the protagonist's Japanese brand of masculinity in relation to his Korean counterparts points to the multi-layered power relationship between former coloniser and colonised in which the various traumata and insecurities that the colonial period created are ingrained and defies the notion of a unilateral flow of power that was interrupted with Japan's defeat (if indeed it had ever existed).

One question to ask is whether it is a coincidence that in postcolonial Japan, *The Remembered Shadow* has been so well received whereas *When the Hibiscus Blooms* has garnered little scholarly or public attention. In my view, the power relations between Japanese and Korean characters presented in this latter text make it clearly the more multifaceted of the two. Coming back to the question of the Madonna-whore dynamic in *When the Hibiscus Blooms* in which the Madonna is embodied by the Korean woman whereas the role of the whore falls upon the protagonist's Japanese wife, it seems

worthwhile to look at another story by Kajiyama that reverses this framework - *Seoul in 1936*.

2.1.3 *Keijō, Shōwa jūichi-nen (Seoul in 1936, 1969)*

Keijō, Shōwa jūichi-nen (Seoul in 1936, translated as A Crane on a Dunghill: Seoul in 1936, 1969)¹⁶⁴ is set in the time span from autumn 1936 to July 1937 and features the protagonist Akutsu Minoru, a Japanese journalist in Seoul. Akutsu likes to frequent a bar called *Midori* as he has taken an interest in one of their waitresses, Kaoru. He maintains a good relationship with the bar's owner who is a single mother to her son Ichirō and agrees to help her when she confines in him as Ichirō has skipped school for several days in a row. He manages to deduce from the boy that he met a beautiful *kisaeng* named Ch'oe Kǔmchu who made him submissive by using her sexuality. Akutsu seeks her out and confronts her, but instead of reporting her to the police, he is mesmerised by her beauty when she invites him home and seduces him. They commence an affair. One day, she vanishes and instead, policemen come to his house and accuse him of having helped the political prisoner Ch'oe Hongsik, who under Akutsu's name crossed the border from Korea to Manchuria together with his alleged wife Ch'oe Kǔmchu. They are convicted at the border to the Soviet Union, thus clearing Akutsu of suspicion. When the war breaks out, he is conscripted as a soldier and visits Kǔmchu in prison. Her parting words, *annyōnghi kashio* (goodbye in Korean), stay with him.

We will not dwell on this story too long but through its reversal of the Madonna-whore dynamic, it serves as an interesting counterpoint to the framework found in *When the Hibiscus Blooms*. In my following discussion I will thus focus on this aspect.

Contrasting *Seoul in 1936* with *When the Hibiscus Blooms*, it is striking that we find yet another Madonna-whore binary but with a reversed structure. Ch'oe Kǔmchu embodies a rather tired stereotype of a femme fatale who uses her sexuality to get her way, even taking advantage of a young boy. She is sexually demanding, and when the protagonist threatens to expose her, she seduces the unsuspecting young man (191). The waitress

¹⁶⁴ Kajiyama, *Remembered Shadow*, 172–99. Translated in Kajiyama, *Clan Records*, 161-186.

Kaoru, on the other hand, is described as "childlike" (*kodomoppoi* 164, 175), but apart from that we do not learn anything about her background or her personality, which suggests that this character serves primarily as a **counterpoint** to the cunning Korean woman, who, like so many of Kajiyama's female characters, uses her sexuality as her only weapon against the Japanese colonial administration. Akutsu, on the other hand, is portrayed as clumsy and guileless (191, 193) and in the end turns out to be just as immature and naïve as Ichirō, getting duped by Ch'oe Kūmchu just like the middle school boy.

However, while the fact that Ch'oe Kūmchu is a rather simplistic character cannot be denied, ultimately, the story provides a trajectory to sympathise with her because she wanted to prevent the war:

Standing stiffly in the visiting room, he said, "The war has begun, you know."

"I know," replied Kūmchu, coldly, half turning away from him.

"I have been drafted. I may be killed ..."

How could she not be touched? "Yes," she nodded. "Many people will die – My brother and I tried to prevent this war from happening." Looking directly at him, her eyes shining with tears, she whispered, "Annyonghi kashio" (186, 198).¹⁶⁵

Ending on this note, the text gives credibility to Ch'oe Kūmchu's interpretation as the postcolonial reader knows about the devastating effects of the war. The impression that Japan has made a mistake and the former colony is superior in this respect is underscored by the fact that she uses her Korean mother tongue when parting from him, which in the Japanese text is transliterated in the Japanese *katakana*-alphabet.

The fact that the text gives credit to the morally highly questionable character of Ch'oe Kūmchu and that there seems to be no problem to present the Madonna-whore binary of Japanese and Korean female characters in reverse order in two stories speaks to the great deal of contradiction between different versions of history *hikiagesha* writers find themselves subjected to. It is the colonial propagandistic discourse under which they grew up, the foundational narrative, which came into existence after the war, the neglect or embellishment of the imperial past in postcolonial Japan as well as their personal experiences and impressions as a child in colonial Korea, which had then been regarded as

¹⁶⁵ App. xiv.

a part of the home country. The fact that the roles of saint and sinner can so easily be reversed in the female characters who embody the Japanese and Korean ethno-nations respectively indicates, I argue, that within Kajiyama's framework the postcolonial power relation between former colony and metropole are not perceived as clear-cut. The oscillation between the self-assertive but 'good' character of Kim Kǔmchu, the morally questionable Taeko in *When the Hibiscus Blooms*, the childlike Kaoru and finally Ch'oe Kǔmchu in *Seoul in 1936* and their respective relationships to the protagonists, marked by mutual dependencies and unstable frameworks of domination highlights the deep shock self-assured Japanese masculinity of the colonial period¹⁶⁶ has taken with defeat in WWII. Within the framework of the Cold War world order, Japan and South Korea both find themselves dependent on the United States and effeminate in this relationship, as discussed with Igarashi. The former colony can thus no longer serve as an easy point of identification to assert Japanese superiority.

Moving away from Kajiyama's *kisaeng* stories, I will lastly introduce a text of his that can be considered closer to an autobiographical narration of the end of war.

2.1.4 *Seiyoku no aru fūkei* (A Scenery of Sexual Desire, 1958)

Seiyoku no aru fūkei (A Scenery of Sexual Desire, translated as *Seeking Life amidst Death: The Last Day of the War*, 1958)¹⁶⁷ is narrated through the eyes of an unnamed Japanese high school protagonist and is set in Seoul on the last day of war. On the morning of 15 August 1945, the protagonist arrives first at the place where he and his school mates are picked up by truck for labour service and is then followed only by the Korean boy Kanemoto, who is subjected to ridicule and contempt by his Japanese classmates. Before the truck arrives, the protagonist is distracted by the sight of a cow and a bull copulating, the cow heavily resisting the bull before it is overpowered. The scene arouses him as he gets the sensation of being the bull himself. As a result, the truck escapes his mind and he reaches the site too late, only to again meet Kanemoto. They decide to cut the labour service and instead spend the day together during which the protagonist develops a new-found respect for

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Igarashi's discussion of the way Japan was imagined as masculine and dominant vis-à-vis its colonies during the colonial period. Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 35.

¹⁶⁷ Kajiyama, *Remembered Shadow*, 90–109. Translated in Kajiyama, *Clan Records*, 47–72.

Kanemoto, especially due to the fact that the Korean boy has already been married at age thirteen and can thus talk about the sexual act with an air of indifference. When they part, the protagonist goes to a cinema where in the dark he contemplates his sexual desire and reaches the decision to seek out a prostitute and lose his virginity that very day. This plan, however, never materialises as he meets one of his classmates who explains to him the news of Japan's defeat, and the story closes with the protagonist pondering over his feelings towards the end of war which has robbed him of his chance to have sexual intercourse with a prostitute.

A Scenery of Sexual Desire differs from the previous stories discussed here for its I-novel-esque quality, as Kawamura points out,¹⁶⁸ in that the protagonist is much younger and that the sexual desire prevalent in all of the texts discussed in this chapter does not find an object in the form of a beautiful and temperamental Korean *kisaeng*. At the same time, sexuality is used once more to negotiate the memory of colonial Korea. Kawamura explains that the “sexual desire” in the title of *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* is “a metaphor for the desire to conquer and oppress” colonial Korea, rather than having a concrete person as object as in the stories discussed above. Through the protagonist’s inability to satisfy his desire, according to Kawamura, the piece highlights the distorted relationship between Japan and Korea.¹⁶⁹ While I agree with his contention that the sexual desire expressed in this story can be read as the wish to subdue the Korean landscape, as explained above, it would be premature to read Kajiyama’s *Chōsen mono* simply as an act of autobiographical atonement. In the following, I will expand on two aspects of the piece. Firstly, I will describe the way Japanese-Korean power relations are negotiated in the text, in this instance not in relation to a Korean woman but to the protagonist’s male Korean classmate Kanemoto. While maintaining the colonial period power hierarchy between Japanese and Koreans, *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* also reflects postcolonial insecurity through the protagonist’s perceived lack of virility vis-à-vis his Korean classmate. Secondly, I will explore how the text metaphorically extends this theme of sexual dominance to the Korean landscape that the Japanese colonisers in the end proved unable to subdue.

¹⁶⁸ Kawamura, “Kajiyama,” 322.

¹⁶⁹ Kawamura, “Kajiyama,” 341f.

In Kajiyama's short story, the power relation between Koreans and Japanese is mainly negotiated through the protagonist's encounter with his Korean classmate Kanemoto. He is quite aware of their unequal positions within the hierarchy:

We Japanese children brought up in colonial Korea knew a very convenient expression: "Being Korean, how dare you...?" This cruel question possessed an unopposable power until almost the very end of the Pacific War. In spite of all the propaganda about the "unification" of Korea and Japan or the equality of the two countries, the scornful attitude of the Japanese towards the Koreans had been nurtured in us since childhood and was not easy to change, even if Korean names, like Kim and Pak, were changed into Japanese versions, such as Kanemoto and Kinoshita (57f., 98).¹⁷⁰

As a member of the ruling class, the protagonist has learned to interpellate Koreans into their inferior place and at the same time marking his dominant position.¹⁷¹ The text outlines how the two ethno-nations of Japan and Korea remain detached, entrapped in an unequal hierarchy. This passage is thus informed by the postcolonial conception of Japan and Korea being separate political entities. At the same time, it also calls into question the validity of the colonial-period propaganda of Japan and Korea as one body and emphasises the superior position Japanese held vis-à-vis the Koreans within the power hierarchy.

However, the power relation is not as one-directional as it seems at first glance, and the protagonist in fact oscillates between feelings of superiority and inferiority in his relationship to Kanemoto. The Korean boy, described as having been the only one to score full points in English in the entrance exam (96), also has to resign himself to the protagonist's insults (99), seemingly encapsulating them in a strict power hierarchy with Korean men as the eternal losers. However, in the protagonist's mind Kanemoto appears to be eventually victorious in the battle over symbolic power since he has had sex already:

"When did you lose your virginity?" I asked, eager to hear details.

¹⁷⁰ App. xv.

¹⁷¹ Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity?"', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage, 2008a), 7f.

"Oh, let's quit talking about this stuff," said Kanemoto, bored with it all. Only a man who has already enjoyed the mysteries of sex could have dismissed them so easily. As if hushing me for proposing so childish a question, he did not bother to say anything more about the most fascinating subject in the world (65, 103).¹⁷²

In this way, *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* marks Kanemoto as the superior part within the protagonist's framework of reference where sexual success is the most obvious social currency. Seemingly, the text in this place **reverses** the colonial power hierarchy. The perceived lack of male virility can also be understood within the framework of a post-war Japanese literary discourse that has been shaped by defeat and the loss of empire. However, quite remarkably, Kanemoto's later death is mentioned as a passing remark, even in brackets (104), rendering the fate of Koreans just a side note next to the Japanese protagonist's own story of sexual awakening and thereby reinforcing the unequal access to representation.

The example of Kanemoto in *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* shows how the colonial apparatus of control on the one hand is firmly in place but at the same time illustrates the multi-layered play of power between Korean and Japanese characters who see themselves in opposition to the respective Other and are in constant struggle to assert their own position in relation to each other.

The second aspect I will draw on is how the theme of sexual dominance that is latent in the definition of the power relation between the Japanese protagonist and his Korean classmate Kanemoto is metaphorically extended to the domination of the Korean landscape. In *A Scenery of Sexual Desire*, once more the protagonist's lacking commitment to Japanese propaganda and the causes of war (91, 94) are emphasised and he explains how brainwashed they were (95). While on the surface claiming his sense of shame when thinking of the end of war (90), the narrative of the school boy caring more about his sexual desire than his country's defeat again offers a way out of a deeper sense of responsibility in the sense of the foundational narrative. Moreover, the way the Korean landscape becomes the object of the protagonist's desire also shows, as hinted at by

¹⁷² App. xvi.

Kawamura, how the loss of empire led to a feeling of emasculation in the Japanese coloniser, as I will proceed to show.

In *A Scenery of Sexual Desire*, the protagonist's feelings concerning the end of war are depicted as follows:

[T]he news of Japan's surrender neither especially moved nor saddened me. But surprise that the war was over, that everything in the world I had known since I began to think about it was finished, did overwhelm me. Regret poured in from all sides like an enormous wave: Regret for the future so foolishly planned and now so irrevocably lost. Regret for Japan, for my father, for me the center of my world. And, underlying all else, but closest of all to my hopes, intense regret that I had been cheated of the chance I wanted most passionately to take, in one of those brothels on Paradise Slope (72, 109).¹⁷³

The story can be read as emasculation of the protagonist and, by extension, the nation Japan through the defeat. For the sake of this argument we need to look at the earlier scene in which the copulation of the cows is depicted and which triggers the protagonist's wish to seek out a prostitute in the first place. After the narrator indulges in a contemplation of the desperate status of Koreans in the colony, he hears a commotion nearby and explains: "I wanted to free myself from the weight of Kanemoto's sorrows and to exchange our uncomfortable antagonism for the lighter affairs of a whole village" (60, 99) and goes to look for the source of the noise only to find a bull trying to mate with a cow, who proves resistant and keeps kicking him. The narrator follows the scene for a while until he gets the sensation that "I became the bull, persistently thrusting his hard pizzle at the cow" (61, 100). The scene is described as quite violent with the cow heavily resisting the bull before being overpowered. The protagonist, getting the impression that he himself becomes the bull, shouts to himself "Damn you! Remember, no matter how much you struggle, you are mine now!" (61, 100f.). After the above-quoted description of his attitude towards the end of war, the very last paragraph of the story reads as follows:

Close to my ears I heard the snorting of the aroused bull. Against my thighs I felt the cow's kicks, violent and exciting. Thinking of the brothels of Paradise Slope,

¹⁷³ App. xvii.

with their unreachable delights, recalling the faces of Kanemoto and the boy-pilot, so much manlier than mine, I mumbled to the sinking sun, "The war would never dare to end."

But how faintly my voice sounded.... (72, 109)¹⁷⁴

Those scenes underline how the protagonist feels the end of war deprived him of the opportunity to prove his masculinity, and his sense of inferiority towards Kanemoto is triggered once more. By extension, as the Korean landscape even in the title of the story becomes the object of the protagonist's desire, his nation – Japan – was not able to hold down Korea, which is juxtaposed against the image of the cow resisting the bull. When he wants to finally relieve his sexual desire, the end of war prevents him from doing so – Japan's defeat renders him emasculated and unlike the bull Japan eventually proves unable to maintain its masculine dominance over an effeminate Korean landscape.

Much like the texts discussed above, *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* describes Korea as an underdeveloped and rural landscape. The trope of the wild land that is there to be taken by the coloniser is reiterated. While set in the capital of Seoul, we only find allusions to rural occurrences like the copulation of the cows (99-101) or the common activity of boating by the protagonist and Kanemoto (102). It is striking how Kajiyama's story, written in the late 1950s for a Japanese audience, many of whom living in the megapolis of Tokyo, evokes an image of a rural, sexualised and somehow wild landscape (which is alluded to even in the title of the piece), thereby reproducing Orientalist stereotypes about the backwardness of the former colony. This example proves that even a sympathetic writer like Kajiyama, who is aware of the unequal distribution of power in colonial Korea, reproduces this very power structure in his work, making it powerful even beyond the end of the colonial period.

The whole of *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* is traversed by a notion of sexual virility as the **yardstick** of **social status**. Thus, while the protagonist is clearly aware of his superior position as a Japanese towards his Korean classmate, the story also mirrors Japanese postcolonial insecurities when he fails to live up to the sexual experience of Kanemoto and thus falls short in comparison to him. In a second step, I have shown how this same logic

¹⁷⁴ App. xviii.

is applied on a more abstract level to the Korean landscape as a whole, seen as wild, rural and sexually alluring. Through juxtaposition the text hints that unlike the bull who conquered the cow, Japan eventually proved unable to subdue an effeminate Korean landscape. In a more straightforward way than in the other *Chōsen mono* by Kajiyama Toshiyuki discussed above, *A Scenery of Sexual Desire* perhaps mirrors the trauma that the loss of empire through the defeat continued to mean for Japanese society in the 1950s and 60s.

As pointed out, Kajiyama Toshiyuki has to be given credit for being one of the few Japanese authors that address the issue of his country's imperialism in Korea and challenge the view that it was justified or necessary. In all of his *Chōsen mono*, he contends that this is a chapter of Japanese history that must not be forgotten and for which Japanese society should take responsibility. At the same time, I have shown that the texts create a particular kind of memorial discourse informed by the *hikiagesha* condition, which inadvertently supports the foundational narrative. In his literature he reserves the right for his male Japanese protagonists and the narrative voice to represent Korea in an Orientalist way where the only (very limited) agency given to the female characters is their sexuality, while male Korean characters remain 'noble savages'. To summarise my findings in this subchapter, there are three main points to be raised.

First, the texts share the common feature of the Korean land, population and aspects of traditional Korean culture being defined as female. The male protagonists feel the drive and entitlement to conquer them – the *kisaeng* characters in *The Remembered Shadow*, *When the Hibiscus Blooms* and *Seoul in 1936* and, on a more abstract level, the Korean landscape in *A Scenery of Sexual Desire*. At the same time, Japanese postcolonial masculinity as presented in these works differs from the self-assured coloniser's masculinity that is identified with the protagonists' fathers' generation. Seen before the socio-historic background of the Korea Boom during the colonial period and Japanese *kisaeng* sex tourism to Korea, those texts also attest to certain postcolonial discourses in Japan that carry on the gendered and unequal relationship between former colony and metropole.

Secondly, it is striking that the male Korean characters we encounter in Kajiyama's colonial Korea are represented as reasonable, sophisticated and pro-Japanese. In the end, however, all of them lack real agency and become embodiments of a type of Korean 'noble savage' that seems to exist merely to either facilitate the protagonists' encounter with Korean women or serve as native informants in the protagonists' respective personal development that constitutes the focus of each story. The notable exception is Cho Ch'ölin in *When the Hibiscus Blooms* who is a relatively multi-faceted character and in the end is proven right in his assessment of Japan's position. Korean female characters, on the other hand, are in all instances mere love interests of the protagonists and as such are allowed to be vivacious to a certain degree but their role within the text is usually limited to being the human embodiment of Korean-ness the protagonist has to discover and conquer.

Finally, in Kajiyama's *Chōsen mono* power relations between Japanese and Korean characters are usually negotiated through sexuality. In the case of female characters, their sexuality is the only leverage they have against the Japanese empire and they exercise their agency through denying or granting access to their body. In the case of male characters such as Cho Ch'ölin in *When the Hibiscus Blooms* or Kanemoto in *A Scenery of Sexual Desire*, the Korean men's superiority and the Japanese sense of lacking masculine virility is proven by the number of sexual encounters that become a measure for social power.

Kajiyama's texts are thus products of their time and society when they carry forth colonial-period discourses informed by the Korea Boom of the 1930s and move within the logic of the post-war foundational narrative. Whilst critical of and in some ways challenging the postcolonial oblivion in regard to Japanese imperialism, they thus attest to the hegemony of the postcolonial discursive framework of Japanese colonial memory that presents history in a particular light.

After this dive into the way gendered notions of the Korean ethno-nation continue to influence the Japanese collective memory of colonial Korea, we now turn to Son Ch'angsöp and Ha Künch'an, two male South Korean writers in whose work in turn Japanese femininity is used to at once re-assert and challenge postcolonial South Korean notions of the ethno-nation understood as male. Finally, with my analysis of female writer

Pak Sunnyǒ's work, I will show how she opposes this notion and points to the double bind between patriarchy and colonialism in which Korean women find themselves trapped.

2.2 Son Ch'angsōp and his Japanese women

In his postcolonial depiction of Japanese female characters, Son Ch'angsōp is one of the most multi-faceted South Korean writers. In this chapter, I will show how he on the one hand partakes in the widespread tendency to depict postcolonial Japanese female characters as weak and dependent, as Kim Hyein notes for South Korean literature. On the other hand, through his female Japanese characters, Son also challenges dominant ethno-national doctrines of his time, which are based on an absolute postcolonial division between former coloniser and colony. Son's tales, which are often marked by gloom and despair,¹⁷⁵ are written against the prevalent discursive currents of their time – against the southern anti-communism, against the absorption of literature into the construction of a homogeneous ethno-nation as 'national literature' and, as I will demonstrate below, against a particular kind of colonial memory marked by oblivion and embellishment that was intended to bolster ethno-national unity. Some effort has been undertaken to analyse the gender dimension of Son's work. Kelly Jeong, for example, reaches a damning verdict on the post-war generation and Son in particular: "This sense of crisis manifests as misogynistic and existentialist narratives that erase woman's voice and agency, while objectifying her variously as an infant, a diseased body (...), thus betraying the nature of Korean woman's victimization as gendered, displaced, and intertwined with the issues of the nation."¹⁷⁶ Indeed, many Korean women in his pieces are ill or disabled and become ultimate abject like Suni in *Saenghwalchǒk* (*To Live*, 1954), which will be discussed below. Japanese women, meanwhile, occupy an entirely different place in his oeuvre. To my knowledge no effort has been made so far to highlight how colonial memory in his texts is portrayed in a deeply gendered way. It is this gap that this chapter attempts to bridge.

Son Ch'angsōp, who ascended the literary stage in the wake of the Korean War, is widely considered one of the most representative writers of the Korean post-war

¹⁷⁵ Kwǒn, "Late Twentieth-Century Fiction," 473.

¹⁷⁶ Jeong, *Crisis of Gender*, 108.

generation. He was born in Pyongyang in what is now North Korea in 1922. In 1935, aged just 13, he went to Manchuria and a year later to Japan where he received his secondary education and attended Nihon Daigaku until he dropped out. Upon liberation, he went back to Korea and eventually settled in Seoul in 1948, making him one of the “writers that came south” (*wöllam chakka*). Son Ch’angsöp debuted in 1952 with *Konghyuil* (*Public Holiday*), published in the literary journal *Munye*. Wider recognition came when in 1958 he won the 4th Tongin Literary Prize for *Ing’yo ingan* (*Surplus People*), which had been published in *Sasanggye*. In 1973, he immigrated to Japan with his Japanese wife where he died in 2010.¹⁷⁷ Son’s literary activity can be broadly divided into two parts with the first one encompassing his opus of the 1950s, during which he mostly produced texts on his experience of the Korean War, and the second one being made up by his full-length novels of the 1960s/70s.¹⁷⁸ This chapter will focus on two texts of the earlier period of his career which are particularly concerned with colonialism and its significance for Korea’s postcolonial society.

Most research focussing on Son Ch’angsöp investigates the representation of the Korean War in his work, often with the literary tools of psychoanalysis – not surprisingly, if one considers the prevalence of pathologic characters in his opus. The issue of the Korean War and psychopathology in Son Ch’angsöp’s work certainly constitute a veritable and important object of study. However, often neglected are his strong engagement with colonialism and traces of coloniarity in his oeuvre that can be found not only in *To Live* and *The Market Price of Humans*, which are the subject of this chapter, but also his stories *Kwangya* (*Wide Plain*, 1956), *Shin üi hüijak* (*Divine Comedy*, 1961) and his full-length novels *Naksöjok* (*The Scribblers*, 1959) and *Yumaeng* (*Nomads*, 1976). Theodore Hughes, whose discussion of Son Ch’angsöp’s work focuses mostly on *The Scribblers*, emphasises how Son

¹⁷⁷ Pak Chuksim Kim Myöngim (Kim Myung Im) 김명임, ‘Son Ch’angsöp sosöl e nat’anan chakchunginmul üi pyönginjökyoso - “Saenghwalchök”, “Naksöchok”, “Sin üi hüichak” ül chungsim ülo- 손창섭 소설에 나타난 작중인물의 병인적요소 -「생활적」, 「낙서족」, 「신의희작」을 중심으로- [The Element of Causes of Disease for the Characters in Son Ch’angsöp’s Works - on “Saenghwalchök”, “Naksöchok”, “Sin üi hüichak”]’, *Han’guk munye bip’yöng yön’gu* 한국문예비평연구 27 (2008): 237–66.

¹⁷⁸ Chön Sönguk (Sung Wook Jeon) 전성욱, ‘Chönhu üi hyönsil kwa seksyuöllit’i: Son Ch’angsöp üi tanp’yon sosöl ül chungsim üro 전후의 현실과 섹슈얼리티: 손창섭의 단편 소설을 중심으로 [The Post-War Reality and Sexuality: on Son Ch’angsöp’s Short Fiction]’, *Immunhak yön’gu* 人文學研究 17 (2010): 69–91.

defied the wide-spread oblivion of the “late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization and imperialism”¹⁷⁹ and his resistance to the concept of a national literature that formed in the 1950s.¹⁸⁰

Hughes praises Son for his merciless description of deprivation and misery in the post-war South Korean state, which exemplifies Son’s opposition to ethno-national ideologies that understand the South Korean state as a unified bulwark against the communist north. Hughes thus celebrates Son Ch’angsöp for his non-delineationist stance and there is a lot of merit to this argument. However, to purport that Son Ch’angsöp is solely a champion of non-delineation risks falling for the author’s self-depiction when towards the end of *Divine Comedy*, the protagonist, who can be understood as an alter ego of the author himself, emphasises his discomfort with the entire social elite and its etiquette. To simply follow this self-assessment would mean to overlook Son Ch’angsöp’s position as one of the most canonical South Korean writers of his time and the profound influence he enjoyed through his work already during his lifetime. While his impetus for non-delineation and opposition to ideology is indeed striking and a dominant feature of his work, his literature is also distinctively a product of the discursive trends of its time. This is particularly true of the gender configurations he chooses for his texts, which unilaterally identify Japanese women as victims of (former) colonial men’s aggressions. While with his pathetic powerless male characters, he contradicts the idea of a strong South Korean ethno-nation that is conceptualised by male agency, his tendency to portray female Japanese characters who are the ultimate victims of men’s decisions at once blurs ethno-national divisions between Japan and Korea and cements a masculine order in which women can never be anything than pawns and a nation’s fate is inscribed into female characters who are always just the ethno-nation they exemplify.

2.2.1 *Saenghwachök* (*To Live*, 1954)

Saenghwachök (*To Live*, 1954)¹⁸¹ is usually discussed in relation to its depiction of Korean life after the civil war. However, in my analysis I will focus on a much less frequently

¹⁷⁹ Hughes, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 2.

¹⁸⁰ Hughes, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 117.

interrogated aspect – the notion of coloniality in the piece. The story is set in Pusan after the Korean War and revolves around protagonist Tongchu, a student in his early thirties. He leads a miserable life lying around in his room all day contemplating death while listening to his next-room neighbour Pongsu's foster daughter Suni's groaning. Suni suffers from an unnamed disease. Pongsu is a petty criminal in his forties who led an opium business in Manchuria during the Japanese occupation and who prides himself on his success with women as well as his linguistic abilities that he puts into use in his illegal businesses. Tongchu shares the room with Ch'uncha, a young Japanese woman, who is referred to by the Korean reading of her Japanese name Haruko. They had met by chance one day and Ch'uncha told him how she used to be married to a Korean man who was killed. Lacking an extract of the census register, she could not return to Japan and had to rely on a succession of different men who all explored their sexual fetishes on her before she meets Tongchu. Pongsu urges Ch'uncha to help him open an *udon* shop, and the two spend an increasing amount of time together during which they develop an intimate relationship. One day the noises from Suni's room cease, and when he goes to check on her, he finds that she has finally died. He embraces her dead body and starts crying before eventually kissing her corpse.

In my following reading of *To Live*, I will focus on how the text negotiates legacies of colonial-period power-hierarchies and how it attempts to re-define them in a gendered manner. Throughout my analysis of *To Live* I will discuss how the text expresses the various contradictions that arise in relation to the formation of an alleged unified South Korean ethno-national identity in gendered terms. I will analyse the multi-layered interplay of gender and nationality involving the two Korean male figures Tongchu and Pongsu on the one hand and the two female characters – Korean Suni versus Japanese Ch'uncha – on the other.

¹⁸¹ Son Ch'angsöp 손창섭, *Pi onün nal: Son Ch'angsöp tanp'yönsön* 비오는날: 손창섭단편선 [A Rainy Day: Son Ch'angsöp Short Fiction Collection], ed. Cho Hyönil 조현일 (Seoul: Munhak kwa chisöngsa 문학과지성사, 2005), 71-103. All translations in this thesis are my own, apart from my discussions of the works by Kajiyama Toshiyuki, Pak Sunnyo and Chon Kwangyong, where I refer to existing English translations.

In what follows, I will look at the way the texts feeds into a tradition of attempted restoration of a Korean ethno-national identity by means of introducing an Othered and dependent female Japanese character. At the same time, the issue is complicated by the fact that through its main character, the story seems to suggest that it is impossible to retain a virile masculinity in a postcolonial, post-war South Korean environment. The narrative in this respect is in line with Kelly Jeong's observation that in South Korean cultural production, national crises are often expressed as a crisis of masculinity. The dynamic between Japanese and Korean femininity will also be discussed in which the Korean woman becomes the ultimate Other whose eventual death serves to enable the emasculated Korean male subject. Like so often with postcolonial stories, Tongchu is described as the very opposite of self-asserted masculinity. In modern-day psychopathological lingo we would diagnose him with depression,¹⁸² lying in bed all day, waiting for death. One indicator for his masculinity in crisis is his lack of sexual aggressiveness or in fact, interest. One scene describes how he grabs his penis, leaving the reader to assume that he might engage in masturbation, but we then learn that his penis is soft and that Tongchu only took it to diminish his desire to void his bladder before he is finally forced to get up and relieve himself (77). After Ch'uncha first moves in, she tells him the story of all her previous partners whilst caressing his whole body:

That day, Tongchu had been nothing but a male animal. After this, Ch'uncha would not tolerate Tongchu in virtually any night. Tongchu's dangling body, which wasted away, could not handle her blazing youth and he did nothing but to whine all the time. Being like this, Ch'uncha eventually even found Tongchu disgusting. Tongchu, who had lost virtually all sexual desire would soon subconsciously say "ah, ah" when observing the energetic body of Ch'uncha, who had returned and stood in front of him because she was getting ready for the night – the sound of despair (91).¹⁸³

Even in their quasi-sexual encounter, Tongchu remains the passive part, lying on this side while Ch'uncha caresses him. Hereafter, he is hardly able to feel sexual arousal – his slight excitement of seeing her undressing is just a faint memory of times when he possessed a

¹⁸² Kim Myǒngim, "Causes of Disease," 249-252.

¹⁸³ App. i.

virile body – let alone live out his sexuality with Ch'uncha. In his inability to display sexual aggressiveness towards a Japanese female, postcolonial insecurity and the feeling of emasculation vis-à-vis Japan that the colonisation has triggered in Korea find their expression.

Pongsu, on the other hand, is, almost caricaturesquely, depicted as a well of exuberant masculinity. He is successful in his economic endeavours and eventually manages to take Ch'uncha away from Tongchu. In his frame of reference, money and women are the cornerstones of success, which is why he attacks Tongchu for not sleeping with Ch'uncha: "He said that Tongchu was apparently exceedingly well-behaved even though he lived together with Ch'uncha. If a man lost his sexual desire, that made him trash" (88).¹⁸⁴ Ending with Ch'uncha leaving Tongchu and him being stuck with the dead Suni, the text seems to confirm Pongsu's view on things. However, this over-drawn character, who as the only one in the piece speaks in strong Pusan dialect, who is involved in shady businesses and who leaves his foster daughter to die hardly serves as a point of identification. This leaves the reader to sympathise with Tongchu and question the possibility of success, love and sexuality in a postcolonial, post-war Korean society.

While success with women serves to gain social status, Japanese women seem to possess an even higher desirability for Pongsu (88). This gives rise to two observations. The first is a desire to avenge colonial-period masculine humiliation. As I have explained with reference to Kim Hyein in the introduction to this chapter, female Japanese characters in many instances of postcolonial South Korean literature serve to reclaim a masculine ethno-national order vis-à-vis the once feared and omnipotent former coloniser Japan. In this way, Ch'uncha comes to signify a Japanese essence and through a relationship with a Japanese woman, the Korean man Pongsu can re-instate a Korean dominant masculinity while her loss exemplifies the trauma of colonialism and its aftermath for the Korean protagonist Tongchu.

Secondly, colonial period hierarchies are upheld in the sense that Japanese women still occupy a higher position than Korean women in the social hierarchy. This becomes exceedingly obvious when contrasting Ch'uncha with Suni who suffers from a disease of

¹⁸⁴ App. ii.

which she does not even know the name. Suni's possibility of becoming a sexual being is negated to a degree that maggots crawl in her crotch (86), making her an impossible object of any sexual desire. Only when she briefly gets up prior to her death, the protagonist remarks that she looked pretty (102), and just when she is already dead he kisses her while being aware that this no longer is Suni (103).

Apart from the ability to maintain sexual relations, the power-relation between Tongchu and the Japanese woman is quite multi-faceted. Ch'uncha is described as energetic (90) and not in need of his consent for her actions (94). She also displays a sense of superiority for being Japanese (93), which indicates that belonging to the former colonising class still holds high prestige. Opening a Japanese *udon* shop for her is also a kind of liberation and connection to her homeland (94). In this sense the ending constitutes an act of emancipation from the Korean man Tongchu on whom she had relied. At the same time, as with many female characters in postcolonial South Korean and Japanese fiction, her sexuality is her sole leverage and she can only leave Tongchu after Pongsu provides the means for her, making her emancipation from Tongchu a borrowed one and leaving her a prize to win in a heteronormative male race for social status in which Tongchu loses out and Pongsu succeeds whereas women remain pawns.

Cho Myǒngki notes that the reorganisation of Tongchu-Ch'uncha and Pongsu-Suni to Tongchu-Suni and Pongsu-Ch'uncha is described as a very natural phenomenon and occurs spatially at the same time. Ch'uncha and Pongsu move to the foot of the hill as they are reintegrated into society while Tongchu and Suni stay at the peak, detached from society.¹⁸⁵ However, Suni becomes the ultimate abject and the tool to end the story with a glimpse of hope for Tongchu. As mentioned, the Korean woman Suni serves as a counterpoint to the desirable, lively Japanese woman Ch'uncha. Tongchu's relationship to death as embodied in Suni has been rightly subject to much scholarly scrutiny. Cho Myǒngki analyses that in Suni's death, he sees a sneak-preview of his own death and also becomes aware that he himself is living. The tears he sheds liberate him from the outside violence and he becomes himself for the first time, which is why the kiss is not for Suni but

¹⁸⁵ Cho Myǒngki 조명기, 'Son Ch'angsōp üi "Saenghwachök" e nat'an anan chōnchu üishik 손창섭의 「生活的」에 나타난 전후의식 [Post-War Consciousness in Son Ch'angsōp's "Saenghwachök"]', *Ŏmunhak* 어문학 87 (2005): 667–88: 675f.

as proof that he is living.¹⁸⁶ Kim Myǒngim, on the other hand, explains that by kissing the dead Suni he kisses the Freudian death drive itself and that allows him to finally be liberated from his depression.¹⁸⁷ I would like to contrast those views with a study by Elisabeth Bronfen who explains how in literature the death of the ‘female Other’ becomes a way for the male subject to negotiate his own fear of death.¹⁸⁸ Read in this way, the Korean female Suni becomes a sacrifice to be made for the Korean male Tongchu to live. Her personality becomes so irrelevant that when he kisses her, she is not even a person anymore: “Now it was no longer Suni. It was a corpse” (103).¹⁸⁹ We thus see the complicated postcolonial power hierarchy in which gender and ethnicity intersect, but women are the ultimate sacrifices to be made for men’s stories and it is through depersonalised female bodies the ethno-national crisis of masculinity is resolved.

A reading of *To Live* is complicated by the intersection of gender and ethno-national power dynamics within the characters of the text, allowing for various interpretative approaches. For this reason, I will dwell on this story once more in the last section of this thesis when detailing the stance the story takes on issues of language. Concerning the gender dimension, it is clear that Tongchu as an emasculated Korean protagonist in his inability to assert his sexuality on the Japanese Ch’uncha can be seen as an embodiment of the trauma to Korean masculinity the colonisation induced and speaks to continuing postcolonial insecurities within the Cold War world order. The ethno-national crisis is painted as a crisis of masculinity. Ch’uncha by virtue of her Japanese nationality is more active and can in many respects be read as superior to Tongchu, but she eventually becomes a symbolic prize in the competition between Pongsu and Tongchu. Finally, I have shown how Suni, the Korean woman, becomes the ultimate abject and has to die in order to fuel the male Korean protagonist’s narrative trajectory.

¹⁸⁶ Cho Myǒngki, “Post-War Consciousness,” 682f.

¹⁸⁷ Kim Myǒngim, “Causes of Disease,” 249-252.

¹⁸⁸ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁸⁹ App. iii.

2.2.2 *Ingan sise* (*The Market Price of Humans*, 1958)

Ingan sise (*The Market Price of Humans*, 1958)¹⁹⁰ is remarkable for the way it complicates the subjectivities of the former Japanese colonising subject but the text has so far largely been neglected by scholars. The story is set in Manchuria immediately after liberation and follows the fate of the Japanese woman Arima Yasuko as she becomes a pawn to different men's desires in the changed power dynamics in China following Japan's defeat. After the Japanese capitulation, Yasuko's husband is drafted along with the other men from the Japanese settlement to the next bigger city Harbin while she remains with her son Kunio and the toddler Haruko. When subsequently the order arrives for the women and children to board a truck to Harbin, Yasuko misses it and while Haruko is with her, Kunio had already boarded the truck. She then tries to make her way on foot to Harbin and the story follows her as she is caught and manages to escape multiple times from a succession of different men who all rape her. She ends up in a brothel from where she also manages to escape and finally reaches safety with the Chinese army, not before being raped yet again by a Soviet soldier in the street under the eyes of the villagers. At the military base she has the opportunity to tell her story to a Japanese-speaking soldier who promises to send her to Harbin from where she will be sent to Japan. He allows her to go looking for Haruko and sends two soldiers with her. After retracing her steps, Yasuko finally learns that the child has died of diarrhoea that morning. On the way back, one of the soldiers asks Yasuko to have sex with him and she breaks into an exasperated laughter.

In my literary analysis, I will explain how in depicting war and colonialism as an act of gendered rather than targeted inter-state violence, the text manages to blur ethno-national lines and distort the dominant post-colonial South Korean national discourse. At the same time, however, I will show how in some ways, the narrative voice takes on the male gaze of Yasuko's tormentors and reinstates a masculine order through a Japanese female victimized character.

¹⁹⁰ Son Ch'angsöp 손창섭. 'Ingan sise 인간시세 [The Market Prize of Humans]', in *Sinhan'guk munhak chönjip* 新韓国文学全集, 24, ed. Hyöndae munhaksa 現代文學者 (Seoul: Taehan kyogwasö kongmubu 大韓教科書工務部, 1974), 445–61.

While Son Ch'angsöp, as explained, is considered one of the most representative writers of his generation and his opus has thus been widely researched, scholarship remains remarkably reticent on *The Market Price of Humans*. An exception is Ku Sugyöng's book, in which she proposes that the text demonstrates how women are always the ones that suffer most in war. She holds that the conflict lines run less in between states but rather are of a gendered nature when women, regardless of nationality, are victimised by the violence caused by men. Further, by choosing a Japanese and not a Chinese or Korean female protagonist, the author encouraged a reading of the piece as an instance of violence of men against women and not of that of a stronger country against a weaker one. She adds that the male characters in the story use the nationalistic argument of revenge to justify their male base desires of raping a woman.¹⁹¹ While her argument has weak points such as taking Son Ch'angsöp's fictionalised autobiography *Divine Comedy* at face value as proof for Son's feminist persuasion, it certainly holds true that at least on its surface level, the narrative seemingly attempts to portray the Pacific War and Japanese imperialism as a War on Women rather than merely being determined along ethno-national lines. This becomes clearest in the following passage: "Finally, Yasuko's anger simply exploded. It was not just a struggle resulting from patriotic feeling. It was the anger of women towards men. It was the challenge of a sexless to her destiny. It was accordingly a complaint by a human to the gods" (456).¹⁹² The narrative here suggests that the struggle between men and women runs deeper than that between ethno-national lines and that women seemed to be condemned (by the gods) to remain victims of men's aggressions. This is also in line with Choi's assessment at the introduction of this chapter that colonial men are complicit with men of the dominant nation in subjugating colonial women.

In a scene when a rich man, who has bought Yasuko from one of her tormentors, brags about his exploits, it is palpable how women are seen as commodities for purchase rather than human beings. Their nationality seems to be akin to a different flavour of ice cream rather than affiliating them as fully-fledged members with their respective ethno-nation: "He had slept many times with not only Chinese, but also Korean, Russian and Italian

¹⁹¹ Ku Sugyöng 구수경, *Han'guk chönhu sosöl üi sôsa kipöp kwa chujeron* 한국 전후 소설의 서사 기법과 주제론 [Narratology and Themes of South Korean Post-War Novels] (Seoul: Yongnak 역락, 2013).

¹⁹² App. iv.

women, but since he had only once had sex with a Japanese woman, tonight he would get the pleasure of sleeping with a one for the second time, he said in a satisfied manner" (457).¹⁹³ Throughout the story up to when she is taken in by the Chinese army, all men she encounters sexually abuse Yasuko. The narrative thus paints a grim picture of masculinity being determined by animalistic urges to which women, if unprotected by a national framework, inevitably fall victim, as can be seen in this quote:

As if dead, Yasuko submitted herself to the men's will. Her body was exhausted and she couldn't lift a finger. She realised that, no matter how hard she resisted, it was no use. That the locals had crawled in front of her until now was of course not because they were overwhelmed by Yasuko's personality or authority. It was because she had had the support of her home country's sovereignty. Now that this support had collapsed, Yasuko realised for the first time that she was nothing but a single stalk of straw. No matter how much she tried to resist, her useless struggle did not go beyond the fact that there was no use in resisting. Yasuko closed her eyes and bit her lips and attempted to violently shake her whole body. The stinking men approached Yasuko's body as if it was a rock. With a surprisingly aggressive behaviour, the men caressed Yasuko's reactionless body as a tool for their pleasure to their hearts content (448).¹⁹⁴

By identifying the conflict in terms of men versus women rather than **between** nations, *The Market Price of Humans* blurs ethno-national lines and implicitly challenges the idea of a monolithic Korean ethno-nation. In this view, nation states and their conflicts become a game played by men at the expense of women. At the same time, the passage above seems to suggest that indeed only the nation state and the respective **social status** attached to affiliation with it is able to provide women with protection from men's primitive instincts. Women are seen less as active agents in shaping the ethno-nation than as helpless pawns subject to men's actions.

Indeed, the challenge to the idea of a monolithic male Korean ethno-nation is very intricate as the story is set in Manchuria rather than Korea. This way, all male perpetrators who take advantage of Yasuko are Chinese, allowing Son Ch'angsöp's Korean readership to relate to Yasuko's torment without being forced to consider atrocities committed by

¹⁹³ App. v.

¹⁹⁴ App. vi.

Koreans. The story thus does not challenge a narrative of Korean victimhood. At the same time, transferring the scene of action to Manchuria also allowed Son Ch'angsōp to tackle the issue of revenge and give more nuance to black-and-white depictions of colonisers' aggressions versus victimhood of the colonised amidst the tense late years of the Syngman Rhee administration. While evoking sympathy for its protagonist Yasuko, the text does not fail to remind its readers of the pains of the colonised peoples and the hope that liberation brought, for example when the villagers rejoice that now, peace would come (451) or when the following conversation takes place between Yasuko and the Japanese-speaking officer: "You experienced terrible humiliation. But you have to think about the fact that many of our innocent Chinese women have also experienced terribly unfair and miserable humiliation by the hands of your Japanese army." He left those cold words and got up to walk into a different room" (460).¹⁹⁵ Here, the text makes also implicit reference to the comfort women (*ianfu*) issue. It is interesting that the officer just mentions Chinese women, rather than Chinese civilians, underscoring once more the notion that the sufferers of war are women. However, I will lastly show that in some ways, the story fits into the above-described tendency of postcolonial Korean narratives to use female Japanese characters as victims in order to reinstate a masculine sense of the Korean ethno-nation.

