

Fragmenting History: Prostitutes, Hostesses, and Actresses
at the Edge of Empire

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A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2014

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
Department of Comparative Literature

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ABSTRACT

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By exploring various figures of gendered and sexualized female workers, such as street prostitutes, hostesses, comfort women, teachers, idols, and actresses, this dissertation reveals that women's bodies were highly contested territories of knowledge in the Japanese Empire. Their bodies were sites of political struggle where racial, national, and class differences met, competed, and complicated one another. The dissertation elucidates the processes by which those women's bodies became integral parts of Empire building during the imperial period (1894-1945), suggesting that its colonial and imperial legacies are still active even today. Unlike some preceding works on Japanese colonial

literature have shown, many of these figures fall away from normative discourses of the trope of family contributing to Empire building. In other words, theirs is a politics of the perverse. With careful attention to intersections of race, sex, class, and affect, the dissertation contributes to the study of Japanese Empire, which tends to focus on men and avoids subtle readings of women's bodies.

Chapter one, "'Genuinely' Japanese and 'Falsely' Japanese in Hayashi Kyôko's 'Yellow Sand,'" unpacks race-based Japanese nationalism by closely analyzing the tension between a Japanese street prostitute and middle-class Japanese mothers in Shanghai at the onset of the second Sino-Japanese War. Chapter two, "Resistance and Protest by Diasporic Korean Women: Lee Yang-ji and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha," metaphorically places Lee and Cha into dialogue, revealing that Korean women's bodies are political battlefields. Chapter three, "More as a Critic than as a Participant of the Empire: 'Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923,'" analyzes how the ideological structure of the Japanese Empire regulates, fixes, and generates everyday life in colonial Korea, arguing that Nakajima Atsushi's insight both implicitly and explicitly stood against the Japanese Empire's totalitarian ambitions. The chapter demonstrates the similarity of Nakajima's major and minor works, revealed in the rhetorical choices he makes and his ethical orientation toward others. Chapter four, "I Perform, therefore I am not: Ri Kôran's Building of the Empire," focuses on the film *Suzhou Nights* (1941) and elucidates the working dynamics of Japanese language education, bio-power, (carefully avoided) inter-

racial marriage, and (implicitly avoided) inter-racial reproduction. The chapter argues that the film approximates the Nazi's contemporaneous idea of racial purity. A translation of Ri Kôran's speech on comfort women as a feminist activist appears in an appendix. The speech was published at the turn of the millennium.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Dedication.....	v
Introduction	1
Chapter One	
“Genuinely” Japanese and “Falsely” Japanese in Hayashi Kyôko’s “Yellow Sand” (1977).....	7
I. Situating Hayashi Kyôko	
II. A Japanese Street Prostitute in 1930s Shanghai as “National Shame”	
III. Outside Within: Okiyo-san as a “Disgrace to our Nation”	
IV. The Eccentric and Ironic Manifestation of National Pride	
V. “Nihonjin no kuse ni” (Despite Being Japanese)	
VI. A Fictive <i>a priori</i> Racial Homogeneity	
VII. Hakata-woven Undersash	
Chapter Two	
Resistance and Protest by Diasporic Korean Women: Lee Yang-ji and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha.....	27
I. Lee Yang-ji as a Zainichi Korean Woman Writer	
II. Methodology	
III. Overview of <i>Kazukime</i>	
IV. Body as a Battlefield	
V. Anal Intercourse as Non-Exploitative	
VI. Mt. Fuji and Jeju-do	
VII. Diasporic Korean Women	
VIII. Subject-Formation via Language, Labor, and Affective Mood	
Chapter Three	
More as a Critic than as a Participant of the Empire: “Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923” (1929) by Nakajima Atsushi.....	67
I. Situating Nakajima Atsushi	
II. Colonial Experiences	

- III. “You are also Korean, are you not?”
- IV. Eloquent Silence when Writing is Compromised
- V. Difficulty or Impossibility of Having a Korean Identity
- VI. Nakajima in a Larger Context
- VII. Proximity between the Canon and Colonial Works

Chapter Four

I Perform, therefore I am not: Ri Kôran’s Building of the Empire.....102

- I. Who is Ri Kôran?
- II. Manchukuo’s Mottos and Man’ei
- III. Manchukuo: an Arty Ideological Devise
- IV. Ri Kôran and her Performances
- V. Peculiarity of *Suzhou Nights*
- VI. Implications of Languages: Japanese, Chinese, and German
- VII. Popular Music and the Empire
- VIII. Biopower
- IX. Inscribed Rising Sun (*hinomaru*) in Japanese Education
- X. An Encouraged Intra-racial Marriage and an Avoided Inter-racial Reproduction

Appendix I

“My Thought” by Ôtaka Yoshiko.....138

Appendix II

A Timeline of Japanese Imperialism.....141

Coda146

Notes to Chapter One150

Note to Chapter Two.....156

Notes to Chapter Three.....170

Notes to Chapter Four.....177

Bibliography.....190

Vita.....199

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation and sincere gratitude to my advisor and mentor, Professor Edward Mack. Without his intellectual gifts, profound patience, confidence in me, and easy going personality, this dissertation would not have come into being. Under the direction of Professor Mack, I have had the best mentoring possible. He spent countless hours advising, proofreading and encouraging me. He has been a careful and meticulous critic and pushed my thinking farther than I imagined possible. For all these, I am eternally grateful.

I would also like to acknowledge the generous support, wisdom, and kindness of my committee members: Professor Yomi Braester, Professor Chandan Reddy, Professor Vicente Rafael, and Professor Stephen Sumida. They formed the most excellent team. Without their various talents and collaborative effort, this cross-disciplinary dissertation would have never come into life. I am greatly indebted to all my committee members.

I would like to express my special thanks to Professor Francisco “Kiko” Benitez, Professor Brett de Bary, Professor Shirley Samuels, Professor Cynthia Steele, Professor Jennifer Bean, Professor Davinder Bhowmik, Professor Iwasaki Minoru, and Professor Uemura Tadao. I owe a special thanks to Professor Kôno Kensuke, Professor Kawamura Minato, Professor Ko Youngran, Professor Odaira Maiko, and Professor Hibi Yoshitaka, who offered exciting seminars on modern Japanese literature here in Seattle as Visiting Japanese Scholars at the University of Washington. Thank you so much, Professor Tsuboi Hideto, Professor Ichyanagi Hirota, Professor Satô Izumi, and Professor Gomibuchi Noritsugu for patiently listening to me and giving me productive and creative feedback on my project.

Professor Alys Weinbaum, I cannot thank you enough for your contribution to this dissertation: two chapters emerged from your seminars. Thank you, Professor Ishihara Shun for sharing your provocative ideas on the Pacific. Thank you, my “sempai” at Uemura-zemi and my long-time friend, Professor Odawara Rin. I am indebted to Professor Kondô Takeo and Professor Hanada Masanori. The former as being a scholar in special needs education, the latter as a theoretical physicist; yet, I truly enjoyed conversations with them, which inspired my project in unique ways. All these aforementioned distinguished scholars had a profound impact on my work and helped me grow as a scholar.

I have had many fabulous friends who supported me at various stages of my personal and intellectual trajectory. I will name only some of them but my gratitude is extended to

their surrounding communities as well: Amal Equeiq, Chong Eun Ahn, Hanawa Yukiko, Sunching Wang, Sarah Clayton, Igarashi Kaori, Alan Williams, Nancy Morisseau, and Danny Lin. For the greatest mom-daughter friends in Seattle, Wendy Minick Heipt, Kelly Jo MacArthur, and Anne Schopf, you all played major roles for me balance my work and private life. For Japanese mama friends, Ann Yasuko Rubin, Nishizawa Yûko, Lizanne Maeda, and Orië Forrester, "dômo arigatô!" What precious moments we spent together! Mera Yûko, our department secretary, I appreciate your calmness and sanity. Representing my students, thanks, Derek Albietz. Thank you, Sean Coffelt, for always fixing my computer problems.

I owe a special thanks to Mr. Thomas Deardorff, Coordinator for Access Services, at the University of Washington Libraries for guiding me through copyright issues.

It is simply impossible to name everyone who supported me. Please pardon me for naming only a small number of mentors, colleagues, and friends in this limited space. Finally, I would love to express my genuine gratitude once again to those who are named and unnamed for their elegant generosity, empathy, and compassion.

Dedication

To my parents, grandparents, sisters, daughter, relatives and ancestors, especially Ishitate and Oku(no)miya clans from Kochi, former Tosa-han. My heartfelt dedication to two individuals from the clans who died as victims of "Taigyaku jiken" and "Chian'ijihô." Very special dedication to my best friend and grandfather, Ishitate Matsuo, who taught me a sense of justice and injustice, as well as to my great uncle, Okumiya Masatake, who continued to send us books every time he published and taught me the importance of tenaciously writing.

Introduction

My dissertation, *Fragmenting History: Prostitutes, Hostesses, and Actresses at the Edge of Empire* disrupts, complicates, and redefines the genre called Japanese literature (*kokubungaku*) and thereby opens up a new intellectual horizon, while simultaneously shedding new light on intra-Asian studies. This research examines literature and films produced by both Japanese and their former colonial subjects in the inter-and post-war periods. The research actively places texts in dialogue with various disciplines, including gender and sexuality studies, colonial and postcolonial studies, critical race studies, and affect theories. This project examines the ways in which a number of writers and actors negotiated their works and lives with the totalitarian Japanese Empire. In so doing, my research foregrounds their subject formations and conditions for ethical praxis.

Crossing disciplinary boundaries, *Fragmenting History* challenges the underlying episteme of modern Japanese literary studies, which all too often examines literary works within a closed framework of Japanese national literature (*kokubungaku*). This kind of established scholarly approach inevitably precludes specific historical implications, colonial violence, and discursive knowledge production within texts.

Chapter one unfolds race-based Japanese nationalism through a close reading of “Yellow Sand” (1977) written by Hayashi Kyôko. Using ideas drawn from Étienne Balibar but doing so with a greater sensitivity to gender and sexuality, this chapter examines the

ways in which an unwanted figure of the other is needed for nation formation within the Japanese community in Shanghai at the onset of second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). The chapter brings into relief the dialectical processes through which a Japanese prostitute in Shanghai enables the coherence of a (fictive) Japanese national subject for the community. The chapter is based on the thesis that the nation, the atomic bomb, and nuclear power are inseparable categories in Hayashi, herself a victim and a survivor of the atomic bombing in Nagasaki in 1945, and therefore that her series of atomic bomb-related works ought to be reread for a critical insight into the dynamics of nation formation and the sentiments of national belonging.

Chapter two explores how two diasporic Korean women resisted and protested the Japanese Empire and its colonial legacies. This chapter metaphorically places the Zainichi Korean Akutagawa Award-winning writer Lee Yang-ji and the Korean American writer / artist Theresa Hak Kyung Cha into dialogue. These Korean women were born in the 1950s and were both still in their thirties when they died suddenly. Even though Cha and Lee, near-cotemporaries who were both ethnically Korean women, never met or personally knew the other, their works share the same social concern for Korean colonial legacies of the Japanese Empire on Korean subjects. In analyzing Lee's novella, *Kazukime*, the chapter illuminates the way in which a protesting subject emerges, by employing and rewriting three key theoretical frameworks: Judith Butler's "passionate complicity with the law,"

Raymond William's notion of "the residual," and Gayle Rubin's analysis of "the economy of sex."