The male gaze is very prominent in this story and makes part of the humiliation Yasuko experiences as can be seen in the following two quotations:

"Well, if we can't taste her, at least we can look at her all we want" (450).¹⁹⁶

On that day, Yasuko felt like a monkey locked up in a zoo that was visited by the locals. The locals didn't cease to gather and formed a crush in front of Yasuko's prison, which resembled a shed. The majority were men, but sometimes women would peek in and talk excitedly in whispers. Of course, it was not the first time for them to see a Japanese person. But up to yesterday, Japanese were noble beings that they couldn't even approach. While they all were humans, the ones were gold and the others were lumps of earth. Up to yesterday, Japanese were, as descendants of gods, noble rulers and first-class citizens with threatening looks, while they themselves were inferior citizens not worth being looked at and subjects to be abused just like dogs. Japanese were people with privilege who

¹⁹⁵ App. vii.

¹⁹⁶ App. viii.

resembled Japanese cranes, visible only flying far up in the sky, and until now, they could not even just talk to them. So that now, a Japanese, who had held such impressive authority, was the same position as them, no, they had her in front of their eyes as a being even more insignificant than them, and they could treat her as they wanted and play with her – wasn't that a wonderful and delightful thing? And because they wanted to see the miserable state she was in, when they heard the rumour that they had locked her up like a young monkey or bear, more and more village people said 'me too, me too', and it became a big spectacle as they gathered. The fact that Yasuko was not only a young woman, but also had a refined appearance and soft white skin, was enough to draw the attention of the spectators. Young men, seemingly not aware of how the time passed, parked themselves in front of the door and while chatting in vulgar ways, their gazes laden with sexual desire caressed Yasuko's whole body (450f.).¹⁹⁷

The reader is forced to take on the male gaze on Yasuko at least partially. Since the story is told from the perspective of a third-person narrator, we learn only part of Yasuko's inner monologue. The choice of a third-person narrative voice rather than Yasuko as a first-person narrator telling her own story allows for a double reading of the text. On the one hand, the text is radical in its evocation of sympathy for a Japanese woman by depicting her torment by the hands of the formerly colonised in excruciating detail. Moreover, *The Market Price of Humans* does not choose a male character to save the woman but rather depicts Yasuko as determined and it is eventually out of her own strength of will that she manages to escape. On the other hand, in some ways the intermediary of an unidentified third-person narrator puts a distance between the reader and Yasuko's immediate experience. The reader, while sympathising and suffering with Yasuko, thus is free to share a sadistic pleasure of seeing a Japanese woman victimised. Male Japanese characters are virtually non-existent and through the female, ethno-national Other, the Japanese coloniser loses its threat and a superior sense of the former colonised ethno-nationals, now in a position to take revenge on Japanese women, is reinstated. The choice of narrative voice thus underscores that this text is less concerned with female subjectivities created by colonialism and war than intended as a lesson in the ambiguity of Japanese-South Korean nationhood by a male author for a presumed male readership. *The Market Price of Humans* can thus be said to reproduce the prevalent postcolonial narrative that pushes Japanese

¹⁹⁷ App. ix.

female characters into victimhood in an attempt to discursively reconfigure the South Korean ethno-nation but at the same time drastically challenges the notion of colonial victims versus Japanese imperialist perpetrators and thus defies the disavowals surrounding the colonial period that became a pillar of the Republic of Korea's national narrative.

As I have shown in my discussion, in its merciless depiction of the torment a former coloniser experienced by the hands of the former colonised, *The Market Price of Humans* is an instance of Son Ch'angsōp's non-delineationist stance by refusing to partake in a simplistic debate on Japanese perpetrator versus colonised victims, eradicating the complicity of the colonised. Further, the text also highlights female subjectivities and how women, regardless of their nationality, are affected by men's ethno-national struggles. At the same time, however, I have shown that the at times voyeuristic depiction of a Japanese and female Other can be read as an attempt to overcome the crisis of masculinity caused by the national humiliation of colonisation.

As mentioned above, Theodore Hughes regards Son Ch'angsōp as a champion of non-delineation within a highly ideological South Korean state. Certainly Son himself was of this opinion, given the way he portrays his alter ego in *Divine Comedy*. In the two stories discussed above, his refusal to participate in simplistic ideological narratives is undoubtedly palpable, for example in the undoubtedly outrageous move to tell the story of victimisation from a Japanese perspective in *The Market Price of Humans*. Further, his deprived characters of which Tongchu is just one of many examples mark his refusal to paint an exultant unified ethno-nation. However, it would be short-sighted to claim that Son at the same time has not been deeply influenced by the discursive trends of his time. As I have shown with reference to Kim Hyein, many of his texts are a reiteration of a common postcolonial Korean trope in which Japanese female characters are depicted as weak and dependent in order to restore an ethno-national South Korean identity understood as male. This becomes apparent in *To Live*'s Ch'uncha who has to rely on Korean men and is driven to the excess in *The Market Price of Humans*, with Yasuko

exemplifying the narrative of female victimhood through (literally) men-made disasters such as colonialism and war.

In the next subchapter, with Ha Kŭnch'an we will encounter yet another male South Korean writer in whose stories a romantic affiliation with a female Japanese character seems to be tied to social status. At the same time, the failure of the relationship once more, albeit in a different way from Son Ch'angsöp, highlights the trauma that the colonisation inflicted on the South Korean psyche.

2.3 Illicit desire resurfaced: Ha Kŭnch'an's *Kŭhae ūi sap'wa* (*An Episode from that Year, 1971*)

As author of *Sunan idae* (*The Suffering of Two Generations*, 1957), a popular piece of fiction and part of the school curriculum, Ha Kŭnch'an's name is a familiar one to many South Koreans. The text describes a father who has lost his arms in a mining accident during the colonial period who is waiting for his son who fought in the Korean War to return home, only to find that his son has lost his leg in the war. The story is a parable on the need for a strong sense of community in Korean society during the hardships of the 20th century and has profoundly shaped the collective memory on the colonial period and Korean War.¹⁹⁸

Ha Kŭnch'an's style of writing changed in the early 1970s when he published a number of texts revolving around his personal experiences in the colonial school system. Scholars such as Ryu Tongkyu and Sō Sŭnghŭi credit this transformation also to the historic changes ensuing the Japan-ROK normalisation treaty, when anti-Japanese sentiments met a new influx of Japanese cultural products, especially literature, and the relationship to Japan and the colonial legacy was reevaluated.¹⁹⁹ According to Han Suyōng, compared to Ha Kŭnch'an's texts from the 1950s and 60s, his literary oeuvre produced in the 1970s has received relatively little academic scrutiny as those pieces have been deemed to possess low literary value, and indeed, only in recent years has this corpus begun to be analysed

¹⁹⁸ See also Ryu Tongkyu, "Colonial Memory," 250f.

¹⁹⁹ Ryu Tongkyu, "Colonial Memory," 252f.; Sō Sŭnghŭi (Seo Seung Hee) 서승희, 'Chŏnchu chakka ūi shingminji kiök kwa minjokchuūi - Ha Kŭnch'an sosol ūl chungshim ūro 전후 작가의 식민지 기억과 민족주의—하근찬 소설을 중심으로 [Colonial Memory of a Post-War Writer and Nationalism - on Ha Kŭnch'an]', *Hyöndae munhak iron yon'gu* 현대문학이론연구 53 (2013): 181–200: 184f.

within a postcolonial studies framework.²⁰⁰ However, as he argues, these texts are essential in regard to both Ha Kŭnch'an's literary character and the post-war generation in general.²⁰¹

Ha Kŭnch'an's *Kŭhae ūi sap'wa* (*An Episode from that Year*, 1971)²⁰² is set in the months before and after the liberation in 1945 and features sixteen-year old protagonist Chongdae who attends sixth grade of a military school. Chongdae fares very well within the colonial system – he is the class leader and head of the patriotic boys' brigade. He stands in favour of the popular young and pretty teacher Aoyagi, which induces his rival Giyun to start spreading a rumour of Chongdae and Aoyagi being involved in a romantic relationship. Soon, however, the rumour dissolves when the Japanese cavalry is stationed on their school grounds. Aoyagi is taken with the dashing and handsome second lieutenant of the group. A new rumour spreads, this time with seemingly more substance to it, of Aoyagi and the second lieutenant being engaged. When the cavalry is pulled out from the grounds Chongdae feels elated. Soon after, Korea is liberated, and public discourse changes completely. Since the Japanese including Aoyagi have to leave Korea, Chongdae is unable to whole-heartedly embrace the liberation. He follows Aoyagi to Pusan with the aim to go to Japan with her. A couple of days later, he returns with a black eye. After having been beaten up by his father, who feels embarrassed that his once proud son has become the laughing stock of the village for making a fool of himself for a Japanese woman, he falls into a fever. From the words he mutters the reader can infer that he had received the black eye from the second lieutenant before he returned home.

An Episode from that Year advocates a colonial memory written against the oblivion of the "late colonial-period culture of mass mobilization"²⁰³ and at the same time displays a

²⁰⁰ Han Suyōng (Han Soo Yeong) 한수영, 'Yunyōn ūi ipsahyōngshik kwa kiök ūi kyunyōl Ha Kŭnch'an ūi yunyōn ch'ehōm ūi hyōngsanghwa wa shingminhwadoen chuch'e 유년의 입사형식(入社形式)과 기억의 균열 -하근찬의 유년체험의 형상화와 식민화된 주체 [The Shape of Entering Society in Childhood and the Cracks in Memory - the Formation of Ha Kŭnch'an's Childhood Memories and the Colonised Subject]', *Hyōndae munhak ūi yōn'gu* 현대문학의 연구 52 (2014): 385–434: 387f.; Sō Sūnhūi, "Colonial Memory," 182f.

²⁰¹ Han Suyōng, "Cracks in Memory," 387f.

²⁰² Ha Kŭnch'an 하근찬, 'Kŭhae ūi saphwa 그해의 삽화 [An Episode from That Year]', *Ch'angchak kwa pip'yōng* 창작과 비평 9, no. 18 (1970): 522–44.

²⁰³ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 2.

deep-seated feeling of inferiority vis-à-vis the former coloniser, which shaped South Korean society even decades after liberation. We will encounter the text again in the last section in respect to the portrayal of language and colonial discourse, but here, I will describe how the Japanese-Korean relationship is negotiated on gendered turf, with the female teacher being portrayed as the ultimate object of desire and rivalry between Korean and Japanese masculinity representing a main catalyst for the action.

In what now follows, I will discuss the way in which *An Episode from that Year* is symptomatic for the deep trauma colonialism constituted and the deeply-seated feeling of insecurity vis-à-vis the Japanese Other. This becomes apparent in the text's stereotypical depiction of Japanese characters who emphasise the ambivalent relationship of fear and desire with the former coloniser as well as the way Japanese women become a prize to win in a competition between Japanese and Korean men in which Korean men lose out. Chongdae is described as possessing a high social status within the colonial education framework. As head of the patriotic boys' brigade and class representative he enjoys his fellow students' respect (523, 524, 526). His exemplary role is underscored by rumours that he and Aoyagi are engaged in a *raenggai* (*ren'ai*, love) relationship. Chongdae certainly stands in Aoyagi's special favour as evidenced by the fact that he is appointed as the one who carries her lunch box, who stays with her after school to grade papers and who gets to visit her at home even at weekends or late at night. These subtle ties are seen through the eyes of Giyun, who reaches the conclusion that they must indeed be involved in a romantic relationship after he observes them having a staring contest (527f.). For an adult reader, however, this merely proves that their connection is still very infantile and Chongdae is far from being a sexually aggressive adult male, as becomes apparent when he is later contrasted with the dashing second lieutenant.

Both Ryu Tongkyu and Sō Sünghŭi point to the recurring stereotypical depiction of Japanese characters as either fearsome headmasters or pretty, docile female teachers in Ha Kŭnch'an's work. Ryu Tongkyu points out that describing the colonising Other in a stereotypical way helped to solidify a sense of collective identity and helps soothe the humiliation of having been colonised. At the same time, he argues, those stereotypes do

not succeed in ultimately stabilising the sense of collective identity. This is due to the fact that the stereotypical characters of the colonisers are drawn in an ambivalent way in which the children envy and fear the power of the headmaster and envy and desire the beauty of the female teacher. This is connected to the shape of colonial forgetting and memory in the postcolonial period: immediately after the liberation, the beauty of a Japanese character could not be praised because of the censorship of minds regarding the denial of the colonial period.²⁰⁴ Sō Sünghüi adds that the ambivalence in the repetition of stereotypical Japanese characters such as headmasters and soldiers exemplify the suppression and fear on the one hand, versus female teachers such as Aoyagi become objects of desire on the other.²⁰⁵ Both of them, however, fail to address the gender dimension inherent in this set-up. Social power is competed for by the male characters while Korean women are absent and the Japanese woman becomes the desired object to possess. This becomes apparent in a scene when Chongdae reflects on the changes in Aoyagi who started to dress up and wear makeup after the appearance of the second lieutenant: "If it was for him, he wanted to wash the powder off of Aoyagi's face, wipe the lipstick off and throw away the things that sparkled on her hair. He then wanted her to return to that previous state without makeup. He had the daring thought that this face was somehow something he possessed" (535).²⁰⁶ In this quote, we see that Chongdae's deepest desire is to possess Aoyagi, even at the price of her looking less beautiful. In South Korean texts, Japanese women often become a prize to win in order to affirm the masculine Korean ethno-national identity. By the same token, the failure to possess them becomes expression of the deeply-held insecurity vis-à-vis the Japanese Other. The latter is the case in *An Episode from that Year* and the text sends the message that the Korean man is the eternal loser against the Japanese man, even after the liberation.

Chongdae loses his momentum with Aoyagi when the Japanese cavalry is stationed on their school grounds and Aoyagi falls for the sleek second lieutenant who leads them. Compared to this imposing figure, Chongdae is no match:

²⁰⁴ Ryu Tongkyu, "Colonial Memory," 255-260.

²⁰⁵ Sō Sünghüi, "Colonial Memory," 186-190.

²⁰⁶ App. i.

The figure of the young officer who commanded all this cavalry was all the more nothing but manly. He was a second lieutenant. As if it hadn't been long since he was commissioned, his cheeks were still rosy. Even when seen from afar, his face was impressive with a sharp nose that was clear-cut, and while his forehead was white, his eyebrows were particularly thick (534).²⁰⁷

We understand that Chongdae's tender ties to Aoyagi were not to be taken seriously from the very beginning. Tellingly, when observing Aoyagi and the second lieutenant, he now takes the place of Giyun who had previously observed himself and Aoyagi (536). The reader understands that even though his **social status** within the colonial system is high, as a Korean Chongdae will always come second to the Japanese man.

This is related to the internal ethnic and gendered hierarchy within the empire that becomes apparent when the headmaster mistakenly suspects that Aoyagi has a romantic relationship with the teacher Rinoie: "Therefore, something like that Aoyagi had a romance with that *Chōsenjin* [Korean] teacher was a story that he could not really believe. Even if he didn't believe it, secretly, he got angry. Having a romance with a *Chōsenjin* and, what's more, on the sacred ground for education that was the body of the school building (531)."²⁰⁸ Despite the propaganda of *naisen ittai*, relationships between a Korean man and a Japanese woman are not condoned, particularly on the "sacred" school grounds that exemplify the colonial administration. In Chongdae's failed romance with Aoyagi, we see how the headmaster's hierarchical worldview provides the social framework in which Japanese-Korean romantic relationships are doomed to failure because Korean men lack the **social status** to court a Japanese woman.

Han Suyǒng points to the binary structure of the text which describes a double "oedipal frustration of love", first when Giyun has to witness Aoyagi and Chongdae's relationship and subsequently when Chongdae takes his place in observing Aoyagi and the second lieutenant. According to Han, this double structure is due to the text's attempt to very clearly distinguish between two frameworks of taboo or prohibition that surround Chongdae's love for Aoyagi. The first is the taboo that forbids teacher-student relationships which is exemplified by Giyun and the rumour he spreads about Aoyagi and

²⁰⁷ App. ii.

²⁰⁸ App. iii.

Chongdae. When Chongdae is then replaced by the second lieutenant and Aoyagi subsequently has to return home following the liberation, the second taboo becomes apparent, which is love that transgresses ethno-national boundaries. The text gives more gravity to the latter prohibition and expresses anger that Chongdae's love is misunderstood by his peers. Han Suyǒng remarks that *An Episode from that Year's* trajectory does not differ greatly from the ambivalence between desire and repulsion for the coloniser that Homi Bhabha describes. However, according to Han, the distinctive feature is the justification for the reason that the love is frustrated. From the outside, it is seen as a constellation of Japanese-Korean, but on the inside it is structured as woman-man and Chongdae wants to remember it as the taboo surrounding the love between teacher and student.²⁰⁹ Following his argument, I hold that the aporia expressed in the piece are the real-life implications of the trauma of colonisation and liberation from without that cast doubt on the potency of Korean manhood even in the early 1970s. While the text might have intended to address the taboo surrounding a forbidden love between teacher and student, it is bound by the trauma of Japanese imperialism in Korea that cannot be surpassed through a successful relationship between a Korean and a Japanese character.

In *An Episode from that Year's* depiction of Korean manhood ultimately being outplayed by Japanese masculinity in a game that features Japanese women as the ultimate trophy, the text echoes a common *topos* in postcolonial South Korean literature in which the national humiliation of colonisation is negotiated in a gendered way. Apart from this relatively simplistic setup, however, the story is also an indicator of discursive shifts in South Korea's memorial discourse after the normalisation treaty in 1965. Within the new framework of cultural contact, naïve and tender recollections of colonial Korea that had been suppressed could rise to the surface. Now the story of the protagonist's illicit desire for his teacher could be told, in an environment in which desire for a Japanese woman was not altogether illicit anymore. While with the failure of a romantic relationship between a Korean man and Japanese woman, the conclusion remains the same as in Son Ch'angsōp's *To Live*, thus reaffirming the humiliated national pride that is understood as male, Ha's

²⁰⁹ Han Suyǒng, "Cracks in Memory," 399-411.

text differs in its nostalgic naiveté from rebel writer Son Ch'angsōp's works, highlighting another facet of postcolonial memory by the post-war generation.

The last text discussed in this chapter, Pak Sunnyō's *Ai rōbū yu* (*I Love You*, 1962), stands in stark contrast to the ways femininity is used to exemplify the ethno-nation's suffering or becomes a token to measure men's social status. Penned by a woman writer, the piece with its active and vocal female main protagonist underscores the particular subjectivities colonialism and the ensuing nationalism created for Korean women.

2.4 Female Korean subjectivity under fire from all sides: Pak Sunnyō's *Ai rōbū yu* (*I Love You*, 1962)

As shown, in most male writers' works women are described as being the passive victims of colonialism and its by-effects, but a few Korean texts make use of a different breed of female characters and highlight the way the colonial situation created subjectivities for women that differed from men's. An intriguing example is Pak Sunnyō's piece *Ai rōbū yu* (*I Love You*, 1962).²¹⁰ This story mirrors that of some male authors discussed in this thesis in that the protagonist Myōnghwa is a pupil and her school life serves as background to the narration. However, this time we see the double bind between patriarchy and the Japanese colonial oppression Korean women in particular are trapped in. A few words on the author's background seem advisable before diving into the literary analysis.

Pak Sunnyō was born in 1928 in Hamgyōngnamdo in what is now North Korea and came to Seoul shortly after the liberation. Some researchers thus classify her as a so-called *wöllam chakka*, "writers that came south" and attribute some meaning to that fact in their interpretation of her work.²¹¹ In 1950 she graduated from Seoul University's English literature department and made her debut with *K'eisü wōk'a* (*Case Worker*) in Chosun Ilbo

²¹⁰ Pak Sunnyō 박순녀, 'Ai rōbū yu 아이 러브 유 [I Love You]', *Sasanggye* 사상계 114 (November 1962): 362–76. Translated in Pak Sunnyō, 'I Love You', transl. Söl Sunbong, *Korea Journal* 26, no. 7 (July 1986): 54–67.

²¹¹ Kim Yunsōn 김윤선, 'Wōlnam yōsōng chakka Pak Sunnyō ūi ch'ehōm kwa munhak. "Ai rōbū yu", "Oeinch'on ipku", "Ōttōn p'ali" rūl chungsim ūro 월남 여성 작가 박순녀의 '체험'과 문학. 「아이 러브 유」, 「외인촌 입구」, 「어떤 파리」를 중심으로 [Experience and Literature Research on Pak Sunnyō's Novels - on "Ai rōbū yu", "Oeinch'on ipku", "Ōttōn p'ali"]', *Han'guk'ak yōn'gu* 한국학연구 33 (2010): 235–62; Yi Myōnghui 이명희, 'Pan'gongchuui wa chakka chōngshin: wöllam chakka Pak Sunnyō ūi kyōngu 반공주의와 작가정신: 월남 작가 박순녀의 경우 [Anti-Communism and Authorship: the Case of the Writer Pak Sunnyō Who Came to South Korea]', *Asia yōsōng yōn'gu* 아시아여성연구 47, no. 1 (2008): 7–38.

in 1960. *I Love You* was published in 1962 in Sasanggye, according to Kim Yunsön the journal with the greatest impact at the time.²¹² While her active period spanned over thirty years through to the 1990s, in later years she did not receive as much critical acclaim as during the initial period of her literary activity.²¹³

I Love You, next to *Oeinch'on ipku* (*Entrance to the Foreigners' Village*, 1964), is generally considered Pak Sunnyo's most representative work and was runner-up for the *Sasanggye shinin munhaksang*, the journal *Sasanggye*'s prize for literary newcomers.²¹⁴ The piece is set in a small town in Korea in 1945 in the time shortly before and after the liberation. Protagonist Myöngħwa is a student at a high school for girls, run by the strict Japanese headmaster Nero. Two teachers are contrasted – the Korean Min and the young and mellow teacher Yamaki. The girls are proud to attend their school which they know to guide them on their way to become good citizens of the Japanese empire. When Myöngħwa and Pongsuk have a lively conversation about students from a boys' school who are destined to become cheap wage labourers and contemplate whether they should shout *I love you* (in English) to them, they are punished. Later the girls attend a gala for boys who are sent off as soldiers and attend the farewell ceremony for a girl who has been drafted as volunteer nurse for the Red Cross. The girls are enraptured and vow to become nurses themselves. However, the atmosphere shifts when the girls observe the nurse crying and clinging to her young child before she is dragged off to the ferry that will bring her to the front line. A while later, Nero presses for the girls to sign up for the Red Cross and is about to send them home with the form to be signed off by their parents when Myöngħwa refuses to do so and thus starts a small riot among the girls. In the end Myöngħwa and Pongsuk are expelled from school. About a month later, Korea is liberated and it is now the Japanese who are repatriated that constitute a pathetic sight in their ragged clothes. Myöngħwa and Pongsuk are travelling to Seoul when near the 38th parallel,

²¹² Kim Yunsön, "Experience," 236; on the role of *Sasanggye*, see also Chöng Hyekyöng (Chung Hye Kyung) 정혜경, 'Sasanggye dūngdan shin'in yösöng chakka sosöl e nat'an an ch'öngnyön p'yosang 『사상계』 등단 신인여성작가 소설에 나타난 청년 표상 [Representations of Youth in Women Writers' Debut Novels and Other Works in Sasanggye]', *Uri ömun yön'gu* 우리어문연구 39 (2011): 579–609.

²¹³ Kim Yunsön, "Experience," 236f.; see also ibid.: 237f. for a review on research on Pak Sunnyo's work.

²¹⁴ Kim Yunsön, "Experience," 240.

they meet Yamaki. In an awkward short conversation in which the two girls are at a loss for words, he insists that he is not their teacher anymore and when they part, he shouts *I love you* after them.

I Love You was published in 1962, shortly after Park Chung Hee's coup d'état, at a time when the **purported** unforgiving attitude towards Japan that had dominated the Syngman Rhee years was superseded by a more pragmatic and pro-Japanese course. The text certainly rejects a unilateral condemnation of Japan and all things Japanese while at the same time taking on monolithic ascriptions of the South Korean ethno-nation. We will come back to this point in the last chapter, but here I will show that with hybridity being its dominating theme, *I Love You* points to the various ways Korean women in particular were affected by the empire. Chungmoo Choi explains how the nationalistic masculinist rhetoric of the postcolonial South Korean state left little room for women to negotiate their colonial experience: "Nationalism represses ambivalence about and contradictions in women's subjectivity and therefore leaves no room to negotiate. Women of a postcolonial nation are denied an opportunity to decolonize their split (or multiple or hybrid) subjectivity, which is shaped under the colonial oppression."²¹⁵ In the following analysis I will demonstrate how *I Love You* **gives us insight into Korean female subjectivities created by the colonial experience** by complicating the narrative of Korean victimisation as inscribed on women's bodies and pointing to the double bind between patriarchy and imperialism Korean women in particular find themselves trapped in.

I Love You illustrates the positionality that was allocated to Korean women in particular **within the Japanese empire**. The way female sexuality is exploited for the purposes of the empire is shown subtly through repeated references to the girls' school uniforms, which are regulated by their school administration. The narration commences with describing how astonishing the straight line of the girls' skirts' hems, whose length is exactly specified, looks during the morning assembly (362). After Myöngwha and Pongsuk discuss shouting *I love you* to the future cheap wage labourers, referring to their projected salary of forty-two wön, Nero attacks them in their femininity by accusing them of being

²¹⁵ Choi, "Nationalism and Construction of Gender in Korea," 28.

promiscuous: “To think that these sluts were wearing that kind of thing [referring to their short trousers] and sent that kind of signal to the boys. Are they any different from bitches in heat, eh?” (57, 366).²¹⁶ The two girls are surprised that they are shamed with particular regard to their sexuality: “As soon as we received the principal’s summons we had thought that we would be interrogated about the ‘Forty-two *wōn*’ bit of a joke, but we had not even dreamt that we would be humiliated in this unthinkable way for no other reason than that we made a schoolgirlish teasing joke: I love you” (58, 366).²¹⁷ In addition, they worry that the label “flirt” will stick with them (366). This shows that their sexuality is particular focus of regulation and the Japanese administration as embodied by Nero does not allow any autonomous sexual behaviour of the girls as their sexuality is supposed to serve the empire. Following this incident, all pupils are made to wear Japanese long trousers for any activity outside the school where boys could be present. As Chungmoo Choi points out, these *monpe* trousers were actively meant to desexualise girls and thereby objectified them.²¹⁸ However, when the girls are singing at the gala for the boys who are sent off as soldiers, they are told to wear their uniforms with the skirts again. In this way, we see how the girls’ sexuality is carefully regulated in order to appeal to the ‘right’ kind of men, the ones that serve the purposes of the empire.

The text makes a point of proving how imperialism affects women differently to men and Kim Yunsōn points to the double bind between patriarchy and imperialism Korean women in particular are trapped in. She explains that the text shows how Korean girls and boys are equally educated to become subjects of the Japanese empire. However, colonial women experience their second-class position both as members of the colonised nation and as being treated as inferior to men. Thus, “the first characteristic of *I Love You* is that it is a narration of the representation of the experience that colonised women had to make under the war-time system”.²¹⁹ This double bind becomes apparent at the gala when the girls have this enthusiastic conversation:

²¹⁶ App. i.

²¹⁷ App. ii.

²¹⁸ Choi, “Nationalism and Construction of Gender in Korea,” 26.

²¹⁹ Kim Yunsōn, “Experience,” 241; App. iii.

"I wish I had been a boy!"
"Me too. I wish I could go where they are going!" (...)
"What if I went as a volunteer nurse?"
"As a volunteer nurse?"
"It's the only way a girl can go to the battlefield, isn't it?" (60, 368).²²⁰

Even as supporters of the empire, girls are disadvantaged. Sending them out as nurses instead of soldiers, we see how the empire makes use of a type of femininity classified as caring and nurturing. It seems that Myöngwha's realisation of the power mechanisms results from a specifically female position.²²¹ The girls' lacking awareness as women in particular is shown towards the beginning of the text when they heavily protest Yamaki's assignment to write an essay about what it means to be a woman, explaining that it is too embarrassing (363f.). Her sentiments after her revelation concerning the violence of the colonial system are described as follows: "Now that I look back on it, I was for the first time experiencing the impurity of my fate as a girl in a colonial country. It was a feeling similar to the shocked, outraged sadness I had felt for my being 'a girl' on the first day of menstruation" (62, 370).²²² Here, her experience as a colonial subject is explicitly set in relation to the protagonist's femininity and it is revealed how in both the colonial and the patriarchal system, Korean women have to take a subordinate role.

The piece, then, shows the intersectionality between gender and ethno-national belonging and emphasises that the lines do not just run between Japan and Korea but internally within both societies as well since Korean men and women are affected in different ways by Japanese imperialism. Thereby, *I Love You* refutes the dominant South Korean narrative in which resistance is often painted as a heroic struggle to reclaim the ethno-nation. At the same time, it points out that women become victimised in overlapping ways but admits to female agency by describing one girl's fight to save her very life from a patriarchal, nationalistic system.

I Love You is narrated by Myöngwha from a first-person perspective. The text thus allows the reader to slip into a colonised schoolgirl's role and see the events from her

²²⁰ App. iv.

²²¹ See also Kim Yunsön, "Experience," 240f.

²²² App. v.

perspective, adding plasticity and nuance to the often black-and-white imagery of Korean femininity during the colonial period. The piece installs an active and multi-faceted female subject to complement the hegemonic male Korean perspective on the colonial experience. Moreover, in a symbolic act the choice of a first-person narrator gives back their own voice to Korean women, who are often marginalised in the discussion of the colonial experience or become stylised symbols of ethno-national suffering rather than humans with complex motivations and horizons of experience.

To sum up, *I Love You* challenges a postcolonial South Korean narrative in which femininity becomes an empty shell to be filled with ethno-national symbolism while women are stripped of any agency in the formation of the collective whose actor is always imagined as male. By virtue of its protagonist, the piece carves out a niche for female characters to test their agency within the colonial system and at the same time deplores the double bind they face, which sets them apart from their male Korean counterparts. It thus adds to the postcolonial discourse in South Korea which all too often leaves little space for women's experiences.

2.5 Conclusion

Coming back to Yuval-Davis and Anthias' insight of women "as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories"²²³ quoted at the beginning of this section, throughout this chapter I have drawn attention to the deeply gendered way the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nations are constituted in their narration of imperial memory. Literature hereby complicates notions of perpetrator and victim, of Self and Other and the gendered nature of the separation of the ethno-nations of Japan and South Korea thus takes different shapes in the texts.

I argue that the Japanese empire differs from the British or French in its postcolonial memory in that the dominant sentiment on both sides of the national divide is a profound feeling of powerlessness and insecurity vis-à-vis the respective ethno-national Other. This can perhaps be attributed to the particular case of the Japanese empire that ended with

²²³ Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Woman - Nation - State*, 7.

country's defeat in the Pacific War and the subsequent relatively subordinated position of former colony and metropole within the Cold War world order. The perceived powerlessness relating to the colonial power apparatus is palpable in Japanese and South Korean literature alike. As seen in the texts of Son Ch'angsöp, Ha Künch'an and Kajiyama Toshiyuki, very often this powerlessness is expressed in terms of lacking male virility in face of the national and gendered Other. A further indicator for the profound rift the colonial experience created lies the fact that, with the exception of *When the Hibiscus Blooms*, sexual relations between Japanese and Korean characters are doomed to failure or do not come into existence at all. This stands in stark contrast to other examples of post-war literature such as "the literature of the flesh" in which sexual access to a woman's body becomes a way to liberate the masculine subject from pre-war suppression and post-war humiliation.²²⁴

However, the consequences drawn from the perceived impotence that is described in gendered terms differ between Japanese and South Korean writers and in part reveal discursive continuities from the colonial period. This underscores the unequal power relation that persisted between both postcolonial states and the fact that in many ways, 1945 did not mark a clear rupture.

In my discussion of Kajiyama Toshiyuki's *Chōsen mono*, I have thus shown how in his depiction of Korea by means of reductive and sexist stereotypes, he commits epistemological violence by reiterating colonial-period discourses such as the colonial kitsch of the 1930/40s Korea Boom, the fascination with *kisaeng* and the colonial-period appropriation of Korean crafts, thus uncritically reproducing a Japanese notion of 'Korean beauty' which holds the former colony in eternal subordination. Furthermore, whilst highly critical of Japanese imperialism, his texts are complicit in the foundational narrative described by Yoshikuni Igarashi. This attests to the persistence of neo-colonial discourses in postcolonial Japanese society, fuelled by social facts such as the Japanese *kisaeng* tourism to the Korean peninsula or the vastly uneven economic relationship between the two countries. Kajiyama's position as *hikiagesha* did not allow him to suppress the memory of the colonial period and he made an active effort to re-insert it into public discourse. At

²²⁴ Slaymaker, *Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*.

the same time, in his literature Korea serves as a romantic neo-colonial imagery for Japanese consumption.

Male writers of the post-Korean War generation often try to restore the ethno-nation in depicting weak and dependent Japanese characters, as seen with Son Ch'angsōp's work in particular. At the same time, his texts also complicate all too easy notions of victim and perpetrator that are frequently negotiated in gendered terms and thereby subtly challenges convictions commonly held in South Korean chauvinistic national discourse. This is apparent in the female character of Ch'uncha in *To Live* who in some ways outplays the male protagonist Tongchu but even more in *The Market Price of Humans*. While not unhinging the framework of female victimisation, by giving voice to a female Japanese protagonist, Son's piece calls into question a monolithic sense of the South Korean ethno-nation which relied on a simplistic narrative on colonial violence.

Ha Künch'an's *An Episode from that Year* partakes in this general trend of depicting ongoing national humiliation by the protagonist's inability to claim the Japanese woman. Its subversive potential lies in the way this illicit naïve desire is portrayed, making the text indicative of aspects of the post-war generation's childhood experience that had to be suppressed for the sake of national unity.

Not only femininity, but also engagement with masculinity of the respective other ethno-nation once more reveals deeply-held insecurities and traumata arising from the historical events of the early 20th century. In Son Ch'angsōp's texts, Japanese men are absent for the most part while in Ha Künch'an's piece, the Japanese lieutenant exemplifies eternal Japanese superiority over Korean masculinity, even after the liberation. For the Japanese writer Kajiyama Toshiyuki, male Korean characters are often portrayed as sophisticated and well-behaved 'noble colonised' against the impotent Japanese protagonists.

A discussion of femininity in the imagining of the Japanese and South Korean ethno-nations would not be complete without consulting at least one female writer's texts. I have shown that Pak Sunnyō's *I Love You* underscores the double bind for Korean women who find themselves trapped in between discourses of colonialism and patriarchy and are affected by Japanese imperialism in a different way from Korean men. The way the text

describes the regulation of the girls' sexuality in order to serve the purposes of the empire is in some ways reminiscent of the highly emotive issue of the comfort women nowadays that is sometimes exploited for nationalist discourse in South Korea and becomes a political tool. As a female author Pak Sunnyǒ cannot easily partake in a national discourse in which women become the pawns of ethno-national identity formation that we see so often in the literature of male authors.

It is noteworthy that Douglas Slaymaker observes a similar trend for Japanese female authors in the immediate post-war period. He concludes that while women writers of that time might share the *nikutai* authors' concerns with sexuality and employ marginalised female characters such as sex-workers, for them, physicality does not become a tool for liberation but rather is a means to visualise and embody the immediate post-war experience of lack and deprivation. For women of the period, nothing much has changed in terms of female subjugation under patriarchal principles which is why they proved unable to share their male contemporaries' optimism.²²⁵ In this instance as well, we see how women writers choose to explore multi-faceted female subjectivities as part of the ethno-national narrative rather than setting 'woman' as a mere symbolic category against a male ethno-national subject.

In the above chapter, I have analysed the shapes masculinity and femininity take in exemplifying the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nations. In the next section, I will add the theme of nostalgia and explain how many texts relate it to a perceived Korean ethno-national essence that is, once more, understood as female.

²²⁵ Slaymaker, *Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*, 131-159.

3. Colonial nostalgia and a gendered Korean essence: the mother and the beautiful maiden

In this chapter, I will expand on the theme of the ethno-nation imagined as female that I have discussed in the previous section by introducing texts that present the *topos* through a nostalgic filter. I will show how this mode of depiction can be used to convey a politically subversive message on imperialism. One of the texts discussed here - *Dobei* (*Mud Wall*, 1969) has been written by female Japanese author Morisaki Kazue (born 1927). The two South Korean pieces in this chapter – *Yǒjōng* (*Thoughts when Travelling*, 1954) by female author Kang Shinchae and male writer Kim Chōngahn's *Surado* (*Asura Realm*, 1969) – reverse the common expectation according to which authors primarily describe experiences most similar to their own in that the former features a male protagonist, while the latter revolves around a towering female main character. As we will see, all three in some ways feed into the narrative of the Korean colony as being defined in terms of female qualities that we have already observed in the previous chapter, but at the same time, each of them also complicates the simple dichotomy of male Japanese coloniser versus female Korean colony in different ways. They thus constitute prime examples of how literature on the one hand partakes in simplistic political discourses and at the same time extends or challenges them.

In both Japanese and South Korean literature on the colonial period it is often the nostalgic tone with which the landscape or indigenous customs are described that strikes the eye. One study that proves helpful in framing nostalgia is Svetlana Boym's seminal work *The Future of Nostalgia*,²²⁶ where she investigates the nostalgic memory construction of the Soviet Union in contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe. She points to the transformative and creative potential of nostalgia, an assessment that I would supplement with its politically subversive force. Boym offers a discursive typology of nostalgia that distinguishes between what she calls "restorative" and "reflective nostalgia". Restorative

²²⁶ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

nostalgia can be associated with Hobswan's "invented traditions" and thrives in pompous displays of national symbols. It understands itself as "truth and tradition", rather than something as quaint as nostalgia.²²⁷ An example of restorative nostalgia relevant to the topic of this thesis is the War Memorial in Seoul, a museum that dwells on past military feats and seeks to integrate them into a South Korean narrative of nationhood.²²⁸ Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, complicates the simplistic storylines of restorative nostalgia: "Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming wistfully, ironically, desperately. (...) Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt."²²⁹ Boym underscores the subversive potential that lies in the reflective type of nostalgia: "At best, reflective nostalgia can present an ethical and creative challenge, not merely a pretext for midnight melancholias."²³⁰ We will see in the analyses below how South Korean and Japanese authors accomplish subtle criticism of collective memory processes within their respective societies by deploying a nostalgic mode of depiction. Finally, Boym stresses that "[t]his typology of nostalgia allows us to distinguish between national memory that is based on a single plot of national identity, and social memory, which consists of collective frameworks that mark but do not define the individual memory."²³¹ In my view, this is where the potential lies in Boym's typology. Displays of nostalgia are oftentimes considered conservative and nationalistic but such an understanding obscures the subversive force that can lie in casting a nostalgic gaze at an idealised past time or practice while at the same time highlighting the contradictions inherent in such a stance.

At this point, it seems appropriate to introduce Sō Insik (1906-?), a Korean colonial-period intellectual whom Janet Poole discusses in her *When the Future Disappears*.²³² Sō

²²⁷ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 18.

²²⁸ For an analysis of the War Memorial, see Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building*, 117-140.

²²⁹ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 18.

²³⁰ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 18.

²³¹ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 18.

²³² Janet Poole, *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 51-84.

theorises the varied and widespread phenomenon of nostalgia in his time and describes what he terms decadent nostalgia as a way to handle the contradictions of his late-colonial present. He classifies three types of nostalgia – the feudal, the modern and the decadent. The feudal type of nostalgia is marked by “longing for a native tradition that appears to be on the verge of disappearing”²³³ and Sō identifies it with writers such as Pak T'aewŏn and Yi T'aejun who in his view hold on to a past in the present and therefore represent an attitude that needs to be overcome in order for the ethno-nation to progress. The modern type of nostalgia, which Sō sees embodied by writer Im Hwa, was born from the disillusion of intellectuals who, born in the decade after the turn to the twentieth century, had “subscribed wholeheartedly to the ideology of modernism” and studied in Japan in order to educate themselves and bestow the merits of modernity onto Korea. With the 1940s, their enthusiasm had **receded** and they found themselves increasingly disappointed by the broken promises of the imperial enterprise and the firm grasp in which it held their country. The third type, decadent nostalgia, is identified by Sō with the poet O Changhwan. He describes this type as specific to Korea of his time, yet it exhibits a surprising affinity to Boym's concept of reflective nostalgia: “The way out did not entail sugarcoating the loss or proposing a substitute object of fancy but required digging deeper into the malaise, to embrace it, to feel its pain, and to accept it as an intimate part of one's identity.”²³⁴ This nostalgia of a generation that is not rooted in traditional customs and is too young to have been influenced by the optimism accompanying the March First Movement does not have a concrete object of its longing but can rather be described as a “historical emotion”, to borrow from Boym once more.²³⁵ For Sō, who was “concerned with the historical conditions that enable or prevent the imagining of a different future”,²³⁶ pondering on the nostalgic sentimentalities of his time was an attempt to overcome the present predicaments of colonial modernity. We will see in the discussions below that in fact, this reflective nostalgia *avant la lettre* described by Sō was in fact not specific to just his

²³³ Poole, *When the Future Disappears*, 56.

²³⁴ Poole, *When the Future Disappears*, 59.

²³⁵ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 10.

²³⁶ Poole, *When the Future Disappears*, 61.

own time and experiences a comeback in post-Korean War South Korea in the memory of the colonial period.

As we will see in my discussion of the three texts below, narratives of reflective nostalgia challenge the idea of a monolithic Japanese and South Korean ethno-national essence and highlight the frictions in the hegemonic discourses on nationhood that came into being after 1945. All three texts, I argue, move between the poles of restorative and reflective nostalgia. On the one hand, the South Korean pieces in particular are informed by the national nostalgic narrative of Japanese imperialism in Korea having been unjust, cruel and violent in an attempt to reclaim the soil and heart of Korea that has been lost to imperialism and its aftermath. On the other, they partake in a reflective nostalgia in calling into question simplistic ascriptions of ethno-national belonging and boundaries between the imagined nations of Japan and South Korea and thereby reveal the political force of such discourses.

While the three texts differ in the ways they deploy a nostalgic mode of depiction, the fact that their nostalgic memory is constructed in a gendered way is evident. In some ways, they thus partake in a narrative told many times over that brands women as passive objects that signify the ethno-nation and are being acted upon. As mentioned in the previous chapter with reference to Sheila Miyoshi Jager, “woman” becomes an empty category that exists solely to denote the suffering of the collective. However, a closer look reveals that in these pieces, the representation of Korea as possessing an inherently female essence can become a subversive tool, much like the nostalgic mode of depiction itself. This is accomplished by dissolving the male metropole versus female colony dichotomy in *Mud Wall*, by blurring ethno-national and gender boundaries in *Thoughts when Travelling* and through a strong focus on female subjectivities in *Asura Realm*.

As always, it is important to note the altering preconditions in former colony and metropole. Nayoung Aimee Kwon explains how nostalgia differed between the two during the colonial period:

In the case of Japan’s imperialist nostalgia for colonial kitsch, this assumed familiarity to the “lost” object is in fact an illegitimate and imaginary relationship to Korea’s bygone days based not on an actual memory but on the present

colonizing desire to subsume even a past *prior* to colonization. Conversely, Korea's nostalgic desire for a national tradition is similarly a projection of present anxieties onto a past constructed as an ideal time and place uncontaminated by current imperial incursions.²³⁷

The two Korean texts discussed in this chapter certainly use the nostalgic mode of depiction to reclaim an (imaginary) pre-colonial Korean landscape and ethno-national essence and thereby carry a colonial-period theme into postcolonial South Korean narratives. Morisaki Kazue's case is more complicated. While it is important to note this significant gap in desires, I hold that for the *hikiagesha* writer, who writes from a postcolonial perspective, the nostalgic longing takes an ambivalent shape, as we will see below. Literature is particular in the way it constructs subjectivities, often more multi-layered and contradictory than political discourse. This is how the texts discussed here articulate a sense of nostalgia: "Unlike melancholia, which confines itself to the planes of individual consciousness, nostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective memory."²³⁸ I will demonstrate below how Morisaki Kazue, Kang Shinchae and Kim Chöngahn's works show how nostalgia can become a social commentary, a way to deal with trauma, how to insert individual memory into the collective discourse and how to voice concern for "unrealized dreams of the past and visions of the future that became obsolete."²³⁹

3.1 Ōmōni! Morisaki Kazue's *Dobei (Mud Wall, 1969)*

Morisaki Kazue is significant as the only female *hikiagesha* writer who gained critical acclaim and a certain degree of celebrity. A feminist and leftist activist, her nuanced assessment of the colonial period differs from the somewhat broad-brushed approach we encountered with Kajiyama Toshiyuki in the previous chapter. Morisaki was born in 1927 in North Kyōngsang Province in Korea. At age seventeen she moved to Kyūshū and in 1947 graduated from Fukuoka Provincial Women's College. In 1958, she moved to the

²³⁷ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 106.

²³⁸ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 16.

²³⁹ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 16.

miner's town Chikuhō where she co-founded the leftist journal *Sākuru mura* and subsequently made a name for herself as an author of poetry and non-fiction. Her collected works were published in five volumes in 2008.²⁴⁰ Morisaki's work has a distinctive place in leftist literary scholarship due to its commitment to marginalised groups, be it workers, prostitutes or the Korean minority in Japan.

*Dobei (Mud Wall, 1969)*²⁴¹ is written in the form of an autobiographical recollection of the narrator's visit to South Korea at some point after the Korean War. While generally constructed in a chronological manner, there are cross-cuts featuring depictions of prior encounters that are contrasted with the events of the main plot line. The narrator visits a rural village where she meets the wife (to whom she refers as *ōmōni* [mother]) and son K of late Korean medical student S with whom her father entertained a close relationship and who died of typhus. Her father held a teaching post, and it is implied that his affection for them adversely affected the lives of the people in the village, but the reader never learns in which way exactly. The narrator is greeted warmly by the whole village with food and conversation, and she learns that many of the wives' husbands went to the North during the Korean War as volunteers resulting in their sons not even knowing their faces. The narrator is enchanted by the easy-going and open attitude displayed by the village women and contrasts it with that of the sophisticated women she met in Seoul, thereby highlighting a perceived rift between rural and urban South Korea. The story closes with a very warm parting of the narrator with K and *ōmōni* during which the narrator does not feel that she was not forgiven but rather that they did not judge her – a Japanese born in colonial Korea – at all.

In what follows, I will expand on three aspects in order to support my main argument that in *Mud Wall*, a perceived Korean essence is frozen nostalgically in time in the

²⁴⁰ Morisaki Kazue 森崎和江, *Morisaki Kazue korekushon: seishinshi no tabi* 森崎和江コレクション: 精神史の旅. [*Morisaki Kazue Collection: a Journey Into an Intellectual History*] (Tokyo: Fujiwara shoten 藤原書店, 2008).

²⁴¹ Morisaki Kazue 森崎和江, 'Dobei 土堀 [Mud Wall]', in *Korekushon sensō to bungaku* コレクション戦争と文学 [*Collection War and Literature*], vol. 17: Teikoku Nihon to Chōsen, Karafuto 帝国日本と朝鮮・樺太 [Imperial Japan and Korea, Karafuto], eds. Asada Jirō 浅田次郎 et al. (Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 2012), 428–48.

narrator's memory and identified as inherently female. At the same time, the text manages to break open the dichotomy of male Japanese coloniser versus female Korean colony and subverts the hierarchy inherent in this paradigm. *Mud Wall* thus reveals the creative potential of reflective nostalgia that manages to re-define the chauvinistic traditionalism engrained in restorative nostalgia. Firstly, I will explain how colonial Korea that is nostalgically imagined as the "mother" on the one hand reproduces sexist notions of the colony as female and backwards but then goes beyond the simplistic dichotomy by challenging the idea of fixed separate origins of the Korean and Japanese ethno-nations. Furthermore, the text reveals frictions within Japanese society and thus circumvents the foundational narrative. Secondly, I will elaborate on how the text carries on the nostalgic theme of Korean authenticity as embodied by the mother and defines Korean village women as bearers of "Korean-ness", untainted by Western or Japanese intellectual concepts. However, at the same time, the text allows for a reading against feminist standards, marking South Korea as more advanced than Japan and thus reversing common postcolonial discourses. Finally, I will talk about how the text utilises an unconventional notion of Japanese masculinities to challenge the foundational narrative.

It is striking that in *Mud Wall* the memory of colonial Korea as well as the contemporary South Korean ethno-nation are closely linked to female characters – the Korean "mother" (*ǒmōni*) in the first instance and the Korean village women in the second, as we will see below. Moreover, this gendered representation is marked by a pervasively nostalgic mode of depiction that at the same time makes use of the subversive potential of reflective nostalgia to disrupt common gendered representations of (former) colony versus coloniser. Let us begin by discussing the figure of the *ǒmōni*. The correlation of Korea or the Korean land with the mother is a recurring theme in Morisaki Kazue's work, not only in *Mud Wall* but also in pieces such as her memoir-style prose text *Keishū wa haha no yobikoe* (*Kyōngju is the Mother's Call*, 1984) or the essay *Futatsu no kotoba, futatsu no kokoro* (*Two Languages, Two Souls*, 1968). As we will see in my discussion below, the recurrence of the Korean *ǒmōni* can be thought to be related to Morisaki's personal experience of her upbringing in Korea with a local nursemaid. In the following, I will, however, explore how

this personal narrative relates back to and extends the overarching East Asian memorial narrative of a perceived female Korean essence.

I will discuss this motive based on the following central quotation from *Mud Wall*. The narrator has just arrived back to the village of her childhood, where she was greeted warmly by the locals, leading to her reminiscing about her childhood and the significance of the term *ǒmōni* for her as she grew up:

The word *ǒmōni* is Korean for “mother”. (...) It is a word with a nice ring to it. The Japanese in Korea called the lady who helped with their housekeeping *ǒmōni*. The younger female aids we called *nēya* in the Japanese style. While I grew up, *ǒmōni* and *nēya* were like big fluffy floor cushions around me that I could touch. (...) I don't remember being carried on my mother's back, but I have some memories remaining of the warmth on my *ǒmōni*'s back and how her hair touched my cheeks and lips. (...) They both told us fairy tales and I no longer know who had told what until where. Even if I could tell them apart, because the scenery that met my eyes every day was the Korean mountains and rivers, naturally, my poetic sentiment was raised by the natural features of Korea. For this reason, there is no way I could replace the term *ǒmōni* with something else (433).²⁴²

This passage makes use of the widespread tool of *glossing*,²⁴³ in the Japanese-Korean context denominating the use of certain key words either as Japanese in Korean script (*hangǔl*) or Korean in the Japanese *katakana*-alphabet with a translation of the terms in brackets. This phenomenon is a common theme in postcolonial literatures throughout the world. With Ashcroft et al. I argue that the use of the Korean term *ǒmōni* instead of the Japanese equivalent word for mother (*okāsan*) is metonymic.²⁴⁴ The use of Korean lexemes in a Japanese text indicates that the concept behind those terms is untranslatable and relates to some kind of essential, female origin that has been disrupted, but not extinguished, by the colonial experience. Stemming from a Japanese author's quill, this kind of language usage indicates nostalgia for an authentic 'Korean-ness', a longing that can be observed in many of the works dealing with the colonial period, as we have already seen with Kajiyama Toshiyuki.

²⁴² App. i.

²⁴³ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed, New Accents (London: Routledge, 2002), 60-63.

²⁴⁴ Ashcroft et al., *Empire Writes Back*, 50-56.

The quotation explicitly links the Korean land – the mountains and rivers – to the female figure of the *ōmōni* – a kind of language that evokes a gendered imagery of the Japanese and Korean ethno-nations. Presenting Korea in such an idealised way as “the mother” with a strong nostalgic undertone is in line with what Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias describe when they demonstrate how femininity becomes the boundary marker of the nation.²⁴⁵ At first glance, Morisaki thus follows a trajectory similar to Kajiyama’s that we have examined in the previous chapter in that she simplistically links a romanticised image of Korea – marked by its idyllic landscape rather than, say, civilizational progress or anything that would put Korea on a par with Japan – to the figure of Korean women. She thus seems to reproduce the sexist and Orientalist Japanese representation of the colony that flourished with the Korea Boom in the 1930/40s and has since been a strand of discourse in Japan.

However, contrary to male writers such as Kajiyama Toshiyuki, Morisaki’s piece avoids a dichotomy of the Japanese metropole defined as male versus a subjugated Korean colony that is portrayed as female, as we will also see below in the discussion of her father’s relationship to the Korean youth. In the quote above, the figures of the narrator’s Korean *ōmōni* and her Japanese mother blur in her memory of them telling her fairy tales which indicates that the alleged female origin of the Korean ethno-nation in this imagery is extended to Japan as well. Through the description of her eating both Japanese and Korean food and both “mothers” equally taking care of her, the text champions a hybrid concept of the ethno-nation and refutes the postcolonial notion of Japan and South Korea as strictly separated nations with clearly defined homogeneous populations. Still, with its insistence on keeping the Korean term *ōmōni*, the piece also does not fall into the trap of reproducing colonial period discourses of *naisen ittai*. In addition, the quote illustrates the special position of the *hikiagesha*, trapped between two homelands represented by two mothers. Compared to the two male *hikiagesha* writers discussed in the present study, Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Kobayashi Masaru, we see how Morisaki Kazue, writing from a female and feminist perspective, manages to re-define certain gendered aspects of

²⁴⁵ Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Woman - Nation - State*, 7.

postcolonial memorial discourse in Japan and thus provides the image with subversive potential in ways not apparent in her male counterparts.

In calling onto the two mothers and highlighting the ambivalence of a fixed origin, *Mud Wall* reveals the creative and subversive potential of Boym's reflective nostalgia. While longing for an essentialised origin, at the same time, the text seems to be aware that such an origin was ambivalent and imaginary to begin with. This at first glance seems to be a reproduction of neo-colonial gendered discourses that uses the same trope of the feminised colony that we find commonly in restorative nostalgia. However, *Mud Wall* uses these discourses to suggest an imagined fixity of the Korean and Japanese ethno-nations in order to subvert this image and challenge the idea of a fixed origin and a binary divide between former colony and metropole that runs alongside the gender divide as well.

These observations can be supplemented with Brett de Bary's essay on the above-mentioned essay *Futatsu no kotoba, futatsu no kokoro* where she explains that the figure of the *ōmōni* represents an origin which cannot be retrieved, thus marking Morisaki's "refusal to essentialize national culture in terms of an origin". Throughout her essay, de Bary explains how Morisaki's insistence on the Korean *ōmōni* as the origin of the contradictory *hikiagesha* subject can be read as resistance against an essentialised Japanese national culture, as screen memory²⁴⁶ for the traumatic event of separation from the maternal body. She further suggests that "[t]he image of the Korean mother also suggests the necessary temporality within which Morisaki insists the relation to the past is constructed, thus again making origins inevitably irretrievable".²⁴⁷ She thus pointedly identifies the in-between state of the *hikiagesha*, having had to leave the perceived Korean native place and settling in a 'homeland Japan' which was often hostile to returnees, as we have seen in the introduction. At the same time, de Bary does not address the Orientalist-sexist dimension and the related power relation of identifying Korea as female that is apparent in *Mud Wall*.

²⁴⁶ A screen memory is a memory which is associated with a distressing event but in itself tolerable for the subject. The subject uses the screen memory unconsciously in order to suppress the actual memory of the distressing event itself.

²⁴⁷ Brett de Bary, 'Morisaki Kazue's "Two Languages, Two Souls": Language, Communicability, and the National Subject', in *Deconstructing Nationality*, eds. Naoki Sakai, Brett de Bary and Toshio Iyotani, Cornell East Asia Series 124 (Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2005), 229–56, 247f.

While the text traces an essentialist Korean origin, as the above-cited quotation carries on, it emphasises that this perception is not univocal and that within Japanese society very different notions of the term *ōmōni* exist when the protagonist remembers her encounter with a former childhood friend:

But recently I have learned that among the Japanese living in Korea, there were also people who used the word *ōmōni* as a derogatory term. A couple of days ago I met one of my childhood friends for the first time in about thirty years. He said the following:

"I can't even imagine how the Koreans would build their country or do anything all by themselves. I wonder whether those *ōmōni* and *yōbo* can do politics or culture and the like. No matter how much I think about it, I can only consider them a bunch of idiots."

He was the son of an army man. As I heard in blank amazement those words of someone I had been close to when I was young, I thanked my late father. Perhaps his candour for the Korean youth had given me the word *ōmōni* when he was still alive (434).²⁴⁸

In a way, by voicing conservative Japanese postcolonial stereotypes against the former colony, this son of a military man demonstrates how an unequal power hierarchy continues to take its toll. Again, Korea is defined as female (although the derogatory term *yōbo* is gender neutral, *ōmōni* is listed first) but this time in an attempt to belittle the country. By putting those words into the mouth of a fellow second-generation colonist, the text also challenges the generational divide of the parent generation as defined by an aggressive military doctrine versus the younger generation as a victim of their parents' mistakes – a narrative that constitutes a strong undercurrent in *hikiagesha* writer Kajiyama Toshiyuki, as we have seen in the previous chapter. The piece rejects the notion of a unified Japanese voice concerning the colonial past and it is apparent how the connotation of Korea as female, while essentialist, carries very different nuances with feminist writer Morisaki Kazue than with her male contemporaries. While in Kajiyama's Korea stories, the identification of Korea as female serves to maintain a postcolonial power hierarchy between former colony and metropole, in Morisaki's case, she uses the figure of the *ōmōni* to subvert the notion of an essentialised Japanese or Korean origin. After this discussion of

²⁴⁸ App. ii.

the function the nostalgic representation of colonial Korea as *ǒmōni* serves in the text, I will go on to elaborate on how *Mud Wall* extends this image to identify contemporary South Korean society as defined by a female principle embodied by the rural women in the village.

In the following, I will discuss how the text represents contemporary Korean femininities. While highlighting divergences within South Korea, particularly between women in the countryside versus in the city, the piece still rather simplistically portrays the rural women as bearers of an authentic 'Korean-ness' and carries on its nostalgic theme discussed in the previous paragraphs. At the same time, *Mud Wall* introduces a potential hierarchy between former colony and metropole that differs from the common Japanese representations of Korea and is measured against feminist standards, as we will see. *Mud Wall* discusses Korean femininity in a particular way when the narrator describes her impression of the village women and compares it to that of the sophisticated women she met in Seoul. Her encounter with the frank and friendly women in the countryside differs completely in character from that with the sophisticated, Japan-, Europe- or America-educated female functionaries in Seoul.

To her, the prior represent a connection to the Korean soil which contrasts with the latter's modern rationality. Yet, both village and city women express discomfort with the Japanese custom of a woman changing her surname upon marriage, stating that the name is attached to a person's individual character. The narrator explains to the women in the village:

"It seems that Japanese women as well are not happy from the bottom of their heart to change their names. When there's only women around, married women often sigh and say that they can't bear the thought of being buried in the grave of their husband and his family." As I soon as I had said this, the women, who had been eating on their knees, bend their bodies backwards, cried 'the same grave!' and showed an expression as if that was something unclean (443-445).²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ App. iii.

The village women are also contrasted with the men of their community and the narrator contemplates that they occupy different domains; the men the intellectual terrain of Confucianism and Marxism, the women attached to the earth as their principle.

The text is particular in the sense that it offers a focus on female stories and on how women in particular are affected by the war as well as the aftermath of imperialism. South Korea is described as a society marked by missing fathers and husbands, and we understand how women suffer the consequences by losing their partners (440). Far from seeing “Korean women” as a monolithic mass, however, the piece opens interesting oppositions and it contrasts the sophisticated upper class women in Seoul with the peasant women the narrator meets in the small village. The village women, the text seems to suggest, are bearers of a more authentic ‘Korean-ness’, and while the city women’s rationality ties modern Western and Japanese knowledge to Korean wisdom, the rural women’s connection to the Korean soil offers them a separate realm, untainted by Japanese and Western intrusion. They are contrasted with both the educated rationality of the city women and the rationality of their fellow village men. In this way, the piece makes them the ultimate subaltern, the rural, female, colonial Others who can express themselves only through their physical connection to the land they inhabit and not through words and concepts. The text describes the village women in an extremely favourable light, but in the end a postcolonial power divide is maintained which is also indicated by the narrator’s usage of the polite linguistic register. While in the introduction of the sophisticated Seoul women the text continuously makes use of the polite *keigo*-speech, passages on the rural women use the plain form, maintaining a hierarchy even at an inner-textual level. Ultimately, the village women as a whole are not much more than noble savages.

At the same time, however, the text also allows for a reading of a different kind of hierarchy, measured against feminist standards. Both city and village women are surprisingly united in their rejection of the Japanese custom of the wife taking the husband’s family name upon marriage, and this rejection is explicitly connected to the arch-Korean principle of *han*. *Han* (恨) is usually argued to be untranslatable but “most

define it as a kind of sorrow, a response to conditions of injustice and suffering.”²⁵⁰ The concept is thought to be a Korean reaction to historical injustice experienced on a collective level, be it the centuries of Chinese influence, the colonisation or the civil war of the 1950s. There is some argument as to whether the notion of *han* dates back to ancient times or is a more modern phenomenon that gained particular currency only with the Japanese colonisation. Regardless of its exact origin, it is undisputed that since the 1960s, *han* has become a central part of the South Korean ethno-national self-perception: “In the context of a reemerging sense of nationalism in South Korea, Han has been increasingly presented as an essential aspect of traditional Korean culture.”²⁵¹ Thus, by linking the insistence on keeping one’s own surname after marriage to *han*, which is seen as an expression of the essential Korean soul in both Japan and Korea itself, the text suggests that this kind of female independence thus is a constitutive part of the Korean ethno-nation. Japanese women, who have to submit themselves to their husbands’ will as the narrator has to admit, are in a way less advanced than their Korean counterparts. Since men in South Korea are mostly absent, the piece describes an alternative world in which Korean women could overtake Japanese women in terms of emancipation. In this way, the notion of the Korean ethno-nation as female – in many male authors’ writings used to portray the former colony as weak and dependent – is redefined in this text as signifying a particular strength that Japanese society lacks. Similar to the concept of the *ōmōni*, which *Mud Wall* uses to challenge the postcolonial notions of gendered and clearly separate Japanese and Korean ethno-nations, the text here manages to subvert the sexist image that equates femininity with weakness and instead transforms it into a marker of progress. At the same time, the complexity of post- and neo-colonial discourses is revealed when the piece carries on discursive strands of colonial kitsch that see the essence of Korea engrained in the village women who remain little more than noble savages.

After having outlined how the text uses Korean femininities to subvert the postcolonial discourse, I will analyse how the two male characters of the narrator’s father and the

²⁵⁰ Roland Bleiker and Hoang Young-ju, “Korean Sources of Conflict Resolution: an Inquiry into the Concept of *Han*,” in *Mediating Across Difference: Oceanic and Asian Approaches to Conflict Resolution*, ed. Morgan Brigg and Roland Bleiker (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2011), 248-69, 250 .

²⁵¹ Bleiker and Hoang, “Korean Sources of Conflict Resolution,” 251.

Korean Youth S are portrayed and how *Mud Wall* challenges the foundational narrative. The narrator's late father is described as an educated man who was sympathetic to the Korean people even in their struggle for independence from Japan (439). Particular focus is laid on his relationship to the Korean Youth S, who is referred to as "the young man my late father had loved tremendously (*hijōni aishita*)"²⁵² (430), and the narrator emphasises how her father's love has distorted the lives of the Koreans who were the object of his affection (431). A homoerotic connection between the youth and the father is alluded to but never made explicit. One of the prominent features that distinguishes the text from other postcolonial memorial narratives is that it carefully avoids any gendered relationships of a dominating male versus a subjugated female in its depiction of Japanese-Korean relationships, as we have already seen in my discussion above in relation to femininity. Taking up this relationship between two men rather than a relationship between a Japanese man and a Korean woman, the text once more refuses to reproduce a male-female dichotomy in its depiction of former Korean colony and Japanese metropole.

Despite the fact that her father loved Korea and was sympathetic to Korean liberation, the text avoids granting him absolution and the narrator's relationship to her dead father is conflicted as she cannot help but feel his guilt. In the following scene is the narrator musing on her father's impact on the lives of the Koreans in the village:

Having said that, they probably would have led such a life even if they hadn't met my father. This was because he was only a common Japanese man under the colonial regime. But for me, just as much as the crime of the imperial authority to dominate, the sins of the everyday consciousness of Japanese commoners weighted on my mind. Under what kind of general rules was exchange with the other ethnic group carried out in everyday life, how was this related to the consciousness of the people resident in Japan, how did this consciousness of the people and the principle of authority to dominate stand in a complementary relationship? If being unaware of this, thought that overcomes the evil of Japan's invasion of Asia (the special national character of Japan that caused it, its intrinsic necessity) cannot be born within the everyday consciousness of the Japanese people. This is why even the life of my father, who was nothing more than a sincere, romantic and passionate person, weighs on my mind... (432).²⁵³

²⁵² App. iv.

²⁵³ App. v.

In this quotation, the narrator refuses to align with the foundational narrative and challenges it by interrogating the “everyday consciousness” of ordinary people and the part that her father played as a common man during the colonial occupation of Korea. On the one hand, she admits to the fact that there are qualitative differences within the Japanese population when she expresses gratefulness to her father after mentioning the above-cited son of a military man and his condescending attitude towards Koreans. On the other hand, while she thus identifies her father as clearly different from the military caste that the foundational narrative makes out to be the sole group responsible for imperialism and war, she does not permit a simple dichotomy between military class and ‘ordinary citizens’. *Mud Wall* thus is written against the foundational narrative that permits ‘collective amnesia’ in postcolonial Japan and absolves ordinary citizens and the *tennō* from interrogating their own war responsibility. The fact that the narrator’s father is described as a **counterpoint** to stereotypical Japanese military masculinity by way of his kindness towards the Korean and the homosocial relationship with the Youth S does not lead to acceptance of the foundational narrative. Instead, **in contrast to** Kajiyama’s pieces, it invites contemplation on the complicity of ordinary citizens in the regime. Once more, *Mud Wall* points to layers of and frictions within Japanese society and thus defies the illusion of the Japanese and South Korean ethno-nations as monolithic entities.

To sum up, *Mud Wall* in some respects can be said to reproduce colonial kitsch with its nostalgic and romanticised identification of the Korean colony as female and extends this discourse by marking the village women as bearers of a perceived Korean authenticity through their detachment from Western and Japanese intellectual concepts. At the same time, the piece reveals the subversive potential of reflective nostalgia firstly by using the double figures of the Japanese and Korean mothers to defy a notion of a fixed ethno-national origin. Secondly, by linking the Korean principle of *han* to female independence, the narrative disrupts a strand of postcolonial discourse that identifies femininity with weakness and colonial dependence and thus marks South Korea as more advanced than its former coloniser Japan. Finally, also in the relationship between the narrator’s Japanese father and the Korean Youth S, the text avoids the stereotypical male-female dichotomy commonly found in the depiction of metropole and colony and furthermore defies the

foundational narrative by interrogating the complicity of ordinary citizens in the colonial regime.

Next, I will discuss how reflective nostalgia is used as a weapon against Japanese imperialism on the other side of the national divide – in South Korean female writer Kang Shinchae's narrative *Thoughts when Travelling*.

3.2 The rural sanctuary and the young girl: Kang Shinchae's *Yōjōng* (*Thoughts when Travelling*, 1954)

Despite its complexity and the way it subtly challenges simplistic postcolonial narratives, Kang Shinchae's *Yōjōng* (*Thoughts when Travelling*, 1954)²⁵⁴ is a much overlooked text. Kang (1924-2001) was a prolific writer with an active career of forty-five years, spanning the time from 1949 when she made her debut with the short piece *Chōng Suni* to the publication of her last work in 1994.²⁵⁵ Despite this fact, her work has not been subject to extensive academic scrutiny, whether in or outside of Korea, and to my knowledge the text that will be discussed in the following, *Thoughts when Travelling*, has escaped scholarly attention altogether.

Most scholars dealing with Kang Shinchae nowadays hold that in the years prior to the late 1980s or early 1990s, the reception of her work had been shaped by social prejudice against the author as the “most female of all female writers” (*kachang yōlyuchakkachōkin yōlyuchakka*)²⁵⁶ as an oft-quoted assessment by Cho Yōnhyōn in 1960 goes.²⁵⁷ Only with the rise of feminist literary studies has Kang Shinchae's work come to be re-evaluated, and in recent investigations broader aspects of her literature have come into focus. It is worth

²⁵⁴ Kang Shinchae 강신재, 'Yōjōng 여정 [Thoughts when Travelling]', in *Yōjōng* 여정 [*Thoughts when Travelling*] (Seoul: Chung'ang munhwasa 중앙문화사, 1959), 85–109.

²⁵⁵ Ch'oe Miran 최미란, 'Kang Shinchae üi ch'ogi tanp'yōn sosol yōn'gu: "Hüihwa", "Yōchōng" ül chungsim ūro 강신재의 초기 단편소설 연구: 『희화』,『여정』을 중심으로 [A Study of Kang Shinchae's Early Short Fiction: on "Hüihwa" and "Yōjōng"]' (MA thesis, Ch'ungnan University, 2008), 1.

²⁵⁶ Cho Yōnhyōn 조연현, 'Kang Shinchae tansang - kū üi che2ch'ang chakchip "Yōjōng" ül chungshim ūro 강신재 단상-그의 제2창작집『여정』을 중심으로 [Spotlight on Kang Shinchae - on Her Second Anthology "Yōjōng"]', *Hyōndae Munhak* 현대문학 2 (1960).

²⁵⁷ On the reception of Kang Shinchae's work, see Kwak Sungsuk (Kwak Seungsook) 곽승숙, 'Kang Shinchae sosol üi yōsōngsōng yōn'gu 강신재 소설의 여성성 연구 [A Study of Femininity in Kang Shinchae's Work]', *어문논집* Ōmun'nonchip 64 (2011): 189–215, among others.

mentioning, however, that most scholars still concentrate on her special role as a female writer by exploring different dimensions of femininity in her texts. While this approach risks trapping Kang Shinchae's work in a ghetto of female writing that is always understood as a deviation from the male default, at the same time, it takes into account that literature produced by women in South Korea reflects different subjectivities, especially when it comes to questions of war and nation, where gender roles are seemingly clearly defined. Moreover, despite the moderate influence of feminist theories on Korean literary studies, literature produced by women continues to be received and to a degree researched in a different way from male author's fiction. In what now follows I will attempt the balancing act of taking the gender dimension into account on the one hand, while on the other locating the piece within the overall framework of memorial discourse in East Asia. My interest will lie less with the gender of the author than the way gender roles are negotiated within the text and with gender as a political power category that goes beyond individual characters.

Thoughts when Travelling is set in the Korean countryside in the late summer of 1943 during the last phase of the war. Protagonist Hyǒn is a student of the law faculty of the university "K" in Seoul and is on a journey away from the capital without a set destination. His aim is to keep himself and his fellow students from danger due to an unspecified political incident. The story begins while he is on board a small local train. A Japanese man, presumably a high grade detective, involves him in conversation whereupon Hyǒn gets very agitated. After enquiring about Hyǒn's university, destination (he lies that he is on his way to see his dying father) and origin, the man seems satisfied and leaves. However, still feeling uneasy, Hyǒn gets off at a random station belonging to a small village by the sea and starts wandering around. The text is marked by extensive descriptions of the beautiful scenery and the sea. He meets a young girl (*sonyō*) who leads him to a village after he enquires with her about an inn. Hyǒn stays there for the night, and the next day he strolls around a little more in the surroundings of the village, where he meets the girl again. They spend the rest of the afternoon together before he has to take the train, and despite the short time they have had together, he feels tremendously close to her. In the end they part heavy-heartedly, and in the train, after the village and the girl

have disappeared from his sight into the dark, Hyǒn sheds hot tears without really knowing why himself.

In *Thoughts when Travelling*, the nostalgic mode of depiction serves to narratively construct a sanctuary where the collective traumata of colonisation and the Korean War can be soothed. While on the one hand feeding into the stereotypical dichotomy of female colony versus male coloniser, in its ambiguous main character the piece also disrupts this notion. In my following reading of the text I will focus on first, the function of the nostalgic depiction of the Korean landscape; second, the ambivalent way the protagonist performs gender and ethnicity; and third, the embodiment of a perceived Korean beautiful essence in the young girl and her role as a sanctuary for the tormented protagonist.

As shown, in *Mud Wall* the nostalgic mode of depiction was related to the figures of the ᄊᆞᆷoni and the village women and tried to evoke an idea of a Korean ethno-national essence. In *Thoughts when Travelling*, meanwhile, nostalgia is related primarily to the rural landscape and finds its embodiment in the young girl, as we will see below. Let us first see how the text sets up the idyll of the Korean countryside as a counterpoint to war and the cruelty of Japanese imperialism. Kim Poksun points out that in Kang Shinchae's work, war is described from a personal rather than a national level and that against the background of historical upheavals, the characters still live their daily lives and search for love.²⁵⁸ Certainly, the inwardness that is alluded to by Kim Poksun is characteristic for *Thoughts when Travelling* as well. However, while war and imperialism never directly touch the protagonist as we will see, the pervasive mood of melancholia in relation to the scenery indicates the deep loss created by the colonial system. Nostalgia and a longing for ethno-national authenticity thus are a reaction to the changes brought about by imperialism. The nostalgic mode of depiction here becomes a subtle tool to heal the ethno-national soul after the devastating effects of imperialism and the Korean War.

²⁵⁸ Kim Poksun (Kim Boksoon) 김복순, '1950nyöndae yösöng sosol ūi chönchaeng insik kwa kiök ūi chöngch'ihak - Kang Shinchae ūi ch'ogi tanp'yön ūl chungsim ūro 1950 년대 여성소설의 전쟁인식과 "기억의 정치학" - 강신재의 초기단편을 중심으로 [Consciousness of War and "the Politics of Memory" in 1950s Women's Fiction - on Kang Shinchae's Early Short Fiction]', 여성문학연구 Yösöng munhak yon'gu 10 (2003): 32–68: 32f.

The text is marked by a constantly palpable threat posed by the colonial authority. In the following quote, Hyǒn reflects on the increasingly repressive environment the Japanese administration enforces towards the end of the war and the implications for him on his trip:

Hyǒn had chosen the path of adventure. It was a time when even the fact of a student travelling seemingly leisurely would become subject to strict interrogation. Beginning with the “death of honour” in Atsudō, the so-called “orange forces” repeatedly suffered setbacks in the southern regions. Defeat seemed just more likely with every day. All the Japanese had come to stare at each other’s complexion with blood-shot eyes, and, moreover, the police confronted the Korean intellectual class with a rigour that went beyond imagination. Hyǒn might actually suffer the insult of a cold death before his classmates that were going to war (91).²⁵⁹

However, the violence never quite reaches the main story line and is instead countered by opulent descriptions of the scenery. The first time the reader becomes aware of the power setup is in Hyǒn’s encounter with the Japanese detective, who is antithetically contrasted with the young girl, as will be explained below. Despite Hyǒn being in a dangerous position (91), neither the encounter with the detective nor later mentions of Japanese police disrupting Korean life (97, 101) ultimately affect him. However, through this occasional reference to the social background, the strain on the Korean characters remains tangible, and we see how Hyǒn is forced to adjust his behaviour and movements even though he is at no point directly exposed to physical violence or other constraints.

Standing in stark contrast to the relentless political threat that forms the framework of the characters’ movements, the landscape is described as so beautiful that it evokes a feeling of deep melancholy in the protagonist (98, 106), mirroring Kim Ŭnha’s insight of Kang Shinchae’s characters being driven by deep aesthetic sentimentalities.²⁶⁰ Written one year after the end of the devastating Korean War to which the author lost her husband,

²⁵⁹ App. i.

²⁶⁰ Kim Ŭnha 김은하, ‘Yumichuūicha ūi kūlssugi wa yōsōng hawijuch’edūl ūi yokmang - Kang Shinchae ūi ch’ogi tanp’yōn ūl chungsim ūro 유미주의자의 글쓰기와 여성 하위주체들의 욕망 -강신재의 초기 단편을 중심으로 [The Writing of the Estheticist and the Desire of the Female Subordinate Subject - on Kang Shinchae’s Early Short Fiction]’, *여성문학연구 Yōsōng munhak yōn’gu* 20 (2008): 187–219.

this piece can also be read as a nostalgic longing for the time before the original sin of Japanese imperialism. The text seems to metaphorically reclaim the space lost to the Japanese empire but at the same time is aware of the impossibility of this endeavour. This indicates why the whole piece is carried by a very melancholic undertone that is directly set in relation to the beautiful rural landscape of colonial Korea. One quotation from Boym's work proves helpful in making sense of *Thoughts when Travelling*'s setup: "Reflective nostalgia has elements of both mourning and melancholia. While its loss is never completely recalled, it has some connection to the loss of collective frameworks of memory. Reflective nostalgia is a form of deep mourning that performs a labor of grief both through pondering pain and through play that points to the future."²⁶¹ The melancholic sentiment expressed in the text can be interpreted as an expression of the collective traumata of not only the colonisation itself, but also the ensuing Korean War, which deepened the scars inflicted by the former. While the origins of the trauma are, as elaborated, only alluded to, the grief is tangible through the nostalgic gaze onto the rural landscape. The countryside is constructed as a timeless sanctuary in which the original ethno-national essence, untouched by Japanese imperialism, is tangible. However, Hyǒn cannot remain; the untainted origin remains a nostalgic illusion, and the protagonist, much like the reader, has to face the harsh reality of 20th-century Korean social life.

The second aspect I will expand on is how the text defies a notion of fixed Japanese and Korean ethno-nations as well as how it mixes up the gender hierarchy between coloniser and colonised through its protagonist who is ambiguous ethnically and in relation to his gender. *Thoughts when Travelling* is structured around two encounters that are set up antithetically to each other – first, the Japanese inspector and second, the young girl.

During his interaction with the Japanese inspector, Hyǒn is flustered. Their conversation is described as follows:

"Excuse me, but where might your home town be?"

Hyǒn guessed that the man was hesitating because he couldn't distinguish whether he was Korean or Japanese.

²⁶¹ Boym, *Future of Nostalgia*, 55.

Hyǒn, who was wearing the uniform of a government school, possessed an appearance that, maybe because of his jet-black eyebrows, always led to him being mistaken for a Japanese. Or maybe it was also because of the way Hyǒn spoke.

“My parents are from Kyōngdo, but I was born in Seoul.”

When he said Kyōngdo, Hyǒn spoke deliberately with a Japanese intonation and even mixed a little dialect into his speech. By now, the conversation with the man simply made him feel anxious and he wanted to bring it to a quick end. His wariness ceased and now he felt only displeasure.²⁶²

It is remarkable that both Hyǒn’s gender and ethnicity remain relatively ambiguous. While certain hints such as the remark that he cannot judge the girl’s age due to the fact that he does not have any female siblings (96) or the reference to labour service (88f.) suggest that Hyǒn is indeed male, the text chooses a name for its protagonist that could designate either gender. This ambiguity is further underscored by the fact that the way he performs his gender role differs distinctively towards the inspector in comparison to the young girl. Hyǒn’s role against the male Japanese authority as exemplified by the inspector is clearly defined as inferior. On its own, the scene reads like an instance of sexual harassment where an older man oversteps the boundaries of a young girl, underscored by the repeated mention of Hyǒn’s nervousness. The Japanese authority in this passage is thus clearly defined as male whereas the male protagonist Hyǒn assumes a female and inferior role. However, given Hyǒn’s sex, this is a mere performance, indicating that the (post)colonial construction of colony and metropole, or the Japanese and South Korean nation state in a postcolonial world, through gendered hierarchies are social constructions as well.

A further indicator for the combination of qualities that are considered both female and male traditionally becomes tangible in this short quotation: “And he stretched out his two arms in front of him and looked at both his fists. Powerful fists. They were also beautiful” (99).²⁶³ With his fists that exemplify the strength of a young male opponent to Japanese rule, the mention of their beauty locates him once more in a place in-between the genders and underscores his inability to exercise power within the framework.

²⁶² App. ii.

²⁶³ App. iii.

Moreover, as can be seen in the quotation above, his ethnicity is ambiguous as well and while towards the inspector he performs a mimicry in order to seem Japanese, towards the girl he is quick to assure her that he is Korean (96). In a postcolonial South Korea that made every effort to weed out all things Japanese, deny any influence of Japanese culture on its own and establish South Korea as an independent nation state as well as ethno-nation, creating a character that stands ethnically between Korea and Japan can be deemed a political act. As in the case of gender, the piece subtly illustrates that ethnicity is partly performance and that the assumed fixity of the South Korean ethno-nation is a mere construct.

Hyōn seems to have been involved in some political, possibly anti-Japanese activities (90f.), but the text is careful not to specify the precise nature of those activities which prevents this character from being absorbed into a particular kind of national narrative in South Korea that uses Korean resistance fighters against the Japanese as a template for national identity. Instead, by establishing a character that can be read as either female or male, Korean or Japanese, the text, if not deconstructs, certainly disrupts a notion of clearly defined Japanese and Korean ethno-nations mapped out through gender and ethnicity. The text here rejects a notion that constructs the Korean ethno-nation as male and in total opposition to Japan but instead, allows for relics of ethno-national ambiguity to resurface, which were created for the post-war generation by their upbringing under Japanese rule. At the same time, through marking colonial power as male and Japanese and placing Hyōn in a clearly inferior position towards the inspector, *Thoughts when Travelling* sheds light on internal uneven hierarchies that the *naisen ittai* doctrine sought to obfuscate.

My final point will centre on the figure of the young girl as an embodiment of the sanctuary of the Korean countryside. In contrast to the encounter with the Japanese inspector, Hyōn entertains a very subtly romantic relationship to the young girl, whose beauty is set into relation to the rich descriptions of the scenery (97; 97f.; 98, 104, 106), making her a counterpoint to the male violence as embodied by the inspector. She also serves as the living symbol of the Korean countryside, which becomes a refuge for the haunted protagonist when he looks at her: "His heart was filled with a loving melancholy

like when looking at a delicate, beautiful jar that will soon break if you touch it or a pretty flower whose petals fall off as soon as you see them. ‘For what reason is the world full of such beauty?’’ (98).²⁶⁴ Once more, a woman becomes the epitome of the beautiful Korean landscape, and in this respect Kang Shinchae’s writing does not differ greatly from that of her male counterparts. Furthermore, like in Morisaki’s piece discussed above, women seem to be the bearers of an alleged authentic ‘Korean-ness’ connected to the land and nature that cannot be fully retrieved and whose loss is mourned by the male and/or Japanese protagonists. This makes Korean women the ultimate Other that serves more as a projection surface than being an active subject in the memory of colonial history. While Hyǒn himself defies a binary divide in terms of ethnicity and gender, the oppression through the Japanese colonial administration is marked as male through the figure of the inspector while the Korean idyll in the small village by the sea is clearly marked as female and finds its embodiment in the figure of the young girl.

The girl becomes his sanctuary from the cold reality of Japanese imperialism: “But this freshness of a not yet ripe, firm fruit somehow made Hyǒn feel at ease and refreshed him” (97).²⁶⁵ However, eventually he has to leave the paradise for reasons that are alluded to but cannot be immediately felt in the idyllic village by the sea. The story shows how daily life is disrupted by macro forces that extend into every aspect of society even up to a degree where their causes cannot immediately be seen. The young girl is assigned a ‘private realm’ untouched by colonial violence but the male protagonist cannot remain. Hyǒn’s feeling of connectedness is of a sensual rather than a rational nature, and so he feels very close to the girl despite having exchanged only very basic information about each other: “It was barely more than that. But somehow Hyǒn thought that it was as if he knew no one more intimately and deeply than her” (107).²⁶⁶ This quotation underlines the textual function of the girl as the protagonist’s refuge from the harsh outside reality of imperialism.

As in many stories narrating colonial memory, the relationship between the two characters is only subtly alluded to and remains pure, in this case even without explicit mention of sexual desire. The girl, a still unripe fruit (97), cannot be plucked and thus

²⁶⁴ App. iv.

²⁶⁵ App. v.

²⁶⁶ App. vi.

remains the airy projection space for the protagonist's desire – a desire which, like that for the idyllic Korean landscape as a sanctuary away from the reality of imperialism and the civil war, can never be fulfilled and is instead just marked by nostalgic longing.

To sum up, *Thoughts when Travelling* displays a different trait of reflective nostalgia than seen in my previous discussion of *Mud Wall*. The text constructs the Korean countryside as embodied by the character of the young girl as a sanctuary where the collective traumata inflicted by the colonisation and Korean War can be healed. However, this restorative dream is short-lived and the protagonist has to leave paradise to presumably return to a historical reality in which the illusion of a pure ethno-national origin untainted by Japanese imperialism cannot hold. In the protagonist, who performs both his gender and ethnicity ambiguously, the text subtly highlights how an assumed ethno-national pure origin based on absolute separation between the Japanese and South Korean nation states is a construct. In Hyǒn, who at times performs a mimicry to appear Japanese, an ambivalence concerning ethno-national affiliation resurfaces, which had to be suppressed with the integration of South Korea and Japan as separate nation states into the Cold War world order after 1945. However, for the Korean post-war generation, who was raised in the last phase of the colonial period under the *naisen ittai* doctrine and rhetoric of assimilation, this ambiguity was very much a vivid memory and part of their individual and collective process of subjectification. Furthermore, Hyǒn's gender is left ambiguous, which allows for a reading that sets *Thoughts when Travelling* against an aggressive national rhetoric that defines the South Korean ethno-nation as unambiguously male, thereby eradicating female subjectivities in the collective narrative on the colonial period. However, in some respects *Thoughts when Travelling* does reproduce the stereotypical gendered dichotomy between colony and metropole that we find in so many colonial and postcolonial texts in the anti-thesis of Japanese male violence as embodied by the inspector versus Korean femininity in the young girl as a symbol of the Korean ethno-nation. Only Hyǒn, the protagonist, moves between both poles, thereby defying a fixed notion of gender and the ethno-nation.

In the last piece discussed in this section, we will encounter another text in which gender and reflective nostalgia meet – South Korean male writer Kim Chöngahn’s *Asura Realm*.

3.3 Female resilience and family ties as bulwark against imperialism: Kim Chöngahn’s *Surado* (*Asura Realm*, 1969)

Kim Chöngahn’s *Surado* (*Asura Realm*, 1969),²⁶⁷ written as an explicit intervention in the memorial discourse on the colonial period, is an important text to contrast with the other pieces in this thesis. *Asura Realm* is a so-called *chungp'yōn sosōl*, a mid-length narration (sometimes inadequately translated as *novella*). What distinguishes the text from others discussed here is, apart from its length, the age and the background of the author. Kim Chöngahn was born in 1908 in a village close to Pusan. He debuted in 1936 with *Sahach'on* (*The Village below the Temple*), making him the only author featured in the present study whose literary activity commenced already during the colonial period. His case is particular in the sense that he ceased writing in 1940 upon increasing pressure from the Japanese authorities. This hiatus lasted as long as twenty-six years until he resumed publishing in 1966 with a political agenda to make the voices of the rural community near the Nakdong River heard and to prevent the events of the colonial period to be submerged into collective oblivion under the Park Chung Hee regime.²⁶⁸ While strictly speaking Kim Chöngahn does not belong to the (Korean) post-war generation that is the object of my research, his works constitute a central part of the memorial discourse on the colonial period in the 1960s and therefore cannot be neglected. In contrast to Kim Chöngahn, authors of the post-war generation have experienced the colonial period as children or young adults, never had to face colonial oppression in the way he had to and ascended the literary stage only around the time of the Korean War. Thus, they had no experience of

²⁶⁷ Kim Chöngahn 김정한, ‘Surado 수라도 [Asura Realm]’, in *Surado 수라도* (Seoul: Iilsin sōjōk ch'ulp'ansa 일신서적출판사, 2008), 6–71.

²⁶⁸ Nack-chung Paik, ‘Kim Jong-Han’s “Surado” as a Work of Socio-Literature’, *Solidarity* IX, no. 5 (June 1975): 109–15: 110f.; Yi Sanggyōng 이상경, ‘Hanguk munhak esō chegukchuūi wa yōsōng - Kang Shinchae ūi chakp'um ūl chungsim ūro 한국문학에서 제국주의와 여성 - 김정한의 작품을 중심으로 [Women and Imperialism in South Korean Literature - on Kang Shinchae's Works]’, *Yōsōng munhak yōn'gu* 여성문학연구 7 (2002): 135–62: 152.

publishing during the colonial period, all of which is reflected in their different style of writing. Therefore, the fact that he chose that particular point in time to resume his literary career also to influence the collective memory makes his text an intriguing point of comparison with the works of the younger generation.