The section on Cha explores how the excessiveness inherent in labor creates a space for resistance that the Japanese authority cannot tame or control, by analyzing Cha's Korean mother, who served as a teacher at a Japanese school in Manchukuo, as described in *Dictée*. Together, these sections reveal how these ethnically Korean women address the affect shared by Korean diasporic communities in Japan, Manchukuo, China, and the United States. In sum the chapter shows how Korean women's bodies function as sites of political struggle.

Chapter three argues how the ideological structure of the Japanese Empire regulates, fixes, and generates everyday life in colonial Korea. Specifically, the chapter closely examines Nakajima Atsushi's early work, "Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923" (1929), in relation not only to his canonical works, such as *Sangetsuki*, but also to his experience in the archipelago of Palau, to which he was sent by the Japanese Empire. The chapter attempts to destabilize the widely accepted image of Nakajima Atsushi, whose work has been domesticated under the rubric of *kokubungaku*, particularly through the adoption of his writings into textbooks. I argue that Nakajima's insight both implicitly and explicitly stood against the Japanese Empire's totalitarian ambitions. Finally, the chapter elucidates the proximity of Nakajima's major and minor works, revealed in the rhetorical choices he makes and his ethical orientation toward others.

Chapter four explores the role that popular culture played in establishing and disseminating an ideal notion of the Japanese Empire, with a special focus on the role of the wartime idol, singer, and actress Ri Kôran / Yamaguchi Yoshiko (1920-). The chapter also points out how her colonial legacy continues to be reproduced and disseminated not only by contemporary Japanese popular singers and idols, but also by Taiwanese and Zainichi Korean musicians.

The central focus of the chapter is the film *Suzhou Nights* (*Soshû no yoru*, 1941), which was a collaborative production by Man'ei and Shôchiku. At first glance, the film appears to be one of Ri Kôran's familiar B-class melodramas in which a Chinese woman with strong anti-Japanese sentiments overcomes those feelings by recognizing the "genuine" benevolence of one Japanese man. Falling in love with him, she develops pro-Japanese feelings that support dreams of the Japanese Empire. I argue that what makes *Suzhou Nights* singular is that it concerns itself not only with the theme of modernity versus pre-modernity, but also with the roles of Japanese language education, bio-power, (carefully-avoided) inter-racial marriage, and (implicitly avoided) inter-racial reproduction. The chapter argues that the film implicitly approximates the Nazi's idea of racial purity at that time.

Additionally, in an appendix, I include a translation of Yamaguchi Yoshiko's speech on comfort women. In the speech, she employs the name Ôtaka Yoshiko, which she acquired after her second marriage. The speech explains the ways in which she

encountered and disclosed herself to others. Namely, she came to form an ethical relationship with a former Korean comfort woman as a feminist activist by serving for the Asian Women's Fund (Ajia Josei Kikin). This suggests that her current activism disturbs the ideologies that she actively propagated as an actress in inter-war period films, which were animated by a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural fantasy of the Japanese Empire. In other words, her feminist activism operates as a dislocation of the Japanese Empire.

Recent feminist scholarship on modern Japanese literature has intervened effectively into knowledge about literary texts, which has been dominated by men. Much of this scholarship, however, still remains within the framework of Japanese national literature, which might foreclose critical insight into Japanese colonial history. Similarly, in cutting-edge scholarly work on Japanese imperialism, nationalism, and colonialism, critiques of gender and sexuality tend to be absent. Thus, *Framing History* actively places Japanese literary texts in a dialogue with various disciplines.

Framing History also explores how conditions of ethics might emerge when one encounters the "other" in conditions already embedded in and saturated with colonial, imperial, national, racial and sexual violence. My arguments are predicated on the thesis that dominant discursive formations are dynamic, unstable, and contradictory, and because of this very nature, the logic of domination seeks to stabilize itself, which ironically allows counter-hegemonic conditions to be produced simultaneously. My dissertation closely examines such contradictory junctures, where narratives of sex,

gender, race, class, and national differences meet, complicate, and interrupt one another, allowing narratives of Empire to be rearticulated from within. In such junctures, *Fragmenting History* endeavors to capture emergent moments of ethical praxis.

In *Fragmenting History*, each chapter closely examines various forms of sex workers, such as street prostitutes (Chapter One, Two, and Three), women entertainers (Chapter One), hostesses (Chapter One and Three), and comfort women (Chapter One and the Appendix). The boundaries of these categories are not clear-cut. I argue marginalized women's bodies such as these cut through the grand narratives of Japanese History (*seishi*), disrupting the continuous and linear temporality within such narratives seem to be trapped. In so doing, *Fragmenting History* illuminates the discontinuous, contradictory, and multiple temporalities inherent in that History. I argue that literature contains the creative potential to intervene effectively into the historical imaginaries that we dwell on, as well as the historical present that we dwell in. Literature fragments the linear temporality of History. Above all, what lies at the heart of *Fragmenting History* is a consideration and concern for those who have been silenced in the grand narratives of the Japanese National History: the poor, the deprived, and the destitute.

Chapter

One

“Genuinely” Japanese and “Falsely” Japanese in Hayashi Kyôko’s “Yellow Sand” (1977)

The sensibilities of the abandoned are not simple; behind them another world comes into being. There arises a determination, in reaction to the reality of having been abandoned by the nation. This determination to abandon the state grows, more firmly rooted even than the desire to flee the state and become a cosmopolitan.

Morisaki Kazue, *Izoku no genki*¹

Situating Hayashi Kyôko

The works of Hayashi Kyôko (1930-), a victim of the atomic bombing in Nagasaki, have often been discussed vis-à-vis the categories of “atomic-bomb literature” or “nuclear literature.”² Despite the richness of scholarly works on atomic-bomb or nuclear literature, the theme of nation that Hayashi vividly captures in her writings has been explored only to a limited extent, and has not yet been fully theorized.³ I argue that the issues of the atomic bomb and nuclear power in Hayashi have to be examined carefully alongside problematics inherent in nation and its nationalisms. The nation, the atomic bomb, and

nuclear power are inseparable categories in Hayashi's works. As a matter of fact, Hayashi participated in a protest, held at the Yoyogi Park in Tokyo on July 16th 2012, against the Japanese government for its unethical and irresponsible treatment of the explosion of Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant in 2011, which followed the tsunami disaster of the same year. This section theorizes the process of nation formation that Hayashi's writing eloquently and critically addresses.⁴

In an autobiographical short story titled "Yellow Sand" (1977), Hayashi delineates a powerfully operative race-based Japanese nationalism within the wartime Japanese community in Shanghai, where she lived for most of her first fourteen years. Hayashi describes Shanghai during that time as follows: "In Shanghai, there were many individuals who lived the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere as an ideal on the level of everyday people" (*shomin reberu no daitôakyôei o risô toshite ikita kojîn ga Shanhai niwa takusan ita*).⁵ In the story, she depicts the racial tension within this Japanese community just prior to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937, which contributed to the onset of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). The issue of the nation is at the heart of Hayashi Kyôko's life and work, as suggested in following statement in 1978 when she turned down a literary award offered her by the Japanese government, (*monbudaijin geijutsu senshō*): "As a victim of the atomic bomb, I cannot accept this honor from the Japanese nation-state."⁶ As this statement suggests, it is important to connect an analysis of nation in Hayashi's work with that of the work as atomic-bomb or nuclear literature.

Let me first explain the background of "Yellow Sand." It was first published in 1977 in *Gunzô*, a monthly Japanese literary journal put out by the Tokyo-based publishing company Kôdansha. An English translation by Kyôko Selden appears in *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth-Century Short Fiction* (1991). In her editorial note, Selden suggests that "Yellow Sand" holds "a special place" for Hayashi because it focuses on her own experiences in Shanghai.⁷ Selden argues that Hayashi "views her experiences in China as what contributed to the shaping of her mind. What Hayashi saw as a schoolgirl there, too, was part of her experience as a whole."⁸ Selden sheds a critical light on Hayashi's past experiences in Shanghai in order to understand her entire literary career, rather than merely reducing her to an atomic bomb writer. Having set this background for understanding "Yellow Sand," I will first summarize the story.

A Japanese Street Prostitute in 1930s Shanghai as "National Shame"

In the story, a narrator, standing in the midst of yellow sand blown from China, recalls her girlhood days in Shanghai back in the year 1937. The sand, carried on the wind over the sea separating Japan and China, works on her memory to evoke those old days, especially her memories of a Japanese street prostitute, Okiyo-san. The narrator was only seven years old when she first met the prostitute. It was around the time when the Chinese and Japanese armies clashed near the Marco Polo Bridge, igniting the second

Sino-Japanese war. While Japanese hostesses / women entertainers provided sexual services exclusively to Japanese men in establishments disguised as restaurants, *ryôtei*, Okiyo-san openly worked as a street prostitute in Shanghai.⁹ The Japanese hostesses were clearly demarcated into either Army or Navy categories in terms of clients, but Okiyo-san slept with Chinese coolies. Okiyo-san's body, in this sense, disturbed the boundaries of national and class difference.

The young narrator once witnessed Okiyo-san's having sex with a Chinese coolie, surrounded by other fellow coolies. Okiyo-san was then clad in a Chinese dress slit up the thigh. She was wearing satin Chinese shoes on bare feet. Contrary to her appearance, Japanese women at that time were forbidden to go outside without covering up their skin. Women even wore *yukata* and *tabi* together when they went outside.¹⁰ The theory behind this odd combination was that Japanese women's skin should not be exposed to foreigners' eyes: this is how they protected their Japanese national pride. Thus, the Japanese community in Shanghai called Okiyo-san a disgrace to their nation, as revealed in the narrator's mother's derogatory remark: "How dare she act like that? It is a national shame."



Figure 1-1: Japanese Concession in Shanghai in 1930s.¹¹



Figure 1-2: Coolies in Shanghai.¹²

One day, when everyone living in Shanghai had to receive immunizations for cholera, regardless of nationality, Okiyo-san was the only Japanese who received a shot

on the street, having lined up with a crowd of Chinese. She was also wearing the same Chinese dress as the one that she had worn on the day she had sex publicly with the Chinese coolie. This marks a clear contrast to other Japanese who received the shot at protected locations, such as hospitals or community organizations. Those shots were designed only for Japanese nationals. Okiyo-san was shunned from these everyday practices in the Japanese community.

Feeling empathy for Okiyo-san, the young narrator waited for her turn to receive a shot. After the shot the two took a walk together. During the walk, Okiyo-san shared her dream of returning to Japan with the narrator, by imagining an impossible plan in which she would return by jumping onto a tiny boat. The boat was not large enough to sail safely back to Japan. The narrator interpreted this as an intentional erasure of her nostalgia for Japan, her homeland, in Okiyo's act of imagining the impossible. Spending some time together, they started to nurture a special tie. No one in the Japanese community could understand the tie. Subsequently, someone from the community informed the narrator's mother of their intimacy. Her mother warned her daughter that she might also become a delinquent.