Asura Realm is set in Kyōngsang province near the Nakdong River and describes the life of protagonist Kaya-puin (Lady Kaya) from her marriage in 1910, the year of the annexation, to immediately after the liberation of the Korean peninsula. The events are told retrospectively through the eyes of her granddaughter Puni who keeps watch at Kaya-puin's deathbed while the gunfire of presumably the Korean War thunders in the background. Kaya-puin is married into the *yangban* [aristocratic] Hō family, where her counterpart is her father-in-law Obong-sōnsaeng (Teacher/Scholar Obong), a strict Confucian scholar. The family is hit by misery three times through the hands of the Japanese colonial administration. The first time is when Obong-sōnsaeng's father, who chooses exile in protest against the Japanese annexation, dies in Manchuria. The second is when a brother of Kaya-puin's husband is killed during the *Manse* incident by a Japanese bullet. Following his son's death, Obong-sōnsaeng seeks refuge in alcohol and goes out frequently, while his wife, not possessing this option, vegetates and secretly prays to Buddha. Kaya intends to build a Buddhist temple in honour of the ones who have died and finally manages to overcome Obong's strict refusal. The third tragedy strikes when Obong-sōnsaeng is arrested on unfair charges of plotting against the Japanese empire. Kaya-puin resolves to consult Iwamoto, an influential local who collaborates with the Japanese but even he is unable to help her. A month after his trial Obong-sōnsaeng is released but soon after dies from the causes of the hardships he endured during imprisonment. When Iwamoto falls ill, his wife calls the local Shaman Ch'ōnggūmsae to heal him but she fails and is portrayed as a ridiculous character. The last episode of the story revolves around Ok, the beloved daughter of Kaya-puin's handmaiden. Ok has received a draft to be taken as a comfort woman and Kaya-puin manages to save her only last minute by arranging for her to marry the widower of her late daughter. The following year, Korea is liberated but the high hopes of the population are not fulfilled while Iwamoto's eldest son manages to secure a seat in the new parliament. The closing scene is

back at Kaya-puin's deathbed, the gunfire sounding in the distance and her wondering why people cannot stop fighting.

In my analysis, I argue that despite the relatively simplistic distinction between good and evil and the Korean and Japanese ethno-nations, the gendered nostalgic gaze on Korean customs and family values gains subversive potential in *Asura Realm*. An idealised and nostalgic depiction of the Korean family held together by women becomes a means to criticise the role of women in Korean society and Park Chung Hee's Japan politics. I will show firstly that *Asura Realm* portrays the Korean ethno-nation as being founded on the extended family which is held together by women. The text makes particular mention of female victimisation through Japanese imperialism, but through its focus on varied female subjectivities and an active and self-determined female protagonist adds nuance to this often-told story. Secondly, the Korean ethno-national family is seen to be defined by the concept of filial piety, as I will show with reference to Catherine Ryu's elaborations, and as a morally superior counterpoint to Japanese colonial violence. The nostalgic gaze on traditional familial cohesion is used as a political tool to reclaim the Korean community and influence the collective memorial discourse against the tides of oblivion during the Park Chung Hee era. Finally, I draw on the way *Asura Realm* highlights inner-Korean conflicts, particularly that between Buddhism and Confucianism, intertwined with issues of gender equality.

First, I will discuss how *Asura Realm* marks the traumatic collective memory of the colonial period as distinctively female. The text demonstrates Yuval-Davies' and Anthias' insight of women being central to the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture when Kaya-puin becomes the symbol and in a way *über*-mother of the Korean nation. This imagery is informed by narrative strands that have been passed on since the colonial period. The text tells the story of female victimisation through imperialism, thereby on the one hand reproducing the image of the ethno-nation defined in terms of femininity, but on the other hand, *Asura Realm* also succeeds in giving voice to different female subjectivities that have been affected by the colonisation, thereby

integrating them into the collective memory of the period. In this way, the text differs markedly from Son Ch’angsōp’ and Ha Kŭnch’an’s texts discussed in the previous chapter.

The first remarkable feature of *Asura Realm* is its hands-on, vocal female lead character, *Kaya-puin*. Yi Sanggyöng sees her as an expression of the author’s feminist stance and underscores the originality of the character: “(...) *Kaya-puin* does suffer, but within a larger framework, this is due to the Japanese imperial rule and through the resistance against this; *Kaya-puin* is neither a ‘new woman’ that strives for self-determination as a woman, nor a ‘tough and determined maid’, nor a ‘good wife and wise mother’ but stands on her own as a new female character in South Korean literature.”²⁶⁹ Indeed, *Kaya-puin* is a remarkable figure, and the fact that the story is told through the eyes of her granddaughter Puni further speaks to the development of a female perspective on the colonial period.

In her goodness *Kaya-puin* is depicted as resembling a Buddhist deity, such as when on her deathbed her face and that of the Maitreya overlap (8) or when her mother-in-law calls her *Guanyin Bodhisattva*, the Buddhist goddess of mercy (22). However, it is important to note that *Kaya-puin* is for the most part portrayed as a kind of *iiber*-mother not only within the realm of her family but also the village as a whole. Remarkably, the recollection of her story begins only with her marriage, suggesting that her childhood and youth are irrelevant to the plot or indeed the character itself. While she does transgress boundaries when she goes against Obong-sōnsaeng’s will or challenges the guards at the trial (40f.), at the same time, all her outbursts are to protect her family, never herself. *Kaya-puin* is thus – perhaps realistically – very much defined by her role as mother, grandmother and daughter-in-law within the family, and the pain inflicted by the Japanese is always collective, never individual.

Kaya-puin can be read as a symbol of the Korean nation during the colonial period, which is also suggested by the fact that her life is closely connected to the events of that time – she marries in 1910, the year of the annexation, and her story closes with the liberation. She thus embodies a Korean authenticity that is marked by virtuous femininity in relation to *Kaya-puin*’s role as mother, wife and daughter-in-law as a counterpoint to

²⁶⁹ Yi Sanggyöng, “Women and Imperialism,” 144. App. i.

Japanese colonialism at a time when Korean men are powerless. Kaya-*pui*, the mother, the grandmother, becomes an embodiment of the pain and deprivation Korea had to suffer during Japanese colonialism. However, this figure differs from the *ōmōni* portrayed in Morisaki's *Mud Wall* in that she does not remain an ethereal figure, a mere symbol of the Korean ethno-nation for the Japanese subject. Instead, whilst reproducing the trope of the ethno-nation of being defined in terms of femininity, she is a rounded character, and the narrative manages to bestow agency upon her even within a rigid Confucian and colonial patriarchy.

With Kaya-*pui* being the face and embodiment of the Korean nation during the colonial period, the text extends this image of women as representing the collectivity of the Korean ethno-nation, and it is the village women in particular who are seen as holding together the family as the core unit of the nation and as being most affected by its disintegration. The text enters a particular female version of ethno-national identity into the discourse on Japanese imperialism. This can be seen firstly in regards to how the temple is described to be a female space that grants room to women's stories of suffering in particular and secondly in its treatment of the comfort women issue.

The temple in some respects is more of a social space than a spiritual site for the women (9), but it is also the place where they can heal the wounds imposed on them by the circumstances of the empire. The following conversation takes place during a gathering of the local women at the temple towards the end of the story:

They wanted to release the words they held inside freely.

"The Japs are bound to fail soon so that we could live, I say!"

"But those strong bastards won't fail soon!"

"If the Japs fail, does that mean that all the people who have been drafted are gonna die?"

Those were the words of a lady called "Borneo". Her husband had been conscripted to an island called "Borneo". Depending on where the men had been sent to, it was common to refer to each other in a new way as "House Borneo" or "House New Guinea" (59).²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ App. ii.

Much like *Mud Wall* or *I Love You, Asura Realm* emphasises the particular way women are victimised by Japanese colonialism. Instead of focusing on grand political narratives of imperialism and liberation, the text reveals female subjectivities shaped by the loss created by the empire. This is also underscored by the momentum of double orality when Puni recounts Kaya-puin's story as told by her grandmother herself, which weaves Kaya-puin's life story into an imagined net of Korean clan history that stretches back before the Japanese occupation and endures after the defeat of the Japanese empire.²⁷¹

At the same time, however, in some respects the text feeds into the greater narrative of the Korean ethno-nation as defined as female. The suffering of the Korean nation is often – particularly nowadays – imagined through female victimisation, especially in relation to the highly emotional issue of the so-called “comfort women” that continues to be a contentious issue between the Japanese and South Korean nation state, even after its purported settlement in December 2015. The comfort women system is presented as follows in the text in order to underscore Ok's precarious situation:

As if they were objects, they were assigned by region as “offerings of unmarried women”, as they were popularly known. In their words, they were “self-sacrificing female workers” for the augmentation of military strength, and they were supposed to be deployed to Shizuoka or somewhere in Japan to factories producing airplane parachutes or other factories for the war, but it was leaked by people who had gone in reality that they were all drawn to the southern region of China as comfort women for the Japanese soldiers. They were, so to speak, war sacrifices through deception and force. Of course it was the foolish poor and powerless daughters of the colonised farmers who were conscripted that way (60).²⁷²

According to Yi Sangkyöng, *Asura Realm* is the first piece of literature that mentions the comfort women, which proves that there was awareness of the problem in the public consciousness before it entered the political arena in the late 1980s.²⁷³ In this way, the text is a precursor of the later highly gendered debates on Japanese imperialism in Korea. After

²⁷¹ On the aspect of orality, cf. Nack-Chung Paik, “‘Surado’ as a Work of Socio-Literature,” 111 and Catherine Ryu, ‘Remembering Deadly Emotions: The Filial and the Colonial in Kim Chöng-Han’s *Surado*’, *Positions* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 305–28: 323.

²⁷² App. iii.

²⁷³ Yi Sanggyöng, “Women and Imperialism,” 148f.

the “three tragedies” that befell the Hö family, Ok’s salvage is the only victory the characters experience over the colonial authorities, and the girl can be reintegrated into the Korean nation-family in the safe haven of matrimony.

This discourse on female victimisation as an expression of the nation’s suffering during colonialism is anything but new, as we have already seen in the previous chapter. In fact, it has derived from colonial-period narratives as we learn from Sheila Miyoshi Jager’s discussion of Yi Kwangsu’s work: “[I]n Korea, women’s happiness in marriage and family life was made an essential feature of early Korean nationalist and resistance movements against Japanese colonialism. (...) By appropriating woman as a transcendental sign for the ‘nation’, early-twentieth-century Korean writers described the political conditions of Japanese colonial oppression in terms specifically related to the traditional oppression of women by men.” (45f.) Kim Chöngahn’s narrative, which highlights the victimisation of the Korean family as epitomised by its mothers and daughters and, as we will see below, underscores women’s oppression through its portrayal of the conflict between Buddhism and Confucianism, thus stands in line with a long tradition of writing about the colonial oppression through Japan, a tradition that finds its roots already in the colonial period itself. While thus critical of the relatively weak position of women within Korean society, the text does not challenge the view that women are defined by their roles as wives and mothers in itself.

The second aspect I will draw on, related to my deliberations above, is the issue of family, clan relations and filial piety as a **counterpoint** to Japanese imperialism as portrayed in *Asura Realm*. Household cohesion and the way the characters suffer through the period of Japanese imperialism together as a unit is painted in a nostalgic way throughout. At a time when urbanisation was rampant and the traditional family model changed drastically, the piece throws a nostalgic gaze at an extended family which is held together by the protagonist’s filial sense of duty. Throughout the text, the familial ties that hold together the Hö clan are emphasised, and the misery that Japanese imperialism induces is described as not affecting individuals but is without exception represented as family tragedies. As we have seen above, women become the fabric that holds together the collective and in extension the ethno-nation. Women are the core of the family; the

extended family (as opposed to the post-war Japanese core family) or clan is the core of the ethno-nation and this moral stronghold is set nostalgically against the debauchery of Japanese imperialism.

Catherine Ryu emphasises the role of Confucian values, in particular that of filial piety, in *Asura Realm*. She outlines how within the text the characters' morality is evaluated in terms of what she calls the "structure of feeling" by their degree of filial piety, which becomes a category of "emotive morality". She also explains how characters standing closer to imperialism display less filial attachment, marking them as morally flawed. This way, she proposes, a Korean ethno-national community is narratively constructed by tokens that differ from that of the nation state: "As such, Kim's employment of filial piety generates a new way of conceptualizing Korean national identity outside of the hegemonic paradigm of colonizer/colonized or aggressor/victim."²⁷⁴ In detail, she asserts that the text carries a strong undertone of Confucian emotive morality in which filial piety is connected to Korean ethno-national identity, and the superiority of this Confucian value over colonialism is emphasised. Japanese and Korean characters such as the Iwamotos are closer to the colonial for their lack of filial piety and therefore morally inferior. Her assessment of filial piety as the ultimate index of morality in the text appears plausible, as the character of Kaya-puin is painted as virtuous particularly due to her loyalty towards her parents-in-law but also due to her family and village as a whole. However, Ryu's interpretation seems forced at times, such as when she reads the Shaman Ch'öngümsae as standing closer to the colonial merely on the basis of her being unmarried and therefore not relevant to the concept of filial piety. Ryu's deliberations on filial piety as index of emotive morality can be linked to the notions of nostalgia discussed throughout this chapter. *Asura Realm* laments the attacks of Japanese colonialism on the Korean extended family whose cohesion is nostalgically emphasised.

This trope of the Korean clan system that represents a politically weak but morally superior entity opposed to the Japanese colonisers is a key theme in *Asura Realm*. Compared to some of the other South Korean texts discussed in the present study, *Asura Realm* is quite unambiguous in its assessment of right and wrong in relation to the colonial

²⁷⁴ Ryu, "Deadly Emotions," 307.

period. The only character that does not fit neatly into the good-versus-evil delineation that separates collaborators of the Japanese empire from those who offer resistance is Iwamoto Ch'ambong. While a collaborator, he also offers help to Kaya-*pui*, and it can be argued that it is his guilt over Obong-sōnsaeng's death that eventually kills him. All other characters are painted as either victims or heroes who oppose the empire or devious proponents of imperial power, to a degree that even the Hö family's dogs dislike Iwamoto's cousin and bark only at him (66).

The only actual Japanese characters that we encounter are representatives of the colonial administration in the trial scene discussed below, and they are consistently referred to by a derogatory term for Japanese – *waenom*. Whenever Japan is mentioned, it is in relation to the empire and the tragedies it brings to the Korean population in general and the Hö family in particular, for example when Kaya-*pui* tells how her husband's brother was killed:

"As soon as she saw the corpse of her son who had been mercilessly beaten and torn by the guns and knives of the Japs gone amok, mother-in-law lost her soul, cried whether it had not been enough for the Japs just to steal our land and whether they also had to kill her son who was like a nugget of gold to her, and she fainted on that very spot."

Whenever she talked about the events of that time, Kaya-*pui* spoke with a choked voice and her eyes were filled with tears. Puni, too, as she grew older would shed tears along with her grandmother whenever she heard this story, without knowing why herself (16).²⁷⁵

Scenes like this illustrate the text's didactic aim of installing the colonial period as a national tragedy in the collective imaginary. The momentum of collectiveness and a memory carried on over the generations is highlighted by Puni's tears who as a younger member of the family has not witnessed the events first-hand but as a Korean still is affected by the collective trauma passed down from generation to generation. Colonial violence is not only imposed on individual characters but also on the Korean ethno-nation as family. The fact that Puni does not understand the reason for her own tears points the fact that the traumatic experience of violence on a collective level leaves marks on the

²⁷⁵ App. iv.

ethno-national psyche, which are bequeathed to following generations as an intangible, yet formative, trauma and shape the Korean community. The wounds, the text suggests, regain currency for Puni's generation and beyond that *Asura Realm* strives to evoke the same sentiment in its South Korean readership in the late 1960s.

The tragedy experienced by the entire family through violence inflicted on individual family members and the moral depravity of the Japanese becomes evident in the trial against Obong-sōnsaeng. It is a heroic display of anti-Japaneseness that installs the Korean characters as morally impeccable and therefore anti-colonial:

The judge soon began with the interrogation. When he got the documents, he said "ho?...", and hesitated for a moment. Then, he immediately firmly pressed his lips together. It seemed that apparently the fact that [Obong] still hadn't changed his name to the Japanese style was very offensive to his stomach.

"Erm... Hö, erm, come forward!"

(...) "Your name?"

He didn't use honorifics. Because his interlocutor was a "*Chōsenjin*"

"It's the name you just called."

Obong-sōnsaeng used familiar speech. From the start, this gave the disgusted judge daggers in the eyes.

"Answer to my questions! Your age?"

"I was born in the year of the dragon."

"The year of the dragon? What's that supposed to mean? I'm asking how old you are!"

It appeared he didn't know the sexagenarian circle. It was a pathetic matter.

"Well, didn't I say that I was born in the year of the dragon?"

(...) In which year of Meiji have you been born?"

"Not Meiji. Year five of Kojong."

To the very end, Obong-sōnsaeng used our era names with a calm expression, raised his head and seemed to stand up to them (41).²⁷⁶

In this scene, Obong-sōnsaeng is portrayed as an archetypal patriotic hero and martyr who eventually dies for his beliefs. He upholds Korean national values while colonial authority in the character of the judge is characterised as morally deficient as proven by his refusal to use the correct address towards the older Obong-sōnsaeng. The reader is aware that Obong-sōnsaeng's resistance is futile which makes him the ultimate virtuous tragic hero.

²⁷⁶ App. v.

Through his insistence on using the Korean dynasty names, he suggests a continuity of the Korean ethno-nation based on familial ties. Ironically, this is not dissimilar to the colonial rhetoric used by the Japanese empire. Instead of regarding Korea as a 'little brother' within the Japanese Emperor (*tennō*) system, though, the text emphasises the Korean 'family' as superior and more pious than Japan.

While in *Mud Wall*, nostalgia is targeted at an imaginary Korean authentic origin, and *Thoughts when Travelling* tries to nostalgically reclaim a Korean landscape untainted by colonialism, the reflective nostalgia in *Asura Realm* takes a different shape. As discussed throughout the paragraphs above, the text directs a nostalgic and idealised gaze onto the Korean family which at its core is held together by women. By reclaiming this moral entity of the extended family defined by filial piety, a nostalgic mode of depiction demonstrates its subversive potential and political verve. Nayoung Aimee Kwon, however, makes a thought-provoking point in relation to postcolonial Korean nostalgic narratives: "[The] postcolonial reification of authentic representations of colonial reality (*singminji ūi silsang*), primarily of the colonial peasantry (to signify national resistance to Japanese imperialism), ironically and unwittingly mimics the imperial demand for reified colonial authenticity from these same texts and subjects during the colonial era."²⁷⁷ In this way, in its depiction of rural clan life, *Asura Realm* can also be understood to mirror aspects of the colonial-period Korea Boom.

Not only does *Asura Realm* strive to establish a particular brand of collective memory, it can also be understood as a criticism of the Park Chung Hee administration. Throughout *Asura Realm*, the didactic aim is quite obvious. The critical stance is particularly apparent in the ending of the story in which the firmly anti-imperial Hö family loses out while the collaborator Iwamoto gains a seat in the new parliament (70). Yi Sangkyöng emphasises the historical background against which the piece was written. With the Japan-ROK normalisation treaty in 1965 under a dictator Park Chung Hee who had fought for the Japanese during the Pacific War, Kim Chöngahn felt that pro-Japanese collaborators were not sufficiently held accountable and that the colonial oppression was on the verge of

²⁷⁷ Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 175.

fading into obscurity.²⁷⁸ More so than the younger Koreans who wrote at the same time on the topic, in his didactic approach Kim Chöngahn is closer to the Japanese *hikiagesha* writers who often saw themselves in the role of educators for their Japanese compatriots. In a way, in its emphasis on the victimisation, particularly of women and its depiction of the comfort women issue, *Asura Realm* foreshadows some public discursive strands that have gained traction since the 1990s. The nostalgic gaze on the Korean family as defying Japanese imperialism thus becomes a political tool in the contested terrain of collective memory-making.

Lastly, while *Asura Realm* seems somehow simplistic at times in its rendering of the Korean ethno-nation and its victimisation as female as well as its firm juxtaposition of the morally superior Korean extended family versus the corrupted Japanese colonisers, at the same time, it emphasises inner-Korean conflicts and the difficult position of women in the Confucian system of Korean society. The text illustrates the marginalised position of women in Korean society by establishing a dichotomy of Buddhism versus Confucianism. Buddhism is painted as the refuge for women who do not have the same freedom as men in dealing with their pain. Kaya-puin's mother-in-law, who suffers from the death of her son, seeks consolation in the Buddhist faith: "If she had been a man, she could have used her head on a different issue or forget her grief for a short time in alcohol, but her mother-in-law, who was incredibly gentle, just passed her days breathing *Namu Amit'apul* [save us, merciful Buddha]"(20).²⁷⁹ This quote illustrates how women are trapped in unfavourable conditions and at the same time how Buddhism (and later the Buddhist temple) becomes a sanctuary that allows them to ease their pain.

The text decries the unfairness of Obong's insistence on forbidding her to build the temple despite Kaya-puin having done so much for the Hö family. In her insistence to stand up to him the willpower of this character is accentuated once more. Finally, she manages to convince Obong with a nationalistic argument which points to the marriage of ethno-national and feminist issues in the text or, as Yi Sangkyöng puts it, proves that *Asura Realm* is both *minjok munhak* (popular ethnic literature) and *yösöng munhak* (women's

²⁷⁸ Yi Sanggyöng, "Women and Imperialism," 152.

²⁷⁹ App. vi.

literature):²⁸⁰ “The reason that she couldn’t despise Buddhism was that she had heard from childhood on of the story that when Japanese soldiers came to invade in 1592, the so-called royal forces got scared and all ran off, but the monk soldiers that the great Buddhist priest commanded fought to the end to defend their home” (27).²⁸¹ The female practice of Buddhism is linked to the welfare of the Korean ethno-nation which through this in turn gains a female face.

The anti-Confucianism prevalent in *Asura Realm* is yet another narrative relic from the colonial period. In the search for causes of the colonisation as national humiliation, intellectuals like Yi Kwangsu found fault in the lethargic *yangban*-elite and their Confucian principles. An opening towards the west was accompanied by a re-definition of Confucianism as the ultimate symbol of backwardness. In the same vein, China with its Confucian values was Othered while literature and society eagerly adapted European and American ideas. Yet, while *Asura Realm* builds on those colonial-period narrative strands that identify Confucianism with backwardness, in particular in relation to women’s right, as Catherine Ryu shows, the whole structure of the story and its emphasis on the value of filial piety are heavily informed by Confucianism.²⁸²

While the novel does identify Buddhism as a female space and as standing in opposition to the oppressive patriarchal values of Confucianism, at the same time, it mocks Shamanism. Korea’s indigenous religion often practised by female Shamans would have been conceivable as a counterpoint to the strict Confucianism of the Hō house as well. However, the alleged irrationality of the practise is mocked and its main proponent in the narration, Ch'öngümsae, is target of ridicule by both the characters of the story and on a narrative level. In this way, the piece avoids a simplistic ethno-national image that romanticises Korea as female and defined through its indigenous practices. It is remarkable that the text favours Buddhism and Confucianism – two practices that were introduced to Korea from abroad – over the Korean tradition of Shamanism. The conflict between Buddhism and Confucianism further complicates the issue. While there is a nostalgic longing for family bonds and idyllic life in the Korean countryside, the text does

²⁸⁰ Yi Sanggyöng, “Women and Imperialism,” 146.

²⁸¹ App. vii.

²⁸² Ryu, “Deadly Emotions.”

not simplistically attempt to construct a monolithic pre-imperial Korean culture as defined by religion and rural landscape.

To sum up, in *Asura Realm* the Korean ethno-nation is defined once more as female and its suffering inflicted by Japanese imperialism is projected onto women's tragedies, a recurring theme since the colonial period, as I have shown with reference to Sheila Miyoshi Jager. Women are portrayed as the core of the Korean extended family which is nostalgically **counterposed** against the Japanese colonisers. The memory of the colonial period is marked by orality and explicitly passed on through a female line. The text reclaims the Korean family that is based on the concept of filial piety as a **counterpoint** to the politically superior, but morally inferior Japanese administration. In this way the nostalgic representation of Korean family life in the countryside is also a political tool to influence the collective memory of the colonial period which was on the verge of fading into oblivion during the Park Chung Hee era. Finally, I have shown how the text complicates the notion of a unified ethno-nation by emphasising conflicts within Korean society, particularly between Buddhism and Confucianism which also becomes a way of criticising the weak stance of women within a patriarchal Confucian system.

3.4 Conclusion

Based on Svetlana Boym's typology of restorative and reflective nostalgia, in this chapter I unpacked the different layers of nostalgic memory production in postcolonial South Korea and Japan and revealed how a nostalgic mode of depiction can become a tool to criticise memorial discourses of its time. As discussed with reference to Janet Poole and Sō Insik, nostalgia towards a precolonial Korean essence was a reaction of writers to colonial modernity already. In this chapter, we have encountered three postcolonial manifestations of a similar phenomenon. The three texts discussed above – Morisaki Kazue's *Mud Wall*, Kang Shinchae's *Thoughts when Travelling* and Kim Chöngahn's *Asura Realm* have in common an attempt to reclaim a perceived Korean essence that is defined as female, be it as a kind of ethno-national origin like in *Mud Wall*, in the form of an idyllic Korean pre-colonial rural landscape as seen in *Thoughts when Travelling* or in relation to Korean values and morality as demonstrated with *Asura Realm*. Both the Japanese and the South Korean

texts share that they deplore the injustice of imperialism and use their nostalgic depiction to narratively construct something that has been destroyed or disrupted by the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula. While the three texts differ in the shape of their respective nostalgic depiction and draw different conclusions on the Japanese empire, they share a striking affinity to define the object of their nostalgia as female. At the same time, each piece complicates this notion in its own way.

In Morisaki Kazue's text we find nostalgic longing for an authentic Korean origin that is defined as the archetypal mother (*ōmōni*) but at the very same time, through its use of the double figure of the mother, *Mud Wall* demonstrates that this kind of ethno-national authenticity is an illusion and that the imagined communities of Japan and Korea cannot easily be separated. Furthermore, while in the trope of the *ōmōni* and the peasant women as bearers of a Korean archaic spirit the former colony is nostalgically gendered as female, the piece disrupts the binary power hierarchy in which Korea is rendered as dependent and female in opposition to a Japan that is portrayed as superior and male, also by throwing questions of women's emancipation into the balance.

Kang Shinchae, meanwhile, attempts a retrieval of the pre-colonial Korean landscape of which the young girl becomes the ultimate symbol. Through the story's gender- and ethnically fluid protagonist, a stable construction of the Korean vis-à-vis the Japanese ethno-nation is called into question while at the same time the power hierarchy between coloniser and colony is palpable. The nostalgic return to a pre-colonial Korean landscape fails and the protagonist eventually has to leave the metaphorical womb, pointing to the ambivalence the colonial experience has left in postcolonial, post-Korean War South Korean society.

The moral intention of *Asura Realm*, finally, is obvious and the (gendered) lines between good and evil and the Japanese and South Korean ethno-nations are clearly drawn. However, it would be premature to dismiss the text as a simplistic expression of South Korean nationalistic sentiment. The at first sight crude nostalgic depiction of Korean customs and family values becomes a means to not only influence collective memory of the colonial period but also criticise the author's own time and society. *Asura Realm* can in some ways be read as a feminist text that challenges conceptions of female passivity

(admittedly without envisaging for women a role outside their position as housewife and mother). At the same time, it also contains a subtle criticism of the South Korean relationship with Japan under the Park Chung Hee regime. Further, while clearly upholding Korean values as superior to Japanese colonialism, the piece does not commit the fallacy to construct a monolithic Korean origin. *Asura Realm* highlights the frictions between the three Korean thought systems Buddhism, Confucianism and Shamanism and thereby complicates the nostalgic yearning for a Korea untouched by Japanese imperialism.

For *Mud Wall* and *Asura Realm*, both published in 1969, four years after the Japan-ROK normalization treaty, the question of the shape of colonial memorial discourses seems to be particularly pressing. Morisaki draws attention to both frictions within Korea, especially between the rural and the urban population, as well as ambivalences between Japan and South Korea in the newly-formed Cold War world order. In the discussion of the narrator's late father the question of responsibility is also negotiated. Kim Chöngahn, meanwhile, aims to influence the collective memorial discourse in a particular way. While the colonial power hierarchy has shifted, the political weight of those texts attests to the fact that despite social disavowal in both societies, the legacy of the colonial period slumbers underneath the surface and continues to haunt the ethno-nations of Korea and Japan.

This chapter has revealed the subtle subversive potential that can lie in both a nostalgic mode of depiction and even the representation of the ethno-nation as female. Moving away from the subject of gender, in my last section I will show the various ways in which postcolonial Japanese and South Korean literature challenges the ideologies of ethno-national unity both societies hinge upon. I will illustrate how those contradictions are brought to the fore by using metaphors of discourse, aphasia and multi-lingualism.

4. Foundational narratives: language and the contradictions in postcolonial discourse

In this chapter, I will look at the ways in which literature takes on colonial and postcolonial discourses and ideological assumptions that the Japanese empire and later the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nation were built on. As we will see, negotiation of colonial memory often revolves around questions of language, which becomes a measure of cultural power or a means of segregation. I will show how literature takes on assumptions of absolute colonial power as well as the unifying ideologies the South Korean and Japanese ethno-nations relied on in strict delineation of each other. I will also discuss how fiction deals with inconsistencies of colonial memory narratives within its own society.

We will encounter two texts by Japanese *hikiagesha* writer Kobayashi Masaru that are concerned with the fragile colonial power apparatus based on stereotypical knowledge of the colonised and that are written against, yet find themselves influenced by, the foundational narrative presented in the introduction. I will set Kobayashi's work in contrast with the three texts by Ha Kŭnch'ān, Pak Sunnyō and Son Ch'angsōp that I have already discussed with reference to their gender dimension in chapter two as well as two texts by Chōn Kwangyong and Sōnu Hwi. Albeit in different ways, all address the already-mentioned disavowals that dominated South Korean discourse in the postcolonial years that Theodore Hughes lists: "The ban (until 1988) on colonial-period proletarian works, the institutionalized forgetting of the late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization and imperialization, and the effacement of contemporary North Korean cultural production."²⁸³ In particular the disavowal of the continuity of imperial discourses as well as, to a lesser degree, the awareness of the North Korean brethren state repeatedly resurface in the texts discussed below.

²⁸³ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 1f.

Much literature that deals with the colonial period bears witness to the urgency of questions of language in postcolonial East Asian discourse. While for Kobayashi, much revolves around the question of how power is produced by colonial stereotype and how it can slip, Korean authors brought up during the colonial period try to come to grips with the issue of Korean monolingualism. To explain the prevalence of language issues in postcolonial South Korean literature dealing with the colonial period, two scholars' elaborations prove helpful. Serk-bae Suh in his chapter *Toward a Monolingual Society* of his monograph *Treacherous Translation* explains the trajectory South Korean society took when Korean monolingualism became the prevalent doctrine in the elimination of all things Japanese in order to overcome the colonial legacy: "The suppression of postcolonial bilingualism was an essential part of modern nation state-building in Korea." Following the liberation, intellectuals defined the national language (*kugõ*) as intrinsically connected to and expression of the South Korean state. "As Koreans aspired to build a modern nation state, it was not only inevitable but also imperative for them to have one unifying and unified national language." Part and parcel of the introduction of a unified *kugõ* was the eradication of the Japanese language "through the systematic suppression of the Japanese-Korean bilingualism". This caused predicaments especially for the post-war generation of Koreans who were educated under the colonial system and often acquired knowledge of the native writing system *hangûl* only after 1945. "The process of learning the writing system of their supposed native language was quite traumatic. Intellectuals of this generation felt shame and even guilt because they did not know 'their own language,' and instead were versed in the colonizer's language." Literature for this generation was more than a pastime and took on an identity-establishing function as they "familiarized themselves with [*hangûl*] through reading Korean literature. Thus Korean literature functioned as the institution through which Korean youths were inculcated with the national language."²⁸⁴ The prevalence of language issues in the literature this thesis covers can no doubt partially be attributed to the perceived internal and external pressure to write in Korean, as is most obvious in Ha Kunch'an's and Son Ch'angsöp's work.

²⁸⁴ Suh, *Treacherous Translation*, 137-139.

The notion of the modern nation state having to be formed by obliterating all traces of the Japanese language was disputed neither in the south nor the north. The national language became inextricably linked with the South Korean nation state, which was founded on the assumption of a unity of state, national language and ethno-nation (*minjok*). This ideology, which postulated a return to a unified Korean language untainted by colonial pollution, however, is rife with contradictions, as Serk-bae Suh explains:

[T]he purification policy presupposed an authentic Korean language to which present-day Koreans should return to establish a national language. But the urgent need to standardize Korean revealed that the language had existed only as divergent linguistic practices that had never been systematically unified despite decades of effort. Thus, the institutionalization of a national language involved not a return to a mythical pristine state of natural Korean before colonization or sinicization, but rather the invention of a standardized grammar and orthography to regulate diverse linguistic practices. This entailed reifying the ideology of an internally homogeneous language unit whose boundaries coincided with the boundaries of the community interpellated as the nation.²⁸⁵

South Korean scholar Kim Ch'ol investigates the significance of the national language to South Korean society by referring to Freudian and Lacanian concepts in order to attempt a psychoanalysis of the concept of the *kugō*. His main argument is that the national language becomes a phallus in the Freudian or Lacanian sense. As the signifier of a perceived unity of the sovereign nation-state that is defined by a rule of law and held together by an unchanging national essence, the *kugō* already contains its own threat of castration. That is to say, the national language in its fragmented form cannot signify national sovereignty in colonial Korea and national unity in postcolonial South Korea. Furthermore, it is always threatened by the invading Other – Chinese (*hanmun*), Japanese, English – and therefore while constructing the Korean ethno-nation, at the same time it reveals its fragmentation. Kim Ch'ol relates this process to a phenomenon of individual psychology – the illusion of a stable identity that the individual constructs according to Lacan.²⁸⁶ The constant threat of failure and the inherent contradictions of a notion of an ethno-nation unified by a common

²⁸⁵ Suh, *Treacherous Translation*, 148f.

²⁸⁶ Kim Ch'ol (Kim Chul) 김철, 'Kugō ūi chǒngshin punsôk 국어의 정신분석 [A Psychoanalysis of the National Language]', *Hyöndae munhak ūi yǒn'gu* 현대문학의 연구 55 (2015): 471–505.

national language is frequently targeted by writers for whom language is their bread and butter. Of the South Korean pieces discussed below, four of them challenge this doctrine of Korean monolingualism signifying the South Korean nation state and ethno-nation – Pak Sunnyo's *I Love You*, Son Ch'angsöp's *To Live*, Chön Kwangyong's *Kkoppittan Ri* (*Kapitan Lee*, 1962) and Ha Kunch'an's *An Episode from that Year*, while Sönu Hwi's *Mukshi* (*Revelation*, 1971) uses language and aphasia in a more allegorical way to discuss the issue of collaboration.

The Japanese writer represented in this chapter, Kobayashi Masaru, deals with questions of language on a more abstract level and challenges its manifestation as discourse. Rather than the issue of ideological monolingualism, Kobayashi takes on colonial discourse by demonstrating that boundaries between Japan and Korea are not clear-cut, thereby eroding the ideological foundation of colonial authority.

While the negotiation of colonial-period remnants in the form of the Japanese language is a pressing concern for South Korean authors, the postcolonial geopolitical situation and the rise of American hegemony is highlighted by a frequent reference to the English language in literature. In the texts discussed in this chapter, this is true for *I Love You*, *Kapitan Ri* and *To Live*. However, these narratives evaluate the influence of the English language in diametrically opposed ways. While in the former, the English language becomes a space of freedom, a third space where Japanese and Korean characters can meet, the latter two ironically equate American with Soviet influence and do not give rise to hope for South Korea's future path. As we will see, Japanese writer Kobayashi Masaru takes yet another approach when he chooses a Turkish, rather than for example an American or Western European character to exemplify a superior 'West'.

4.1 Ambivalent encounters: Kobayashi Masaru and the spectre of colonial Korea

Kobayashi Masaru is among the more critically acclaimed *hikiagesha* writers. Next to Kajiyama, he is now probably the most researched author of this group in both Japan and South Korea. What sets him apart, moreover, is his active and political engagement with Japanese imperialism in Korea, the predominant theme of his literary oeuvre.

Kobayashi was born in 1927 in Chinju of Kyōngsang-namdo Province in what is now South Korea. Back in Japan, the revitalisation of the Japanese economy due to the Korean War became his incentive to join the Communist Party. During a demonstration, he threw a Molotov cocktail and was arrested. This should not be his only encounter with the police, and in 1959 he thus spent half a year in prison. Like his fellow *hikiagesha* writer Kajiyama Toshiyuki, his life was cut short by disease, and in 1973 he died from tuberculosis, aged 43.

While nowadays his literary oeuvre has faded into oblivion for the most part (see below for a discussion of the Kobayashi reception), at the time three of his pieces – *Fōdo senkyūhakunijūnana-nen* (Ford 1927, 1956),²⁸⁷ *Gun'yō rogo kyōtei* (*Textbook for Russian for Military Use*, 1956) and *Kakyō* (*Building Bridges*, 1960) – were nominated for the prestigious Akutagawa Prize, although all three fell short of the award.²⁸⁸

Throughout his literary career that spanned roughly fifteen years, Kobayashi artistically processed his childhood in Korea in numerous pieces of short fiction. However, far from just recounting his own personal experiences, Kobayashi strove to give voice to various actors within the colonial cacophony (although arguably, Korean voices are often rather background tunes than lead singers in his works), leading to him being sometimes intertextual with his own work to illuminate a certain aspect from various angles. Case in point are his pieces *Inu* (*Dog*, 1951) and *Ushi* (*Cow*, 1956), both revolving around a Korean village whose idyll is disrupted by a group of Japanese middle school boys on labour service who come to the area to build a dam. Some of the boys end up killing a dog in the village. While the prior story revolves around the Russian owner of the dog who has settled down

²⁸⁷ Kobayashi Masaru 小林勝, ‘Fōdo 1927-nen フォード・十九二七年 (Ford 1927)’, in *Korekushon sensō to bungaku コレクション戦争と文学 [Collection War and Literature]*, vol. 17: Teikoku Nihon to Chōsen, Karafuto 帝国日本と朝鮮・樺太 [Imperial Japan and Korea, Karafuto], eds. Asada Jirō 浅田次郎 et al. (Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 2012), 326–58.

²⁸⁸ Yi Wönhüi 이원희, ‘Kobayashi Masaru munhak e nat’anan sikminchi Chosŏn 고바야시 마사루 문학에 나타난 식민지 조선 [A Study on Colonised Korea in the Works of Kobayashi Masaru]’, *Ilō ilmunhak yōn’gu 日語日文學研究* 38, no. 1 (2001): 215–32; Hara Yūsuke 原佑介, ‘Kobayashi Masaru no kindai Nihon ninshiki to shokuminchi Chōsen - shōsetsu “Yoru no tsugi no kaze no yoru” ni egakareta bōryoku to teikō no rekishi 小林勝の近代日本認識と植民地朝鮮—小説『夜の次の風の夜』に描かれた暴力と抵抗の歴史 [Kobayashi Masaru’s Modern Japanese Consciousness and Colonial Korea - Violence and the History of Resistance as Depicted in the Novel “Yoru no tsugi no kaze no yoru”]’, *Jisedai jinbun shakai kenkyū 次世代人文社会研究* 7 (b 2011): 104–24.

in Korea after the Bolshevik revolution, the latter is narrated from the perspective of the boys.

Ambivalence in the relationship between Japanese coloniser and Korean colonised, the fragility of the colonial power apparatus, and the contradictions within colonial discourse are the recurring themes in Kobayashi Masaru's works. In this chapter, I will pinpoint those trends in two of his texts – his early pieces *Ford* 1927 and *Nihonjin chūgakkō* (Japanese Middle School, 1957).²⁸⁹

In the literary analysis, this chapter will attempt the balancing act of consulting Homi Bhabha's writings on the role of the stereotype in colonial discourse with respect to an East Asian context. Before introducing Bhabha's argument and relating it to the Japanese-Korean context, it will be helpful to give some background on Japanese assimilation policies on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese attitudes towards the colonised people that drove them. Mark E. Caprio evaluates Japanese assimilation policies in Korea during the colonial period.²⁹⁰ Based on a misconception of Western examples, Japan pursued a path of total cultural assimilation. However, the practice was rife with contradictions and met resistance not only on the Korean but also the Japanese side. Throughout the colonial period, the establishment of infrastructure on the peninsula remained dependent on Japanese interests and was discriminative towards Koreans in favour of Japanese expatriates, for example in wages or access to educational institutions. According to Caprio, the discrepancy between assimilation rhetoric and practice can to a large part be attributed to Japanese negative attitudes towards Koreans and a conviction of their inferiority. Japanese negative views on an alleged low moral integrity, lacking efficiency, and propensity to violence – a memory of the March First Movement – led to Koreans being mistrusted in society and Japanese institutions such as the military. While, as discussed, there was a prevailing fascination with Korean traditional culture in Japan, this

²⁸⁹ Kobayashi Masaru 小林勝, 'Nihonjin chūgakkō 日本人中学校 [Japanese Middle School]', in *Kobayashi Masaru sakuhinshū* 小林勝作品集、第1巻 [*Kobayashi Masaru collected works, volume 1*] (Tokyo: Shirokawa shoin 白川書院, 1975), 101–18.

²⁹⁰ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies*.

appreciation always assumed Japanese cultural superiority.²⁹¹ Much of the literature written by *hikiagesha* as well reveals Japanese stereotypes surrounding the Korean fondness for garlic, Korean women's uncontained and often sexually alluring nature and the Korean population's poverty. In these postcolonial texts, stereotypes are usually introduced to be critically challenged. In his works, Kobayashi explores the contradictions between official assimilation policy rhetoric and unofficial prejudice of Korean cultural inferiority. Based on Bhabha's argument introduced in the following, I hold that both sides belonged together and formed part of the colonial domination strategy.

Despite the rampant Eurocentric bias of postcolonial studies that I have discussed above and will touch upon again in my discussion of Bhabha's theory below, I have found his concept of ambivalence in colonial discourse, which emphasises the shifts and frictions in the relationship between (former) coloniser and colonised, particularly helpful in the discussion of Kobayashi Masaru's works, which elevate this very ambivalence to their main theme. The driving force of Kobayashi's literary activity is to demonstrate how colonial discourse that relies on stereotypes for the exercise of power in its instability affects the colonising individual.

Sheila Miyoshi Jager's criticism of Bhabha and other "postcolonial formulations of identity"²⁹² that she asserts leave only resistance for non-Western cultures and trap them in a binary of "pure native 'self-understanding' versus the 'contaminated identities brought about by the cultural appropriation of the Other ('almost the same but not quite')"²⁹³ seriously misrepresents Bhabha, I believe. Her interjection is barely one page long so it is hard to fathom where in Bhabha's complex musings that revolve around notions of hybridity and ambiguity, she finds mourning for the loss of a "pure native culture". Her interjection that "[r]obbed of any historical specificity, the concept of the postcolonial as 'almost the same but not quite' is an abstraction for *all* minority discourses and, hence, is specific to none"²⁹⁴ seems to hold slightly more appeal. Indeed, this appears to mirror much of criticism on Bhabha that accuses him of a highly intricate style that seems to be

²⁹¹ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies*, 162-170.

²⁹² Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building*, X.

²⁹³ Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building*.

²⁹⁴ Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building*, emphasis in original.

detached from social reality.²⁹⁵ However, firstly, I argue that much of Bhabha's theorising actually has been informed by his frame of reference, the British Empire and India, from where most of his examples hail. Furthermore, and more importantly, it seems too easy to dismiss Bhabha's concepts if indeed much of what he describes holds an explanatory power for the Japanese-Korean case, as I will proceed to show throughout this chapter. Instead of simply rejecting postcolonial theory as either too broad or inadequate for the case of East Asia, I hold that a more promising approach is to look out for commonalities and structural convergences in the phenomenon of imperialism that has affected and continues to affect virtually the entire globe while at the same time bearing in mind East Asian specifics that so far have not been sufficiently theorised.