One day the narrator happened to see Okiyo-san from the yard. Noticing the narrator, Okiyo-san promised that she would give her biscuits coated with sugar crystals if the narrator would visit her later that day. Even though it was a time when Japanese children were not allowed to go outside, due to intensifying anti-Japanese activities, the

narrator visited Okiyo-san nonetheless. Upon arriving at Okiyo-san's house, where she was living with Russian prostitutes, the narrator found her hanging from the ceiling by her favorite "Hakata-woven undersash." Okiyo-san was about to be removed from her house by a cleaning car that collected corpses of human babies, sick people, garbage, dead cats and dogs on the streets. The narrator's family left Shanghai for Japan after Okiyo-san's sudden death.



Figure 1-3: Japanese Empire as of 1939 ¹³

Outside Within: Okiyo-san as a “Disgrace to our Nation”

This section examines the race-based Japanese nationalism in Shanghai that Hayashi delineates in “Yellow Sand” operating under the assumption that racism, sexism, and classism are inseparable categories in forming Japanese nationalism. This methodological approach will reveal the complexities inherent in the nationalism. As a theoretical framework, I will explore the issues of nation brought to light by Étienne Balibar. Although Balibar’s theory in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* concerns mainly contemporary France, his contribution also echoes dominant discourses of early 20th-century imperial Japan. This is because he focuses on the working dynamics of race in nationalist thoughts, which is also operative in “Yellow Sand,” as I will argue below.

Let me first unfold Balibar’s concept of nation. According to Balibar, exclusionary but necessary forces related to race operate in forming a nation.¹⁴ In other words, he examines how otherness is needed for exclusion in the process of nation formation. In conjunction with Balibar in exploring “Yellow Sand,” the implicit and explicit assumptions related to race to enable my arguments are as follows: 1) Chinese are racialized by and for Japanese as racial others; 2) Even though both Chinese and Japanese are categorized as East Asians, Japanese place themselves in a higher position than Chinese in a racial hierarchy; and 3) These racializing forces also permeated the Japanese community in Shanghai.

Let me raise theoretical questions that concern "Yellow Sand" *vis-à-vis* Balibar's insight. He explains how race and class articulate nation; however, he does not fully elaborate on the dynamics by which sex and gender also contribute to forming the nation. His account on sex and gender is not yet sufficient to understand Hayashi, who portrays how sex and gender animate each other in forming Japanese nationalism. Furthermore, when I say sex and gender, I am pointing to the bodily and social inextricability of the two. I will thus analyze Hayashi's work by gendering Balibar's conceptualization of nation formation, since Hayashi captures processes in which both sex and gender play crucial parts in articulating nation.¹⁵ In other words, I will build on and modify Balibar's theory by gendering it.

My analysis emerges through the following line of questioning: How does racism as an analytic category account for nationalism? How do Japanese populations in Shanghai produce and reproduce themselves as "genuinely" or "falsely" Japanese in their daily practices? If we explore race with the assumption that race should be understood as "fictive," as Balibar claims, how does racism produce race, and not the other way around, within the Japanese community in Shanghai? How does a Japanese prostitute, Okiyo-san, as a deviant within the community, play an important role in the formation of Japanese nationalism? How is she differentiated from other disciplined Japanese prostitutes, aka hostesses, in Shanghai, who work for Japanese male clients and are supported by the Japanese Empire? How is Okiyo-san racialized in her cultural and social associations and

bodily interactions with Chinese? How does she operate as an absolute target that enables a belief in the fictive coherency of Japanese subjects? How does her body disrupt but reinforce the unity of the Japanese community?

The Japanese government supported the migration of Japanese citizenry to foreign lands; in this sense, Japanese bodies became extensions of the Japanese Empire. Thus, Okiyo-san's sexual acts become violent aggression against the ideal national body. However, Okiyo-san also functions as a deviant body that enables Japanese populations in Shanghai to envision and produce themselves as dominant nationals in opposition to her. The narrator writes:

"Shame on her," the narrator's mother said angrily. "Isn't she a Japanese?—exposing herself in front of people; she is a disgrace to our nation." Then she told me that that kind of woman should be forcibly sent home.... This was the feeling shared among the Japanese adults in town toward Okiyo-san. When living in a foreign county, one tends to feel that each person represents his or her own home country. Since at that time national prestige was so important that the Japanese residents were strongly self-conscious as Japanese. Women were even forbidden to go out without socks or stockings. It was thought that Japanese women's skin should not be exposed to foreigners' eyes. Mothers wore *tabi* even when they went out in *yukata*. Beggars, robbers, and even the poor were a disgrace to the nation and could be repatriated. This severity was not limited to Japanese attitudes toward foreigners. The Japanese observed each other with an even more

severe eye. Such words as 'traitor to our nation' and 'repatriation' often characterized their conversation.¹⁶

As suggested above, the middle-class Japanese women constantly reproduce themselves as "genuinely" Japanese by detaching themselves from shameful acts such as those embodied and manifested in Okiyo-san. They activate this "genuine" status by joining gossip circles with other Japanese women, in which they empower and legitimize their shared views. In other words, gossip circulates by constantly defining what constitutes a "disgrace to our nation." The gossip figuratively weaves narratives of their daily practices of how to dress, with whom Japanese women should have sex, or how they should not have sex. Therefore, the promiscuity that Okiyo-san practices violates Japanese national pride.

The women thus form their sense of belonging to the Japanese community in Shanghai. The everyday practices fictively enable them to produce a coherent narrative of genuine Japanese status. Okiyo-san, on the contrary, ignores and boycotts codes observed and reinforced by other Japanese women. She is, as a result, articulated as falsely Japanese. She becomes an unwanted but necessary absolute target against which the Japanese population in Shanghai reproduces itself as made up of ideally homogenous nationals.

The Eccentric and Ironic Manifestation of National Pride

Nevertheless, those middle-class gossiping women can also paradoxically achieve national pride by transgressing a cultural code as suggested in a description of dressing themselves up with an odd combination of *yukata* and *tabi*. *Yukata* are casual and light cotton robes made of a piece of cloth with two wide sleeves, while *tabi* are sock-like foot coverings with a separation between the big toe and other toes that often comes with a thick padded sole. As a cultural code, wearing *tabi* in combination with *yukata* is not considered proper. The combination of these two can be deemed as unrefined, unsophisticated, or uncouth. Nevertheless, saving national pride is so important that the Japanese women in Shanghai wear *yukata* and *tabi* together, running the risk of violating the proper code. They prioritize the national prestige that can be achieved by concealing bare skin from the eyes of foreigners. Thus, this eccentric combination of *tabi* and *yukata* becomes an ironic manifestation of the Japanese national pride.

“Nihonjin no kuse ni” (Despite Being Japanese)

Interactions between Okiyo-san and other Japanese women in Shanghai reveal how the notion of Japanese nation is ideologically structured. This ideological structure parallels Balibar’s logic that the nation emerges as having “a continuous origin of the

nation, a concentrate of the qualities which belong to the nationals 'as their own'; it is in the 'race of its children' that the nation could contemplate its own identity in a pure state."¹⁷ In other words, the nation comes into being as appealing to a single origin by projecting its pure kinship on each member. Each member in the nation participates in shaping a genealogical whole.

Race and purity play inseparable parts in the conceptualization of nation in the context of "Yellow Sand." The sense of purity purges Okiyo-san as an undesired element from the ideal of the Japanese community. In doing so, the Japanese continue to form an ideal Japanese race that distinguishes itself from other races.¹⁸ The status of Okiyo-san as "pure" Japanese is in question as represented in the derogatory rhetorical question from the narrator's mother: "Isn't she Japanese? It is a national shame." (*"Nihonjin no kuse ni kokujoku mono dawa"*).¹⁹ Additionally, a national sentiment regarding its pure origin is implicitly manifested in the usage of the conjunctive particle "*kuse ni*." The conjunctive particle, "*kuse ni*" implies attack, blame, or severe criticism, when someone acts in a way in which it counters intuitions, logic, or a common sense shared within a certain community. What is suggested in the comment above is that Okiyo-san defies what the mother believes to be "true" in light of intuitions, logic, and common sense in the Shanghai Japanese community to which she belongs.

This animates the fact that Okiyo-san departs from and unsettles the common code shared by the Japanese women's community. Hayashi also portrays a disciplinary

gaze practiced by the Japanese women over Okiyo-san's body. The women attempt to achieve control over her by observing her with a normative judgmental gaze. The judgment is hierarchical. Her body is deviant enough for correction. Okiyo-san continues to fail to reach required and shared standards and norms. Thus, the way in which the Japanese women shame and exclude her body suggests a constant yearning for an untainted pure origin as a "true" Japanese woman.

Balibar's theory indeed might as well be describing the Japanese community's slogan against Okiyo-san: "it is around race that [the nation] must unite" and he continues that race is the "inheritance" that has "to be preserved against any kind of degradation."²⁰ Marked as a "national shame," Okiyo-san is articulated as a "degradation" against which the Japanese community produces not only its own race but also its nation in metropolitan Shanghai.²¹ The Japanese community unites against the degradation manifested in her. The exclusion, therefore, works not only externally against foreigners but also internally against Japanese themselves.

As suggested above, in order to maintain the integrity of the nation as a pure entity, the Japanese nationals exercise internal exclusion against Okiyo-san while exercising external exclusion against foreigners (*ikokujin*). The Japanese population needs Okiyo-san for their own production of a "fictively coherent" Japanese race. The Japanese need her as a "traitor to our nation" (*kokuzoku*) or "disgrace to our nation" (*kokujoku*).²² The Japanese are accordingly able to identify Okiyo-san as "falsely" Japanese while

legitimizing themselves as “genuinely” Japanese. In other words, they produce themselves as “genuine” through differentiation of their bodies from her, the deviant street prostitute. Internal exclusion operates as a crucial constitutive condition for Japanese nationalism to emerge.

A Fictive *a priori* Racial Homogeneity

Okiyo-san’s sexual activities articulate both race and class in a way in which she indiscriminately sells her body as a street prostitute to any man, regardless of race or class.²³ Her body disturbs such boundaries. Her body is a receptacle that accepts the bodies of Chinese coolies, while other Japanese women entertainers avoid physical contact with men of other races. I would also argue these women entertainers at *ryôtei* are disciplined prostitutes because they are Japanese comfort women, sponsored, protected, and governed by the Japanese Empire. The fact that they are disciplined prostitutes also suggests that even such Japanese sex workers differentiate themselves from Okiyo-san by serving exclusively Japanese men. Okiyo-san’s social status is thus even lower than other Japanese sex workers, who are themselves situated in a lower class within Japanese society. In addition to that, Okiyo-san’s residence is isolated. She lives in a house with Russian prostitutes. She is the only Japanese in the house.

Now let me cite the scene of her performing public sex with a Chinese coolie while other coolies are watching. The young narrator happens to witness this:

Okiyo-san wore a Chinese dress. On ordinary days, she wore a red Hakata-woven undersash over *yukata*. I saw her in a Chinese dress for the first time (...). She was naked beneath the Chinese dress with thigh-length slits on the sides. She wore satin Chinese shoes on her bare feet (...).He drew her toward him, grabbing her waist. Robbing her of the freedom of her hands, he held her legs between his (...).The coolies clapped frantically. They threw money at them, bid from one hundred or two hundred, and kept clapping (...). The bidding seemed to be on their bodily union, if the man would win over her body, or the woman could defend it. The match ended quickly. Okiyo-san lost (...). She noticed me. Surprised, she asked "Are you a Japanese child?"²⁴

Okiyo-san animates what Balibar calls "the symbolic kernel which makes it possible to equate race and ethnicity ideally and to represent unity of race to oneself as the origin or cause of historical unity of the people."²⁵ More precisely, her disruptive body provides a rationale against which a coherent fiction of ideal Japanese national race necessarily depends. Contrary to other Japanese women in Shanghai, she adorns herself in a revealing Chinese dress and shoes, with her body united in public with a Chinese coolie. In this way, Okiyo-san dialectically foregrounds the "symbolic kernel" through which the ideally conceived racial Japanese nationalism manifests itself. In other words, she generates an example of what is not the ideal Japanese race. Additionally, the moment

when Okiyo-san inquires about the narrator's nationality -- asking "Are you a Japanese child?" -- enables her to reconfirm her situatedness as an outsider within the Japanese community: the narrator operates as a mirror to reflect Okiyo-san's position. This inquiry implies Okiyo-san's distance from other fellow Japanese because she does not expect another Japanese person to be standing among Chinese men. The Japanese nationalism is thus racial.

More importantly, this Japanese racial community projects its external difference over other racial groups, such as Chinese as discussed earlier, and the Japanese community requires a fictive *a priori* racial homogeneity. Interestingly, this dynamic may refute its own purpose by revealing its logical incoherence. An unwanted social difference such as Okiyo-san constantly becomes the object of prescription by dominant members of the community as represented in the expression "forceful repatriation" (*kyôsei sôkan*).²⁶ This phrase is repeatedly used by the Japanese community against unwanted elements within the community. The community demands that Okiyo-san be sent back to Japan. Curiously enough, the fact that the community stigmatizes her with the phrase proves that the projection of racial unity is achieved in its logical fallacy. By denying Okiyo-san, the community dialectically accepts the fact that she is Japanese. In other words, the Japanese community produces its own sense of race through processes of producing its nationals by invalidating Okiyo-san as inauthentic while validating the majority as genuine.

Moreover, we may be allowed to say that racism produces and reinforces the notion of race, and not the other way around. The following is a scene in which Okiyo-san receives a shot for cholera standing in an all-Chinese line:

Only Chinese people got shots on the bridge or on a street corner. Okiyo-san was standing in the all-Chinese line. In the same Chinese dress as on the day of the union of bodies (...). The army surgeon who stood with his legs apart like a Deva king grabbed her left arm and abruptly stabbed it with a needle without even sterilizing it (...). "Does it hurt?" I asked. "Huh?" The surgeon inclined his head, and asked Okiyo-san, "Are you Japanese?" Okiyo-san did not answer. Rubbing the injected vaccine and blood, clumped under the skin with her palm in the same way as the Chinese did, she started to walk in the opposite direction from home.²⁷

There is a tension between Okiyo-san and the other Japanese. She juxtaposes an oppositional or contradictory idea of being Japanese. In seeking to resolve or examine the tension or conflict that she creates, the Japanese determine what the "true" Japanese is. In other words, Okiyo-san negatively defines what Japanese is. This race-based nationalism delineates the Japanese community in Shanghai.

Hakata-woven Undersash

In the end, Okiyo-san terminates her life by hanging herself with her favorite Hakata-woven undersash, knowing she has neither a place on a Japanese ship returning to Japan nor a place for herself in Japan even if she were to make it there. In Shanghai, the Hakata undersash had functioned for emotional succor. She drew comfort from this through various situations, including public sex with coolies and the shot for cholera among a Chinese crowd: that is, at times when her "pure" Japanese-ness was in question. The undersash, in this sense, operated as a manifestation of her national origin, i.e., Japan.

With that undersash, she managed her yearning for her homeland by wearing it all the time. The narrator, Hayashi, recalls Okiyo-san in the midst of yellow sand blown from China. The sand can freely move from China to Japan, regardless of national borders between the two countries. The yellow sand stands in sharp contrast to Okiyo-san's status, as one unable to return to the homeland where she used to belong and for which she once longed. It heightens her solitude.

In a memoir titled "From the Author to Readers," Hayashi writes: "Okiyo-san is a prostitute whom I totally adore. She is a prostitute who is a 'first class national of the Japanese Empire'" (*dainihonteikoku no ittô kokumin*).²⁸ Hayashi continues, "Okiyo-san is a person whom neither Japanese nor Chinese accept. She bore two- or three-times the suffering of her time" (*nijû ni mo sanjû ni mo*).²⁹ I would argue that irony is at work in this

bitter, passionate comment by Hayashi. Hayashi foregrounds the multilayered nature of Okiyo-san's suffering, as compared to that experienced by average Japanese person at that time. By calling Okiyo-san "a first-class national of the Japanese Empire," even as she illuminates her singular outside status within, Hayashi undermines the ultimate authority of Imperial Japan. This irony of Hayashi resonates with her rejection of violence inherent in Japanese imperial nationalism as manifested in her rejection of the national literary award as a victim of the atomic bombing in Nagasaki.

Chapter

Two

Resistance and Protest by Diasporic Korean Women:

Lee Yang-ji and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha

I Protest, therefore I am:

An Emergent Protesting Subject in *Kazukime* (1983)

Memories that cannot be narrated or historicized. Memories that resist being treated as such. Memories that bridge the lives of present individuals with those of the past. In other words, the lives that cannot manifest the processes for turning themselves into history, or the lives that embrace fragmentary memories while unable to historicize themselves. The crucial fragments for life.

Lee Chong Hwa, *Tsubuyaki no seijishiso*³⁰

Lee Yang-ji as a Zainichi Korean Woman Writer

The Akutagawa Award writer Lee Yang-ji (1955-92) produces a narrative that cuts through the processes of masculine nationalist imperial narratives. She is a Zainichi

Korean writer who was born in Japan, grew up in Japan, and wrote in Japanese. Zainichi is a generic term that refers to Koreans living in Japan. Her first language is Japanese. Regarding the social status of Zainichi, John Lie explains as follows. "Despite the ubiquity of ethnic Koreans in postwar Japanese life, many Japanese almost instinctively denied their legitimacy and at times their very presence."³¹ A heteronormative, phallogentric reading of Lee's writing would find it to be marginal and normatively deficient for the organic development of masculine social formations in both Japan and Korea. In other words, the narratives that she is producing fall away from both imperial Japanese national discourse, as well as masculine Korean grand narratives. A woman's body in Lee's text is both a physical organ and the site of a struggle where asymmetrical power dynamics between men and women, as well as between the colonizer and the colonized, permeate throughout. Actively mobilizing the bodily site, Lee intervenes and re-writes linguistic, regional and national grand narratives.

By foregrounding fragmentary female figures, I will argue how women's representations are producing singular ways to organize comparative relations that supplement or disturb already established approaches and modes of analysis. This section, methodologically speaking, examines fragments that fall away from the official archival narratives or national discourses. My inquiry is also inspired by Lisa Yoneyama's poetic and political statement:

I aim to recuperate events that could not have been proven or documented in historiographies by positivist means — promises or thoughts never to have been kept or carried out, dreams that never came true, and unavoidable tragedies—. We need to rescue these from the chronologically ordered temporality that keeps moving forward. ... I attempt to let these events reveal that historical irrationality was born out of injustice; the injustice was not necessarily unavoidable; and there were people who died in silence, without being able to expose injustice. I will let the recuperated events convey messages to those who are in a different temporality and space.³²

This section is a study on a dissident subject that cannot be articulated in historiography but can be in literature. In other words, the section captures the subject that tends to diminish in proper historiographical narratives.³³



Figure 2-1: Yang-ji Lee dancing *Salp'uri* ³⁴

Lee Yang-ji, in her novella *Kazukime* (1983)³⁵ delineates a young Zainichi woman who runs all over what appears to be 1980's Tokyo, asking doctors to remove her uterus and ovaries. She is referred to as Ane, meaning elder sister in Japanese. In the story, all the doctors decline her request. One female Japanese doctor repeats the phrase "precious life" in an attempt to dissuade her. Nevertheless, Ane willfully tries to achieve the uterus removal even though no one forces her to do so. The Zainichi woman insists on the removal, claiming this act as her own coming-of-age ceremony.

What is suggested by this peculiar act of volitional uterus removal? Is this a protest? The act may appear to be Ane's own eccentric autonomous choice; however, I argue that it ought to be understood by locating it within multiple bodily struggles and histories, which are colored by unevenly distributed power dynamics between the colonizer and the colonized, between men and women, and between Japan and Korea. The volitional act cuts through multiple histories of Korean women who have not been clearly articulated or officially archived in formal historiographical discourses. It seems to echo the voices of Korean women who "died in silence without being able to expose injustice" in Lisa Yoneyama's words.

In terms of an ontological question of Lee Yang-ji's ethnicity, Kawamura Minato claims that "Lee has a desire to climb up a ladder from being a fourth-class Korean to the first class, even though the desire cannot be fulfilled, and her pursuit ends in vain."

Kawamura argues this by employing a chart, created by another Zainichi writer, Fukazawa Kai. In Fukazawa's novel, *Yoru no kodomo* (1992), a Korean man, Woo Cheol, explains the chart as follows: The first-class Korean has a solid Korean ethnic subjectivity, and he or she is fluent in the Korean language. The second-class also has Korean subjectivity, but lacks fluency in Korean. The third-class Korean has Korean nationality (*kokuseki*), but lacks in both subjectivity and language. The fourth-class Korean is the one who is naturalized as Japanese. Any Korean of mixed race is simply transparent (*tômei ningen*).³⁶

According to the chart above, Lee Yang-ji is a fourth-class Korean since she was naturalized as Japanese when she was nine years old, along with her parents, brothers, and a sister. Moreover, the name Lee Yang-ji is a *nom de plume*; her registered name under the Family Registration Law in Japan is Tanaka Yoshie, a Japanese name. Kawamura furthermore points out:

The fourth-class Korean's identity as "Korean" (*Chôsenjin*) is always in question. However, as a naturalized Zainichi Korean (*kika shita zainichi Chôsenjin*), in other words, as a Korean Japanese (*Chôsenkei Nihonjin*), Lee seems to have a desire to climb up the ladder to the status of the first-class Korean (*ittô Chôsenjin*) from the fourth-class Korean (*yontô Chôsenjin*). Rather than running away from Korea (*Chôsen*), she searches for Korean-ness within herself. Lee studied in South Korea, majored in Korean literature and dance. Lee discovered *kayagum*, a Korean musical instrument with strings, Korean dance, and a Korean mythology, "Princess Bari,"³⁷ and she continued to study these. Lee, through the form of literature, discovered

herself. In so doing, she situated herself between Korea and Japan, as well as between the Korean language and the Japanese language.³⁸

As Kawamura points out, Lee Yang-ji's identity as Korean is incomplete and constantly in the making, aiming at cultural and linguistic goals associated with Korean ethnicity. For Lee, Korean identity is a destination toward which she directs her efforts. As for her *nom de plume*, in her memoir, "Watashi wa Chôsenjin" (I am Korean), Lee states as the following: "Claiming a Korean name (*Chôsen me*) is itself a challenge against all of Japan, as well as a challenge to myself."³⁹ For Lee, Korean identity is a dialectical process to experience, to negate, and for which to fight. It was neither a natural nor a comfortably given condition for her.⁴⁰ Additionally, defining Lee's novel *Koku* as an autobiographical "I"-novel in which she seeks her identity, Levy Hideo discusses it as follows:

The protagonist of *Koku* visits her foreign "mother land" (*mishiranu bokoku*). She loses her calmness surrounded by letters of her mother country. This is not her mother tongue. In a given day, from moment to moment, her mind sways between proximity and distance (*sono watashi no ichinichi ni oite wa, dakara, ikkoku ikkoku, shinkinkan to kyorikan no aida de kokoro no yuragi o oboe te*), and, as a result, she can choose neither [Korean nor Japanese identity].⁴¹

Levy also does not take Lee's Korean identity for granted; rather he stresses its unfixed in-between-ness, in other words, the interstices between two categories, or negotiations and dialectics between the two.