While Bhabha's theoretical framework clearly has been written with the European colonial background in mind, it still proves beneficial for a further understanding of the East Asian postcolonial condition. Japan and South Korea share the same preconditions in their post-defeat/liberation occupation by the USA and subsequent dependence on the world power. Both during the colonial period and after, we are thus dealing with a complex field of power in which the relationship between (former) coloniser and colonised is further complicated through the dependent relationship of both entities to the 'West'. Accordingly, the fluctuation of signifiers in marking Self and Other, the anxious need of the coloniser to fix his/her own identity vis-à-vis the (inferior) colonised and the instability in the distribution of power that Bhabha describes arguably have even more currency in a Japanese-Korean context where Japanese colonial power seems disproportionately more fragile. Indeed, the discomfort with this kind of ambiguity is a defining trait of all the *hikigeshi* texts introduced here. However, it is most pronounced with Kobayashi Masaru, as we will see.

In his essay *The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism*,²⁹⁶ Bhabha challenges and further develops Said's notion of colonial stereotype, which in Bhabha's view simplistically assumes a one-directional and intentional flow of

²⁹⁵ For a concise summary of criticism of Bhabha's works, see María do Mar Castro Varela and Nikita Dhawan, *Postkoloniale Theorie: Eine kritische Einführung* [Postcolonial theory: a critical introduction], 2., komplett überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), 268-284.

²⁹⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 94–120.

power from coloniser to colonised.²⁹⁷ Bhabha, meanwhile, is more interested in the break lines in the relationship *between* coloniser and colonised which makes his thought highly productive for my purposes.²⁹⁸ He elaborates how the stereotype provides the fixity that colonial discourse relies on in its construction of Self and Other. However, this fixity remains an illusion since the stereotype is marked by an ambivalence that “ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed.”²⁹⁹ He aims with his essay to “understand the *productive* ambivalence of the object of colonial discourse – that ‘otherness’ which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity.”³⁰⁰ This split between attraction and repulsion in relation to the Korean colonised Other is always topical for Kobayashi, as we will see below. Colonial discourse, relying on the stereotype as a means of power “produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible.”³⁰¹

Bhabha applies Freudian concepts to colonial discourse and reads the stereotype as a fetish. We remember that for Freud, the fetish is an object that substitutes the lacking phallus of the mother to overcome the fear of castration and thus represents both the disavowal of sexual difference in the mother’s lacking penis as well as the anxious acknowledgement of it.³⁰² Bhabha explains this simultaneous actualisation of seemingly contradictory conceptions in the subject by drawing on Freud’s concept of multiple beliefs. “It is a non-repressive form of knowledge that allows for the possibility of simultaneously embracing two contradictory beliefs, one official and one secret, one archaic and one progressive, one that allows the myth of origins, the other that articulates difference and division.”³⁰³ For Bhabha, then, the stereotype as a fetish revolves not around sexual

²⁹⁷ David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

²⁹⁸ do Mar Castro Varela and Dhawan, *Postkoloniale Theorie*, 223.

²⁹⁹ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 95, emphasis in original.

³⁰⁰ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 96, emphasis in original.

³⁰¹ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 101.

³⁰² Diane E Jonte-Pace, *Teaching Freud* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 159.

³⁰³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 115.

difference, but the simultaneous disavowal and anxious recognition of difference in “skin/race/culture”³⁰⁴. He explains that “[w]ithin discourse, the fetish represents the simultaneous play between metaphor as substitution (masking absence and difference) and metonymy (which contiguously registers the perceived lack).”³⁰⁵ And further: “The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference (which the negation through the Other permits), constitutes a problem for the *representation* of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations.”³⁰⁶

For the Japanese-Korean case, a further layer is added by the fact that while stereotypes that targeted cultural difference were constitutive in the establishment of power, at the same time, the emphasis of a common Korean-Japanese origin and the *naisen ittai* doctrine were a driving factor in Japanese colonial discourse. More so than its European counterparts, perhaps, Japanese colonial discourse moved anxiously between the poles of acknowledgment and disavowal of ethno-national/cultural difference while at the same time being driven by the fantasy of a common pure origin of both ‘brother ethno-nations’. Kobayashi’s literature plays on and deconstructs this ambivalence while revealing the anxiety caused by this contradiction in the (post)colonial subject. As we will see, his characters are trapped in the aporia of two multiple beliefs – the official *naisen ittai* strategy versus the secret belief in ethnic difference to the Koreans and cultural superiority of the Japanese.

According to Bhabha, the ambivalence in colonial discourse is produced by the fact that the metaphoric/narcissistic as well as the metonymic/aggressive dimension of the fetish are always actualised at the same time.³⁰⁷ As David Huddart puts it: “This doubling is a different way of imagining colonial knowledge’s ambivalence, always *both* an aggressive expression of domination over the other *and* evidence of narcissistic anxiety about the self. The colonizer aggressively states his superiority to the colonized, but is always anxiously

³⁰⁴ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 107.

³⁰⁵ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 107.

³⁰⁶ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 107, emphasis in original.

³⁰⁷ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 110.

contemplating his own identity, which is never quite as stable as his aggression implies.”³⁰⁸ This imbalance is at the heart of Kobayashi’s writing, as we will see.

In Bhabha’s theory, skin colour becomes the ultimate marker of difference. Relying on Frantz Fanon, he breaches the concept of the “scopic drive” to explain how in the (post)colonial moment the visuality of racial difference fails to fix the coloniser’s identity, because there is always the threat of the colonised returning the gaze, producing a slippage in the assumed fixity of the racist stereotype. At this point, if not Bhabha himself, his reception that assumes his theories to describe ‘colonial discourse’ in the singular, reveals a severe Eurocentric bias which leads to empires other than the British or French hardly making it into the footnotes of postcolonial discourse. Needless to say, in the Japanese-Korean case skin colour is of little importance, while segregation was justified by cultural difference.³⁰⁹ However, the fact that the difference between Koreans and Japanese cannot be constructed through something as obvious as visual identity seems to lead to much greater anxiety and even more desperate attempts to reassert Japanese superiority on the part of the colonisers. This will become obvious below in my discussion of *Japanese Middle School*. While in the former difference is, paradoxically, constructed through recourse on visuality and physicality, in the latter the lack of visual difference between Koreans and Japanese becomes an anxious obsession for the protagonist in his attempt to assert his superiority.

Before we dive into the literary analysis of two of Kobayashi’s pieces of short fiction, I will take a brief look at the academic reception of his work in Japan and South Korea. The field of research on Kobayashi Masaru is quite remarkable. While in Japan his works have received relatively little academic scrutiny, South Korean scholars have recently begun to enthusiastically embrace his literature in their research. The journal of the *Shin Nihon Bungakkai* (New Japan Literature Association), with which Kobayashi was associated, published several pieces on him and the writer Saitō Ryūhō following both their deaths in

³⁰⁸ Huddart, Homi K. Bhabha, 43.

³⁰⁹ Hanscom and Washburn, „Introduction,” 2-4.

1971.³¹⁰ *Chōsen kenkyū* (Korea Research) honoured Kobayashi with two obituaries in 1971 and 1972 by Pak Wönc hun and Muramatsu Takeshi.³¹¹ Following this, in Japanese academia a pervasive silence surrounding Kobayashi's literary work continues to exist, broken only by a chapter in Isogai Jirō's *Sengo Nihon bungaku no naka no Chōsen, Kankoku* in 1992,³¹² Kawamura Minato in 1997³¹³ and Hara Yūsuke of Ritsumeikan University who has published extensively on Kobayashi in both Japanese and Korean language between 2010 and 2012.³¹⁴

Ch'oe Chunho and O Michōng respectively offer a review of previous Japanese research, divided into three strands. The first one is represented by Muramatsu Takeshi and Isogai Jirō and can best be described as a life and times approach. Those scholars appraise Kobayashi affirmatively as a rare writer who sticks to the topic of colonial Korea over a prolonged period of time but are less interested in a thorough analysis of his works. The second strand Ch'oe Chunho refers to are Kobayashi's fellow *Shin Nihon Bungakkai* members who evaluate him positively for addressing the issue of Japanese responsibility for the country's colonial endeavours. Finally, as both Ch'oe Chunho and O Michōng point

³¹⁰ Shin Nihon bungakkai 新日本文学会, *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 新日本文学 [New Japanese Literature] 260, 1969.

³¹¹ Pak Wönc hun 朴元俊, 'Kobayashi Masaru no kyūsei wo itamu 小林勝氏の急逝を悼む [Mourning Kobayashi Masaru's Sudden Death]', *Chōsen kenkyū* 朝鮮研究 104 (April 1971): 48–52; Muramatsu Takeshi 村松武司, 'Shokuminsha sakka no shi - Kobayashi Masaru ni tsuite 植民者作家の死—小林勝について [The Death of the Colonial Writer - on Kobayashi Masaru]', *Chōsen kenkyū* 朝鮮研究 113 (March 1972): 38–47.

³¹² Isogai, *Korea*, 102–122.

³¹³ Kawamura Minato 川村湊, *Manshū hōkai: 'Daitōa bungaku' to sakka-tachi* 滿洲崩壊: 「大東亜文学」と作家たち [The Destruction of Manchuria: 'Greater East Asian' Literature and Authors] (Tokyo: Bungei shunjū 文芸春秋, 1997), 198–233.

³¹⁴ Hara Yūsuke 原佑介, 'Shokuminchi nisei sakka Kobayashi Masaru to "uchinaru natsukashisa" e no teikō 植民地二世作家小林勝と『内なる懐かしさ』への抵抗 [Second Generation Colonialist Writer Kobayashi Masaru and His Resistance Against an "Internalised Nostalgia"]', *Koria kenkyū* コリア研究 1 (2010): 23–37; Hara Yūsuke 原佑介, "'Choppari' to Okusuni - Kobayashi Masaru no bungaku ni okeru shokuminsha to "mō hitotsu" no Chōsen 「チョッパリ」とオクスニー—小林勝の文学における植民者と「もう一つの」朝鮮 ["Tchokpari" and Ok Suni: the Colonialist and "Another" Korea in the Literature of Kobayashi Masaru]', *Core Ethics* 7 (2010): 261–72; Hara Yūsuke 하라 유스케, 'Kūrium ül kümhanün köt - Chosön sikminchicha 2se chakka Kobayashi Masaru wa Chosön e taehan hyangsu 그리움을 금하는 것 -조선식민자 2 세 작가 고바야시 마사루와 조선에 대한 항수 [Forbidding Nostalgia - the Second Generation Korean Colonist Kobayashi Masaru and Nostalgia for Colonial Korea]', *Ilbon yōn'gu* 일본연구 15 (2011): 311–32; Hara Yūsuke, "Violence and the History of Resistance"; Hara Yūsuke 하라 유스케, 'Kobayashi Masaru wa Ch'oe Kyuha 고바야시 마사루(小林勝)와 최규하(崔圭夏) [Kobayashi Masaru and Ch'oe Kyuha]', *SAI* 사이 12 (2012): 137–66.

out, Kawamura Minato criticises Kobayashi's work. He holds that his own sense of responsibility is reflected too simplistically especially in his later works and that Kobayashi's literature is too obviously driven by his communist convictions.³¹⁵ Hara Yūsuke jumps to Kobayashi's defence when disagreeing with Kawamura on this point.³¹⁶

In South Korea, meanwhile, especially following So Rimsüng and Yi Wönhui's translation of *Hizume no wareta mono* (*Someone with Split Hooves*, 1969), *Kakyō* (*Building Bridges*, 1960), *Mumei no hatate-tachi* (*The Nameless Standard-Bearers*, 1962) and *Me nashi atama* (*A Head Without Eyes*, 1967) in 2007,³¹⁷ Kobayashi's relationship to colonial Korea has been actively taken up by scholars. Prior to the translation, in a more descriptive article in 2001, Yi Wönhui had already introduced some of Kobayashi's short fiction to a Korean audience,³¹⁸ but especially since 2011 a handful of articles have been published that usually discuss particular works in more detail. In 2011, Ch'oe Chunho offered a systematic account of previous Japanese research on Kobayashi as well as an introduction of his early short fiction on colonial Korea, which he generally evaluates positively.³¹⁹ The same year marks O Michöng's helpful discussion of Kobayashi's *Ford* 1927, his Akutagawa Prize-nominated piece that first brought him critical acclaim and will be discussed below with reference to her insights. The most recent article dealing with Kobayashi and colonial Korea is Kim Kyöngyöñ's 2013 analysis of the re-evaluation of the act of crossing the Genkai Sea for Japanese and Korean writers before and after the defeat/liberation

³¹⁵ Ch'oe Chunho 최준호, 'Kobayashi Masaru ūi sikminchi Chosön insik - ch'oki chakp'umđul sok ūi inmul p'yosang ūl chungsim ūro 고바야시 마사루의 식민지 조선 인식 - 초기 작품들 속의 인물표상을 중심으로 [Kobayashi Masaru's Awareness of Colonial Korea - on the Character Symbols in His Early Works]', *Ilbono munhak 日本語文學* 48 (2011): 139–56; O Michöng (Oh Mi Jung) 오미정, 'Kobayashi Masaru ūi "p'odū, 1927nyöñ"ron - chunge nün kanünghanka? 고바야시 마사루의『포드, 1927 년』론 -종개는 가능한가? [Analysis of Kobayashi Masaru's "Ford 1927" - is Mediation Possible?]」, *Ilō ilmunhak yōn'gu 日語日文學研究* 78, no. 2 (2012): 137–66.

³¹⁶ Hara, "Kobayashi Masaru and Ch'oe Kyuha," 140f.

³¹⁷ Kobayashi Masaru 고바야시 마사루, *Tchokpari: Kobayashi Masaru chakp'umjip* 쪽발이 : 고바야시 마사루 작품집 [*Tchokpari: a Collection of Kobayashi Masaru's Works*], trans. So Rimsüng 소림승 and Yi Wönhui 이원희, Hallim shinsö Ilbon hyöndae munhak taep'yo jaksön 한림신서 일본현대문학대표작선 36 (Seoul: Sohwa 小花, 2007).

³¹⁸ Yi Wönhui 이원희, 'Kobayashi Masaru munhak e nat'anen sikminchi Chosön 고바야시 마사루 문학에 나타난 식민지 조선 [A Study of Colonised Korea in the Works of Kobayashi Masaru]', *Ilō ilmunhak yōn'gu 日語日文學研究* 38, no. 1 (2001): 215–32.

³¹⁹ Ch'oe Chunho, "Kobayashi Masaru's Awareness".

respectively. She demonstrates how in 1945 a new kind of denial and oblivion commences in the reconstruction of the two ethno-nations – while before the liberation Koreans in Japan had to see themselves as “Japanese from the peninsula”, afterwards Japanese had to suppress their memory of having been perpetrators. However, she points out that there are remainders of the pre-liberation period in the people that have been displaced and demonstrates her argument based on the works of Korean writer Ha Unsа and Kobayashi’s *Hizume no wareta mono*.³²⁰

In Kawamura Minato’s article as well as Isogai Jirō’s study and Hara Yūsuke’s Japanese-language publications, one can detect an affinity to measure Kobayashi’s work against moral standards. While Japanese scholars often evaluate his oeuvre in relation to the author’s merit of condemning Japanese imperialism, this tendency is largely lacking in Korean research.³²¹ Accordingly, South Korean studies tend to either introduce Kobayashi’s literature by means of plot summaries or focus more strongly on a textual analysis, leaving overall social or moral questions aside for the most part.

In the literary analysis that follows, I will rely on Bhabha’s theory of the stereotype to shine a light on the ways in which Kobayashi Masaru’s literature takes on the contradictions in Japanese imperial and post-imperial discourse. Written from his position as a *hikiagesha*, his pieces show the deep discomfort with Japan’s suppressed memory of its role as an imperial power. This discomfort resurfaces in the protagonists’ relationship to Korean characters, which are never easy but always amount to ambivalent encounters between (former) coloniser and colonised and reveal the very fissures in colonial power. His work resists the idea of an absolute divide between Japanese coloniser and Korean colonised.

³²⁰ Kim Kyöngyön (Kim Kyoung-yeon) 김경연, ‘Haebang/p’aechön ihu Hanil kwihwancha ūi sōsa wa kiök ūi chöngch’ihak 해방/패전 이후 한일(韓日) 귀환자의 서사와 기억의 정치학 (Korean and Japanese Returnees’ Narratives and the Politics of Remembrance after Liberation/Defeat)’, *Uri munhak yōn’gu* 우리文學研究 38 (2013): 289–330.

³²¹ See also O Michöng, “Mediation,” 330.

4.1.1 *Fōdo senkyūhyakunijūnana-nen* (Ford 1927, 1956)

Kobayashi's early text *Fōdo senkyūhyakunijūnana-nen* (Ford 1927, 1956)³²² is a remarkable piece that exemplifies the ambiguities and contradictions in Japan's postcolonial remembrance of imperialism in Korea and that of the *hikiagesha* in particular. The story is set in a small village in eastern Korea somewhere between the Naktong River and the T'aebaek Mountains and features as first-person narrator a Japanese boy in the fifth grade of primary school and son to the local assistant inspector. The frame of the narration is provided by his adult self who has developed tuberculosis and is reminiscing with a combat medic at his sickbed near the front in Manchuria. This sets in motion his recollection of the events in the 1930s surrounding a Turkish family. The Turk, as the text just calls him, and his family had moved to the village when the protagonist was still an infant, but he was told how they arrived in their car, a new Ford model 1927, and built a Western-style house. The Turk is the only inhabitant of the village who owns a car. He makes a habit of gathering Koreans at his house or driving around with them in his Ford, leading to scornful reactions from the Japanese who are denied this pleasure on account of them refusing to lower themselves to partake in common social activities with Koreans. After detailing several episodes in the village, the plot then jumps to war-time Tokyo in the 1940s and explains how the protagonist, now a student at a foreign language university, is drafted. Subsequently, another episode is recounted in which he returns to Korea after many years. The village is mostly deserted and he meets his family's former Korean maid Sūnggi who has significantly aged. The story concludes back in Manchuria, the protagonist gazing out of his square window.

An ambivalent relationship with the memory of colonial Korea is the most prominent feature of Kobayashi's text. In the following analysis, I will elaborate firstly on how this ambivalence is constructed in the protagonist's relationship with the quasi-Western character of the Turk and the Korean population and perpetuated through, yet rendered

³²² Kobayashi Masaru 小林勝, 'Fōdo 1927-nen フォード・十九二七年 (Ford 1927)', in *Korekushon sensō to bungaku コレクション戦争と文学 [Collection War and Literature]*, 17: Teikoku Nihon to Chōsen, Karafuto 帝国日本と朝鮮・樺太 [Imperial Japan and Korea, Karafuto], eds. Asada Jirō 浅田次郎 et al. (Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 2012), 326–58. My complete English translation of the text has been published in *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft - Revue de la Société Suisse-Asie*, 2/2017: 645–666.

fragile by, the stereotype in colonial discourse. Secondly, I will demonstrate how the piece's structure allows for a reading that oscillates between the foundational narrative, nostalgia for colonial Korea and a critical attitude towards Japanese imperialism.

In *Ford* 1927, Japanese imperial power is described as fragile, as shifting between the different actors within the system and a notion of absolute, unidirectional power is defied. In the exposition, the narrative depicts the peaceful life of the Japanese in the Korean village and how the imperial power is established through first the military and then the Japanese settlers:

The Koreans were already used to the sight of Japanese. In the distant past, first the soldiers wearing persimmon-coloured uniforms had come to this place in the deep mountains – that was the independence infantry battalion and a couple of years had passed since the insurrection that had centred on their neighbourhood was crushed with the bayonets of the soldiers. Thereupon the police came, the merchants came, a bank branch came, the moneylenders came, a court came, the school teachers came. The Koreans in the village learned Japanese and because the soldiers were no longer needed, they disappeared. In this way, they had become used to the sight of Japanese. But riding this new Ford was a Turkish couple with sharp-edged hooked noses and blue eyes. What was even more surprising was that different from the Japanese, the Turks waved their hands while smiling amiably – they came to the village in such a manner (333).³²³

In this scene, the perspective that before had followed the Japanese protagonist suddenly shifts to that of the Koreans who return the gaze to watch the Japanese and the Turkish family arrive. This subtle shift in perspective thus gives a hint about the danger of slippage inherent in the colonial situation that Bhabha describes. However, at the same time, they remain passive victims of the slow establishment of colonial power and the Korean resistance movement that has to succumb to Japanese authority seems to be detached from the Koreans living in the village. The scene also explores the many layers of colonial suppression from military intervention to cultural subjugation through language policy, a subject that resurfaces in many texts. At the same time, it marks the continuity and interdependence between those different components of imperial power, seeing soldiers

³²³ App. i.

and school teachers as part of the same process and thereby rejecting the foundational narrative that we find with Kajiyama Toshiyuki that sees the Japanese civilian population as the victims of the military class.

The power balance between the colonising Japanese population and the colonised Koreans is brought into disarray with the arrival of the Turkish family, proud owners of the only car in the village. “Neither the head of the police owned a car, nor Kim the county head, nor Ri the great landowner, nor Ishigami the usurer who owned premises in the wide poplar tree forest, nor Sakamoto of the colonial bank who had dumbfounded people by newly building a house with eighteen rooms” (331).³²⁴ This passage underscores how power within the local community is distributed and how both Japanese and Koreans participate in and benefit from the regime. Grouping together both Japanese and Koreans holding high levels of **social status** and financial capital, *Ford* 1927 implicitly underscores the fact that even Koreans could hold positions of relative authority within the colonial power apparatus. This instance defies a monolithic narrative of a one-directional power flow from metropole to colony. However, from the moment of his arrival, the Turk is situated within a different category from both the Korean and Japanese actors in the colonial regime, his ownership of a private car marking his exceptionality. O Michöng points out that the Ford as a symbol of Western capitalism and modernity highlights the Japanese underdevelopment.³²⁵ Undoubtedly, the authority that is attributed to the Turk as a proponent of Western power and the resulting feeling of inferiority the Japanese characters express exemplifies the postcolonial, Cold War power structure in East Asia. The always implicitly perceived inferiority and the need to assert oneself against the overwhelming force of Western cultural superiority ingrained in Japanese post-war discourse is made explicit here by the Turkish character but at the same time ironically disrupted through the Turk’s ambiguous affiliation with ‘the West’.

Choosing a Turkish character instead of, say, a Western European or American one accentuates the text’s commitment to the disruption of monolithic national boundaries. Turkey, which had lost its position as an imperial power with the collapse of the Ottoman

³²⁴ App. ii.

³²⁵ O Michöng, “Mediation,” 326.

Empire in 1918, can be seen as a kind of mirror image to Japan, which had to find its way into a democratic republic after defeat in WWII, much as Turkey under the Kemalist doctrine had.³²⁶ Let us recapture the relationship of the two countries.

Even though formal diplomatic relations between Japan and Turkey commenced relatively late in 1923, the two nations share a history marked by friendly encounters and mutual respect. Relations began right after 1868 with the journey of Japanese visitors to the Ottoman Empire, most notably the Yoshida mission dispatched to collect information in the Near East in 1880, which was followed by several subsequent smaller missions. Deeply engrained in the collective memory concerning Turko-Japanese relations is the tragic fate of Sultan Abdülhamid II's imperial frigate *Ertuğrul* that sank in 1890 before Wakayama and raised a mood of deep sympathy in the Japanese public.³²⁷ The countries maintained friendly relations throughout, and despite the fact that Turkey had declared war on Japan for **tactical** reasons in WWII without ever engaging in belligerent actions, they resumed diplomatic relations quickly after the San Francisco conference in 1952.³²⁸ Japanese attitudes towards Turkey were informed by the Western imperialist world view that divided states into a hierarchy with the West at the top. Still, for Japan, which found itself at the margins of the Western world order, the romantic interest in Turkey differed from that of European countries, as Selçuk Esenbel remarks:

For the first generation Meiji elite in power with a Westernist vision of the world, the Ottomans were simply the representation of the European-Western imperialist agenda of the Eastern Question of a crumbling 'semi-civilized' non-Western Empire. For the young Meiji generation with a new sense of Japaneseness, however, the Ottoman world was the object of romantic interest in the 'accessible Orient' that is a Japanese version of the contemporary Orientalist Western romantic image about the area. Like Westerners, the Japanese romanticized the multi-ethnic heritage of the Ottoman world as a kind of exotic melting pot of Antiquity, Europe, and the Near East that distinguished it from the

³²⁶ Selçuk Esenbel, 'Japanese Perspectives of the Ottoman World', in *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent: New Perspectives on the History of Japanese Turkish Relations*, ed. by Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2003), 7-41.

³²⁷ Esenbel, "Japanese Perspectives".

³²⁸ Rona Aybay, 'Turkey's Declaration of War on Japan and the End of the Second World War', in *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent: New Perspectives on the History of Japanese Turkish Relations*, ed. by Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2003), 234-240, 235-239.

modern West, and to some extent the pure Near East of Islam. Unlike the Western Orientalist romantics, however, the Japanese romantics sought a personal identification within this Orientalizing image.³²⁹

Thus, while the figure of the ‘Turk’ from a European perspective with its long history of crusades and Orientalism constitutes a figure of fear and prejudice, the case is different when we take Japan as our point of departure. Even though from the Meiji period and beyond in Japan Turkey certainly was considered as exotic and not on par with the ‘Western’ powers, *Ford* 1927 takes a slightly different approach when establishing the Turk as a proponent of Western power before then going on to deconstruct this notion. As I will show below, the piece offers a view on ‘Western power’ as fragmented with the Turkish character constantly oscillating between being an embodiment of ‘the West’ and something not quite Western.

In virtually every reference to the Turk, his blue eyes are mentioned (333, 342, 350) and his lifestyle is described to mark him as distinctly ‘Western’. The colonial desire for the racial Other that is prevalent in much of European colonial discourse in this instance is directed not towards the colonised, the ethnical Korean ‘brothers’ (as perpetuated through the *naisen ittai* doctrine), but, instead, the Japanese population itself is put in an inferior position in its desire for the Turk’s Otherness. Bhabha and Fanon’s “scopic drive” here takes anxious pleasure in the racial difference of the Turk whose cultural superiority at no point in the narrative is questioned. The always implicitly perceived inferiority and the need to assert oneself against the overwhelming force of Western cultural superiority ingrained in Japanese colonial discourse is made explicit here by the Turkish character but at the same time ironically disrupted through the Turk’s ambiguous affiliation with ‘the West’, as I will show below.

The relative power the Turk holds is underscored by the fact that he builds a Western-style (*seiyō*) house surrounded by a fence and “[w]hen winter came, from this chimney a vigorous smoke was spat out and it was only this acorn hill that looked like some faraway Western country (334).”³³⁰ In these examples, there is no uncertainty as to the Turk

³²⁹ Esenbel, “Japanese Perspectives,” 35f.

³³⁰ App. iii.

belonging to a monolithic notion of ‘the West’ in which East confronts West and takes the subordinate position. However, almost surprisingly, after unilaterally marking the Turk as a representative of ‘Western-ness’, the text takes a turn and unhinges the notion of ‘the West’ as a monolithic entity as signified by the Turk’s blue eyes and Western house when a rumour about him being a Christian missionary emerges. The protagonist witnesses a conversation between the old clock maker and the intellectual Morozumi who works in the council administration. When the clock maker remarks that it is cunning of the Turk to combine his Christian preaching with selling fabric, Morozumi retorts: “First of all, for Turks the religion is Muhammadanism, that is to say they belong to the Muslim faith.”, Morozumi said slowly and looked firmly at the old man of the Tōkyō-dō with a side glance as if to confirm his reaction. ‘In Korea, there are no Turkish Christian missionaries. They are all Americans, Englishmen or Australians, you see’” (335f.).³³¹ From a European perspective, it is certainly surprising for a Turk to be associated with Christianity, given that Turkey as part of the ‘Orient’ has served since long as a canvas for Islamophobic Western fears.³³² The text here introduces a geopolitical complexity to a simplistic imperialist discourse that sees the world divided in East versus West and Orient versus Occident that has the power to puzzle Japanese and European readers alike (albeit for different reasons). We understand that even for the so-called ‘West’, ethno-national belonging as in this instance expressed through religious affiliation is multi-layered and complex. While his blue eyes and Western-style house mark the Turk as clearly belonging to a different realm from the Japanese population, the text in this passage rejects a notion of a monolithic West on which postcolonial Japan is dependent. What sets *Ford* 1927 apart is that it thus introduces a notion of fragility and oscillation of power not just between coloniser and colonised but also in between the group of colonising powers itself. This is no doubt owed to Japan’s special role as a ‘colonised coloniser’ that finds itself trapped in between contradictory discourses of Western and Japanese imperialism.

Ford 1927 demonstrates the fragility of colonial stereotype, which must constantly be reiterated in order to be effective. The notion of Japanese social superiority, which is based

³³¹ App. iv.

³³² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

on a clear separation of the two groups, is disrupted by the Turk treating Japanese and Koreans alike and inviting them on his rides in the Ford regardless of ethno-national affiliation and their according respective social status. He is set in contrast with the infantile sense of superiority displayed by the Japanese in that their pride is hurt by the fact that he treats Japanese and Koreans as equals (336f.) and in their refusal to ride in his car simply on the grounds that he also invites Koreans (341-343). While the Japanese display a distinct feeling of superiority towards the Koreans (345), their authority is undermined by the Turkish character, illuminating the complex double or even triple colonial relationship between the quasi-West, Japan as colonising power and Korea. This again mirrors the Japanese postcolonial sense of inferiority vis-à-vis the West. The Turk disrupts the foundation of the stereotype by shaking up the ambiguous fixity it relies on.

The fragility of imperial power is particularly palpable in a scene where the protagonist and his older sister follow the Turk's invitation to come to his house and play with his daughter:

But we noticed that when we tried to play with the girl, we were confronted with a terrible obstacle. When we spoke in Japanese, the girl just looked at our mouths with a baffled face.

"What is your name?"

Because the meaning did not come through even after I repeated it twice, I was really disappointed. At that point, one of the children that had been standing by the side said in fluent Japanese,

"She is called Jen." (I might have misheard this).

"I'm not asking you!"

I said angrily and the Korean children let their heads hang. This time she said something, but we did not understand at all. At that moment, a sharp doubt suddenly welled up.

"So, in which language do this girl and the Korean children talk?"

(...) This time I tried my ragged Korean.

"Your family has a car, right?" (That is what I meant to say, but of course this is my subjective view). As I did this, the girl, who had motionlessly observed my mouth to see whether I had finished talking or not, started smiling brightly and said extremely animatedly:

- *Chadongja issō!* (We have a car)

(...) Now that I had started the conversation in Korean, I needed to carry on – but I hardly knew any Korean so I had no choice but to ask questions that even I myself thought absurd.

(...)

At that moment I felt that even though I had lived in this small town beneath the mountains making fun of the Koreans, now, here in the mountains, my sister and I had come to a faraway foreign country where we did not belong. (...) And the protagonists of this foreign country were the three Korean children and the blond Turkish girl... (345-347).³³³

This passage underscores the fragility of the colonial power and how abruptly it can shift when suddenly the protagonist, who had displayed his sense of superiority on numerous occasions, is forced to adapt to the language of the colonised. From this scene, we can infer that the colonial period left a deep feeling of powerlessness on the Japanese side as well. The protagonist desperately clings to his sense of superiority granted through the stereotype. However, through the intermediary of the blond Turkish girl, the illusion of a stable identity performed vis-à-vis the Korean colonial Others shatters along with the illusion of *naisen ittai* which for the protagonist and the Japanese in the village in reality just means a Japanification of Korea. In this scene, cultural difference in its rawest form – language – manifests violently. Only now the protagonist comes to see himself as a foreigner and gets a glimpse of his identity as a coloniser. The contradiction in colonial discourse surrounding narcissistic metaphor and aggressive metonymy becomes apparent and causes the protagonist's sense of crisis.

The Korean children, on the other hand, through their proficiency in the Japanese language seem to be able to perform different identities and bridge the gap much more easily. However, it is important to note that even though the protagonist is rendered speechless in face of the Korean language, the power divide is negotiated through a third party, the 'West', and while it is their language that causes him to feel disempowered, the Korean characters in the story remain pawns in the power play between the Turkish and Japanese characters. By reference to the example of language, the text thus points to the fragility of colonial power as well as the insecurity of allegedly fixed identities relying on

³³³ App. v.

this power. On the one hand, this scene underscores the trauma of the loss of empire which for *hikiagesha* is also loss of their native place. The protagonist is suddenly propelled into an inferior position as an alien, foreshadowing the end of Japanese imperialism that cost the *hikiagesha* their privileged position as colonisers and made them fugitives first and eventually second-class citizens in post-war Japan. On the other hand, this passage highlights Japan's ambivalent relationship with 'the West' within the Cold War world order, where Japan is dependent on America politically and a perceived superiority of things 'Western' permeates many aspects of Japanese life.

The ambivalence displayed towards the Turk as a quasi-proponent of 'the West' and the fragility of colonial power is emblematic for the representation of imperial memory in *Ford 1927*. In what now follows, I will elaborate on the ambivalent reading the text invites between the poles of criticism of Japanese imperialism versus the foundational narrative. This will also be placed in the context of the significance of the loss of the *hikiagesha*'s childhood native place of colonial Korea. O Michöng explains that the recollection of the protagonist forms the basic structure of the text. Within the narrative, the two spaces of the frontline in Jinan in Manchuria and the Korean village are connected through the war and the fact of Japanese imperialism. Since the protagonist is an adult with the according strength of judgement when he looks back, the story's set-up highlights the violence of the imperial subjugation rather than being a mere naïve childhood recollection.³³⁴ This becomes especially apparent at the end of the text when the narrator concludes his story and is faced with the private first class' comment: "'What, damn, now that the Turk and the Japanese are gone, everyone is doing quite well!' I kept quiet and turned my back at him. That was probably the truth, but it was way too late for me to realise that" (356).³³⁵ Only through the private's remark, as Yi Wönhüi notes, the protagonist understands that the colonial occupation was wrong.³³⁶ O Michöng explains that one can assume that the private is a Korean and his comment thus indicates that the Turk's role is dependent on the colonial power structure. Without either the West's or Japan's meddling, Korea could go its own way, since both Japanese and the Turk are outsiders to Korea. She holds that

³³⁴ O Michöng, "Mediation," 317-320.

³³⁵ App. vi.

³³⁶ Yi Wönhüi, "Colonised Korea," 220.

the protagonist is now confronted with the gaze of the colonised for the first time³³⁷ and that the protagonist for the first time realises his own complicity in the regime. Such a subtle ending was perhaps fitting for a post-war Japan trying to suppress any memory of the empire and might have contributed to *Ford* 1927 having been nominated for the Akutagawa Prize. She goes on to explain that for the protagonist as a young man, war is no longer an adventure but associated with death and with this shift, he comes to see not Japan as his native place but Korea which is now in ruins. The humiliated sense of superiority of the boy is integrated into the structure to allow for the young man's self-reflection through which the text confronts the oblivion in postcolonial Japanese society.³³⁸ This brings us to my last point – the nostalgic depiction of the Korean colonial landscape.³³⁹

The text constructs the colonial Korean landscape in the 1930s as an idyll that is gradually destroyed by the war and Japanese imperialism. During the protagonist's childhood, the war happens somewhere in a distant place (337, 356) and does not touch the idyllic village where life centres around the 'park' with its picturesque poplar trees and where the annual cow market is the highlight in the communal calendar (329). The passing of the seasons and the landscape are described extensively in the beginning of the story (327-330). However, when he returns to the village later on a visit from the frontline, the protagonist's nostalgia is disappointed due to the run-down state of the village: "I shut my eyes, and immediately the vast park appeared before my inner eye. I saw people bustling in and out of the Tōkyō-dō and the New Isahaya [two former shops in the centre of the village], and in a faraway place the war was... I opened my eyes. In the cramped space, there was not so much of a shadow of a person, and the houses looked like they were about to collapse" (353f.).³⁴⁰

The protagonist coincidentally meets his family's former Korean maid Sŭnggi, but just like the village her appearance has been marked by the passing of time. In a scene that is

³³⁷ O Michöng, "Mediation," 328.

³³⁸ O Michöng, "Mediation".

³³⁹ Interestingly, a resistance to his "internalised nostalgia" becomes a quarrel in Kobayashi's later works and he came to write against this perceived trivialisation of colonialism in the latter half of his literary career (Hara, "Resistance Against 'Internalised Nostalgia'").

³⁴⁰ App. vii.

reminiscent of Kajiyama's work in that the status of colonial Korea is exemplified through a female Korean character, he describes her: "Her eyes had become ever narrower, and creases were already thinly engraved on her forehead, revealing her fatigue. Her chest had become surprisingly flat. It was apparent that something had stolen her youth from her for all eternity, and it was not just Sŭnggi's youth that had been stolen by that something" (355).³⁴¹ *Ford* 1927 laments the loss of an idyllic Korean landscape that has changed forever due to the war. In this way, the text is similar to the works by Morisaki Kazue, Kang Shinchae and Kim Chöngahn discussed in chapter three in that it laments the loss of an idyllic Korean landscape that has changed forever due to the war. However, as opposed to the other examples, *Ford* 1927 does not regret the loss of Korean authenticity and the longing is directed at a pre-war, not a pre-colonial Korean landscape. After the onset of the story describes the establishment of 'little Japan' in Korea, the text thus throws a nostalgic gaze onto colonial Korea. On the one hand, this allows for a reading of the war, not colonialism itself, having destroyed the Korean idyll which aligns the story with the foundational narrative. This nostalgic sense of loss and the ambivalent oscillation between criticism of Japanese imperialism and the longing for colonial Korea as the idyllic place of childhood memories appears to encapsulate the *hikiagesha* condition whose subjectivity finds itself both within and in opposition to mainstream Japanese discourses of its time.

In my discussion of *Ford* 1927, I have investigated the text's refusal to adhere to simplistic boundaries between coloniser and colonised, between East and West and explained how the exercise of colonial power is multi-layered and fragile. The Turk as a 'semi-Western' character fulfils two functions within the text. On the one hand, he disrupts the Japanese establishment of colonial power, which is based on a stereotypical inferiority of Koreans against Japanese. Secondly, he defies notions of a monolithic West through his intermediary role. The recollective structure of the piece allows for a subtle criticism of the legitimacy of Japanese imperialism while at the same time displaying an ambivalent nostalgia for pre-war colonial Korea, the *hikiagesha*'s place of childhood. Let us go on to discuss the stereotype with respect to another one of Kobayashi's early works.

³⁴¹ App. viii.

4.1.2 *Nihonjin chūgakkō* (Japanese Middle School, 1957)

Nihonjin chūgakkō (Japanese Middle School, 1957)³⁴² is a short piece set in a small town in southern Korea in the time span from spring to autumn sometime in the 1930s. Protagonist Gorō is a Japanese boy in his third year of middle school whose father, a policeman, has enthused his son with his longing for Japan (*naichi*) and contempt for Korea and its people. The plot develops after a new English teacher is introduced – the well-dressed, kind and handsome Umehara Kenta. Gorō is particularly infatuated with his way of speaking Japanese, which he takes to be an indicator for Umehara's upbringing in downtown Tokyo. However, soon the rumour spreads that Umehara is in fact Korean and Gorō develops an obsession with verifying whether there is substance to those assertions. When one of the boys claims to have seen the character for the Korean name "Ch'oe" in Umehara's belt and thus confirms the rumour, the students prepare the classroom by piling rubbish on the teacher's desk and writing a poem on the blackboard, underlining the character for "Ch'oe". Umehara enters, and after a moment of hesitation he throws a fit and turns over the desk. Finally, he collects himself and after asking the children what he had ever done to them, he leaves the classroom. Another teacher takes over and Gorō hears that Umehara went to Manchuria to take a new post.

All in all, *Japanese Middle School* can be regarded as a lesson in the arbitrariness and fragility of colonial discourse in Bhabha's sense. In the following, I will analyse how the text negotiates notions of identity and how characters are affected by colonial stereotype.

Gorō's sense of ethno-national belonging magnifies Anderson's concept of the nation as an "imagined community", having never been to Japan himself but longing for his 'native place' that becomes the cornerstone of his identity and sets him apart from the Koreans whom he perceives as fundamentally different from himself:

[F]urther than his eyes could reach, according to father's words "*naichi*" lay across the misty mountain ranges in the far distance – his beautiful native place.

³⁴² Kobayashi Masaru 小林勝, 'Nihonjin chūgakkō 日本人中学校 [Japanese Middle School], in *Kobayashi Masaru sakuhinshū* 小林勝作品集、第 1 卷 [*Kobayashi Masaru Collected Works, Volume 1*] (Tokyo: Shirokawa shoin 白川書院, 1975), 101–18.

Gorō to his heart's content added shape and colour, which he had breathed in from the picture books and journals, to the mountains and rivers and people in father's stories about his home town. So in Gorō's heart, something that was entirely different from the natural features of his father's home town came to be raised as his own native place (106f.).³⁴³

This scene makes a point of illustrating the arbitrary nature of subjectification when the protagonist identifies with a completely imaginary native land. This sense of ethno-national belonging is bolstered by a process of Othering Koreans. Having been born and raised in Korea, Gorō originally fails to see the difference between himself and the Korean children (106). However, as time goes by, he is affected by his father's prejudice and begins developing his own identity based on these (107, 108). In depicting this process of subjectification, the piece points to the instability of stereotypes and illustrates how they are reiterated in order to gain effectiveness. His sense of identity is thus derived from the imaginary source of *naichi* and built against a prior feeling of unity with the Korean children, which now has to be denied. He henceforward relies on anxious repetition when he sees himself confronted with the possibility of Umebara being Korean as we will see below.

In the beginning of the story, Umebara Kenta is the very symbol of the protagonist's imagined native place: "His longing for the Japanese *naichi* and Tokyo in particular had without any warning taken a living form and stood in front of him..."³⁴⁴ As in many postcolonial stories and seen with *Ford* 1927 above, language becomes a marker of ethno-national belonging and a means to acquire social status. Apart from his radiant appearance, it is primarily Umebara's way of speaking that marks him as Japanese in the eyes of the protagonist: "When he said 'Umebara', he rolled the 'ra'-sound two or three times over his tongue. For the middle school students of whom ninety-nine per cent had been born in the colony, this was a way of rolling one's 'r' that they had never heard. (...) That was how the native people from downtown Tokyo spoke. Isn't that what they often do in

³⁴³ App. ix.

³⁴⁴ App. x.

rakugo on the radio? (105).³⁴⁵ Umehara's pronunciation, which is attributed to an (imaginary) upbringing in downtown Tokyo, provides him with a higher social status than the children who have been born in the colony and thus have never heard this kind of 'authentic' Japanese. Borrowing from Bhabha again, one can thus state that Umehara performs a mimicry that is exceedingly successful in that it attributes him a higher social status than his Japanese disciples.³⁴⁶ However, once the mimicry fails, he loses the social status gained from his way of speaking which proves that language proficiency is an 'empty' value that gains currency only under certain preconditions. In this he is again similar to the Korean children in *Ford* 1927, who also fail to achieve a higher degree of agency despite their language proficiency.

Once Umehara's true identity is revealed, despite the fact that neither his language usage nor his appearance have changed, he can no longer function as a symbol for Japan. This is due to the fact that stereotypes about Koreans, which serve to justify and underpin Japanese colonial power, rely on the anxious repetition of cultural/ethnic difference. While Umehara might appear as a successful example of *naisen ittai*, he reveals the multiple beliefs and secret side of colonial discourse that is equally built on the firm belief of Japanese cultural superiority over the Koreans. His successful performance of the *naisen ittai* principle thus reveals the fragility of colonial discourse and leads to crisis in the protagonist who has constructed his sense of identity around this ambivalent feeling of superiority. Accordingly, Umehara loses all his authority with the children and is not able to put them in their place once they act up (111, 115f.). He is now a colonised subject.³⁴⁷

Gorō displays a high degree of multiple beliefs when he re-defines all of Umehara's attributes that he had taken to be symbols of his superior Japanese-ness now as proof of Umehara's Korean identity:

Gorō mumbled to himself. On *sensei*'s head, the combing patterns are perfectly visible. That is because he has lubricated his hair so thickly with pomade. While the Japanese adults were all gradually going bald, doesn't this make him look completely like a Korean young man? It's also weird that even though he has

³⁴⁵ App. xi.

³⁴⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 121–31.

³⁴⁷ Hara, "Kobayashi Masaru and Ch'oe Kyuha," 152f.

applied that much pomade, the hair on the back of his head still sticks out. That's because the back of his head is a cliff. Among Koreans, who were made to sleep on the hard *ondol* [Korean floor heating] from the time they were babies, such a shape of head is common. Oh, he's laughing... What about these white and beautiful teeth? Among Koreans, there are many people who have robust and white teeth but that's because they couldn't eat a lot of sweet things from childhood on like the Japanese. Also, they really brush their teeth thoroughly. Because they, who can't buy toothpowder, brush their teeth with salt. Oh, he's talking... What about the way he rolls his "r"? In Korean, because there are a lot of difficult sounds that seem like rolled or squeezed or dropped, if you try to roll your "r", it is without doubt an easy thing to do (111f.).³⁴⁸

Here we see that precisely the lack of any visual racial markers leads to an even higher degree of insecurity in the protagonist. The myth of Japanese superiority is thus constructed purely around cultural essentialism and thus seems even more fragile. The reason for the difference is not even explicitly articulated. It is striking that it is particularly indicators of Umehara's beauty such as his white teeth that seem to mark him as Korean. The narrative here very drastically ridicules colonial stereotype and the way it ensures power hierarchies. Since the colonial power apparatus relies on stereotypes, however, Gorō is unable to let go of his conviction of Koreans as inferior.

When the teacher who replaces Umehara is introduced and just as the other Japanese teachers turns out to be an unappealing character who lacks the charisma of Umehara Kenta, the narrative subtly highlights the damage inflicted by colonial stereotype. Albeit unconsciously, the protagonist seems to develop a sense of this damage when he suddenly feels an inexplicable pain in his chest and his first impulse is to share his knowledge of Umehara's whereabouts with his Korean classmate (118).

An interesting side note – it is an almost ironic twist of fate that the character of Umehara Kenta is based on Ch'oe Kyuha who at the time that Kobayashi wrote the story was dispatched as an diplomat to Tokyo but who would go on to become South Korea's foreign minister in 1967, prime minister in 1975 and president in 1979 following Park Chung Hee's assassination. According to Hara Yūsuke, Ch'oe Kyuha indeed was a middle school teacher in Taegu around the time when Kobayashi attended school there and the

³⁴⁸ App. xii.

writer had heard the story about this episode prior to writing *Japanese Middle School*.³⁴⁹ Hara points out the multi-faceted character of Umehara Kenta who defies all too easy delineations between coloniser and colonised. He explains that Kobayashi's **fictionalisation** of Ch'oe Kyuha circumvents a simplistic dichotomy of pro-Japanese versus anti-Japanese and that, relying on his first-hand experience as a *hikiagesha*, he strove to depict the complexity of the Japanese-Korean relationship in his multifarious character of Umehara Kenta.³⁵⁰ Kawamura Minato makes a similar point when he explains that the story shows a complicated process of subjectification of the Korean high achieving young man that gets rejected by Japanese society and thus develops an identity as Korean. He adds that Kobayashi's later works lack this multi-facetedness.³⁵¹ Not being aware of the later significance of his 'Umehara Kenta' in real-life South Korean politics, Kobayashi thus maybe inadvertently created an even more impressive piece on the process of signification for a young Korean man in a world shaped by Japanese imperialism.

Japanese Middle School demonstrates some of the ambivalences that are characteristic of *Ford* 1927 in an even more pronounced way. Firstly, the text drives the notion of Japan (*naichi*) as imagined community to the excess when it describes how the protagonist derives his identity and sense of superiority from a completely fictitious native place. Furthermore, the fact that Umehara Kenta is exposed as Korean throws a spotlight on the ambivalence of colonial stereotype that relies on the conflicting multiple beliefs of *naisen ittai* on the one hand and the acceptance of Korean cultural subordination on the other. Umehara's identity as Korean accentuates the contradictions within colonial discourse which leads to the protagonist's sense of crisis. *Japanese Middle School* thus is a lesson in the ambivalent structure of stereotype and illustrates the consequences for the Japanese colonising subject when the ambivalence between metaphor and metonymy of the stereotype as described by Bhabha becomes apparent.

Throughout this subchapter and borrowing from Bhabha's insight on the ambivalence of the stereotype, I have illustrated the skilful ways in which Kobayashi Masaru reveals

³⁴⁹ Hara, "Kobayashi Masaru and Ch'oe Kyuha," 157.

³⁵⁰ Hara, "Kobayashi Masaru and Ch'oe Kyuha," 157.

³⁵¹ Kawamura, *Destruction of Manchuria*, 116f.

the inherent contradictions in Japanese colonial discourse and the power apparatus' reliance on a fragile balance that could fail or slip at any moment. Furthermore, his literature also pinpoints ambiguities in Japanese society's treatment of the past and thus becomes a mirror of the trauma and feeling of inferiority that war and the loss of empire engrained on the postcolonial Japanese collective consciousness within the Cold War world order.

With ambivalence being the defining theme, Kobayashi describes contradictions in the discourse that Japanese imperialism relied on. His youthful characters in both stories discussed in this chapter cling to a sense of superiority granted by colonial stereotypes on Korean backwardness but at the same time experience the stereotypes' failure and slippage. In *Ford 1927*, this occurs through the character of the Turk who demonstrates the Japanese villagers' pettiness by treating Koreans and Japanese in the same way, culminating in a scene when the protagonist has to adapt to the language of the colonised. In *Japanese Middle School*, meanwhile, the stereotype is completely reduced to absurdity when Umehara, the cornerstone and symbol of metropolitan Japanese-ness, turns out to be Korean.

Moreover, in *Ford 1927* and very subtly in *Japanese Middle School* as well, a further contradiction, this time of postcolonial discourse that emphasises Japan's role as victim, is revealed when the protagonists realise their complicity in the colonial regime. This is connected to the fact that the stories have been written from a postcolonial perspective and no doubt have been influenced by Kobayashi's communist convictions. In their ambivalent relationship to Koreans, which are marked by fear, longing and repulsion, Kobayashi's texts point to the trauma the sudden loss of the empire left in postcolonial Japanese society – a trauma that is subject to disavowal and suppression which makes Kobayashi's oeuvre a meaningful intervention.

Finally, owing to Kobayashi's position as a *hikiagesha*, both protagonists in their respective way have to come to terms with their position as colonisers and face the accompanying question of guilt and responsibility. They cannot partake in the oblivion that took hold of postcolonial Japan but at the same time they lack the capacity to become activists and rather display an ambivalent and uncomfortable attitude towards Koreans.

In his multi-layered depictions of Korean-Japanese encounters, which explore hidden depths and do not shy away from contradictions, Kobayashi leads the way to yet another kind of colonial memory that differs from the nostalgic interrogation of imperial responsibility we find with Morisaki Kazue and the Orientalist exoticisation of Korea that is characteristic of Kajiyama Toshiyuki's work.

4.2 Multi-lingualism and imperial memory: Ha Kŭnch'an, Pak Sunnyō, Son Ch'angsōp, Chōn Kwangyong

In the following subsection, we will revisit three of the texts by Ha Kŭnch'an, Pak Sunnyō and Son Ch'angsōp that I have discussed with reference to their gendered construction of the ethno-nation in chapter two. Together with Chōn Kwangyong's *Kapitan Ri*, these texts are worth returning to because they illustrate different ways in which multi-lingual characters challenge the doctrine of the Korean national language as symbol of ethno-national unity. They furthermore take on a colonial memory in which the eradication of the Japanese language and the part it had played in Koreans' lives underpins the postcolonial South Korean state. This can happen in a nostalgic-naïve way as in Ha Kŭnch'an's piece, or give an optimistic outlook as does with Pak Sunnyō or cast a deeply sarcastic gaze on the South Korean state and its relationship with foreign powers, as in the two texts by Son Ch'angsōp and Chōn Kwangyong discussed below.

4.2.1 Japanese, the language of love: Ha Kŭnch'an

In chapter two, I have argued that Ha Kŭnch'an uses a gendered character dynamic to exemplify the trauma of colonisation and the abrupt shift that came about with the liberation. In this section, I will focus on this shift and the contradictions it brought for the well-integrated Korean subject. I will first investigate the role of the Japanese language, proficiency of which becomes a status symbol in the colonial system, before exploring the shift of hierarchy through the liberation.

The role of the Japanese language in the text is an indicator for remnants of the Japanese occupation in postcolonial South Korean society. *An Episode from that Year* is remarkable in that it makes excessive use of glossing. On various occasions, Japanese

conversations are written in the Korean script *hangŭl* (527, 528, 530, 534, 536), and occasional Japanese terms such as *raenggai* (Korean transliteration of Jp. *ren'ai*, “love”, 527) or *heitai* (Jp. “soldier”, 533) show the omnipresence of the Japanese language in society and in the minds. Even after the liberation Chongdae exchanges this conversation with Aoyagi:

“Sensei, hontō desu ka?” (*Sensei*, is it true?)

“Nani ga...?” (What is?)

“Hontō ni Nihon ni kaerimasu ka?” (Are you really going back to Japan?) (539).³⁵²

Throughout the text we see how Japanese, the language in which both the protagonist and the author have been educated, is used despite the discourse of Korean monolingualism that had been dominant in the twenty-five years since the liberation. Here it resurfaces in an act of liberation from the strict notion of a Korean ethno-nation that defies the post-Korean War generation’s childhood experiences by claiming to be entirely devoid of anything Japanese. Referencing the above-quoted passage, Sō Sünghŭi explains that here, the representation of the traces of the coloniser after the liberation is remarkable. Japanese, which was supposed to vanish completely after the liberation, for him becomes the language of communication with his teacher, the language of love.³⁵³ The Japanese language in the text becomes an indicator of the subconscious that the doctrine of monolingualism tried to suppress and is assigned a new meaning. Instead of exemplifying the forgotten language of suppression in the South Korean postcolonial imaginary, Japanese takes a new role as a language of everyday life, thereby subtly challenging the culture of imperial memory in South Korea and the disavowal of the “late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization and imperialism”.³⁵⁴

I will now go on to discuss how the text demonstrates the fragility of colonial discourse, thereby challenging monolithic notions of ethno-nation and state. *An Episode from that Year* also mocks the denial of the “late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization” by pointing out how ordinary Korean citizens were enthusiastic supporters of the Japanese

³⁵² In this passage, in the Korean original the Japanese text is written in the Korean script *hangŭl* with the Korean translation in brackets. App. i.

³⁵³ Sō Sünghŭi, “Colonial Memory,” 188.

³⁵⁴ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 2.

empire, a fact that had to be disavowed from one day to the next. Chongdae's dilemma consists precisely in the fact that he is unable to adapt to the sudden shift of discourse with the liberation. He fares very well within the colonial system, and, as pointed out, possesses a high social status. His changed name (Rinoie) is mentioned organically (523) which hints at the fact that his whole life is determined by coloniality and he does not question the system he has been brought up with. The tides shift with the liberation and the discourse changes abruptly:

The summer holidays came and after about half of those holidays, an enormous and surprising thing happened. It was the liberation. The children were just confused about what that was. Because Japan had lost against *Amerika* and *Igirisu* (the UK), most of the children were seized with fear and shivered whether now soon, the soldiers from *Amerika* and *Igirisu* would not come and seize and kill all of them. (...) But as one or two days went by, they learned that that was not the case. They understood that up to now, Korea [*uri nara*] had been eaten by the Japanese rascals, but that we could now free ourselves from them and the US and UK were countries to be grateful to since they had caused Korea to be liberated from the Japanese rascals. They also understood that Korea would soon become independent. (...)

Of course, Chongdae didn't differ from the other children in feeling deeply moved by the liberation. As soon as he learned that Korea had been eaten by the Japanese rascals for thirty-six years, he wondered how he could have been so oblivious to that fact, and this left him dumbfounded. (...) But facing the fact that the Japanese teachers were no longer their teachers, Chongdae could not help but falter. It was not that he learned that the other teachers were no longer their teachers, but that Aoyagi was no longer a teacher at his school was a big deal. It had a secret impact on him.³⁵⁵

This passage underscores the fragility of colonial discourse and how quickly it can shift, even though the protagonist does not actively reflect this process. In this way, the text also subtly interrogates the postcolonial narrative that one-dimensionally sees Japan as aggressor versus the US and the UK as benevolent saviours. Moreover, it casts the shadow of doubt on a postcolonial memory that allows for a strict differentiation between Self and Other, good and bad in its distinction between Japanese colonisers and Korean collaborators on the one hand and patriotic heroes that opposed the system on the other.

³⁵⁵ App. ii.

Furthermore, we see how colonisation and liberation create subjectivities that differ from the official narrative and how Chongdae, trapped between the public discourse he now follows unquestioned and his affection for Aoyagi, displays multiple beliefs.

Through the description of the Japanese being forced to leave the country while the Koreans are watching, we understand that the power dynamic has changed in favour of the latter (540). However, Chongdae does not belong to the beneficiaries of this shift. The reader learns, first, how he becomes subject to mockery by his fellow Koreans since with the new power structure he loses his **social status** and desire for a Japanese now seems absurd (540). His father, once proud of his overachieving son, now feels humiliated and expresses his anger in the highly symbolic step of smashing Aoyagi's lunch box that Chongdae brought back from Pusan (541f.). Chongdae appears to be the only character that proves unable to adapt to the sudden change in dominant discourse. According to Sō Sünghŭi's interpretation, the unstable subjectification of the colonial boy is rebuked by his father, the Korean. She elaborates that the text is remarkable for Ha Kŭnch'an because it shows how the subject after liberation cannot easily return to the confines of the clearly demarcated Korean ethno-nation and instead circulates.³⁵⁶ Thereby the author voices the dilemma of his generation in that they were compelled to disavow certain experiences of their youth, such as that they were (sometimes fervent) subjects of the Japanese empire and were educated in the Japanese language.

Secondly, we learn that he received the black eye from the second lieutenant, so even with the turnaround in power Chongdae still is inferior to the Japanese man and can never fulfil his desire for the Japanese woman. This example expresses the deep-rooted feeling of inferiority vis-à-vis Japan that haunted South Korea for the years to come, but at the same time, it shows the fragility of the respective dominant discourse, a feature to be observed in other stories such as *Kapitan Ri* as well and mirror of the many forceful upheavals in 20th century Korean history.

By reviving the Japanese language in the characters' conversations as well as by ironically depicting the sudden paradigm shift concerning allies and foes following the liberation, *An Episode from that Year* brings to light the suppressed memory of colonial

³⁵⁶ Sō Sünghŭi, "Colonial Memory," 188f.

participation and what it meant to be a Japanese imperial subject for ordinary Koreans. The text thus can be seen as a product of the discursive shift following the normalisation treaty in 1965 and the subsequent rapprochement of Korea and Japan. It is equally an act of liberation after years of oppressive anti-Japanese sentiments under Syngman Rhee that forced the post-war generation to obliterate parts of their childhood experience.

4.2.2 English, a space of encounter: Pak Sunnyǒ

Discussing a female writer's works simply in terms of the gender configurations of her literature runs the danger of reproducing a bias that views female authors first and foremost as women and only secondly as writers in their own right. While Pak Sunnyǒ's *I Love You* certainly is remarkable for its portrayal of female subjectivities under the colonial regime, it offers far more. Here I will in a first step investigate the ways in which the piece rejects simplistic ethno-national ascriptions of Japanese perpetrators versus Korean victims and challenges several dominant (post)colonial ideologies. Secondly, I will elaborate on the role of the English language in *I Love You* as a "third space of enunciation".³⁵⁷

The text defies both South Korean postcolonial narratives that see a unified Korean community as the victim of a monolithic Japanese aggressor and the Japanese foundational narrative. At the same time, it rejects the colonial-period *naisen ittai* doctrine but gives a positive outlook for a future Japanese-Korean relationship that transgresses strict ethno-national divisions. One important demarcation line (or, to Chǒng Hyekyǒng, the most important one)³⁵⁸ in the text runs in between the contrasting characters of the teachers Min and Yamaki. While Min strictly adheres to Nero's rule and Myǒnghwa is even convinced that he would hand them over to the military police if requested to do so by Nero (374), Yamaki is portrayed as a gentle and youthful character who is always willing to champion his students' rights (374f.). When Myǒnghwa confronts him after the gala, the following conversation unfolds between the two characters:

Suddenly Yukpal Sǒnsaeng spoke in a voice in which I could feel a change of tone.

³⁵⁷ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 28–56.

³⁵⁸ Chǒng Hyekyǒng, "Representations of Youth," 592.

"You know I never can count on you girls. How should I put it... You are all pure-hearted in a sense, but you are, also, ignorant. You are all so naive and ignorant and that is why you are so pitiable. You seem to all of a sudden find the object of your distrust and anger in what is known as the Japanese people. But if you took a more penetrating view of things in general, you would soon find out that both Japanese and Koreans, in fact, all humanity are divided into two common camps: the camp of victims and the camp of victimizers. I mean not all Japanese are victimizers just as not all Koreans are victims. You may not know it, but I, too, am a sort of victim."

Inwardly I said with all the force I had: "No, no, you are not," but I continued to listen to his voice. (...)

I wanted to say words of retort and words of protest to this Japanese teacher. It was not that I could not comprehend the concept of what he called victims and victimizers but I wanted to ask him this question above anything else, "Are you not a Japanese, then?" (62f., 371f.).³⁵⁹

In this quotation the text vocalises its central point of boundaries not running strictly between the ethno-nations of Japan and Korea but instead proves that ethno-national identity as defined by national narratives is blurry at best. Thereby, the piece rejects the political discourse of Japan and its people having been the sole aggressors and the Korean people imagined as one unified body having been pure victims. Instead, through the character of Yamaki, it puts forward an approach in which the entire human race is divided not by national affiliation but by participation in power. The text here challenges postcolonial constructions of the South Korean ethno-nation that rely on the notion of a unified Korean community that has been victimised by a unilaterally malevolent Japanese aggressor. In that respect, the piece can be seen to align with voices during the Chang Myon and Park Chung Hee years that sought proximity to Japan.

However, while the Park Chung Hee administration was accused of glossing over colonial-period injustice in order to achieve its aim of collaboration for economic ends, the text cannot be said to be apologetic of Japanese imperialism. *I Love You* hints at structural inequalities that affect Koreans and Japanese to differing degrees as can be seen in the last part of the quotation when Myōnghwa tries to voice her conviction that Japanese victims are still qualitatively different from Korean victims. Furthermore, Yamaki is able to transgress certain boundaries that are binding for Min: "Suppose it was not Yukpal

³⁵⁹ App. iii.

Sōnsaeng but Min Sōnsaeng who was standing face to face with Nero, would Nero have the patience to hear him through like this? " (p. 66, 375).³⁶⁰ In this way, the text also calls into question the foundational narrative, which has prevailed in postcolonial Japan and which assigns responsibility for imperialism to only Japanese perpetrators such as the military class. Moreover, while Yamaki claims to be a victim of sorts himself, the reader never learns in which way, casting doubt on his simple view of victimisers versus victims.

While rejecting strict boundaries between the ethno-nations of Japan and Korea, the text also dismisses the colonial period propaganda of *naisen ittai*:

"Why did you come to Korea, Sōnsaengnim?"

"To meet a foreign young lady like Myōng-hwa."

"Don't try to joke it away."

"Why not?"

Yukpal Sōnsaengnim laughed without enthusiasm. My heart started to beat fast at his response but I said in an angry voice:

"What foreign young lady? What foreign girl?"

"Then are you, too, hoping to become a daughter of the Emperor, Myōng-hwa?"

(62, 371).³⁶¹

In her analysis of this scene, Kim Yunsōn accentuates that Yamaki's insistence to call his students foreigners under the *naisen ittai* doctrine, which claimed the unity of Japan and Korea, underscores that he seeks with them a relationship of equals rather than coloniser versus colonised. She asserts that through her teacher, Myōnghwa transforms into an independent woman rather than a colonial who thus gets into conflict with the world that is shaped by Japanese imperialism.³⁶² While I do not follow her assessment that Myōnghwa's awakening was entirely caused by Yamaki's education but hold that it has more to do with her role as a woman, as has been discussed above, without doubt this passage underscores the text's rejection of imagining Japan and Korea as one body. At the same time, there is a subtle hint at the unequal relationship between the two in which the Japanese Yamaki has the possibility and feels entitled to go to Korea for no other reason than to see "foreign women".

³⁶⁰ App. iv.

³⁶¹ App. v.

³⁶² Kim Yunsōn, "Experience," 243.

Another aspect the text discusses in relation to ethno-national belonging is the shift in power with the liberation. As Chöng Hyekyöng points out, the meeting between Yamaki, Myöngwha and Pongsuk at the crossing makes the transgression of national boundaries possible for the first time and shows the chaotic situation immediately after the war.³⁶³ The description of the ragged returning Japanese at the end of the story points to a reversal in the power hierarchy and is mirrored in many other South Korean texts describing the liberation. Yamaki's insistence that he is not their teacher anymore proves that with the liberation, the relationship between Korea and Japan needs to be renegotiated. The mutually displayed warm attitude as well as the parting with the words *I love you* show an optimistic outlook on future relationships between the two neighbours. Only with the parting scene, Myöngwha can let go of the binary view on ethno-nation she had held so far since with the new power hierarchy – individuals rather than teacher and students – a renegotiation of Self and Other is possible. In this way, *I Love You* also seems to be written against a monolithic notion of the South Korean ethno-nation in the 1960s. Rather than relying on Japan as a demonised Other that serves as a backdrop to the national narrative, the piece champions a more hybrid and forgiving ideal of identity, one in which women are not utilised and Japanese not unilaterally demonised.

Let us now move on to the last point – the role of the English language as a 'third space' where Japanese-Korean encounters can take place beyond the power hierarchy dictated by the respective political circumstances. Yi Sönmi points to the situation for female intellectual writers such as Pak Sunnyö in the wake of the 19 April movement. The democratic movement had brought about the promise of individual freedom that in the then following dominant discourse of modernisation changed to an ideology of personal sacrifice for the greater good in the course of which women in particular were pressed once more into a Japanese-style pattern of 'good wife, wise mother'. Accordingly, by reference to the writers Pak Sunnyö, Son Changsun and Pak Sichöng, Yi Sönmi demonstrates how in their work they make use of differing discourses on America but ultimately identify American lifestyle as a symbol of personal freedom, particularly in relation to questions of marriage, love and sexuality since those questions were strongly

³⁶³ Chöng Hyekyöng, "Representations of Youth," 601f.

connected to limiting women's personal freedom.³⁶⁴ While she does not discuss *I Love You*, her article is illuminating in that it offers an overall insight on the role of American culture and language in Pak Sunnyo's work, and against this background the role of the English language in the piece becomes more evident.

Throughout the text, the English language signifies a liberated space detached from colonial and patriarchal oppression – an instance of the intersections between language and gender. The first example is a mission school, rival to the strict imperial school Myöngwha attends, as can be seen from this quote:

The contrast between S Girls' High School and our school was manifest even in sports meets. When there was a volleyball match between the two schools, for instance, the melodious and pleasant voices of the S Girls' High School champions rose: "One! Two! Three!"³⁶⁵ in a carefree, resilient rhythm. But against this, our champions as they met the ball sent by the S chool [sic] champions in their typically graceful form shouted soldierlike: "Ichi! Ni! San!" (one, two, three in Japanese) with gusto, to be sure, but without any grace whatsoever (54f., 363).³⁶⁶

The English language here is set in direct opposition to the strict militaristic imperial system as exemplified by the Japanese language and towards the end of the story the liberal ideology of the school S is described as superior to that of the strict government school.

The second example is the politics of nicknames for Yamaki. He is referred to as "Mr. Brown" in the beginning when he is introduced as a contrasting character to Min. For most of the text the girls call him *yukpal-sönsaeng* ("Teacher Six-toe") according to a rumour of him having a sixth toe. Only in the very last sentence of the piece: "The toes on the barefoot of Mr. Brown who had made a present with the 'I love you' to us were definitely

³⁶⁴ Yi Sönmi (Sun Mi Lee) 이선미, '1960nyöndae yösöng chisikin üi "chayu" tamnon kwa miguk - Pak Sunnyo, Son Changsun, Pak Sichöng sosol ül chungsim üro 1960 년대 여성지식인의 '자유' 담론과 미국 - 박순녀, 손장순, 박시정 소설을 중심으로 [Discourse on "Freedom" by Female Intellectuals in the 1960s and America - on Novels by Pak Sunnyo, Son Changsun and Pak Sichöng]', *Hyöndae munhak üi yöñ'gu* 현대문학의 연구 29 (2006): 417–52: 417-423.

³⁶⁵ English in *hangüll* in the original.

³⁶⁶ App. vi.

five, not six" (67, 376)³⁶⁷ the character is rehabilitated. We see that the humiliating rumours of his physique were unfounded and in the newly liberated space where Japanese-Korean relationships are re-negotiated he is referred to by his English nickname, not his actual Japanese name, indicating that this character is exemplary of a non-delineated idea of national identity the text advocates. His English nickname indicates that Yamaki is part of the liberated realm detached from Japanese colonial and South Korean patriarchal oppression signified by the English language. Within this realm characters are not confined by the limiting notion of belonging to either of the strictly defined Japanese and South Korean ethno-nations but seem able to meet as humans in a friendly way.

The third and final example is the title phrase "I love you" (said in English in the original) which structures the story as a bracket. In the first instance it shows the girls proactively taking their sexuality into their own hands which within the Japanese imperial power framework leads to punishment. Only with the liberation the sentence in English is shown to be far off from Korean patriarchal and Japanese colonial oppression, a space where sympathetic Korean and Japanese characters can meet. All those examples show how the English language, which can be assumed to stand metonymically for a liberal spirit envisaged as connected to American culture, thus becomes a **counterpoint** to both the Japanese imperial brand of patriarchy as well as the South Korean postcolonial one.

I Love You seems to suggest a kind of colonial memory and postcolonial reconciliation that differs from discursive strands of both the Syngman Rhee, the Chang Myon and the Park Chung Hee years, one that is never unilaterally condemning nor apologetic, that through a specific use of language opens up hybrid spaces for encounter beyond the strict lines of ethno-national unity and that takes into account the experiences of women whose sexuality is subjected to patriarchal control.

4.2.3 Language is money: Son Ch'angsōp

After having pointed out the varied and complicated links between gender and ethno-national identity in *To Live* and *The Market Price of Humans* in chapter two, in this section I will briefly dwell on the former once more in order to discuss the role of language in the

³⁶⁷ App. vii.

piece. I will explain how the text subtly hints at the inherent contradictions of the construction of a unified Korean ethno-nation linked to Korean monolingualism and will in a second step draw on Han Suyōng's deliberations on the text. Furthermore, I will investigate the gendered dynamic between male and female characters in which linguistic proficiency becomes a **status symbol** for the male characters Pongsu while this option is denied to the female Ch'uncha.

Many Korean texts deal with the issue of language as **a means to acquire social status** and present characters that for various reasons adapt to the hegemonic language. Proficiency of Japanese is in many stories described as a signifier of culture,³⁶⁸ while at the same time (having been written from a postcolonial viewpoint), they reveal the instability of this notion. This theme is also apparent in Chōn Kwangyong's text, as we will see in the next subchapter. The usage of language by the characters in *To Live* is particularly noteworthy. It points to the multi-layered power play between the Japanese, Korean and English language in South Korea and suggests that there are rifts and ruptures in the postcolonial re-negotiation of national identity vis-à-vis the Japanese or Western Other. Pongsu refers to Tongchu and Ch'uncha in a weird manner by using both the Japanese and the English address, calling them "Mister Ko-san" and "Misses Haruko-san" (*misüt'ō Ko-sang* and *misesū Harukko-sang*). Tongchu hates this: "Even now, on the streets of Pusan one could often hear "Kin-san" or "Pak-san" and along with that, Tongchu was reminded each time of the taste of *umeboshi*, which gave him a sour taste in his mouth and his saliva gathered" (74).³⁶⁹ The sensation of the sour taste of *umeboshi*, Japanese pickled plums, in Tongchu's mouth shows how the memory of colonial oppression is still very much alive in post-war South Korean society despite attempts to eliminate it. Even close to ten years after the liberation, Japanese culture has a hold on Korean everyday life and is so much part of the protagonist that its memory can evoke a physical reaction. The text here subtly accentuates colonial legacies and power-political continuities even in a post-Korean War South Korean society. When Ch'uncha asks Pongsu for the reason for his unusual address, this scene unfolds:

³⁶⁸ Bill Ashcroft, 'Language and Race', in *The Language, Ethnicity and Race Reader* (London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2003), 37–53.

³⁶⁹ App. viii.

At that time, as if he had waited for someone to ask him, Pongsu indulged in a lengthy talk that in turn left Ch'uncha taken aback. People couldn't be insensitive to the trends of their time. You had to see and own how the times moved and always act according to the respective trends. He said that you had to avoid struggling because you fell behind or wiggling because you were overwhelmed by the heavy burden, but instead had to make the best of this time by going with the tides. In the end, regardless of who one might be, the ultimate goal for humans was to gather money. (...) Moreover, if only one had money, one could also keep poppy seeds or a court lady. (...) For this reason, he said, he was now studying English (75).³⁷⁰

This quote once more exemplifies Pongsu's pragmatic attitude to life that borders on nihilism. In him, the text uses the example of language to exemplify that in times of colonialism, division of the country, civil war and finally globalisation within the Cold War world order characters fare better by throwing ideology overboard and adapting to the respective hegemonic power and its language. South Korea is divided between the former and the new (semi-) colonial authority which makes Korean monolingualism and the accompanying imagined ethno-national identity as propagated in nationalist discourse a luxury not worth pursuing if one wants to persist in a capitalist world.³⁷¹ The sleazy character of Pongsu thus not only highlights contradictions within nationalist discourse of ethno-national essence but can also be read as an early criticism of the capitalist logic that in the subsequent years under Park Chung Hee was to become dominant state doctrine.

However, not everyone has equal access to the **social status** provided by foreign language proficiency that within the logic of the text is directly connected to the ability to acquire financial capital. Bilingualism has very different consequences for the female character Ch'uncha. Being Japanese, with the liberation she is now forced to adapt to the Korean language, putting her in an inferior position:

Ch'uncha never used her own language. She would at all cost use Korean with her awkward pronunciation. It seemed that Ch'uncha thought of that as her sincerity towards the Koreans. In addition, for some reason she called Tongchu *oppa* [big brother], *tanshin* [darling], or *sonsannim* [teacher], according to the

³⁷⁰ App. ix.

³⁷¹ See also Cho Myǒngki, "Post-War Consciousness," 673.

situation. When she told him her sad story or talked about her home, it was under all circumstances *oppa*. At night in bed or at times other than that, she would usually call him *tanshin*. When she asked his opinion concerning some kind of problem, she had resolved to say “*sōnsannimün ottok'e saenggakhaseyo* [what do you think, *sōnsaengnim*]?” (89).³⁷²

As pointed out, in the years following the liberation, the representation of Japanese people who remained in Korea changes in literature. Once more we can observe the shift Kim Hyein describes from domineering male Japanese characters to dependent female ones, also exemplified by the terms of endearment Ch'uncha uses. Like the male character Pongsu, Ch'uncha has to adapt to another tongue in order to ensure her livelihood. However, in this case her relative proficiency of Korean does not grant her social status but instead becomes subject to mockery when her pronunciation of *tangshin* as *tanshin* or *sōnsaengnim* as *sonsannim* are targeted. This shows how postcolonial South Korean texts attempt to restore a Korean ethno-national masculine order by depicting Japanese characters as female and dependent. At the same time, *To Live* also distorts this order through the lethargic male protagonist who lies in his room all day basically waiting for death whereas Ch'uncha works and finally leaves him for Pongsu, making her the active part. Yet in the end, as explained, she herself becomes a symbolic prize to win in a heteronormative male race for social status in which Tongchu as the traditional Korean male scholar loses out while Pongsu, who can adapt linguistically, prevails. Cho Myǒngki analyses that the quote infers the fluidity of Tongchu's and Ch'uncha's relationship in which her address changes according to which of her needs she needs Tongchu to fulfil, interpreting her as the clearly superior character of the two. However, this view as well overlooks the overall gendered power hierarchy that leaves Ch'uncha with little real agency.³⁷³

An insightful interpretation of the role of language in Son Ch'angsǒp's work is provided by Han Suyǒng.³⁷⁴ He points to the “intentional forgetting” of Japanese-Korean bilingualism in relation to the fact that the post-war literary generation had been educated

³⁷² App. x.

³⁷³ Cho Myǒngki, “Post-War Consciousness,” 674.

³⁷⁴ Han Suyǒng, “Colonised Subject.”

in Japanese and the according struggle authors faced when having to express themselves in line with the strict new doctrine of Korean monolingualism. This is related to Hughes' characterisation of Son's relationship with the Korean language when he points out that the two stylistic characteristics of his work are simply structured sentences and his tendency to write proper names in Chinese characters:

The simple sentences reveal the negotiation between colonial and postcolonial writing – the uneasy textual space marked by the unspoken memory of a now disallowed metropolitan language and the postcolonial injunction to write in Korean. The use of Chinese characters contests this injunction. The characters disrupt the production of the self in the han'gül texts, moving beyond the text's border visually, and connecting it with spaces outside the peninsula and the 1950s linguistic nationalism (...).³⁷⁵

This defiance of Son Ch'angsöp against the doctrine of monolingualism and the pain connected to it for the post-war generation is further elaborated by Han Suyöng. In his reading of *To Live*, he contrasts Tongchu's speechlessness with the behaviour of the three characters Suni, Pongsu and Ch'uncha. He points out that here, as in many of his other stories, in the disabled character Suni, who groans all day despite being able to talk, Tongchu sees embodied his own speechlessness with which the end of the Japanese occupation left him.³⁷⁶ He relates the prevalence of disabled characters in Son Ch'angsöp's opus to the fact that the author's generation struggled with expressing themselves in Korean and thus found themselves metaphorically speechless. While this argument generally holds a lot of appeal, it could be much improved by accounting for the gender dimension. He overlooks the fact that usually the disabled characters are female (Suni in *To Live*, Tongok in *Pi onŭn nal* [*The Rainy Season*, 1953], Ch'unwha in *Kwangya* [*Wide Plain*, 1959]), suggesting a reading of those characters as the Other and abject to the male protagonists rather than as a focal point of identification. This is in line with Elisabeth Bronfen's above-mentioned elaboration on female death in literature as a means to deal with the fear of death of the male subject by living it out on the Othered female as well as

³⁷⁵ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 126f.

³⁷⁶ Han Suyöng, "Colonised Subject," 12.

Kelly Jeong's critique that Son uses objectified, abject female characters in order to soothe the crisis of masculinity, as we have seen in chapter two.

In relation to Ch'uncha and Pongsu, Han Suyōng explains that Tongchu can only be understood through these characters, since in their approach to language they serve as the protagonist's alter egos. Pongsu superficially seems to be one representative of a recurring type of character in postcolonial South Korean literature that represents colonial desire like *Misüt'ǒ Pang* (*Mr. Pang*, 1946) by Ch'ae Mansik or *Kapitan Ri* by Chōn Kwangyong (discussed below). However, he also serves as a counterpoint to Tongchu in that, as opposed to the former, he is free from the feeling that he has to return to an ethno-national democracy as expressed by the Korean language which is why he can use language pragmatically. Tongchu, on the other hand, having been educated during the colonial period still has the taste of *umeboshi* in his mouth and feels he is not an adequate member of the Korean people, so he cannot help himself but remain silent and this is why he hates Pongsu's address.³⁷⁷

In Ch'uncha, on the other hand, we find "reverse linguistic hybridity". On one level Han Suyōng relates to an argument similar to that of Kim Hyein when he points out that the Japanese woman's bad Korean is a psychological reward for the (linguistic) oppression Koreans had to endure during the colonial period. At the same time, he offers an alternative interpretation which suggests that as the former coloniser who speaks Korean in a shaky way, she mirrors the former colonial subject's – the protagonist Tongchu's – inability to speak Korean properly. Her shaky Korean is a metaphor for his shaky Japanese before and his shaky Korean after the liberation. In this way, Han Suyōng concludes, the protagonist's inability to speak is mirrored in the two characters of Pongsu and Ch'uncha.³⁷⁸ While I find his analysis of different degrees of linguistic liberty in relation to postcolonial memory and the discourse on Korean monolingualism convincing, his interpretation could be enhanced substantially by taking the gender hierarchy in the acquisition of language and the postcolonial construction of the South Korean nation as not only mono-ethnic and -linguistic, but also masculine, into account.

³⁷⁷ Han Suyōng, "Colonised Subject," 18f.

³⁷⁸ Han Suyōng, "Colonised Subject," 17-27.

Above, I have discussed the role of language usage in *To Live*. In the multi-lingual character Pongsu, the text shows that Korean monolingualism as an expression of South Korean ethno-national identity is a luxury not worth pursuing in postcolonial, post-Korean War society, thereby subtly criticising dominant ideological strands of its time. Relying on Han Suyöng's deliberations, I have discussed how Tongchu's inability to speak mirrors the perceived speechlessness of the author's generation that was educated in Japanese and then forced by the predominant ideology of Korean monolingualism to adapt to the Korean language. *To Live* thus subtly reveals the inherent contradictions of 1950s postcolonial discourse and exposes the disavowals and blind spots in the collective narrative concerning the colonial period and its legacy. Meanwhile, as opposed to Pongsu, Ch'uncha's language proficiency does not buy her cultural or financial capital. This shows how, despite its complexity, *To Live* is in line with a tradition of postcolonial South Korean texts that use dependent Japanese female characters to restore masculine ethno-national order perceived as having been lost by the colonisation.

4.2.4 Language is power: Chön Kwangyong's *Kköppittan Ri* (*Kapitan Ri*, 1962)

Kköppittan Ri (*Kapitan Ri*, 1962)³⁷⁹ is one of the canonical texts of 1960s South Korean literature and gives us insight into one way writers dealt with the issue of constant foreign influences on the peninsula on the one hand and the doctrine of Korean monolingualism on the other. Like Ch'ae Mansik's *Mister Pang* or Son Ch'angsöp's *To Live*, the piece makes use of a common trope – a pragmatic turncoat character that uses his multilingualism devoid of ideology to attain his ends. Thereby, *Kapitan Ri* challenges not only Japanese, Russian and American meddling in Korea, it also ridicules the notion of the national language as guarantor of ethno-national unity.

Chön Kwangyong (1919-1988) was born in Pukch'öng County in eastern South Hamgyöng on 1 March 1919, the day that sparked the famed independence movement in

³⁷⁹ Chön Kwangyong 전광용, 'Kköppittan Ri 꺼빼딴 리 [Kapitan Ri]', in *Kköppittan Ri: Chön Kwangyong ch'angjakjip 꺼빼딴 리: 全光鏞創作集 [Kapitan Ri: Chön Kwangyong's Collected Works]* (Seoul: Ŭryu Munhwasa 乙酉文化社, 1975), 131–76. Translated in Chön Kwangyong, 'Kapitan Ri (Kköppittan Ri, 1962)', in *Land of Exile: Contemporary Korean Fiction*, trans. Marshall R. Pihl, Bruce Fulton, and Ju-Chan Fulton (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe/UNESCO, 1993), 58–83.

Korea. He went on to study Korean literature at Seoul National University where he would later become a professor and was among the first generation to receive an education in Korean after the liberation. *Kapitan Ri* won him the Dong-in Literary Award in 1962.³⁸⁰ The story follows the turncoat Yi Inguk, a surgeon, from the period of Japanese colonialism to the liberation and the Korean War, through to a post-war South Korea under American influence. During the colonial period Yi Inguk, M.D., is a well-respected doctor in Pyongyang fluent in Japanese who makes a principle of only accepting wealthy patients. With the liberation, he is arrested by the Russians as a traitor to the people and even faces death penalty. However, through his vigorous study of the Russian language, he manages to convince a high-ranking Russian officer that he will be able to operate on the man's wen. When the surgery succeeds, Yi Inguk, M.D., is freed from prison and he ends up sending his son to Russia to study. The Korean War breaks out, and he escapes to Seoul. In the last scene, Yi Inguk, M.D., meets a Mr. Brown from the American embassy who compliments him on his fluency in English and promises to help him getting a visa for a journey to the United States. His daughter Nami, meanwhile, is set to marry an American man, much to Yi Inguk's chagrin.

Written against the background of the prevailing ideology of Korean monolingualism in postcolonial South Korea, *Kapitan Ri* uses the metaphor of language to ironically target the hypocrisy of upper-class Koreans who seek their own benefit while preaching ethno-national doctrines. With his ironic mode of depiction, Chǒn Kwangyong stands in line with a modern Korean tradition of satire, prominently represented by Ch'ae Mansik already during the colonial period. Akin to Bertolt Brecht's Epic Theatre, the irony allows for a critical distance between reader and protagonist.

In the following analysis, I will dwell on two points to highlight how the text uses the concept of language to expose inconsistencies in postcolonial discourse on the ethno-nation. Firstly, I will explain how the piece establishes a pragmatic, bordering on nihilistic, conception of language proficiency as a means to gain social status devoid of ideological attachment. *Kapitan Ri* exposes the hypocrisy of ideologies imposed by the postcolonial South Korean elite, including those surrounding the *kugõ*. Secondly, I will elaborate on

³⁸⁰ Chǒn Kwangyong, "Kapitan Ri," 58.

how the text assesses the influence of foreign powers on the Korean peninsula and how it very subtly criticises American hegemony.

Much like *An Episode from that Year* and *To Live*, *Kapitan Ri* makes use of a common trope in modern Korean literature. We see that in the face of alternating foreign influence on Korea, linguistic proficiency becomes a means to achieve social upward mobility. Yi Inguk's attitude becomes apparent when he coerces his son to study Russian after the Soviets have taken over northern Korea:

"Now, Wönshik! There's no magic formula, you know. During the Japanese occupation you had to speak Japanese to get anywhere in spite of yourself. Today, it's Russian. Since a fish can't live out of water, he's got to think about surviving in the water, doesn't he? You've got to apply yourself to Russian."

(...) "Do you think there's anything special about them, except for their big noses? If you can just speak their language well enough to get your point across-they're the same as all the others."

(...) "Whatever comes of the world, let's get what we can out of it." (71f./153f.).³⁸¹

Yi Inguk, M.D., who is ridiculed in his obsession with social status by the text's insistence on referring to him with his title (*Yi Inguk paksu* in Korean), does not share any emotional attachment to any of the languages he is proficient in, including Korean. Languages are simply a tool to him for achieving social status and for that end, his mother tongue Korean is of little use, as can be seen in the following quotation:

Stirred into action by a passing thought, he suddenly got up. He then slid open the door of a small closet. He reached deep into its recesses and drew out a framed Japanese document.

National Language Family.

He had completely forgotten about this award since taking it down and putting it away in the closet on the day of Liberation from Japan.

(...) Few of his patients had ever come from the groups that couldn't speak Japanese. Not only had he always spoken the national language in the clinic and throughout his social life, but he had also insisted on using Japanese exclusively

³⁸¹ App. xi.

at home, too. So unfamiliar had he become with Korean that he had found it awkward to express himself in it after Liberation (68f./148f.).³⁸²

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, Yi Inguk's unfamiliarity with Korean actually applies to many Korean intellectuals who have received their education in Japan or in Japanese and who can be thought to be subtly targeted in this passage alongside the protagonist.

Yi Inguk's pragmatism concerning language is a rejection of the paradigm of "national language=state=sovereignty" (*kugō=kukka=chugwōn*) detailed by Kim Chōl. For Yi Inguk, M.D., the Korean language is clearly not linked to the sovereignty of the South Korean state and does not embody any kind of ethno-national essence. As he is successful with his strategy, the text invites the reader to believe that a pragmatic approach to language ability is merited by success. That there was never an original national language to begin with is also hinted at when Yi Inguk, M.D., visits Mr. Brown, who collects ancient Korean books written in classical Chinese (*hanmun*): "The bookcase along one wall was jammed with Korean historical works written in Chinese, such as the *Veritable Records of the Yi Dynasty* and the *Taedong Compendium of Private Histories*" (81/171).³⁸³ After having traced the protagonist's turbulent journey through the different occupations of 20th century Korea, this remark is a reminder of the long period of Chinese influence when people of social status would write in *hanmun* rather than in *hangŭl*. In this way, *Kapitan Ri* exposes the fragility of one pillar of postcolonial South Korean society – the unity of ethno-nation (*minjok*) and national language (*kugō*), an unchangeable essence connected through the centuries of Korean history.

The core of Yi Inguk, M.D.'s *savoir vivre* ideology and his justification for his pragmatism is as follows: "*What do they expect of a person, anyway? There's no other way out for the people of a colony. They had no place for you, no matter what your talent. Who didn't cater to the laps at one time or another? Only a fool rejects the proffered cake. None of us is clean*" (76/161).³⁸⁴ By exposing its main character and his incredible hypocrisy when he thinks "*It*

³⁸² App. xii.

³⁸³ App. xiii.

³⁸⁴ App. xiv.

seems my way of managing the world works even with the Americans, thought Yi Inguk, M.D., in high spirits. *True sincerity can move Heaven itself, they say*" (82/173),³⁸⁵ the text settles score with the Korean profiteers of Japanese imperialism, Russian occupation and American hegemony.