Let me go back to the novella, *Kazukime*. In addition to unevenly distributed power as both a Zainichi Korean and a woman, Ane and her biological mother's disempowered situation is stressed even more by two additional facts. The first is that her mother is the second wife (*gosai*) in a Japanese household, while Ane is an adopted daughter (*tsurego*) to a Japanese family. The term "*tsurego*" often implies burden. For example, Toshihiko, Ane's stepbrother, calls his stepmother "*gosai*" instead of mother.⁴² The term by itself is not derogatory, but once someone calls another by that name, it becomes derogatory. In the original text, the term "*gosai*" that Toshihiko utters is written in katakana, which marks it as something foreign. By using the defamiliarizing effect of katakana, Lee foregrounds the word's sound and thereby reinforces the effect of the mother's vulnerable position. Toshihiko, in this way, attempts to disempower the mother even further. Moreover, later on, Toshihiko rapes Ane. As these events reveal the two Korean women are not treated equally in the Japanese household. Even if their bodies presumably belong to them, are private, their Korean female bodies emerge as sites of social struggle.

Additionally, the mother always wears *kimono*, which suggests her struggle to conform and assimilate into a Japanese household. Wearing *kimono* compensates for her weaker position within the Japanese household, which is stressed by her second

marriage and the accompaniment of a *tsurego*. Lee in the aforementioned memoir, “Watashi wa Chôsenjin” (I am Korean) explains the difficulty and mixed feelings of having a Zainichi Korean identity in Japan:

Some Zainichi Koreans live their lives by hiding the fact that they are Korean so that nobody could touch their tender emotional core. Some may live a fallen life (*rinraku no michi o iku*), due to suffering from taking their ethnic origin too seriously. I do not criticize this way of life. Nor can I. I sometimes find myself depressed by obsessively thinking about my Korean-ness. (*naze nara tokiori, naze kômo Chôsenjin to iu koto ni kodawara ne ba naranai no ka to, shôchin shite shimau jibun ga aru*). There are times that I cannot feel proud of myself (*nume o haru koto ga kurushii toki ga aru*). That is because I feel something vague about the direction I walk. A maze without an answer(...). I do not think I should ignore contradictions permeating our everyday life, which won't allow us to live easily. Assimilation policies (*dôka seisaku*) have been deeply embedded in everyday Japan. The assimilation policies are formed skillfully, combined with policies for the abandoned and those fooled by our mother county (*sokoku no kimin guminka seisaku*). These are all intertwined with disciplinary and oppressive policies in Japan (*Nihon no kanri yokuatsu seisaku*). The policies have terminated ethnic consciousness of Zainichi Koreans, as well as their orientation towards the future. The policies are also ready to deny life that ought to be guaranteed a priori for any human being. We also have to be aware that this is the very intention of the policies. Isn't this precisely humiliation? ⁴³

My interest here is not to analyze the policies that negatively affect Zainichi Koreans' lives, which Lee discusses in the quotation, but to explore how these Zainichi Koreans are obliged to live contradictory everyday lives in Japan, and how such contradictions are not simply determined by individual autonomous choices. As a matter of fact, Lee was raised "as Japanese" by her parents as will be discussed later. Rather, Zainichi Koreans are thrown into such contradictory everyday lives. Within the same essay quoted above, Lee admits her own ambivalent feelings toward her extended family in Osaka. "Every once in a while, we visited families in Osaka. They evoked sentiments in me, such as 'culturally behind,' 'filthy,' or 'barbaric,' and I and I denied such 'Korean-ness' (*"Chôsen" narumono*), and unconsciously negated the fact that I am Korean (*Chôsenjin*)."⁴⁴ Additionally, in the essay, Lee expresses a sense of humiliation that she recognizes in the assimilation policies as can be seen in her rhetorical question "Isn't this precisely humiliation?" If humiliation operates in a way in which it allows one to recognize one's own limits, the Zainichi Korean mother in *Kazukime*, who only wears *kimono* at the Japanese household, emerges as a figure of humiliation who faces limits of choice about what she can wear at home. Does she really have a choice to wear Korean ethnic dress at home? The mother faces her own limits in living in Japan as a Zainichi Korean woman. Her body is thus a political battlefield.

Methodology

As a method of theoretical inquiry, this section examines the emergent subject in *Kazukime* in light of 1) Raymond Williams's notion of the residual,⁴⁵ 2) Judith Butler's idea of passionate complicity with the law in subject formation,⁴⁶ and 3) Gayle Rubin's insight of the "political economy of sex."⁴⁷ Especially, I attempt to place Williams and Butler in dialogue to examine a subject formed by instrumentalizing the residue from the past. Pertaining to issues of ethnicity, the Zainichi political philosopher, Kang Sang-jung, in *Nashonarizumu no kokufuku (Overcoming Nationalism)*, claims, "A perspective that does not take political economy into consideration dismisses something crucial. The intellectual trend in the last decade has overly emphasized the importance of studying cultures."⁴⁸ Kang's suggestion might foreclose a possibility to see culture as contributing to or coming from within the political economy itself. Nevertheless, he points to the importance of examining the political economy at work in Zainichi Korean studies. Kang calls for the urgency of situating Korean studies within political economy, not without.

My exploration of *Kazukime* is not divorced from political economy because of an examination of capital at work within the heart of its cultural text. My work here provides a reading of the economy of sex, that is, in Gayle Rubin's words, "a systematic social apparatus which takes up females as social materials and fashions domesticated women as products."⁴⁹ Rubin, in other words, suggests that women's oppression lies within an

economy of sex, colored by asymmetrical power dynamics between men and women, in which the former is a subject-giver while the latter is an object-gift, i.e., the commodity that the man circulates, exchanges, and consumes. Furthermore, this section argues the way in which *Kazukime* intervenes in this circulation, and thereby, challenges the political economy of sex that Rubin claims. Let me first explain social, cultural, and historical backgrounds relating to the novella.

Overview of *Kazukime*

Kazukime uses multiple voices in its narrative, and utilizes the techniques of stream of consciousness that portray each narrator's point-of-view and thought processes. *Kazukime*, hence, exposes readers to multiple narrators and allows readers to weave fragments of stories, as well as making the readers aware of certain historical events, personal sentiments, and themes. If every sentiment has a history, *Kazukime* urges its readers to become conscious of the history behind every emotion. In other words, the story also allows its readers to realize that certain events and histories produce certain emotions in certain contexts for certain groups of people. Moreover, the relationship and interaction between a young Japanese woman, Keiko, and her Zainichi Korean step-sister, Ane, function as interweaving threads of the novella. Below is a brief summary.

Having failed in marriage with a Korean man, Ane's Korean mother re-marries Keiko's father, who is Japanese and has lost his wife in a car accident. They all commence living together along with Keiko's biologically Japanese brothers. This family is now ethnically mixed: Only the step-mother and her daughter are Zainichi Koreans. There are six people now in the family: Keiko's father, her step-mother, her two brothers, step-sister, and herself. Later on, the Korean step-mother dies of uterine cancer. When she dies, her uterus is rotten and malodorous (*akushû*).⁵⁰ After her mother's death, Ane leaves the house, stealing money from her Japanese step-father. Then, Keiko's family completely loses contact with Ane; however, Ane abruptly visits Keiko shortly before her accidental death. The death is not narrated as a suicide but instead as self-destruction, since Ane is not depicted as caring for herself.

In order to find out how Ane was living prior to her death, Keiko meets a Japanese man, Morimoto Ichirô, whose address she has found in Ane's journal. Morimoto lived with her step-sister for a year. Keiko also visits a single middle-aged woman, Kayo, who tried to save Ane from her desperate everyday life through Kayo's belief system. Kayo is described as a warm person, but is also an eccentric woman, a member of a new religious movement, based on Buddhism, probably Sôka Gakkai.⁵¹ Through the narratives told by Morimoto and Kayo, Ane's everyday life is reconstructed: Ane was working at a bar as a hostess, sleeping with multiple Japanese male clients, and later on became a street prostitute. She confessed to Kayo and Morimoto that she was Zainichi Korean. (It is still

common in Japan to conceal such an ethnic origin, in order to avoid possible discrimination).

Ane also expresses phantasmagoric obsessions that Japanese are trying to kill her because she is Korean and that Japanese doctors are trying to remove the uterus of Korean women so that the number of Koreans will not increase. She also tells Kayo that she has been running all over Tokyo, looking in vain for a doctor to remove her uterus and ovaries and that her Japanese step-brother Toshihiko raped her and impregnated her while she was still in high school. Even though her narrative is not totally reliable, these episodes reveal asymmetrical power dynamics that saturate Korean women's bodies. Ane's body is, in a sense, a battlefield. To be more precise, she recognizes her body as such.

Lee discussed concealing one's ethnic origin in her short essay, titled "Wakamono ni denshō sarete iku Chōsenjin besshi" (A Contemptuous Look on Koreans that is Passed onto Younger Generations). In the memoir, Lee writes, "My parents' naturalization as Japanese made me aware of the harsh reality, permeating through Japan, that they could not live otherwise."⁵² Her parents also wanted their daughter to assimilate into Japanese society, believing it was a way to make her life in Japan easier. For example, they made her take lessons of Japanese classical dance (*Fujima-ryū Nihon buyō*), Japanese koto (*Yamada-ryū sōkyoku*), and flower arrangement in the Ohara school of Ikebana.⁵³ In the memoir, Lee writes about an episode concerning an elementary school Zainichi Korean

boy. He was a son of Lee's *kayagum* teacher. One day, he innocently asked his mother, "Why do you not become Japanese?" The son admits he conceals his ethnic origin as Korean at school because he does not want to be excluded. Keeping this in mind, let me analyze symbolic episodes in the novella.

Body as a Battlefield

I will cite a symptomatic dialogue that takes place between Ane and Morimoto, which reveals her obsession with the brutal Japanese. Her words are fragmentary. Temporalities are conflated. The viewpoint of narration shifts. The dialogue refers to an episode that happened during the Taishô period (1912-1926), which will be discussed in the section on Nakajima Atsushi's "Landscape with a Patrolman": the Japanese massacre of Koreans after the 1923 Great Kantô earthquake. The rumor that sparked the massacre was that Koreans were poisoning the water supply. In the following dialogue, Ane calls Morimoto by his nickname, Icchan:

"It was an earthquake, Icchan, was it not?"

"Yes, it shook a little."