The second point I will discuss is how the text casts a disillusioned gaze at the theatre of different powers meddling on the Korean peninsula and insinuates that whether it is the Japanese, the Russians or the Americans does not altogether make a big difference. In any case, someone like Yi Inguk, M.D., a hypocrite always after his own personal gain, will benefit under any of the systems, as becomes clear in the closing scene with Mr. Brown who compliments him on his English in the same way that the Russian officer Stenkov had praised his Russian (81f./172). Yi Inguk, M.D., then gets the sensation that the Russian's and the American's faces overlap: "As Yi Inguk, M.D., looked at Mr. Brown, the American's face was replaced by Stenkov's, who had seemed satisfied only when he could down his vodka in a gulp, not bothering with food on the side" (82/172).³⁸⁶ The parallels drawn between the Russian and the American can also be understood as a subtle criticism of both American hegemony in South Korea as well as the post-Korean War narrative of Communist North Korea and Capitalist South Korea as clearly divided. Instead, the piece seems to suggest, whether Communist or Capitalist, whether Japanese, American, or Russian, the system's benefactor's will always be turncoats who adapt without the superfluous weight of ideology such as that of an ethno-nation unified by a common national language. At the end of the story, Yi Inguk, M.D., is left behind and thinks: "*Hmm. I've lived among those warty Japanese, made it out of the grasp of those brutish Russians, and now the Yankees-could they be much different? Revolutions may come and the nation change hands, but the way out has never been blocked for Yi Inguk*" (83/174f.).³⁸⁷ The text proves to be deeply critical of any ideology, be it that of ethno-nation, or revolution, as in North Korea. Yet, the protagonist's displayed respect and admiration for the victors' culture and language is also hypocritical. In this way, the perceived superiority of the Japanese, Russian or American empires is just as fragile as the national language and an ounce of Korean ethno-

³⁸⁵ App. xv.

³⁸⁶ App. xvi.

³⁸⁷ App. xvii.

national pride can be felt in Yi Inguk's aversion against the idea of his daughter Nami marrying an American man and giving birth to a White grandson. This underscores once more his contempt for authorities to whom he is servile for purely pragmatic reasons and his personal gain. The text thus sticks with its radical interrogation of any kind of political, cultural or social status and the ideologies it is built upon.

Kapitan Ri in a witty way exposes national ideologies of its time that are built on notions of linguistic purity. It reveals how there was never an originary congruence between language and ethno-nation to begin with and highlights the ways in which linguistic proficiency is linked to social status and benefits those who understand how to take advantage of it unburdened by the doctrine of monolingualism. Furthermore, the text subtly criticises American hegemony in South Korea and by suggesting the parallels between the Russian and American hegemon, ties in with anti-Americanism sentiments widely held during the First Republic and beyond. In its satirical approach to the dogma of Korean monolingualism, *Kapitan Ri* closely resembles Son Ch'angsöp's *To Live*.

The four pieces of short fiction discussed in this subsection all deal in their own ways with two aspects of postcolonial South Korean linguistic life. Firstly, they find themselves influenced by the notion of Korean monolingualism that took sway of the peninsula in an attempt to rid the country of the relics of Japanese imperialism and to establish a modern nation state. The four authors discussed above are members of the post-war generation that was educated under the colonial system and made their first literary steps in Japanese. Thus, their ambivalent relationship to the Korean but also the Japanese language resurfaces in their texts. Secondly, given the presence of foreign powers on the peninsula from the period of Chinese influence to present-day American hegemony, South Korean literature uses the trope of multi-lingualism to reach verdicts on this influence, sometimes optimistic, sometimes damning. In the last section of this chapter, moving away from stories that deal with the doctrine of Korean monoglossia, I will introduce a text that uses the metaphor of speechlessness to criticise the hunt for collaborators in postcolonial South Korea and the culture of colonial memory.

4.3 “People are sometimes good and sometimes evil”: Sōnu Hwi’s *Mukshi* (*Revelation*, 1971)

The text discussed in the last subsection of this chapter, Sōnu Hwi’s *Mukshi* (*Revelation*, 1971),³⁸⁸ first published in 1971 in *Hyōndae munhak*, highlights yet another way authors use tropes of speech and speechlessness to address social issues. The piece is less concerned with matters relating to Korean monolingualism or foreign influence in Korea but rather takes on the topic of how colonial memory is dealt with within South Korean society.

Sōnu Hwi was born in 1922 in Chōngju of southern North P'yōngan province in what is now North Korea, which makes him yet another writer who came from North to South Korea. This experience is said to have influenced his literature and his anti-communism.³⁸⁹ While fictional, the piece is interspersed with autobiographical elements.³⁹⁰ The story begins in the late colonial period with the youthful protagonist confiding in his teacher that he wants to commit an act of terror against the writer Yi Kwangsu for betraying his people by turning pro-Japanese. The teacher then tells him the story of the poet Sō Nang, a good friend of Yi Kwangsu. During a literary event where both Sō Nang and Yi Kwangsu were supposed to speak, the former suddenly lost his voice on-stage. The teacher and the protagonist conjecture whether Sō Nang feigned his muteness in order to avoid being exploited for the purposes of the Japanese empire and the teacher seems to believe so. The plot then jumps to post-liberation South Korea, where the protagonist has become a journalist. He has developed an understanding towards Yi Kwangsu and concedes that it would have been hard to act in a morally just way under the circumstances dictated by imperialism. Enquiring about Sō Nang’s fate, he learns that the rumours about his feigned muteness seem to have been unfounded as he did not regain his speech even after liberation and was in treatment for his condition. In the last part of the story, during a trip

³⁸⁸ Sōnu Hwi 선우휘, ‘Mukshi 목시 [Revelation]’, in *Pulkot 불꽃 [Fire Flowers]*, Second edition. Onul ūi chakkach’ongsō 오늘의 작가총서 21 (Seoul: Minomsa 민음사, 2005), 170–204.

³⁸⁹ Chōng Chua (Joung, Ju-a) 정주아, ‘Thyang kwa kwihyang, yōhaeng ūi wōnjōm ūrosōūi Ch’unwōn: sosōl Mukshi rūl t’onghae pon Sōnu Hwi wa Ch’unwōn 이향(離鄉)과 귀향(歸鄉), 여행의 원점으로서의 춘원: 소설 “목시”를 통해 본 선우휘와 춘원 [Leaving and Returning Home: Yi Kwangsu as a Starting Point: Sōnu Hwi and Yi Kwangsu as Seen in the Novel “Mukshi”]’, *Ch’unwōn yōn’gu hakpo* 춘원연구학보 7 (2014): 127–47.

³⁹⁰ Chōng Chua, “Leaving and Returning Home.”

to the mountains the protagonist meets a wandering doctor who turns out to be Sō Nang's son Sō P'a. Finally, the protagonist learns the truth about Sō Nang's muteness. Sō P'a reveals that his father had indeed feigned losing his voice in order to resist colonial mobilisation. However, much to his surprise, even with the liberation he was not able to speak. Only a couple of years later he finally finds himself speaking but since both his wife and son are absent, he only exchanges a couple of words with a peddler. By the time his wife returns, he has decided that speech is superfluous and remains mute until his deathbed, where he confesses and apologises to his son. After Sō P'a has shared this story, they part the next day, and the protagonist feels elated.

Kwŏn Yonmin reads *Revelation* as an expression of the tendency to interiority in Sōnu's later works: "Prior to the mid-1960s, he had stressed the significance of an intellectual's responsibility and the need for active participation in the present reality, but now his attitude shifts toward passivity, showing greater interest in the interior life. "Sipchaga" ("The Cross," 1965) and "Mukshi" ("The Revelation," 1971) are stories that represent this latter attitude. Instead of criticizing history and reality, these stories concentrate on the inner life and human sincerity."³⁹¹ In the following discussion, I will argue that while *Revelation* certainly is concerned with spiritual questions of human nature, Kwŏn too readily dismisses the political dimension of the text that comments on colonial memory and the way South Korean society dealt with the issue of pro-Japanese collaboration. In my analysis, I will draw on two aspects. First, I will touch upon the chase of pro-Japanese collaborators that commenced in the mid-1960s. I will discuss how the text negotiates the issue of Yi Kwangsu, the father of Korean modern literature, and his pro-Japanese collaboration by using Sō Nang as a vehicle to illustrate an alternative course of action. Secondly, I will investigate how the story addresses broader questions of communication and the value of speech beyond the immediate issue of collaboration.

One fundamental question the text tries to answer is how to negotiate an oppressive system while retaining moral integrity. The background to the narrative is the issue of pro-Japanese collaboration in South Korean public discourse, which ensued the ROK-Japan

³⁹¹ Kwŏn, "Late twentieth-century fiction by men," 472f.

normalisation treaty in 1965 and was set in motion by Im Chonguk's *Ch'linik munhangnon* (*On Pro-Japanese Literature*) in 1966.³⁹² Yi Kwangsu, who since the onset of his literary career during the colonial period up to the early 1970s had enjoyed an undisputed place in literary histories as the founding father of Korean modernism, came under scrutiny with the advent of a generation that was uninvolved with colonialism and thus much more critical. Kim Yunsik and Kim Hyonui's *Hanguk munhaksa* (*A History of South Korean Literature*) in 1973 marks a paradigm shift in the study of Yi Kwangsu's literature. While the authors still recognise the significance of Yi's work for Korean literary history, they are among the first to criticise his pro-Japanese collaboration, clearly influenced by the discourses of their time.³⁹³ It is from the heated debates of its time that *Revelation* takes its inspiration.

Chöng Chua focuses on the negotiation of Yi Kwangsu's guilt in *Revelation*. She maintains that the fictional character of Sō Nang has been created in order to show possible alternatives to Yi Kwangsu's collaboration and thus reaches at a milder and more understanding verdict towards his actions. She proposes that the story deals with Sōnu Hwi's personal trajectory towards understanding Yi Kwangsu as well as the negotiation of his radical anti-communism arising from his position as a *wollam saram* (a person that came to South Korea from the North). She outlines the strong democratic tradition of P'yōngando, the shared native place of both Yi Kwangsu and Sōnu Hwi, and the latter's disappointed respect for the former, amplified by the fact of their common background. Furthermore, Chöng Chua debates how Sōnu Hwi was put off by acts of extreme anti-communist violence in South Korea, leading him to a more nuanced understanding of moral questions and responsibility during difficult political circumstances.³⁹⁴

Indeed, it is obvious that the character Sō Nang serves as a vehicle to bring the intended message of the text across. Compared to Yi Kwangsu, who is drawn with nuance in his weaknesses as well as his genius, Sō Nang remains an idealised, yet wooden, character. He

³⁹² Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 192.

³⁹³ Kim Yongmin 김영민, 'Nam, Pukhanesō ūi Yi Kwangsu munhak yon'gusa chöngni wa komt'ō 남·북한에서의 이광수 문학 연구사 정리와 검토 [A Review of the Study of Yi Kwangsu in South and North Korea], in *Ch'unwön Yi Kwangsu Munhak Yon'gu* 춘원 이광수 문학 연구, ed. Yonse taehakkyo kuk'ak yon'guwon 연세대학교 국학연구원 (Seoul: Kuk'akcharyowon 국학자료원, 1994): 186-188.

³⁹⁴ Chöng Chua, "Leaving and Returning Home."

and his beautiful wife represent dignified Korean-ness in all its varieties, as remarked by an American missionary who meets the two of them at a party (178). His deliberate muteness appears to be an act of resistance that would be favoured by militant denouncers of collaboration, as can be seen in this quote on colonial-period Korean intellectuals: "The story that he, who was sensitive to the development of the extraordinary situation, had already in advance guessed that the pressure to collaborate for the war would get worse and thus feigned his muteness was nothing but revitalising for the conscious intellectual class that was growing frustrated with the resistance against Japan" (180).³⁹⁵ However, as the story reveals, his deliberate muteness made Sō Nang just as guilty towards his family (193) which is why he perceives his actual loss of speech after the liberation as punishment: "I have received a proper revenge, a pretty revenge, I won't be forgiven" (195).³⁹⁶ I read this inability to regain his speech and the reference to it being a form of "revenge" as a claim that it is not possible to merely withdraw from the responsibility of reaction to the injustice of the respective system and then participate in public life again as soon as the situation changes, devoid of sin. Sō Nang is unable to remove himself from the machinery of Japanese imperialism and then re-insert himself into society with the liberation. To talk with Kim Chōl – the national language cannot be brought under perfect control as it contains its own loss and fragmentation. Sō Nang is unable to make language his tool for solely political purposes. In the end, language does not simply remain within the political sphere and his crime becomes his betrayal of his wife and son. It is remarkable, however, that the text does not challenge the paradigm of Korean monolingualism. All characters in the novel express themselves naturally in Korean without any difficulty. Moreover, speaking up would have not been a realistic alternative to silence, as becomes clear when Sō Nang points out that the March First Movement inevitably had to fail due to global political constellations (176f.). The text thus interrogates the possibility of agency during adverse political circumstances.

In the end, the moral of the story seems to be that humans are sometimes good and sometimes evil, as Sō P'a and the protagonist discuss when they contemplate on Sō Nang's

³⁹⁵ App. i.

³⁹⁶ App. ii.

request to his son to love all his patients: “When I went to remote villages that didn’t have a doctor and treated my patients, I would soon discover in them their beauty as humans. I couldn’t help but admire the people who appeared in front of me and were probably good-natured and beautiful. Of course, there were a couple of times when my medicine was stolen and my heart sank...” (198-200).³⁹⁷ In this vein, the text challenges the often black-and-white narratives of postcolonial South Korea, in which all collaboration was necessarily an act of treachery and purely evil and opposes the hunt for collaborators of its time. Instead, *Revelation* makes the case for a kind and forgiving view of Yi Kwangsu and all humankind in general.

Beyond the question of collaboration and responsibility, the piece also touches upon the general issue of the value of language as a tool of communication. The protagonist wonders what reasons Sō Nang could have not to speak up in the important time of political upheaval following the liberation. We learn later that indeed Sō Nang was not able to speak during that time but did not, in fact, regret this as “[i]n the end, Sō Nang not only thought that words were nothing special but that they might even become an obstacle to spiritual exchange between humans” (193).³⁹⁸ When he briefly regains his speech and then decides to maintain his silence, his reasoning is as follows:

However, was the fact that his wife came home late the reason that he spent a lot of time thinking and then continued his life as a mute even though he had opened his lips?

Sō Nang had now opened his lips again but for what reason...?

Arising from his long habit of sign language, within the confines of his family, consisting of his wife and son, communication did not affect everyday life at all. Thus, words were now no longer necessary.

It also looked like there was no meaning in them for the outside world. What would he say to anyone now anyway! And what was the point of now adding his words to this world that was sick with too many words already?

What would he lose or gain from opening my mouth? Was it not ridiculous that he had regained his words? It was a comedy! Right, this really was a comedy! It

³⁹⁷ App. iii.

³⁹⁸ App. iv.

seemed that to maintain his silence was his counter attack to being captured by words. What were words anyway? (196f.)³⁹⁹

Sō Nang decides to withdraw completely from social discourse following a logic that is reminiscent of Buddhist reasoning. He seems to imply that words in themselves are the root of human conflict and suffering. Given the background of the on-going North-South conflict and Sōnu Hwi's own personal negotiation of his personal anti-Communist stance, the piece very subtly calls into question rigid ideological concepts that divide people rather than uniting them. Whether a collaborator or someone who opposed the Japanese administration, whether Communist or anti-Communist, the text seems to say, all people are sometimes good and sometimes bad. In this way, it is also an intervention against the unforgiving and unnuanced chase on pro-Japanese collaborators that suggested a clear delineation of the Japanese and Korean ethno-nations and implied national guilt for anyone who crossed that line.

4.4 Conclusion

All texts discussed in this chapter challenge dominant discourses concerning the colonial period in their respective societies. They are united in the various ways they defy simplistic dichotomies between Japan and Korea, East and West, or collaborators and patriots that form the ideological foundations of postcolonial South Korea and Japan. Reference to language becomes a means to exemplify the absurdity of the colonial situation and, especially for South Korean writers, also postcolonial memory. Linguistic ability is both with Kobayashi Masaru and his South Korean counterparts connected to social status and can become proof of the fragility of (post)colonial power. By exposing this fragility, writers like Ha Künch'an and Kobayashi call into question the very idea of a clear and unbridgeable line between the Japanese and South Korean ethno-nations that both imagined communities came to be built on.

While most of the South Korean texts discussed here grapple implicitly or explicitly with the doctrine of Korean monolingualism, Kobayashi Masaru takes on the issue of

³⁹⁹ App. v.

language in a more abstract way in form of a critique of the stereotypes on colonial Koreans. He exposes their arbitrariness and thereby reduces the colonial and postcolonial barrier between Japanese and Koreans to absurdity. Further, in *Ford* 1927 the protagonist's lacking linguistic ability serves to exemplify the trauma of Japan's failed dream as a colonial power vis-à-vis 'the West'.

As I have discussed throughout this chapter, the abrupt turn to Korean monolingualism following the colonial period resurfaces in many places in South Korean literature. It resulted, to speak with Kim Chöl, in the 'phallic nature' of the national language, which always carried within itself the traces of what was disavowed – Japanese, the Northern brethren state, the centuries-long Chinese influence on the peninsula and American hegemony. The texts discussed in chapter 4.2 negotiate the "intentional forgetting", as Han Suyöng terms it, of the colonial-period Japanese education that Theodore Hughes refers to as the "late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization and imperialization".⁴⁰⁰

In Ha Künch'an's *An Episode from that Year*, the position of Japan in the postcolonial South Korean imaginary becomes apparent in the prominent role the Japanese language plays in the text, indicating a fissure in the doctrine of Korean monolingualism and a return to aspects of colonial life that have been suppressed. Chǒn Kwangyong's *Kapitan Ri* and Son Ch'angsöp's *To Live*, meanwhile, display a pragmatic approach to language that borders on the nihilistic. The texts' conception of language proficiency as an indicator of social status devoid of ideological attachment defies the notion of a national language that epitomises the South Korean state. Sǒnu Hwi's *Revelation*, meanwhile, written by a conservative writer, does not challenge Korean monolingualism but, instead, uses the allegory of language loss to criticise a culture of colonial memory that knows only heroes and collaborators while lacking shades of grey.

Apart from remnants of Japanese in the Korean national language, many East Asian writers are concerned with the significance of Western influence on the peninsula and the role of the English language in particular. In Pak Sunnyö's *I Love You*, English befits a special role as third space of enunciation, a neutral territory detached from patriarchal,

⁴⁰⁰ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 2.

colonial system where Japanese-Korean encounters can take place and the ethno-national boundaries that divide the two become fragile. This notion, of course, is reduced to absurdity in *Kapitan Ri* and *To Live*. Kobayashi's *Ford* 1927, meanwhile, plays on East Asian postcolonial insecurities towards the West by introducing an ambiguous 'Western' character with the Turk who at once highlights Japanese inferiority and calls into question notions of a clearly defined 'East' facing a monolithic 'West'.

Finally, *I Love You* and *An Episode from that Year* in particular point to the fragility of dichotomising colonial and postcolonial discourses that unilaterally portray Japan as perpetrator and Korea as victim and attempt to neatly delineate Self and Other. Both texts also, albeit in different ways, address the discursive shift that accompanied the liberation and the corresponding need to re-negotiate Japanese-South Korean relations, thereby challenging the collectively held memory of the colonial period that distinguishes strictly between perpetrators and victims.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have traced the ways in which the traumatic experiences of colonisation and sudden end of empire resurface in literature roughly twenty years after the end of the colonial period and shape how Japanese and South Korean society conceive of themselves and each other in the crucial time before and after diplomatic rapprochement in 1965. With the fall of the Syngman Rhee administration and short-lived attempts at democracy, which were followed by Park Chung Hee's military dictatorship and the consequent change in the Japanese-South Korean relationship, the roughly two decades from 1953 to 1972 treated in this thesis particularly in South Korea witnessed various discursive shifts in the colonial memory, which are reflected in the literature discussed here. Throughout this period and to a degree to the present day, the historical experience of Japanese imperialism on the Korean peninsula remains a revenant that continues to haunt East Asian relationships and the self-image both ethno-nations hold on to in their constitution of national identity. These remnants of empire continue to shape East Asian realities, despite various attempts to either suppress the memory of colonial-period atrocities and the role ordinary citizens on both sides played in the regime or embellish, for example in the South Korean tendency to focus on anti-Japanese Korean patriotic martyrs rather than the culture of mass mobilisation.

Literary products are often more complex and intricate than political discourse, and at times even inherently self-contradictory. While, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, literature stands in constant dialogue with society and must be understood as a product of its socio-historical circumstances, it is too easy to read literary texts as social documents and disregard the special language that informs the literary field. On the contrary, we have seen that more readily than maybe in other social expressions, literature can function as a site where suppressed contradictions of colonial discourse resurface and can be negotiated. The literature discussed in this thesis can thus be thought to constitute the space for a certain kind of freedom.

Throughout my discussion of South Korean and Japanese texts dealing with the colonial period, it became exceedingly obvious that despite attempts to create a *tabula rasa*,

to weed out all remainders of coloniality and to establish modern Japanese and South Korean nation states out of the rubbles of empire, 1945 in many ways does not constitute a clear rupture. Discursive continuities from the colonial period forcefully resurface in many places in postcolonial narratives on the imperial experience. These continuities can be found in the way male authors rely on female characters as allegories for the nation and its fate and as a tool to restore ethno-national pride. Moreover, Japanese authors' texts written from the mid-1950s to early 1970s are often reminiscent of the colonial-period Korea Boom and thus reinstate the colonial-period power hierarchy between (former) colony and metropole in a postcolonial world. In some cases, relics of what has been suppressed resurface in the literature in question, like the memory of the role the Japanese language had played in Korean life amidst the postcolonial doctrine of Korean monolingualism.

Chapter two, *Ethno-nation imagined as female: the kisaeng, the docile teacher, the victim*, traced how Japanese and South Korean male authors in their colonial memory tend to portray the respective other ethno-nation as female to restore a masculine order that has been wounded by the humiliation dealt by colonisation or loss of empire. Meanwhile women within the same national group of the author are rendered invisible or abject in a patriarchal fraternising move between male colonised and coloniser. I have explained how this literature shows in an exemplary way what Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias speak of when they explain that women function in nationalist discourse as "signifiers of ethnic/national differences – as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories".⁴⁰¹ Moreover, I have related this to discourses in colonial and postcolonial Korea and Japan and highlighted how the production of ethno-national belonging by means of gendered allegories has a long tradition in East Asia.

Kajiyama Toshiyuki's position as *hikiagesha* no doubt informed his critical stance on Japanese imperialism and his desire to instil problematic aspects such as the violent suppression of the March First Movement into public memory. As a bestselling author of

⁴⁰¹ Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Woman - Nation - State*, 7.

popular literature (*taishū bungaku*), his readiness to criticise his country's imperial past is remarkable, given the trend towards oblivion and disavowal in his time. At the same time, his literature on Korea is deeply influenced by discursive relics of the colonial period as well as newly emerged postcolonial trends. His tendency to present Korean culture as simple and rustic, reminiscent of discourses accompanying the colonial-period Korea Boom, in combination with his overwhelming propensity to create female Korean characters to embody the colony and to negotiate the relationship between metropole and colony through sexuality are deeply problematic. This holds true especially before the background of Japanese *kisaeng* sex tourism to the peninsula and the then on-going Korean economic dependency on its Japanese neighbour. Furthermore, Kajiyama's narratives unwittingly follow the logic of the foundational narrative that pins blame for Japanese ultra-nationalism and its consequences on the military, thus allowing Japanese civil society as an extension of the emperor's will to distance itself from responsibility for war and imperialism. Rather than attaining his surface aim of bringing Japanese attention to issues surrounding the colonial past and initiating a critical debate, it can be argued that, in some way, Kajiyama's texts contribute to the trend of suppression and embellishment, and they may have even been influenced by the same kind of mind set that drove the *kisaeng* tourism, which saw Korean culture and its women as commodities for Japanese consumption.

As one of the writers who are typically listed as most representative for the post-war generation, Son Ch'angsöp embodies his generation's disillusionment and fatalistic attitude towards the historical circumstances. In this thesis, I have focussed on manifestations of coloniality in Son's early literature, an aspect of his work that is less frequently discussed by scholars. As remarked by Theodore Hughes, Son Ch'angsöp's work is emblematic for his refusal to partake in grand delineating national narratives – be it anti-communism or the denial of the “late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization”⁴⁰² – which are meant to narratively construct a homogeneous South Korean nation state. Remarkable in some of his works is the way coloniality and its remnants are negotiated by reference to female Japanese characters. Portraying Japanese women in

⁴⁰² Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 2.

postcolonial South Korean literature as victims, to refer to Kim Hyein once more, can be read as an attempt to restore a masculine order for the South Korean state vis-à-vis the once menacing figure of the former coloniser. At the same time, these female characters facilitate the maintenance of a bond of sympathy that is required between South Korea and Japan as they find themselves allied in the Cold War world order and suddenly facing a communist North Korean Other. Ch'uncha in *To Live* certainly fits into this stereotype when she becomes a tool to measure the male Korean characters' social success and indicates the protagonist's lack of virility expected from a South Korean man when he loses her to overconfident crook Pongsu. *The Market Price of Humans*, meanwhile, plays on the same logic but adds a further dimension by making a Japanese woman and her fate after the liberation the sole focus of his story, thereby not only radically denying a **homogeneous** notion of the South Korean ethno-nation that is constructed against a monolithic Japanese nation state as eternal perpetrator, but also emphasising female subjectivities created by colonialism and war.

Ha Kŭnch'an's *An Episode from that Year*, meanwhile, once more presents a Japanese female character to discuss the humiliation the colonisation has dealt to the male Korean psyche and highlights its trauma of always coming in second after Japanese masculinity. The text's critical potential, however, lies in its portrayal of late-colonial normality and the immense role Japanese people, their culture and their language have played in Korean life and how ordinary Koreans were part of that order.

Needless to say, the colonial experience created different subjectivities for Korean women than for Korean men. With Pak Sunnyo's *I Love You*, I have attempted to provide a counter-view to the male-dominated discourse on colonial memory and discussed how her piece highlights the double bind the colonial situation created for Korean women whose sexuality became a pawn for the purposes of the empire and who still remained secondary to male colonial subjects.

Romantic relationships between Korean and Japanese characters are usually described as distorted, if they come into existence at all, be it in Kajiyama Toshiyuki's *The Remembered Shadow* or *Seoul in 1936*, in Son Ch'angsöp's *To Live* or Ha Kŭnch'an's *An Episode from that Year*. I read this failure of romantic reconciliation as an indicator of the

deep trauma the colonisation and its end created for both societies while at the same time attesting to the on-going interest between the neighbouring countries with deep cultural and historical bonds, which are stifled by the unresolved historic trauma standing between both ethno-nations. The notable exception is Kajiyama's *When the Hibiscus Blooms*. However, even in this piece, the relationship between Japanese man and Korean woman can only last as long as the state of colonisation.

In chapter three, *Colonial nostalgia and a gendered Korean essence: the mother and the beautiful maiden*, I have introduced three texts that serve as counterpoint to the nostalgic colonial kitsch in Kajiyama's work that freezes the colony in time and, relying on theories by Svetlana Boym and Sō Insik, demonstrated that a nostalgic mode of depiction can also be a subversive tool of colonial memory. Boym's typology of nostalgic expressions as either restorative or reflective is helpful for distinguishing statist and nationalist displays of nostalgia, which are intended to bolster an ethno-national sense, of unity from subtle utterances of reflective nostalgia, which point to the contradictions of the alleged pure origin that restorative nostalgia asserts. Sō's concept of decadent nostalgia located these nostalgic contradictions within a colonial Korean context and I have shown how they were bequeathed to postcolonial East Asia. The writers in this chapter use nostalgia to challenge the idea of monolithic, neatly delineated South Korean and Japanese ethno-nations or memorial discourses of their time.

Morisaki Kazue's *Mud Wall* once more identifies the colony as female through the rural women who, detached from rationality and education like their male rural or sophisticated female urban counterparts, are connected to the Korean soil and are presented by the narrator as authentic bearers of 'Korean-ness'. The narrative here unwittingly follows the notion of the colony as female and backwards and reduces the female peasants to 'noble savages'. At the same time, *Mud Wall* subverts this narrative in two ways. Firstly, the text makes clear that Japan lacks in feminist standard compared to its former colony. The text thereby marks proximity to femininity as a marker of progress and subverts a narrative that equates the colony with femininity and regards this as proof of backwardness. Secondly, in its nostalgic evocation of the Korean mother, *Mud Wall* blurs this image with the narrator's Japanese mother, thereby refuting a dichotomy that

marks Japan as male and Korea as female and at the same time creating awareness of the fact that there is no pure Japanese or Korean ethno-national origin that can be retrieved from a pre-colonial time.

Through her protagonist in *Thoughts when Travelling*, whose gender and ethnicity are portrayed in an ambiguous way, Kang Shinchae manages to subtly criticise a notion of the South Korean ethno-nation as monolithic, as male and as devoid of any Japanese colonial-period influence. Her nostalgic view of the Korean countryside, embodied by the figure of the young girl, seems to be an attempt to create a sanctuary where the social realities of colonialism and civil war do not apply. However, when the protagonist has to leave this sanctuary at the end of the story, the text underscores the impossibility of an untainted origin, away from the deprivation of colonialism and war.

Kim Chöngahn, finally, as a writer who had already been active during the colonial period, is remarkable in that his *Asura Realm* uses a nostalgic gaze on Korean tradition and family bonds to decry the injustice of Japanese imperialism that intruded on the idyll. His text is an attempt to install a particular kind of colonial memory in the collective imaginary at a time when Park Chung Hee prioritised economic proximity with Japan over historical reconciliation. However, even with this relatively straightforward mission, the piece does not fail to highlight frictions within Korean society and can also be read as an indictment of the subordinate position women hold in Korea.

Finally, chapter four, *Foundational narratives: language and the contradictions in postcolonial discourse*, revealed ambiguities in colonial and postcolonial memory narratives that manifest as varied issues of language. The chapter discusses the fragility of colonial discourse and the delineation between Japan and Korea in a fixed hierarchy, the doctrine of Korean monolingualism and issues surrounding the hunt for collaborators in 1960s South Korea.

Referring to Homi Bhabha's theory of the role of stereotypes in colonial discourse, I have demonstrated the ways in which two of Kobayashi Masaru's pieces of short fiction reveal the frictions in the hierarchy between colonials and colonised that was perpetuated by stereotypes. By uncovering the fragility of Japanese superiority, Kobayashi's texts exemplify Japan's insecure postcolonial situation after having lost its empire and then

being forced to reinstate its national identity within the Cold War world order. His literature is thus exemplary of the *hikiagesha* positionality, which was deeply conscious of the contradictions in Japanese colonial and postcolonial discourse.

South Korean authors often struggle with the abrupt shift from Japanese as the language of education to the doctrine of Korean monolingualism as symbol of the South Korean ethno-nation that ensued from liberation. Relying on the scholars Serk-bae Suh and Kim Chöl, I have explained the pressure after 1945 to write, think and live in Korean that South Korean authors found themselves exposed to and the perceived guilt this often meant for them as they had been deeply immersed in the Japanese language prior to liberation. The idea of a unified and unifying Korean language that derived from a pure and untainted origin and is thus able to neatly demarcate ethno-national belonging, is deeply contradictory. Like a phallus, Kim Chöl explains, the national language always carries within itself the danger of castration, the fear of being tainted by foreign influences and not being able to be the ultimate symbol of the nation state and ethno-nation that it is made out to be.

Ha Künch'an, Pak Sunnyǒ, Son Ch'angsǒp and Chǒn Kwangyong all deal with foreign linguistic influence on Korea, thereby undermining the idea of a pristine Korean language as foundation of the South Korean ethno-nation. Much like Kobayashi's *Ford* 1927, Pak Sunnyǒ's *I Love You* deals with 'Western' influence in East Asia but, unlike from most other texts addressing the topic, it draws positive conclusions when assigning English a role as mediatory space for reconciliatory Japanese-Korean encounters. Once more, her outlook might have been shaped by her positionality as a woman writer and by the promise that American lifestyle brought for Korean female intellectuals who felt stifled by the South Korean patriarchy. Ha Künch'an, meanwhile, evokes Hughes' late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilisation through the Japanese language and thus metaphorically shakes off the shackles of Korean monolingualism that bound his generation which was required to suppress all traces of Japanese influence in their work. Son Ch'angsǒp and Chǒn Kwangyong, meanwhile, feed into a larger South Korean literary tradition when they target the ideological attachment to a pure Korean national

language and create characters who fare best by discarding this ideology and hypocritically adapting to the hegemonic power and its language.

This chapter concluded with a discussion of Sōnu Hwi's *Revelation*, in which the figure of Yi Kwangsu is used as an example to criticise the hunt for collaborators in 1960s South Korea by depicting an alternative in the character Sō Nang's aphasia and by highlighting its problematic aspects.

Needless to say, colonial memory is handled differently in former metropole and colony. In Japan, returnees from the colonies, the so-called *hikiagesha*, are among the few who openly address the issue of Japanese imperialism in Korea in the face of a huge wall of silence and oblivion. Yet, literature by the minority group of the *hikiagesha* can be considered as pinpointing different discursive strands in post-war Japan relating to the country's imperial legacy and bringing to the fore some of their inherent contradictions. Given the sometimes enthusiastic, sometimes reluctant embrace of the *hikiagesha* in popular and academic discourse, their literature can be thought of as an amplifier of Japan's treatment of its colonial past. Growing interest in the *hikiagesha*'s literature among scholars in South Korea also attests to this group's relevance to memorial discourses in East Asia.

The *hikiagesha* share with their mainland Japanese compatriots the trauma of defeat and sudden loss of empire and the way the national humiliation was often perceived and portrayed as emasculation of the ethno-national community vis-à-vis 'the West'. However, for the returnees the defeat did not merely mean collective degradation and the need to redefine the country's role within the newly-forming Cold War world order, it was also connected to the personal trauma of losing their native place, coupled with the realisation of the role their kind had played in the imperial project. This in many cases led them to adopt a critical attitude towards Japan's legacy of imperialism, which is very tangible in the literature discussed in this thesis. Particularly the group of returnees who were still children or young adults at the time of defeat, who correspond in age to the Korean post-war generation, were at the forefront of bringing these issues into the public domain in the mid-1950s to early 1970s.

For Japanese society at large, the foundational narrative meant that they could assign responsibility for war and colonial atrocities to the military caste and disavow that role civil society had played during that period. The *hikiagesha* as unwelcome reminders of this period became ostracised in post-war Japan. Reading their literature, it becomes clear that in some respects, they were influenced by the logic of the foundational narrative, as is evident in Kajiyama Toshiyuki's and, to a lesser degree, Kobayashi Masaru's work. At the same time, having witnessed the consequences of Japanese imperialism in Korea first-hand and being so inextricably connected to the imperial project, they could not partake in the comfortable oblivion the foundational narrative promised. Their literature thus constitutes a vital part of postcolonial discourse in Japan.

The South Korean post-war generation, who experienced their youth under the colonial regime and debuted during the aftermath of the Korean War (1950-53), has a distinct relationship to the memory of the colonial period. I have already mentioned the difficulties they faced when expected to adhere to the doctrine of monolingualism after an education that favoured the Japanese language as tool of literary expression. But in addition, having spent their childhood under the imperial regime, their literature more readily embraces touching points between Japan and Korea and defies the narrative of a monolithic South Korean nation state with clear territorial and ideological boundaries and an easily defined ethno-national membership. As point of comparison, Kim Chöngahn's *Asura Realm* is much more assertive in its condemnation of imperialism and it draws clearer lines between the Korean and the Japanese ethno-nation compared to the works of the younger generation.

The South Korean general evaluation of the colonial period and the attitude towards Japan changed during the period discussed in this thesis. Despite the First Republic being built through inclusion of prominent pro-Japanese figures of the colonial period, these years were marked by a rampant anti-Japanese narrative and severe condemnation of all aspects of the colonisation, driven by Syngman Rhee's attitude itself. The April 19th Revolution in 1960 brought about the promise of social liberties, and the Chang Myon administration sought greater proximity to the former coloniser. With Park Chung Hee's coup d'état, South Korea once more became subject to an authoritarian regime that

increasingly curtailed freedom of speech and civil freedom. One difference to the Syngman Rhee administration lay in Park Chung Hee's approach to Japan. Educated in a Japanese military academy, Park needed Japan in order to implement his plans for economic growth and he thus succeeded in normalising the relationship to the former metropole in 1965, ushering in a decade of growing economic and social ties.

Literature often reflects these political and social changes. This became obvious for example in Pak Sunnyǒ's pro-American attitude and the hope her story reveals in the English language as a space of encounter, no doubt prompted by the promise of the 19th April Revolution. It could also be seen in Ha Kǔnch'an and Kim Chǒnghan's reaction to the rapprochement with Japan. While Ha's piece welcomes the changed social circumstances in order to address suppressed positive memories of the colonial period, Kim felt compelled to re-enter public discourse in order to highlight the injustice of Japanese imperialism and its aftermath.

Among the authors discussed in this thesis, the relatively large number of writers who were from the north originally but crossed the border and settled in South Korea after the partition (the so-called *wöllam chakka*) strikes the eye. Theirs certainly is a particular subjectivity that was informed not only by the colonial experience but also by that of the partition and the civil war. This group is already subject to research in South Korea but a greater discussion of this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this thesis and has to be reserved for future research.

In this thesis, I have campaigned for a comparative reading of texts by authors of former colony and metropole and explored the alternative construction of a collective memory of a shared past. It could be argued that discussing stories written by both members of the former metropole and periphery is a risky business because it runs the danger of brushing over different developments after the end of Japanese imperialism in Korea and belittling postcolonial continuities in power distribution. However, I hope to have proven that such an approach also promises to bring to light touching points and commonalities in the alternative construction of memory. On the way to an East Asian comparative literature, these are overlaps that hold epistemic value for a deeper

understanding of postcolonial trajectories in the region and should therefore not be neglected.

Consequentially, I have approached East Asian literature in terms of a shared past rather than within the national literature framework. Focussing on the alternative construction of a collective memory of one of the most pivotal moments in 20th century East Asian history allowed me to map structural convergences (i.e. the short fiction form) as well as common content-related concerns. The category of 'East Asian comparative literature' poses questions such as: where to draw the boundaries? Does the respective local language not shape a literature's characteristics? Is there not the risk of brushing over national specifics (the nation being, after all, the prime category into which communities are ordered at present)? While these questions need to be raised and caution is advised, I maintain that the benefits of an East Asian theory of literature merit further exploration of the field. In my thesis, I have shown that while vernacular and national specificities in history and culture do shape the respective literary output, cross-national commonalities are too numerous and run too deep to be ignored. Rather than closing the field with an absolute definition, I argue for an understanding of 'East Asian literature' as a dynamic multitude of processes and, depending on circumstance, a meta-theory of this literature can comprise different countries, approaches and methodologies.

In my thesis, rather than seeking an ultimate meta-theory or grand narrative of East Asian literature, I have chosen to look at the particular – the collective memory of Japan's colonisation of Korea as one of the most contentious moments in recent East Asian history. From there, I have arrived at more general observations of what East Asian literature contains, such as East Asian manifestations of the easing of national traumata through female characters, common discursive continuities from the colonial period and the particular way the rapid succession of hegemonic constellations in the region appear in literature as a concern with language itself. Rather than just coincidental parallels, I argue that these overlaps hint at a larger structural framework of East Asian literature that this thesis has helped excavating. My analysis was rooted in the historical and social background against which the texts were written to give insight not only into the field of literature but also Japanese and South Korean society at that time in more general terms.

In this study, I have focussed on two countries, but for the future, research on more or different countries or even just one can enrich the field of East Asian comparative literature. A future path could also be to choose a different starting point – rather than focussing on alternative memory, commonalities in terms of form, structure or themes might well prove to hold epistemic value.

Most pieces discussed in this study locate themselves in a hybrid space in-between the poles of the colonial-period *naisen ittai* doctrine and the strict postcolonial construction of both nations as separate and devoid of touching points. Given that in Korea, all Japanese influences were to be suppressed in postcolonial society and that Japan was befallen by a ‘collective amnesia’ concerning the imperial project, this literature is remarkable in that it acknowledges the profound way Japanese imperialism in Korea has shaped both postcolonial societies. This holds true especially for the Korean post-war generation and their Japanese *hikiagesha* equivalents.

To list some of the parallels that my research brought to light, we have first seen how ‘the ethno-national Other woman’ becomes a tool to negotiate postcolonial memory and reinstate the bruised national masculinity for male writers of both ethno-nations. Secondly, I have discussed how a nostalgic gaze on colonial Korea can become a tool for criticism of the author’s own society and the way colonial memory is utilised or suppressed. Thirdly, protagonists in stories both by Japanese and South Korean authors often display insecurity and a feeling of powerlessness vis-à-vis their Korean or Japanese or, indeed, ‘Western’ Other. The pervasive feeling of impotence in this memorial literature is, I have argued, an indicator of the lasting trauma that the colonisation and its aftermath have left in East Asia. Fourthly, we have encountered many instances of how writers in both countries struggle with the contradictions of memorial and postcolonial identity-establishing discourses. This included the suppression of the impact of the colonial-period *naisen ittai* doctrine and the “late-colonial-period mass culture of mobilization”⁴⁰³ and, in the Japanese case, the suppression of colonial atrocities. We have seen how literature challenges the way the new nation state is built on a chauvinistic version of masculinity, how authors grapple with American hegemony and relate it to colonial period. Finally, these pieces in many cases

⁴⁰³ Hughes, *Freedom's Frontier*, 2.

criticise a postcolonial memory that is based on a simplistic binary view of collaborators versus patriotic heroes, lacking shades of grey.

Even a long-term project like a doctoral dissertation is constrained by space. While colonial memory can be found throughout the spectrum of literary forms, I have focussed exclusively on its manifestation in short fiction, the Japanese *tanpen shōsetsu* and the Korean *tanp'yǒn sosǒl*. This limitation, however, also contains the seed for future research. Given the prevalence and prominence of this genre in Japanese and South Korean society, it is hard to deny that short fiction constitutes an essential part of the East Asian literary landscape. At the same time, it is quite obvious that it differs greatly in its tradition, reception and form from 'Western' short forms such as the short story or novella and can thus be argued to constitute a distinctly East Asian literary form. During the research for my thesis, I found it hard to come by comprehensive and systematic research in any language that focuses solely on short fiction (and not the *shōsetsu* or *sosǒl* in general) in order to define its formal features and historical trajectory. I believe that here lies great potential for future research.

The field of East Asian comparative literature is still in its infancy, particularly in Western languages. Yet, I believe that Margaret Hillenbrand's suggestion for East Asianists anywhere in the world to move towards an East Asian theory holds the key to solving issues concerning the insularity of Western East Asian Studies on the one hand and the constant danger of a Eurocentric bias. Ultimately, an East Asian theory could help rectify issues in Anglo-European research as well, although this might be pie in the sky. Coming back into the present and immediate future, the legacy of the Japanese empire is currently being researched from a historian's point of view in Cambridge by Barack Kushner, while Karen Laura Thornber leads the field in colonial and postcolonial period comparative East Asian literature. Yet, there still lie years of research ahead on the intricate entanglements and overlaps, the connections, the divergences, the contradictions, the issues and the cross-fertilisations of the East Asian cultural landscape. This thesis was but a humble contribution to this ever-growing field.