I answered her without really getting her point. Why was she talking about the earthquake? She continued:

"Icchan, if we have a big earthquake again like the Great Kantô earthquake, would Japanese try to kill us again? Are they going to stab us again with

bamboo spears? Will they test us again making us pronounce, 'ichien gojussen, juuen gojussen.' I do not think it's gonna happen again because society has changed. Now most of us can pronounce the 'j' and "s" sounds correctly, just like Japanese. But, Icchan, if Japanese still try to kill me, hold me tight. Tell them I am your girlfriend. Can you stay with me then? No, I am not gonna be killed this time. But that worries me. I should be killed. I will run, run, and run away from Japanese. A crazy Japanese with his hands holding a bamboo spear and a Japanese sword is running after me. He will catch me. I cannot run away from him anymore. He will stab me in the back and the chest. I will be bloody. I will be suffering. I will be suffering on the ground. Icchan, oh it hurts."⁵⁴

This confusing monologue by Ane implies that she identifies herself with other Koreans, who were tortured and persecuted in the massacre during the Taishô period. This identification can be explained by her statement above "No, I am not gonna be killed this time." This statement is predicated on the imaginary incident that she was killed once before, namely, during the post-earthquake massacre. She evokes tragic memories with which Koreans had to live. Ane is now caught up in the pain, fear, and anger that many Koreans felt after the massacre. Ane, in her imagination, experiences collective memories that Koreans share. The monologue suggests the impossibility of divorcing her emotions from the socially shared affect of fellow Koreans. In other words, it is crucial to situate Ane historically in relation to other Koreans, in order to understand her. Korean history is embedded in her emotion. Moreover, in the early 20th century, there were tests for

indentifying Koreans from Japanese.⁵⁵ Native Korean speakers could not articulate “j” and “z” sounds in the received Japanese pronunciations.

In order to explore the historical implications of Ane’s monologue, Raymond Williams’s notion of “the residual” helps to explain the relationship between other Korean women and Ane because the notion enables us to analyze a structure that mediates between the social and the personal. In *Marxism and Literature*, Williams writes:

The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue—cultural as well as social—of some previous and social cultural institution or formation. It is crucial to distinguish this aspect of the residual, which may have an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant culture, from that active manifestation of the residual...which has been wholly or largely incorporated into the dominant culture.⁵⁶

Williams’s insight into the notion of the residual situates the meanings and value manifested through Ane’s volitional removal of her uterus. Ane not only rejects her own reproductive capacity and labor, but her peculiar act also seems to attest to the multiple temporalities of Korean women’s lives, which cannot be reduced or assimilated into the

single temporality of the Zainichi diasporic community in which Ane resides. The act seems to cut through multiple temporalities of fear, pain and resentment (*han*) of Korean women. It cuts through many women: a Zainichi Korean mother whose rotten uterus produced bad smells on her deathbed; the Korean mother in *kimono* who negotiates her life as a *gosai*, namely scorned wife, by mobilizing her femininity as capital; Ane, who is raped and impregnated by her Japanese step-brother; other Korean women whose uteruses were forcibly removed under the Japanese Empire; the former comfort women who were forced to abort, and many who had their uteruses removed later in their lives due to complications that they developed because of intense sexual labor, serving Japanese men.

The past is still the active and effective element in processing Ane's body in the present. In the present moment, Ane reactivates the past of the Korean women's social bodies as porous and permeable to the aggression of power. Ane's body now emerges as the embodied structural effect of shared political and libidinal practices by her active appeal to the past. Ane's body as a Korean woman can only be lived, expressed, and achieved on the basis of the residue. I am not claiming that Ane is a so-called "comfort woman," yet her act even seems to cut across such almost impossible narratives of former Korean comfort women and implicitly, if not explicitly, address their difficult lived experiences.⁵⁷ What is at stake is a fading narrative produced through uneven power relations between Japanese and Koreans. Even feminists have faced the ultimate silence

of Korean women when they attempt to listen to their fragmented voices. The silence is filled with fragmentary distorted memories.⁵⁸ The temporalities of their memories are not linear. Ane's body thus reactivates Korean women's bodies situated in multiple temporalities as sites of contestation that have no choice but to endure uninvited and unwelcome male visitors.

In light of Williams, we can see Ane's volitional removal of her uterus as a ceremony that is the active manifestation of the residual in an alternative and oppositional relation to the dominant, which has already absorbed and incorporated the residual within itself. The dominant medical discourse, however, refuses the removal of her Korean uterus, as indicated by a Japanese female doctor's attempt to dissuade her:

"OK, so I am not going to ask you why you want the removal. But there are many women who are raising their children however hard their living conditions. If you want, I can refer you to a good daycare. We humans never know how our future will be. One day, you may meet the right man. You should not abandon yourself because you simply want the operation now. How would you feel, were you to meet the right man in the future and yet have no uterus? Might you not think 'I want his child'? Am I wrong? You are young still...with a precious life, precious future."⁵⁹

The medical establishment today, saturated with a biopower⁶⁰ that intends to maximize and enhance life rather than threaten it, is reluctant to perform the operation. Instead it questions her mental health, as suggested in another comment by the doctor: "Are you not a little insane?"⁶¹ Structurally speaking, Ane is now appealing to the pathos of Koreans during the colonial period. The present is not a time when Korean populations are subjugated, controlled, and managed by the threat of death from a sovereign Japanese Empire, nor is it a time of aggressive inclusion of Korean women as a major sexual labor resource for Japanese soldiers. Rather, Zainichi Koreans' lives are now objects of fostering and protection. Yet, that is still a technology of power. Ane is requesting the removal by mobilizing a discourse of the past while the doctor is simply speaking in the present. There is a gap in temporality between the two. Ane's claim for the uterus removal, thus, symbolically escapes or exceeds governing political narratives in the present.

A protesting subject symbolically emerges from this space of volitional removal of the uterus when Ane actively hails doctors to submit herself to the colonial regime's law. The enacted subject of Ane may be seen as a sign of weakness or a figure that needs to be overcome and hence devalued, in which not only the doctor but also some feminists might attempt to intervene for correction or improvement. Nevertheless, the subject creates a singular polemical space for protest that orthodox historiography fails to capture. In this sense, Ane is processing and producing her own value as the protesting subject,

vis-à-vis the residual. This may not be the most legible or effective way to protest. Some may even deem it grotesque. However, this is the choice she makes. Let me further examine how the subject of Ane arises, by expanding a reading of Judith Butler's notion of passionate complicity with law.

In *The Psychic Life of Power* Judith Butler analyzes the structure of Louis Althusser's active submission to the police, after killing his wife, as a site for subject formation. She argues that his passionate complicity with the law allows him to become a subject. In other words, the "acceptance of guilt" is a precondition for him to gain his identity as a social being. Thus, the state's ideology, in its hailing formation, allows a subject to emerge. Butler argues that this hailing scene is "punitive."⁶² She suggests that the sense of guilt and subject-formation are connected. This dynamic is also germane to Ane's enactment of interruption of subjectivity in a world to which she is subjected.

Butler foregrounds the significance of the reversal aspect of yielding to the law in Althusser's case. He is not passively hailed by the police, but he actively hails the police, in order to submit himself. This explains how guilt and conscience operate mutually and aggressively, corresponding to the state's ideological demand. This manifests the "passionate pursuit of a recognition" as "inseparable from a condemnation"⁶³ in subject formation. The inseparability between the pursuit of recognition and condemnation is also at work in Ane. In other words, Ane is condemned as "insane" by medical discourse because of passionately pursuing her will to remove her uterus.

Further, Butler argues that mastery and submission occur simultaneously. She writes that one needs to learn how to “speak properly” to the master because “The more a practice is mastered, the more fully subjection is achieved.”⁶⁴ Hence, one needs to learn the grammar of the master. The simultaneity of mastery of grammar and the submission to grammar enables subjection. Ane’s master is the Japanese government. She is well aware that the grammar of the master does not support her uterus removal. She is also conscious of the fact that under the current grammar of the master, animated by biopower, the master attempts to protect and maximize life instead of terminating it. The grammar of the master is an antithesis to Ane’s subject formation.

Her willful removal is therefore translated as a guilt-informed subject formation, which reveals the active desire for collaborating with law in a twisted way. Ane’s passionate submission of herself to hospitals, spaces saturated with biopower, is marked by a creative potential of subjective practice. Ane creatively incorporates arenas of activities that remain outside of formal subject formations under the master’s grammar. Ane knows the proper grammar of her master; therefore, she knows what is outside of its grammar. Ane is thereby far more strategic and “sane” in forming her own protesting subject than the contemporary medical establishment understands her to be.

Thus the removal of her uterus attests to the removal of Ane’s body from a circulation where women are “traded, bought, and sold” by men. Ane symbolically removes herself from circulation via her disobedient reinterpretation of the removal,

which is an intervention and dislocation of the original purpose of the medical discourse. This way, while Rubin adheres to the distinction of subject-male-taker and object-female-giver, Lee rewrites the distinction. Unlike other Korean mothers and sisters, whose bodies were treated against their will, Ane's willful act enacts itself against the binary distinction. The removal of a female bodily organ, the uterus, symbolically goes beyond objectification of her body as commodity for male-centered capital. Ane residually chooses to become a gift for protest. Ane reclaims her ownership of her own body in her insistence on the uterus removal. Ane therefore exceeds the androcentric Japanese national plot.

Anal Intercourse as Non-Exploitative

Moreover, in light of removing a woman's body from exploitative circulation in terms of the uterus, an episode in which Ane willingly offers her anus to Morimoto as a gift also emerges as an act that exceeds patriarchal normativity. In offering her anus, Ane states, "I will give you my virginity, Icchan."⁶⁵ Lee does not explicitly state that what Ane exposes is the anus for intercourse with Icchan, but implicitly yet clearly articulates this in the following monologue by Morimoto: "Encouraged by her, on that night, I did something that I had done before with Kôji as a joke."⁶⁶ Kôji is a male. In this highly sexualized monologue, what is hinted at is the homosexual intercourse between Kôji and

Morimoto. Interestingly, the anal intercourse between Ane and Icchan takes place on the night that she had revealed her ethnic origin, that she was Korean.

Mt. Fuji and Jeju-do

Lee Yang-ji manifests the fact that the Korean uterus is not simply a private space but also one of social struggle. She finds it a possible site for protest against established Japanese society. In this sense, the pathos of *Kazukime* echoes one of her political acts in 1976. In that year, she participated in a hunger strike against Japanese government in Sukiwabashi Park, Tokyo.⁶⁷ Moreover, the pathos of the novella seems to resonate with her mixed sentiments toward Mt. Fuji. Her hometown in Yamanashi prefecture is famous for Mt. Fuji. The mountain not only evokes her nostalgia but also provokes her grudge against Japanese society as the embodiment of Japanese nationality. In her memoir, titled "Fuji-san" (Mt. Fuji), Lee writes:

I hated beautiful, grand, and dignified Mt. Fuji (*utsukushiku, dôdôtoshite, mijirogimo shinai Fuji-san*). I left my hometown. But still Mt. Fuji followed after me. Mt. Fuji started to emerge as a symbol of the harsh history against the Korean Peninsula by Japanese, ever since I began to use the last name Lee, instead of Tanaka. After I moved to Korea, the mountain started to strike me as the embodiment of the Japanese language which I could not get rid of, and as something very Japanese. I rejected Mt. Fuji by all means.