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Appendix

Original quotations in Japanese and Korean

2.1 “A Landscape of Sexual Desire” – Kajiyama Toshiyuki and Colonial Korea

- i. はじめのうち野口は気にかけなかったが、そのうち朝鮮人たちが、なぜ敵視するのかが疑問に思われるようになった。朝鮮人を「ヨボ！」と罵り、まるで奴隸のように扱っている一部の日本人が、あることは確かだ。しかし野口は、京城で生まれ京城で育って、朝鮮人に親しみを抱いているの。その好意を持つ人間を、朝鮮の風物を追いかけている自分を、なぜ彼等が憎しみの眼で眺めるのか—。彼には、どうにも理解ができなかつたのである。
- そうして金英順という舞姫は、野口に、なぜ憎むかを教えてくれた女性でもあったのだった。
- ii. 彼は、たかが絵のモデルや題名のことで、殴りつけたり、留置したりの憲兵の横暴さに、我慢できなかつた。野口は、あの堤岩里の虐殺事件、そして放火事件も、日本軍隊では起りうるのだということを、身を以て体験した。
- iii. <もしかしたら、父はその当時、守備隊長だったのではないのか？>
野口はそう思い、怯えた。
かれのちちが、そんな無法な殺戮をする人間には思えない。
- iv. これらの官妓たちは、宮中に酒宴があるときは、宴席につらなり、顕貴・高官たちに酒杯を斡旋し、歌舞音曲によって興趣を添えた一と文献にある。つまり国政を牛耳る人々の襟首をしっかりと握って、その一顰一笑により、裏面から、間接的に政治を動かす地位にあつたと、考察できる。就職とか、訴訟だとかに、彼女たちが大きな影響力を持っていたであろうことだけは、想像に難くない。
- v. いつも、朝鮮人部落でスケッチしている時に感じられる心細さ—それは不意に自分が取り残された異質な人間の ような、つまり異邦人であるという心細きであったが—彼 は英順の家でも、それを鋭敏に感じとったのだ・・・。
- vi. 英順はしばらく考えこんでいたが、急に、挑むような視線 を彼に据えてきた。
「ねえ、野口さん。あんた・・・朝鮮の踊りを描きたいの」 切りつけるような、彼女の言葉だった。
「それとも、私を絵にしたいの?いったい、どっち?」
野口は、その鋭い語調に、一瞬ひるむような気持で目を伏 せた。そして、どもりながら答えた。
「僕が絵にしたいのは、宫廷舞踊でも、あなた自身でもない。 踊りのなかに、あるいは、あなたのうちに隠されている・・・なんというか、朝鮮の美しさなんだ。滅びつつある朝鮮の風俗、 その持つ哀しい美しさを、僕はかいてみたいんだけど・・・」
一あとになって、英順は、このとき彼が口にした「滅び てゆくものの美しさ」という表現に、心を打たれたのだと語 ったが、野口の言葉は、そのまま真実を伝えていたであろう か?それは疑問である。 朝鮮の美しさとは、野口良吉にとっては、自分より三歳年 上の、金英順という女性の美しさではなかつたのか。日本人 の男とは寝ないことを宣言し、あらゆる権力に反抗している 姉生が、金英順なのだ。梨葺酒のように不可思議な匂いと味 をもつた朝鮮の女・・・。それが金英順ではないのか。野口は、 舞の美しい線よりも、朝鮮

民族には珍しく彫りの深い顔立ち よりも、彼女のもつ影の部分、なぜ、そんな冷たい態度をと るのかという、暗い過去の部分を、まさぐり取ろうとしていたのではなかつたろっか?

- vii. その頃、彼が画題に採んでいたのは、朝鮮の風俗の面白さである。
日本化されてしまつて、どしどしと朝鮮の風俗は、港から姿を消していた。
(...) しかし近年では、その季節に農村へでも訪ねていかねば、栖戯も、跳板戯も、見られないである。野口良吉は、それを残念に思つてゐる一人だつた。
- viii. (...) その宗主国一男性一加害者に対して、植民地一女性一加害者という枠組みを、ついに超えるものではなかつた。それを梶山李之の限界と見るべきか、日本の近現代文学の殖民主義についてのアポリアと見るべきか、ここで結論を出すのは、まだ時期尚早のように思える。
- ix. 「木欅の花は、大きゅうて、おおらかなごつある。しかし本 当は、淋しか花たい!」
盃を重ねながら、S校長は云うのだ。
「ばってん、わしは、その木樺の、寂しかところが好きじや。野に咲く、名も知れんような花もある。しかし木樺は、三メートルの高さに育つて、淋しか花ばつけよる。大きな顔ば、しちょとじやが、心根は寂しか奴たい!」校長はそう肱くように告げて、
「日本人は、桜の花のごつ、パツと咲いて、パツと散りたい しようね と考えちよる。しかし、朝鮮人は、性根深かとぞ!」と云つたのだった。
信吉は、その言葉にはッとなつた。
- x. <錦珠が木樺なら、この女は、棘のある薔薇だな!>と信吉は思つた。
- xi. 「それは、私が朝鮮の女だからです。」
彼女はそう告げて、
「あなたは日本人です。だから帰らなければ、いけません。」
- xii. 「...夜は、気恥しい話だが、壺を床の中に持ち込んで、洗剣亭でのあわただしい李錦珠との交情を偲ぶよすがとした。壺の肌は、彼女の肌のように、すべすべしていたが、しかし玲瓏として冷たかった。」
- xiii. 「うん、悪くない。しかし、奇妙に沈んだ、変な絶望感みたいなものがあるなあ...」
山野井は、香炉をひねくり廻した。
「つまらぬ物と思うか?」
信吉は、真剣に問いかけた。
「いや...この、なんら技巧を用いてないところが面白い。 云うならば、無欲の欲かな」
「なるほど」
「九谷や、清水は、派手で、数学的だが、この壺なんかは、余白があつて、暖か味があるなあ。俺なら、この壺を買うだろよ...」
山野井は、そう云い切つた。
- xiv. 「戦争がはじまって、ね」
そう彼が云うと、錦珠は冷ややかに、
「知っています」
と答えた。
「召集されたんだ...。死ぬかも知れない」
と彼が告げると、やつと錦珠は悲しそうな表情になり、「そんなことに、ならないように、努力してたんだけど...」と呟き、

「アンネニカシオ・・・」

と云った。

- xv. 植民地に育った僕たち日本人の子弟には、「朝鮮人の癖に!」という重宝な言葉が用意されていて、大東亜戦争が始まる頃まではオール・マイティ的な威力を発揮したものだ。内鮮一体とか、一視同仁とか宣伝されはいたが、子供の頃から養われた朝鮮人蔑視の感情は、金氏、朴氏が創氏改名して金本や木下となつても、なかなか消えるものではなかつた。
- xvi. 「そして童貞を失つたのは、いつ?」
「もう、よそうよ、こんな話・・・」
金本は退屈したような、役げやりな口調だった。その十九歳だとは思えぬ落着き払つた物腰からは、未知な世界を探検した大人だけが持つてゐる、不思議な倦怠感が匂つてくる。
- xvii. でもしかし、日本の敗戦という事実を知つても、僕は動搖も覚えず、悲しさも伝わつてこないのだった。何もかも終つたのだという、安堵めいた感情が堰切つて押し寄せはしたが、妙に機会を喪つたという哀惜の念が奔騰してきて、僕を空虚に佇ませ続けるのであつた。
- xviii. 僕は牡牛の荒々しい息遣いを、ハッキリ耳の傍で聞いていた。牡牛の烈しい足蹴を胸や腿の皮膚で感じていた。僕は極楽坂の淫売窟を、そして金本や少年航空兵の顔を思ひうかべ、「戦争は決して、終らせるもんか!」と呟いた。だがその声音の、なんと弱々しかつたことか!

2.2 Son Ch'angsöp and his Japanese women

- i. 그날 밤 동주(東周)는 그냥 수컷이었을 뿐이었다. 그 뒤에도 춘자(春子)는 거의 밤마다 동주(東周)를 가만두지 않았다. 타오르는 듯한 젖음을 감당하지 못해 야위어가는 동주(東周)의 육체에 매달려 내내 앙탈이었다. 그러한 춘자(春子)가 마침내 동주(東周)는 징그럽기까지 했던 것이다. 성적 흥분을 거의 상실하다시피 한 동주(東周)는 당장도 저녁 준비를 하느라고 눈앞에 서서 돌아자는 춘자(春子)의 정력적인 육체를 바라보다가 부지중 '아아!' 하고 절망을 발음하는 것이다.
- ii. 두고 보매 춘자(春子)와 동거하면서도 동주(東周)는 지나치게 점잖다는 것이다. 남자가 성욕을 잊게 되면 그건 폐물이라는 것이다.
- iii. 이제는 순이(順伊)가 아니다. 주검이었다.
- iv. 야스꼬의 분노는 마침내 폭발하고야 만 것이다. 그 것은 민족적인 감정의 발악만은 아니었다. 남성에 대한 여성의 분노였다. 운명에 대한 모성의 도전이었다. 따라서 신에 대한 인간의 항의이기도 했다.
- v. 뚱뚱보는 서투른 일본말을 간간 섞어가며 지저분한 얘기를 많이 늘어 놓았다. 자기는 중국 여자는 물론, 한국 여자, 소련 여자, 이태리 여자와는 여러번 자본 경험이 있는데, 일본 여자와는 꼭 한번밖에 없노라고 하는, 오늘 밤은 두번째로 일본 여자인 그대와 자게 되어 만족이노라고 했다.

- vi. 야스꼬는 죽은 듯이 사내가 하는대로 내어 맡기었다. 심신이 나른히 지쳐서 더 이상 요동을 할 수가 없었다. 동시에 아무리 요동을 해 보아야 이제는 별 수 없다는 것을 깨달았다. 지금까지 원주민들이 야스꼬 앞에서 굽신거린 것은 물론 야스꼬 개인의 인격이나 힘에 눌리어서가 아니었다. 그 때까지는 조국이라는 국권의 발판이었기 때문이었다. 그 발판이 무너진 지금, 자기는 한 오라기의 검불에 지마지 않은다는 것을 야스꼬는 비로소 깨달은 것이다. 아무리 항거해 보아야 그것은 향거의 의미를 갖지 못하는 부질없는 몸부림에 지나지 않았다. 야스꼬는 입술을 깨물며 눈을 감은 채 자기 육체와의 잔인한 결별을 시도했다. 퀴퀴한 냄새를 풍기며 사나이는 야스꼬의 육체에 바위처럼 육박했다. 사나이는 놀랍도록 난폭한 거동으로 반응없는 야스꼬의 육체를 향락의 도구로서 마음껏 애무했다.
- vii. “몹시 봉변을 당했군요. 그러나 무고한 우리 중국의 수많은 여자들이 당신네 일본 군대에게 얼마나 억울하고 비참한 치욕을 당했다는 사실을 생각하셔야 합니다.”냉령하게 그런 말을 남기고, 장교는 일어서 딴 방으로 가려 했다.
- viii. “아, 맛은 못봐두 눈 요기라두 실컷 합시다.”
- ix. 그 날 하루 종일 야스꼬는 동물원에 갇힌 원숭이처럼 부락민들의 구경감이 되었다. 부락민들은 그칠 사이 없이 모여들어 야스꼬가 연금되어 있는 헛간 비슷한 방 앞에 겹겹이 떼를 이루고 있었다. 대부분이 남자들이었지만 간혹 여자들도 밀려와서 신기한듯이 들여다보며 수군거리었다. 물론 그들이 일인을 처음 보는 것은 어니었다. 그러나 어제까지의 일인은 감히 접근할 수도 없이 고귀한 존재였다. 같은 인간이면서도 그 쪽은 금이요 이쪽은 흙덩이었다. 어제까지의 일인은 살아 있는 신의 적자로서 서슬이 푸르른 일등 국민이요 당당한 지배자였고, 이쪽은 보잘것 없는 열등 국민이요 견만와 같이 혹사당하는 피지배자였다. 일인들이란 대공을 나르는 두루미처럼 까마득히 우러러보이는 특권민이어서, 여태껏은 함부로 말도 걸 수 없었던 것이다. 그렇듯 위세가 당당하던 일인을 동등한 위치에서 – 아니 자기네보다 한층 보잘것 없는 존재로서 눈앞에 불들어 놓고 함부로 다루고 마음껏 놀려먹을 수 있다는 것은 아무래도 신기하고 통쾌한 일이 아닐 수 없었다. 대체 어떤 꿀을 하고 있는가 보고 싶어서 원숭이 나 곰의 새끼라도 잡아다 가두었다는 소문을 들었을 때 이상으로 부락민들은 나도 나도 하고 큰 구경거리가 났다고 몰려드는 것이었다. 더구나 야스꼬는 젊은 여자일 뿐 아니라 정돈된 용모와 희고 부드러운 피부를 가지고 있었기 때문에 구경꾼들의 관심을 끌기에 족했다. 젊은 남자들은 시간가는 줄도 모르고 문 앞에들 지켜 앉아서 상스러운 잡담을 나누어가며, 음욕에 찬 시선으로 야스꼬의 전신을 줄곧 주무르고 있는 것이었다.

2.3 Illicit desire resurfaced: Ha Kŭnch'an's *Kŭ haeŭi sap'wa* (An Episode from that Year, 1971)

- i. 마음대로 되는 일이라면, 아오야기 선생의 얼굴에서 분을 지워내고, 구찌배니를 닦아내고, 머리털에서 반질 반질한 것을 없애 버리고 싶었다. 그래서 종전의 그 화장기 없는 얼굴로 돌아가게 하고 싶었다. 그 얼굴이 자기으 틈 차지인 것 같은 그런 당돌한 생각이 드는 것이었다.
- ii. 그 많은 기병들을 지휘하는 젊은 장교의 모습은 더욱 늠름하기만 했다. 소위였다. 아직 임관을 한 지 얼마 되지 않은 듯, 흥안이었다. 멀리서 보아도 콧대가 반듯하고 이마가 흰데다가, 눈썹이 유난히 짙어서 인상적인 얼굴이었다.
- iii. “그러니까 그 조샌징 교사하고 아오야기가 연애를 하다니, 잘 믿어지지가 않은 이야기였다. 믿어지지가 않으면서도 슬그머니 화가 치미는 것이었다. 조샌징하고 연애를 하다니, 더구나 교사의 몸으로 신성한 교육의 도장에서...”

2.4 Female Korean subjectivity under fire from all sides: Pak Sunnyo's *Ai rōbū yu* (I Love You, 1962)

- i. “저꼴로 길가는 사내에 추파를 던지니, 발정한 개와 다를 것이 뭐야.”
- ii. 교장실로 호출당할 때부터 우리는 사십 이원이란 말을 추궁당할 줄 알았다. 그러나 “아이 러브 유”로 이처럼 모욕을 받을 줄은 몰랐다.
- iii. 즉 전시체제 하에서 식민지의 여성으로 겪어야 했던 체험의 재현을 서사화한 것이 「아이 러브 유」의 첫 번째 특징이다.
- iv. “나도 남자로 태어 날걸!”
“정말야, 나도 저 학생들과 같이 가고만싶어.” (...)
“그만 적십자 간호원으로나 갈까.”
“적십자 간호원?”
“여자로서 싸움터로 나갈 수 있는 길이 그 밖에 더 있어.”
- v. 나는 내가, 아니 조선이라는 식민지의 한 소녀로 태어난 나의 환경이, 운명적으로 너무나도 불순하다는 것을 비로소 느끼게 된 것이다. 그것은, 처음 멘스가 있던 날의 “여자”에 대한 증오라 할까, 아롱든 무엇엔가 몸부림쳐 억울하다고 항의하고만싶던 그심정과도 같다고나 할까.

3.2 Ōmōni! Morisaki Kazue's *Dobei* (Mud Wall, 1969)

- i. 才モニということばは、おかあさんという朝鮮語だ。(...) よいひびきをもつ語である。朝鮮にいた日本人らはその家庭で家事をしてくれる手伝いの朝鮮人婦人を才モニとよんだ。手伝いの少女は日本ふうにネエヤといった。才モニとネエヤは私の育つあいた私の身近でふれることのできるふんわりと大きな座ぶとんのようなものだった。(...)私には母の背におぶわれた記憶は残っていないけれども、才モニの背中のぬくもりと髪の毛が頬や唇にあたって記憶は残って

いる。 (...) 昔話は両者が混合していてどこまでがどちらであるかもはや分からぬ。わけても日常目にふれる風物が朝鮮の山河であるから詩情はおのずから朝鮮の風土によって養われる。だからオモニという呼び名は他に替えようがないのである。

ii. しかし在鮮日本人であった者のなかには、オモニということばを一種の蔑称として使っていた者もいたことを、最近になって知った。幼時の友人に三十数年ぶりに数日まえ逢った。彼は次のようにいった。

「朝鮮人が自分たちだけで国を作つて何かやつてゐるなんてどうしても考えられないよ。オモニやヨボに政治とか文化とかがやれるのかなあ。どう考へても馬鹿の集まりとしか思えんなあ」

彼は軍人の息子だった。私は幼時の仲良しがそんなことを言うのをぼうぜんとききながら、亡父に感謝した。おそらくあの父の朝鮮人青少年へのひたむきさが、私にオモニということばを生きたまま与えたのだろう。

iii. 私は「日本の女たちは姓がかわることを心からよろこんでいるわけでもないらしいのよ。たいてい結婚した女は、夫やその一族と一緒に墓に入るのがいやでたまらない、と女ばかりのときに嘆息ついていうのだもの」といった。すると彼女たちは立てひざついて食べていた体をのけぞらせて、墓が一緒なんて！と、さも不潔という表情をした。

iv. 亡父が非常に愛した少年

v. とはいいうものの、彼らは父との出逢いがなくともそのような人生を送つたろう。父は植民地政策下の日本の庶民にすぎないのである。しかし私には、支配権力の植民地主義の罪業と同様に、日本人庶民の生活意識の罪がこころにかかる。生活の場での異民族との交流がどのような原則のうえで行なわれたか、それは日本在住の民衆の意識の何とどう関連しているのか、その民衆の意識と支配権力の支配の原理とはどういう補足関係にあるか。そこまでみきわめねば、日本のアジア侵略の悪(それをひき起した日本の民族的特性、その内的必然性)をこえる思想は、日本民衆の生活意識のなかに生まれないのである。だから私は誠実で浪漫的な情熱家にすぎなかつた父の人生でさえ、心にかかる。それが謎ときのようにとけないならば、私の朝鮮への関心も単純な自己拡張の感覚に終つてしまふ…

3.3 The rural sanctuary and the young girl: Kang Shinchae's *Yǒjōng* (*Thoughts when Travelling*, 1954)

i. 현은 모험의 길을 택하였다. 학생이 한가한듯이 여행을 하고 있다는 그 자체가 엄격히 추궁당하는 시절이었다. 소위 황군은 앗쓰도의 옥쇄를 시초로 남방각지에서 패전을 거듭하고 있었다. 패색은 나날이 짙어 갈따름이었다. 모든 일본인은 충혈된 눈으로 서로의 낫빛을 살피게 되었고, 더욱기 경찰은 상상을 넘는 가혹함을 가지고 조선 지식층을 대하고 있는 것이었다. 현은 학병으로 출정하는 급우들의 누구 보다 먼저 모욕에 찬 죽음을 당할지도 몰랐다. (91)

ii. 「실례입니다만 고향은 어디시죠?」

현은 그가, 자기를 조선 사람인지 일번 사람인지 구별을 못하여 망서리고 있는게라고 짐작하였다。

관림대학의 저복을 입은 현은、 시커먼 눈썹이 그려하였는지, 늘 일본인으로 잘못 보이는 용모를 가지고 있다。 혹은 현의 말씨가 그랬는지도 알수 없었다。

「양친은 경도에 있었읍니다만、 전 서울태생 입니다。」

경도에...하고 현은 의식적으로 일본인다운 억양으로 속어까지 섞으며 말하였다。 이제는 사나이와의 대화가 확실히 초조를 느끼게하여, 얼른 끝을 맺고 싶어졌다。 경계심은 멀리 사라지고 불쾌감만 커 갔다。(87-90)

- iii. 그리고 두팔을 앞으로 푸욱 뻗어 자기의 두 주먹을 바라보았다。 기운찬 주먹。 아름답기도 하였다。
- iv. 건드리면 곧 깨어지는, 섬세히 아름다운 그릇이거나, 보는씨새 팔랑팔랑 지고마는 고운 꽃을 대하고 있는 것과도 같은, 애틋한 안타까움이 현의 가슴을 가득히 하였다。
「무엇때문에 세상은 이토록 아름다움에 차 있는 것일까...」(98)
- v. 다만 그리 성숙하지 않은、 굳은 과일같은 청신함이, 무엇인지 현을 안심스러이, 상쾌히 하였다。
- vi. 겨우 이런 정도를 넘지 않았다。 그러나 현은 어째서인지 누구보다도 가까이 누구보다도 깊이 그를 아는듯한 생각이 들었다。

3.4 Female resilience and family ties as bulwark against imperialism: Kim Chönghan's Surado (Asura Realm, 1969)

- i. "(...) 가야 부인이 고통을 받고 있으니, 그것은 큰 범주에서 일본 제국주의 지배에 의한 것이고, 그것에 대한 저항을 통해 가야 부인은 여성의 자결권을 추구하는 신여성도 아니고, 인고하는 구여성도 아니고, '억척 어멈'도 아니고, 현모양처도 아닌, 한국문학에서 새로운 여성으로 우뚝 서게 되는 것이다."
- ii. 그녀들은 속에 있는 말을 마음대로 지껄이고 싶었던 것이다.
"왜놈들이 얼른 망해야 살지 , 아래 기주고싸"
"그 독한 놈들아 얼른 망하겠나! "
"왜놈이 망하문 끌려간 사람들은 다 죽구로?"
이건 '보르네오'댁이란 부인의 말이다. 그녀의 남편은 '보르네오'란 섬에 징용을 나가 있었다.
자들이 징용 간 곳에 따라 '보르네오'댁이니 '뉴기니아'댁이니 하는 새로운 택호들이 유행되고 있었던 것이다.
- iii. 속칭 '처녀공출'이란 것으로서 마치 물건처럼 지방별로 할당이 되어왔다. 저희들 말로는 전력 증강을 위한 '여자 정신대원(女子擾身隊員)'이란 것인데, 일본 '시즈오카'라든가 어딘가에 있는, 비행기 낙하산 만드는 공장과 또 무슨 군수 공장에 취직을 시킨다고 했었지만, 막상 간 사람들로부터 새어나온 소식에

의하면 모조리 일본 병정들의 위안부로 중국 남쪽 지방으로 끌려갔다는 것이었다. 말하자면 기만과 강제에 의한 그들의 전쟁희생물이었다. 어리석고 가난하고 힘없는 식민지 농민들의 딸들은 그렇게 끌려가기 마련이었다.

- iv. “왜놈들의 총질과 미쳐날뛰는 칼날에 무참하게 터지고 찢긴 아드님의 시체를 보자마자 시어머님은 그대로 눈을 잃었디이라, 이놈들아, 나라를 뺏음 좋게 뺏지, 이 금덩어리 같은 내 자식을 이렇게 죽있노? 하고 그만 그 자리에서 안 자물시(까무러쳐)버리나!”

가야 부인은 그때 일을 이야기할 때는 언제나 목맺히는 소리로 눈물까지 글썽거리었다. 분이도 나이 들어서 그 이야기를 들을 때는 자기도 모르게 할머니를 따라 눈물을 짓곤 하였던 것이다.” (16)

- v. 곧 재판장의 인정심문이 시작되었다. 그는 서류를 받아들더니 ,
“허 ?

하다 말고 잠깐 머뭇거렸다. 그리곤 이내 입술을 날카롭게 모았다. 아마 여태 일본식으로 창씨개명을 안 한 것이 몹시 비위에 거슬렸던 모양이었다.

“웅 허 웅 나왓 ! ”

(...) “성명은?”

경어를 쓰지 않는다. 상대가 '조센진'이니까 !

“인자 막 부른 대로요”

오봉 선생은 반말을 썼다. 그것이 괘씸한 재판장은 처음부터 눈에 쌍심지를 올렸다.

“이쪽에서 묻는 대로 대답해 ! 나이는?”

“무진생이오”

“무진생? 무신 소리고? 나이가 몇이냐 말이다?”

육갑법을 모르는 모양이다. 딱할 노릇이다.

“글씨(글쎄) 무진생이라고 하지 않았소”

(...) “메이지(明治) 몇 년에 났어?”

“명치가 아니요. 고종 오 년이요.”

오봉 선생은 내처 침착한 표정으로 우리 연호를 쓰며 , 고개를 들고 맞서 듯 했다.” (41)

- vi. “남자들 같으면 다른 일에 머리를 쓴다거나 술로써 한때의 시름을 잊기도 하겠지만, 가뜩이나 암전하기만 한 시어머니라 그저 한숨과 '나무아미타불'로만 세월을 보냈다.” (20)

- vii. “불도를 업신여기지 못하게 된 것은 임란 당시 왜병이 쳐들어왔을 때 소위 관군이란 것들은 지레 겁을 먹고 죄다 도망질들을 했었지만 , 사명 대사가

지휘한 승병들이 끝까지 싸워서 자기들의 고향땅을 지켜주었다는 이야기를 어른들로부터 들어왔기 때문이라 하였다."

4.1 Ambivalent Encounters: Kobayashi Masaru and the Spectre of Colonial Korea

- i. 朝鮮人たちは、もう日本人はみなれていた。遙かに昔、この山奥へ最初はカーキ一色の軍服を着た兵隊がやって来た、それは独立歩兵大隊だった、その附近を中心にしておこった暴動が兵隊の銃剣でつぶされてしまってから何年かたつた。すると警察がやってきた、商人がやって来た、銀行の支店がやってきた、金貸しがやってきた、裁判所がやってきた、学校の先生がやってきた。町の朝鮮人が日本語を覚えた、そして兵隊はもういらなくなつたので、居なくなつた。日本人はこうして、みなれてしまった。が、新品のフォードにのっているのは、鋭いカギ鼻と青い眼をもつたトルコ人の夫婦だった。いっそう驚いたことには、日本人とちがつてこのトルコ人は、愛想よく笑いながら手をふつた、彼等はそんな具合にして町へはいって来た。
- ii. 警察署長も自家用車をもつていなかつた、郡守のキムなにがしも、大地主の李はなにがしも持つていなかつた、ポプラの広大な林を邸内に持つてゐる高利貸しの石上なにがしも持つていなかつた、十八も部屋のある家を新築して人々の度胆をぬいた拓植銀行の坂本なにがしも持つていなかつた。ところで、このトルコ人だけが自家用車を持っていたのである。
- iii. 冬になってその煙突から、威勢よく煙が吐きだされると、そのドングリ山だけが、どこか遠い、西洋の国のように見えたのである。
- iv. 第一、トルコ人ってのは、宗教上はマホメット教、つまり回教徒に属しているんですよ、両角さんはゆっくり言った、彼は反応をたしかめるように上眼づかいに東京堂のおやじをじっと見つめた、朝鮮にはトルコ人のキリスト教宣教師なんぞいませんよ。アメリカ人、イギリス人、オーストラリヤ人などですがねえ。
- v. が、ぼくらは少女と遊ぼうとして、大変な障害にぶつかっていることに気付いた。ぼくらが日本語で喋ると彼女はキヨトンとした顔でぼくらの口もとをみつめているだけだった。
一きみはなんていう名前なの?
ぼくは二度くりかえして意味が通じないのですっかり悲観してしまつた。すると、その時、わきで立ちすくんでいた一人の子供が上手くそな日本語でいったのだった。
一ジエン、といいます。(これは聞き違ひだったかもしれない)
一お前になんか聞いてないよ!
とぼくは怒つて言った、朝鮮の子供はうなだれた、ところで、今度は彼女が何かしやべるのだが、ぼくらには一向わからないのだった。その時、急に、鋭い疑問がわき起つてきた。
一しゃあ、この子と朝鮮の子供たちは何語でしゃべつていたのだ?
一あたし、英語で話してみるわ、と姉が、重大決心したように言った (...).
一 How do you do?
姉の口から出てきたのはこんな単純なしろものだった。が、それも役に立たなかつたのである。
今度はぼくが、無茶くちやな朝鮮語でいってみた。
一君の家に自動車があるだろうか?(といったつもりだが、もちろんこれはぼくの主觀である) すると、ぼくの言葉が終るか終らぬかに、じつとぼくの口もと

をみつめていた少女の顔に笑いがみなぎった、そしていつも鮮やかに、こういつたのであります。

一チャドンチャ、イッソ！（自動車、あるわ）すると、そばでぼくらの会話のやりとりに耳をすませていた子供たちは、彼等の暗いオンドルの中に閉じこめられていた言葉が太陽の光の中にとび出して来たのをしって、にわかに生き生きとした笑いを顔に浮べながら側へよってきたのである。ところでぼくは朝鮮語で会話をはじめた以上、やりつけねばならなかつた、しかし、ぼくは、朝鮮語をろくに知らなかつた、そこで自分でも馬鹿氣ていると思われる質問をせざるを得なかつたのたつた。

(…)

その時、ぼくは、山の下の小っぽけな町の中でこそ朝鮮人を馬鹿にして暮らしているが、しかし、この山の中では、ぼくと姉とは、自動車と汽車という単語二つよりほかに何の居場所もない、遠い外国へ来てしまつたような気がしたのである。そしてその外国の主人公は三人の朝鮮の子供であり金髪のトルコ娘だった、

- vi. 一なに、畜生、トルコ人や日本人がいなくなつたって、みんな結構うまくやつてくれさ、
それは多分、眞実なのだ、そしてぼくの気付きようはあまりにも遅かったのだ。
vii. ぼくは眼をつぶる、すると、広々とした公園が浮びあがる。東京堂やニュー・イサハヤに人々がにぎやかに出入りしているのが見える、どこか遠いところで戦争が・・・ぼくは眼をあける、狭くるしい空地、人影のないガランとした、つぶれそうな家々、雲が重くたれこめた暗い空、そしてぼくの肩には、おやじから借りたベルギー製五連発猟銃さえのつかっていた。
viii. スンギーの眼はいっそう細くひきつり、もう疲労をあらわす皺が広いひたいに、うつすらと刻まれていた。彼女の胸は驚くほど薄くなっていた、何かがスンギーから青春を永久にうばい去つたことは事実だった、そして、その何かは、スンギーから青春をうばつただけではなかつた。
ix. (…)
眼のとどくところから先、遙か彼方の霞んでいる山脈のまだ向うに一父親の言葉によれば〈内地〉があり、彼の美しい故郷がある筈だった。郷里を語る父親の、山や川や人々の話に、五郎は絵本や雑誌から吸いとつた形や色を勝手に与えていった。で、父親の郷里の風物とは全く別のものが、自分の郷里として五郎の心の中に育くまれていった。
x. 日本内地への、特に東京への憧れが、今、何の前触れもなく、生きた姿をとつて立っているのだった……
xi. 彼はウメハラという時に、まき舌でラ音を二三度ころがした。それは九十九パーセントまで植民地で生まれた中学生の、お互に耳なれないまき舌だった。
(…)
東京の下町っ子が使うんだって。よくラジオの落語でやってるじゃないか。
xii. ……五郎は、心の中で呟き出していた。先生の頭は、いやに櫛目がはつきりしているな。あんなにごてごてポマードを塗りたくつてゐるからな。日本人の大人がどんどん坊主頭になって行くといふのに、あれではまるで、朝鮮人のモダンな青年と同じじやないか。あれだけポマードを塗つてゐるのに、まだうしろの髪が少しあつ立つてゐるっていうのも変だ。あれは頭の後ろが絶壁だからだ。赤ん坊の時から固い温突に寝かせられる朝鮮人にはああいう頭の恰好は多いんだ。や、笑つた……あの綺麗な真白な歯はどうだ。朝鮮人には丈夫な、白い歯を持っている者が多いけど、あれも日本人のように子供の時あんまりあまいものを食べられないからだ、それに、奴等は實にていねいに歯を磨くからな。歯

磨粉を買えない奴は塩で磨くからな。あ、喋っている……あのまき舌っていうのは、どうだろうかな。朝鮮語には、まいたような、しぶるような、或いはころがすよう難しい発音が多いからな、まき舌なんてやろうと思えばやさしいものにちがいない。

4.2 Multi-lingualism and imperial memory: Ha Kŭnch'an, Pak Sunnyo, Son Ch'angsöp, Chon Kwangyong

i. 「샌새이, 혼또데수까?」(선생님, 정말입니까?)

「나니가...?」(무엇이...?)

「혼또니 니혼니 가에리마수까?」(정말로 일본에 돌아갑니까?)

ii. 여름 방학이 오고, 그 방학이 철반을 넘어섰을 무렵, 엄청나고 놀라운 일이 일어났다. 해양이 된 것이었다. 해방이 무엇인지, 아이들은 그저 얼떨떨하기만 했다, 일본이 아메리카, 이기리스(영국)에게 쪘다는 바람에 겁을 집어먹고, 이제 곧 아메리카, 이기리스 병정들이 와서 사람들을 모조리 잡아 죽일 것이 아닌가, 벌벌 떠는 아이들이 대부분이었다. (...) 지금까지는 우리 나라가 일본놈들에게 먹혀 있었는데, 이제 그 일본놈들 속에서 풀려났으며, 미국과 영국은 우리나라를 일본으로부터 해방시켜 준 고마운 나라라는 것을 알게 되었다. 그리고 우리 나라는 곧 독립이 된다는 것도 알게 되었다. (...)

그러나 종대는 그게 아니었다. 물론 종대도 해방의 감격은 다른 아이들과 다를 바가 없었다. 삼십육년 동안 우리 나라가 일본놈들에게 먹혀 있었다는 사실을 알자, 그런데 그런 줄을 그렇게도 몰랐던가 싶으며, 어처구니가 없기도 했다. (...) 그러나 일인 선생은 이제 우리 선생이 아니라는 사실 앞에 종대는 주춤하지 않을 수 없었다. 다른 일인 선생들이야 우리 선생이 아니거나 말거나 알 바 아니지만, 아오야기 선생도 이제 우리 학교 선생이 아니라는 사실은 예사로운 일이 아니었다. (537-539)

iii. 문득 육발선생이 어조를 달리하여

“난 도무지 너일 믿을 수 없단 말야. 뭐랄까. 수진하다면 순진하다고도 할 수 있지만, 바보라고도 할 수 있지. 아니 너무 나 모른다. 결국 모르기 때문에 불상한거야. 넌 지금 일본사람이라는 것에 폭발적인 불신과 증오를 느끼게 된 모양이지만, 좀 더 들어가 보면, 우리 모든 사람이 피해자와 가해자로 나눠져 있는 거란다. 말하자면 일본사람만이 가해자가 아닌 것과 마찬가지로 조선사람만이 피해자랄 수 없어, 너는 알 수 없겠지만 나도 역시 피해자의 한 사람일 따름이야.”

나는 안타깝게 전신으로 아니, 아니 하면서 그의 말을 듣고 있었다. (...)

적십자에 몹시 구애하는 그에게도 하긴 더 할 말이 많았는지 모르겠지만, 나는 그보다 더 반발하고 싶은 말이 많았다. 피해자, 가해자라는 말을 이해못하는 것은 아니지만, 그럼 당신은 일본사람이 아니냐고 꼭 한마디 묻고만 싶었다.

- iv. 그러나 저기 육발 대신에 민선생이 서 있었다 해도, 네로에게 그런 인내의 순간이 있을 수 있었을까.
- v. “선생님은 어째서 조선에 오셨어요?”
 “명화같은 외국소녀를 보러 왔지.”
 “그런 말로 얼버무리지 말아요.”
 “왜?”
- 육발선생은 약간 웃었다. 그의 반문에 나는 몹시 가슴이 뛰았다. 그러면서도 뛰는 가슴과는 반대의 말로
 “외국소녀가 머디 있어요, 외국소녀가.”
 그럼 명화도 황국신민이 되고싶다는 말인가.”
- vi. 이러한 S고녀와 우리 학교와의 대조는 운동경기같은 데서도 잘 나타났다. 바레 볼에서 S고녀 선수들이 탄력있는 고온 음성으로 “워언, 투우, 라스트!”하고 날신한 품으로 뿔을 쳐 우리팀으로 보내 오면, 그 뿔에 우리 선수들은 군대식으로 “이찌, 니, 쌍! (하나, 둘, 셋)”하고 씩씩하게 반격을 가했으나, 그 뿔은 번번히 아웃이 되고 말았다. 투자과잉 때문인 모양이었다.
- vii. 우리에게 “아이 러브 유”를 선사한 양말도 신도 신지 못한 “뿌라운씨”的 발가락은, 여섯개가 아닌 분명 다섯이었다.
- viii. “요즘도 부산거리에서는 자주 ‘긴상이니 ‘복상’이니 하는 소리를 듣거니와, 그때마다 동주(東周)는 ‘우메보시’ 맛이 연상되어 입안이 시금떨떨해지며 굼침이 고여서 야단이었다.”
- ix. 그때 봉수(鳳洙)는 물어주기를 기다리고나 있었던 듯이, 도리어 춘자(春子)가 당황해할 정도로 장광설을 휘두르는 것이었다. 인간이란 시대의 추세에 민감하지 않아서는 안 된다는 것이다. 시대가 어떻게 움직이는가를 잘 보아가지고, 언제나 그 시대에 맞게 행동해야 된다는 것이다. 시대에 뒤떨어져서 허덕이거나, 시대의 중압에 눌려 벼둥거리지만 말고, 시대와 병행하며, 그 시대를 최대한으로 이용해야만 된다고 했다. 결국 인간이란 수하를 막론하고, 종국적인 목적은 돈 모으는 데 있다는 것이다. (...) 그리고 돈만 있을 말이면 양귀 비나, 삼천 궁녀라도 거느릴 수 있다는 것이다. (...) 그렇기 때문에 자기는 지금 영어 공부를 하고 있노라고 했다.
- x. 춘자(春子)는 결코 저의 나라 말을 쓰지 않았다. 반드시 발음이 어색한 국어만을 쓰는 것이다. 춘자(春子)는 그것이 한국 사람에게 대한 자기의 정성이라고 생각하고 있는 모양이었다. 그는 또어쩐 일인지 동주(東剛)를 ‘오빠’ ‘단신’ ‘선산님’으로 때에 따라 구별해 불렀다. 자기의 신세타령을 하거나 고향 이야기를 할 때에는 으레 ‘오빠’다. 밤에 잠자리에서나 그밖에 대개는

'단신'이라 불렀다. 어떤 문제에 대해서 의견을 물을 때는 정해놓고 '선산님은 오또케 생각하세요?' 했다."

- xi. "야 원식아, 별수없다. 왜정 때는 그래도 일본말이 출세를 하게 했고 이제는 노어가 또 판을 치지 않니. 고기가 물을 떠나서 살 수 없는 바에야 그 물 속에서 살 방도를 궁리해야지. 아물든 그 노서아말 꾸준히 해라."

(...)

"어디 코 큰 놈이라구 별것이겠니, 말 잘해서 진정이 통하기만 하면 그것들두 다 그렇지..."

(...)

"무슨 세상이 되던 할 대로 해봅시다."

- xii. 무엇을 생각했던지 그는 움찔 자리에서 일어났다. 그리고는 벽장문을 열었다. 안쪽에 손을 뻗쳐 액자틀을 끄집어내었다.

"国語常用의 家"

해방되던 날 떼어서 집어넣어 둔 것을 그 동안 깜박 잊고 있었다.

(...)

환자도 일본말 모르는 축은 거의 오는 일이 없었지만 대외관계는 물론 집 안에서도 일체 일본말만을 써왔다. 해방 뒤 부득이 써 오는 제 나라 말이 오히려 의사표현에 어색함을 느낄 만큼 그에게는 거리가 먼 것이었다."

- xiii. 벽 쪽 책꽂이에는 <이조실록>, <대동야승>등 한적이 빼곡이 차 있고 한쪽에는 고서의 질책이 가지런히 쌓여져 있다.

- xiv. (그럼, 어쩐단 말이야, 식민지 백성이 별 수 있었어. 날구دين들 소용이 있었느냐 말이야. 어느 놈은 일본 놈한테 아첨을 안했어. 주는 떡을 안 먹은 놈이 바보지. 흥, 다 그 놈이 그놈이었지.)

- xv. 이인국 박사는 지성이면 감천이라구, 나의 처세법은 유 에스 에이에도 통하는구나 하는 기고만장한 기분이었다.

- xvi. 이인국 박사는 워드카 잔을 신통한 안주도 없이 억지로라도 단숨에 들이켜야 속시원해 하던 스텐코프를 브라운 씨 얼굴에 겹쳐보고 있다.

- xvii. (흥, 그 사마귀같은 일본놈들 틈에서도 살았고, 닉싸귀같은 일본놈들을 틈에서도 살았고, 닉싸귀같은 로스케속에서도 살아났는데, 양키라고 다를까... 혁명이 일겠으면 일구, 나라가 바뀌겠으면 바꿔구, 아직 이 이인국의 살구멍은 막히지 않았다. 나보다 얼마든지 날뛰던 놈들도 있는데, 나쯤이야...)

4.3 "People are sometimes good and sometimes evil": Sōnu Hwi's *Muksi (Revelation, 1971)*

- i. 남달리 상황의 추이에 민감한 그가 전쟁 협력이 강요될 것을 미리 짐작하고 병어리 시늉을 하게 된 것이라는 이야기는 일제에 대한 저항의 욕구불만에

사로잡혀 있던 의식적인 지식층에게는 직성을 풀어주는 하나의 정량제 아닐 수 없었다.

- ii. -깨끗이 복수를 당했어, 보기 좋게 복수를 당했군, 용서가 없군-
- iii. 의사 없는 벽촌에 가서 치료를 하게 되면 저는 곧잘 환자에서 인간으로서의 아름다움을 발견하지요. 제 앞에 나타나는 사람들은 어쩌면 그렇게도 착하고 아름다울 수 있을까, 경탄할 수 밖에 없어요. 물론 약품을 도난당하는 수도 있어서 가슴이 철렁 내려앉을 때도 있긴 합니다만....."
- iv. 끝내 서낭은 말이란 게 별것이 아니라고 생각하게 되었을 뿐 아니라 어쩌면 말이란 영적인 인간교류의 방해물이 되는 것인지도 모른다고 생각하기에 이르렀다.
- v. 그런데 아내가 늦게 돌아온 탓으로 서낭이 그만 생각할 많은 시간을 갖게 된 것이 서낭이 입을 열게 되었는데도 병어리 노릇을 계속하게 한 까닭이라고 할까.

서낭은 자기가 이제 새삼스럽게 입을 여는데 무슨 뜻이 있을까 싶었다. 오랜 수화술의 습성으로 말미암아 이 가정이라는 울타리 안에서의 아내와 아들과의 의사소통이나 생활에는 아무런 지장이 없었다. 그토록 이제는 말이 필요치 않게 되어 있었다.

밖에 대한 그것도 별로 의미가 없어 보였다. 이제 내가 누구에게 무슨 말을 하랴! 게다가 너무나 말이 많아 그것이 탈이 된 세상에 이제 또 내 말까지 보탤 것은 없지 않은가? 자기가 입을 열어 얻을 것은 무엇이며 잃은 것은 무엇일까? 한 번은 스스로 버리고 한 번은 빼았겼던 말을 이제 되찾았다고 얼싸 좋아라, 다시 구사한다는 것은 우스꽝스러운 일이 아닐까. 희극이다! 그렇다, 오히려 그건 희극이다! 어쩌면 되찾아진 말을 거부하고 계속 침묵을 지키는 것이 자기에게서 말을 빼앗아간 그 무엇엔가에 대한 역습이 되지 않을까. 도대체 말이란 무엇인가?

Glossary

<i>chōnhu sedae</i>	Kr.	전후세대	"Post-war generation" Generation of Korean writers born around the 1920s, who commenced their literary activities after the Korean War (1950-1953)
<i>Chōsen mono</i>	Jp.	朝鮮物	"Korea stories" Kajiyama Toshiyuki's short fiction on colonial Korea.
<i>hangŭl</i>	Kr.	한글	The Korean native script.
<i>hammun</i>	Kr.	한문	Classical Chinese
<i>hikiagesha</i>	Jp.	引揚者	Japanese repatriates from the country's colonial possessions after Japan's defeat in 1945.
<i>ianfu</i>	Jp.	慰安婦	"Comfort women"
<i>wianbu</i>	Kr.	위안부	Women forced into sexual slavery in Japanese military brothels during WWII.
<i>keigo</i>	Jp.	敬語	Japanese honorifics.
<i>kisaeng</i>	Kr.	기생	Korean female entertainers.
<i>kugō</i>	Kr.	국어	"National language" The Korean word for the Korean language.
<i>minzoku</i>	Jp.	民族	"Ethno-nation"
<i>minjok</i>	Kr.	민족	A term with slightly broader connotations than the English "nation", usually meant to designate not only political but also ethnic and cultural unity.
<i>naichi-gaichi</i>	Jp.	内地・外地	"Inner territories" and "outer territories" Terms used to designate Japan and the colonial possessions during the period of the Japanese empire.
<i>naisen ittai</i>	Jp.	内鮮一体	"Japan and Korea as one body"
<i>naesōn ilch'e</i>	Kr.	내선일체	Propagandistic slogan which served to integrate Korea into the Japanese empire and eradicate Korean cultural identity.
<i>ōmōni</i>	Kr.	어머니	"Mother"
<i>tanpen shōsetsu</i>	Jp.	短編小説	Short fiction, often, in my view inaccurately, translated as "short story".
<i>tamp'yōn sosōl</i>	Kr.	단편소설	
<i>tennō</i>	Jp.	天皇	The term for the Japanese emperor.
<i>wöllam chakka</i>	Kr.	월남작가	"Writer who came south" Designation for authors who came from northern Korea but who settled in South Korea after the partition of the peninsula.
<i>yangban</i>	Kr.	양반	Korean aristocrats during the Chosōn period (1392-1897).
<i>zainichi Chōsen, Kankokujin</i>	Jp.	在日朝鮮・韓国人	"Resident North and South Koreans" Members of the Korean minority who live permanently in Japan.