I cursed at Mt. Fuji, questioning when the mountain would leave me alone.
But to be honest, I loved the mountain.⁶⁸

Curiously enough, Ane's death scene is narrated with an image of the *haenyo*, or women divers, of Jeju-do, the southernmost island of Korea. It is important to note that Yang-ji Lee's family has roots in Jeju-do. Today, such matriarchal diver cultures exist only in Jeju-do and coastal areas of Japan. This notion of woman diver is also inscribed in the title *Kazukime*. The word, *kazuku*, is a verb in classical Japanese, meaning "to dive." The word appears as early as *Manyôshû*, compiled between the late seventh and early eighth century.⁶⁹ The title *Kazukime* implies the women divers, and especially those in Jeju-do, as is also suggested in the passages in Ane's death scene. She is identified with *haenyo* of Jeju-do:

"Go out. Go out to the water."

Revived a groaning voice from deep inside her head. Prompted by the voice, she drowned her body in the bathtub and then her head. Her ears caught the sound of waves splashing against the rocks of Jeju-do. She jumped into the roaring waves.⁷⁰

What is significant about the woman divers in Jeju-do is that they organized a protest against the Japanese Empire in 1932. From January 7th to 24th, approximately 1000

women divers gathered to protest the exploitation of their labor by the Japanese. The Japanese traded seafood at extremely low prices while imposing heavy taxes on the Koreans that served the Empire. That was the largest all-woman protest in Korean history. They are the emblem of empowered women in Korean history. Now the narrator identifies Ane with them. What follows is the news in 1932 about the protest:



Figure 2-3: 1932 newspapers that reported the protest against the Japanese Empire, organized by woman divers in Jeju-do.⁷¹

Ane's life and death influence the Japanese narrator, Ane's stepsister's, view of Japan. *Kazukime* ends with an ironic scene in which the narrator loses her interest in

receiving her *kimono*, newly prepared for her coming of age ceremony (*seijinshiki*), which is a national holiday. This ceremony is an event for Japanese to be invited to the community called the nation. Invited members reinforce their sense of belonging to the nation. The ceremony is not only a temporal event on a calendar, but also a future-oriented project of nation-building. The members actively participate in building their nation by commemorating this national holiday. The narrator, however, boycotts participating in this national memory-making ritual. She now sees Japanese nationalism embodied in national holidays in a critical light, due to the death of her Zainichi Korean step-sister. Her view is now transformed. Yangji Lee's *Kazukime* intervenes into Japanese nationalism with her portrayal of the affectively charged body politics of protesting Zainichi Korean woman.

I Resist, therefore I am:

Mother in *Dictée* (1982) by Theresa Hak Kyung Cha

To live and think by means of trace. Is this a collective fate that Hak Kyung Cha tried to accept? These letters and characters are inscribed within layers of time. Some ethnic groups live with oblivion while others live with trace. Between the two, incompatible temporalities, histories, and thoughts are compelled to emerge.

Uno Kuniichi, "Itami Shiro, Ishi....."⁷²

Diasporic Korean Women

Both Theresa Hak Kyung Cha (1951-82) and Yang-ji Lee (1955-92), Korean diasporic women, were born in the 1950s and were still in their 30s when they each died suddenly. Even though both Cha and Lee, as ethnically Korean women, lived almost in the same time period, they neither met each other, nor personally knew each other. Nevertheless, their works share the same social concern for Korean colonial legacies under the Japanese Empire.

Cha was born in Busan, Korea during the Korean War (1950-53). Her family initially moved to Hawaii, and eventually settled in San Francisco, California. She was sixteen years old when she arrived in San Francisco. Cha was a visual artist, yet her avant-garde novel,

Dictée, made her famous. The novel produces a complex tapestry of narratives and fragmentary memories that refuse any reductive interpretations. Temporalities are not linear but fragmented. The point of narration constantly shifts. The novel is written in multiple languages, such as English, French, Korean, and Chinese characters / Japanese kanji. The novel also contains diagrams, illustrations of the Muses of Greek mythology, and pictures of blinded and crucified Koreans during the colonial period.

The majority of articles on *Dictée* published in English center their analyses on sections written in English or French, which focus on U.S. and French cultural and social experiences, and are thus apt to avoid close readings of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean languages that are present in *Dictée*, as well as overlook the historical, cultural, and linguistic implications of the Japanese Empire that are ubiquitous in *Dictée*.⁷³ Here I closely examine the parts that tend to be absent in English articles in order to complement the work already done in English. In so doing, I will first conduct a close reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued by the Meiji Emperor (*kyôikuchokugo*), written in Japanese, which Cha depicts in a scene at a Japanese elementary school designed for ethnically Korean students in Manchukuo, where Cha's mother, Hyung Soon Huo, worked (as the section titled "Calliope Epic Poetry" tells us). I will analyze the affective atmosphere at the school in which the Empire forms its intentions and pursues its projects. I explore the possibility of resistance that is inherent in Hyung Soon Huo's labor as a school teacher at a Japanese school with an assumption that her labor involves an excess that cannot be

controlled, regulated, or tamed by the Empire, and which therefore creates a space that goes beyond the Empire's rule.

Subject-Formation via Language, Labor, and Affective Mood

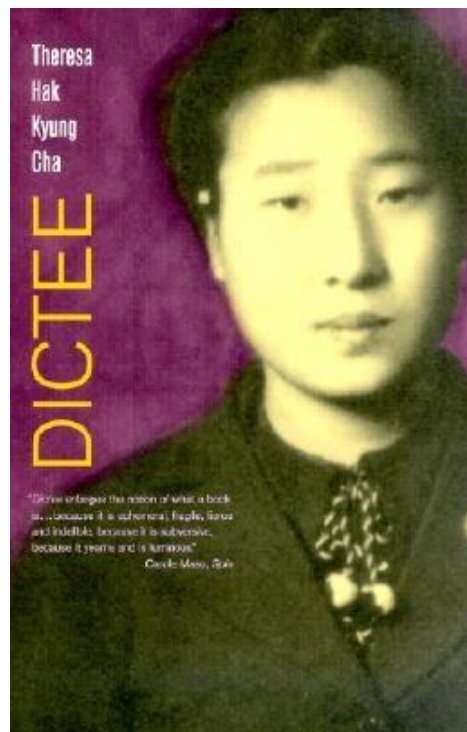


Figure 2-4: Hyung Soon Huo on the cover of *Dictée*

The cover in figure 2-4 is one of the most common front covers of *Dictée*. It is a photograph of aforementioned Cha's mother, Hyung Soon Huo. The effect of having Huo's portrait on the front cover manifests that Japanese colonialism is not only

embedded in *Dictée*, but also exists at its heart. Huo looks into the eyes of the audience. Her picture appeals to each reader who picks up the book. Huo's eyes were free to understand what she saw, even if her lips were prohibited to say certain things under the Japanese Empire. The eyes are as eloquent as her tongue. As to the power of Huo's eyes, Cha writes:

They have not forbidden sight to your eyes. You see. You are made to see.
 You see and you know. For yourself. The eyes have not been condemned.
 You see in spite of. Your sight.⁷⁴

The picture creates a tone that orients the audience toward the world in which Huo lived prior to any articulation of language. The tone amplifies the awareness and intensifies the sensibility toward the complex colonial world that saturated her life.⁷⁵ I say complex since the photo not only depicts a colonized Korean subject, but also it narrates the stories of colonial Manchukuo, China.⁷⁶

The affective mood at the school in which Hyung Soon Huo works enabled the Empire's political intention. Huo was born in Longjing, Manchukuo in 1922 to first-generation Korean exiles. In 1940, she served as a first-grade teacher at a Japanese elementary school in Yong Jung, Manchukuo. She was only eighteen years old. Speaking Korean was prohibited at the Japanese school. Education in the Japanese language was

mandatory. Cha writes, "The Japanese flag is hanging at the entry of the office. And below it, the educational message of the Meiji emperor framed in purple cloth. It is read at special functions by the principal of the school to all the students." ⁷⁷ What is articulated is that Huo works at a school where the education system requires their teachers and students to revere the "Hinomaru" flag, with an image of the rising sun that symbolizes the rise of the Japanese Empire. In other words, this school environment produces a totalizing mood that attunes students and teachers to a given-ness of Japanese hegemony that comes prior to their cognition or volition of it.⁷⁸ The mood makes collective actions that serve the Empire possible.

What Cha calls the "educational message of the Meiji Emperor"⁷⁹ is the "Imperial Rescript on Education,"⁸⁰ which was a statement on moral education. After 1890, school children were required to recite this statement, promising to be "good and faithful subjects" and to "guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth."⁸¹ The Imperial Rescript on Education" includes twelve virtues that are coined based on teachings from Confucianism.⁸² These virtues are as follows: filial piety, fraternity, conjugal harmony, sincerity to friends, modesty, benevolence, diligent study, wisdom, observing morality, serving for public interests, observing laws and disciplines, and courage for justice. These encourage both students and teachers to become, in the name of the Meiji Emperor, obedient imperial subjects (*shinmin*) who respect the harmony of the whole over their own personal interest. This is what is deemed "justice" and the

“moral” and courteous way of living their life in light of the “Imperial Rescript on Education.” Additionally, the message reinforces the idea that ethnically Korean children are also the Japanese Emperor’s children (*tennô no sekishi*).

Those Korean children are “thrown” into a particular political intensity that attributes value to the Empire. This “throwness” provides a collective shaping effect.⁸³ In such a structuring mood, the message from the Emperor is decorated, being framed with a purple cloth. The color purple had been considered the noblest color since the pre-modern period. By employing the noble color and appealing to an eternal past, the educational message from the Meiji Emperor emerges as a reinforced icon of everlasting authority. This everlasting-ness is also clearly articulated in the lyrics of the national anthem, “Kimigayo:”⁸⁴ “Thousands of years of happy reign be thine; Rule on, my lord” (*kimi ga yo ha chiyo ni yachiyo ni*).⁸⁵ Students in former colonies of the Empire were also encouraged to sing and play “Kimigayo” at ceremonies while honoring “Hinomaru.”⁸⁶

By contrast, “Bon Sun Flower,” (*Bongsenonhwa*) a piece which Cha regards as the “anthem” and “national song”⁸⁷ for Koreans, was forbidden to be sung, since it was interpreted as a disturbing sign of resistance against the Japanese Empire. “Bon Sun Flower” is a work composed by Hong Nan-pa (1897-1941) in 1919, and his friend Kim Hyeong-jun wrote the lyrics in 1926. Hong studied music at the Tokyo Music School in Ueno, and later participated in the March First Movement (1919), which sought the independence of Korea from the Japanese Empire. The song was widely sung among

Koreans, regardless of social rank, gender, or generational differences, and it gradually gained its status as a symbol of resistance against the Empire. The lyrics depict garden balsam flowers that withstand wind and snow. The Koreans projected themselves on these flowers, which weathered the storms of life, brought by the colonial rule.

The following is an English translation of the aforementioned "Imperial Rescript on Education," published in 1906 (Meiji 39), under the direction of Makino Nobuaki, the Minister of Education in Saionji Kinmochi Cabinet:

Know ye. Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subject ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all: pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests: always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and

thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subject The Way here and forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

The message from the Emperor seeks to unite people based on full devotion and commitment to the Japanese Empire as an organic entity. In the entity, they are eternally bound together by a super-personal tie to ancestry, virtue, and blood with the all-encompassing presence of the Japanese Empire. The possessive determiner, "Our," (*waka*) attributes a sense of belonging, promises and tightens the tie; for instance, "Our Imperial Ancestors," "Our Empire," "Our education," "Our subject," "Our Imperial Throne," "Our good and faithful subject," "Our Imperial Ancestors," and "Our wish." With this term, "Our," imperial desire is projected on the colonial subjects, and is articulated as if representing "their" will. This is a logical fallacy. In other words, the Empire, led by this virtuous and supreme majesty, seeks to mobilize its people by indoctrination in which the people are not expected to examine critically the ideas presented, but instead to modestly accept

them. As such, education in the colonies operates to disseminate the Empire's doctrine. Within this mood, the Empire attempts its collective political project by attuning the students and teachers toward its goal. It is not that the mood is *a priori* inside their interiority but this totalizing mood *goes through* them.

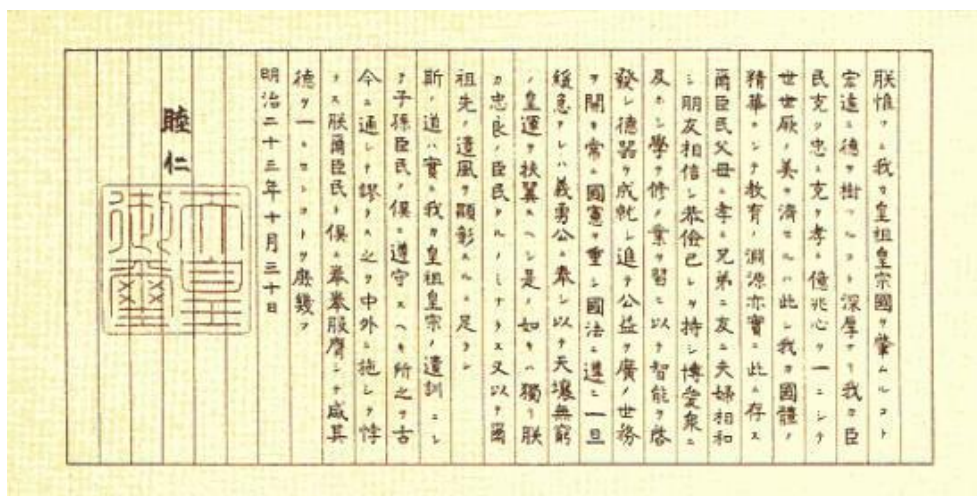


Figure 2-5: The Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyôikuchokugo*) issued in 1890.

While the totalizing mood intervenes in the affective lives of students and teachers at the school, where the imperial "Hinomaru" flag and the Emperor's Rescript legitimize the ultimate authority of the Japanese Empire, Hyung Soon Huo's job as a teacher is to educate Korean children in the language of the metropole, namely, Japanese. Her mission as assigned by the Empire is to shape these Korean children into obedient and sincere Japanese subjects who devote themselves to serving the Empire. In other words, her job is to produce faithful Japanese subjects through the Japanese imperial education system.

Under this all-encompassing educational mood, there seems to appear no room left to oppose, resist, or exercise even the slightest freedom. Yet, Huo displaces her mission, by mobilizing her prohibited mother tongue, Korean. As Cha writes, "to utter each word is a privilege you risk by death."⁸⁸ Cha continues:

The teachers speak in Japanese to each other. You are Korean. All the teachers are Korean. You are assigned to teach the first grade. Fifty children to your class. They must speak their name in Korean as well as how they should be called in Japanese. You speak to them [students] in Korean since they are too young yet to speak Japanese.⁸⁹

Huo communicates in the Korean language with Korean children who have not yet learned to communicate in Japanese. This means the incapability of speaking in Japanese opens up a space for resistance, and possibly freedom, if temporarily. In other words, their inability to speak Japanese and ability to communicate in Korean interrupt the logic of domination that seeks to stabilize itself. This way, the dominant logic of the Empire produces counter-hegemonies to disrupt its own logic. I argue that such an unstable and dynamic space enables the narratives of Empire to be interrupted and rearticulated from within. However subtle it is, the Korean language empowers ethnically Korean children and their teachers who are forced to use Japanese. In order to further examine her resistance as a teacher-laborer, I deploy and expand the thesis on labor power developed by Dipesh Chakrabarty.⁹⁰

Chakrabarty argues that Marx wrote under the deep influence of the nineteenth-century's notion of vitalism, and then elaborates on Marx's underdeveloped idea of labor as vital forces. Chakrabarty claims that the critique of capital begins at the same moment that capital begins its own life process. In other words, capital always already contains a contradictory moment that opens up the space for resistance. Chakrabarty suggests that Marx locates the resistance within the very logic of capital. In other words, the capacity for resistance is inherent in capital's logic itself. Chakrabarty foregrounds a structural Marx as follows:

These vital forces are the ground of constant resistance to capital. They are the abstract living labor—a sum of muscles, nerves, and consciousness / will—which, according to Marx, capital posits as its contradictory starting point. In this vitalist understanding of life, in all its biological / conscious capacity for willful activity (the 'many-sided play of muscles'), is the excess that capital, for all its disciplinary procedures, always needs but can never quite control or domesticate.⁹¹

Capital needs the vital labor force, not as external to it but as constitutive of it. By pushing this insight a little further, I re-interpret what Chakrabarty calls capital's logic also as the logic of Empire's capital, and thus, illuminate Cha's mother's labor power as that which

interrupts, defers, and modifies the Empire's self-realization. Additionally, regarding the history of capital as "History 1," and the history of workers as "History 2," Chakrabarty argues that the former cannot escape the latter's politics of diverse ways of being human and thereby can be modified by the latter, History 2. History 2, according to Chakrabarty, is the "affective narratives of human belonging."⁹² This idea foregrounds the fact that Huo's "affective" labor power as an ethnically Korean woman cannot easily sublate itself into the Empire's logic. In short, the space and temporality in which she secretly communicates with her Korean students in their mother tongue, Korean, creates a radical otherness that the Empire cannot fully control or appropriate.

Thus, I argue that failed conversations in Japanese between Hyung Soon Huo and her Korean students undermine the homogeneity that the Japanese authority requires, and therefore, create the renewed consciousness and freedom that the Japanese Empire is unable to discipline or domesticate. Their conversation in the Korean language goes beyond the Empire's doctrine. I claim that under such regulated conditions, Huo attests to a woman's agency in her negotiation with given rules and processes that are ruled by the Japanese Empire. She disrupts the Empire's rule. In other words, it is not simply that her labor as a Japanese teacher is exchanged, circulated, and appropriated under a given condition, but more importantly, as an active agent, Huo simultaneously re-appropriates and re-constitutes the structure of the imperial education system as well as the exchange-relationships of her labor. In her active mediation as a teacher-laborer, she opens up a

new space for her own ontological agency. Hyung Soon Huo thus emerges as a resisting empowered agency.

The mother's empowered agency as a teacher articulates itself in a way in which she repeatedly fails to reproduce commands from the Japanese colonial authority. This failure operates as the base for resistance against the totality of the authority, and more importantly an exercise of freedom, as Lisa Lowe also suggests in the following statement:

Cha episodically focuses on sites of interpellation which are not only multiple, but are also hybrid, unclosed, and uneven. The focus on these instances suggests that resistances to the hegemony reproduced by interpellating structures are not located simply or exclusively in the antagonisms produced by their demands for identity, but that it also may be the non-identity of the irregularly multiple sites to those demands for uniformity which founds the condition of both inadequate interpellation and the subject's resistance to totalization.⁹³

According to Lowe, it is not that only antagonisms enable resistance. Rather, she argues that the very material fact that colonial subjects cannot adequately follow through with commands of the authority (because of language or other barriers) also unlocks a hegemonic space for resistance. In other words, the fact that colonial subjects fail to

identically reproduce demands of the authorities unfolds a space for resistance. Building on Lowe, I would also argue that such unsuccessful reproductions successfully operate for the colonial subjects as opportunities to exercise freedom, if limited, as discussed earlier in connection with the conversations in Korean between Hyung Soon Huo and her students.

It is ironic that the Empire was in this way disrupted from within, and it is even more ironic to consider the fact that there was a time when the Empire deliberately opened Korean language classes at several Japanese schools in order to promote the migration of a Korean population into Manchukuo, which lasted until 1935, according to Jung Yeonghae.⁹⁴ The number of Koreans in Manchukuo subsequently grew, since many Koreans had few other choices but to leave their homeland and settle in Manchukuo.⁹⁵ In this way, the Empire was planting a seed that would defeat its own purpose in the future, being oblivious to the resisting potential not only inherent in Korean migrants' labor power and affect, but also within the Empire's intention. Huo was educated and educating children in the colonizer's language, Japanese; yet, she secretly asserted her claim over her mother tongue, Korean, and in doing so, she mobilized the inner domain of her own cultural identity, which the Empire kept out. Korean language, thus, served to exercise her sovereignty.

Chapter

Three

More as a Critic than as a Participant of the Empire:

“Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923” (1929) by Nakajima Atsushi



Figure 3-1 Nakajima Atsushi

Everyone looks down upon this man. But if we are patient enough to try to understand his slow expressions, might we be able to figure out the thought that he manifests emotionally and scatters throughout his words? I suppose we simply lack the ability and perseverance to find it out. Moreover, we might begin to understand the psychological necessity of why he always acts such that others think him an idiot. His inescapable idiosyncrasy. He can digest heavy difficult words well. Then, we may begin to feel the impossibility of placing him in a hierarchy of value, at least subjectively. Why should Mr. M be Mr. M? Why are we who we are, or why should Goethe be Goethe?⁹⁶

Nakajima Atsushi, *Rôshitsuki* (1942)

Situating Nakajima Atsushi

Many histories of modern Japanese literature often identify Nakajima Atsushi (1909-42) as the author of *Sangetsuki* (1942), in which a young Chinese man, Richô, faces his "timid pride and arrogant sense of shame" (*okubyô na jisonshin to sondaina shûchishin*) as a low-ranked civil servant. Driven by the paradox of arrogance and shame, this character represents dissatisfaction with the situation in which he works as merely a tool for a higher authority, and eventually leaves his position. Richô, moreover, cannot give up his dream to become a poet. He refuses to succumb to what he calls bureaucratic "vulgar evil" (*zokuaku*). He eventually leaves his town and disappears into a forest.

However, instead of becoming a poet, Richô becomes a tiger whose consciousness vacillates between that of an animal and a human. Nakajima writes *Sangetsuki* by incorporating his knowledge in Classical Chinese literature and history, polishing the work with philosophical depth. The story is now counted as one of the masterpieces in Japanese literary history. More importantly, the majority of Japanese high school textbooks, authorized by the Ministry of Education, employ *Sangetsuki*. Nakajima Atsushi is, thus, legitimized as a canonical literary figure in Japan, and as such his works help constitute knowledge production through Japanese literature under the Japanese education system.

In terms of his status as an author of “national literature” (*kokumin bungaku*), Kawamura Minato argues that Nakajima Atsushi’s *Sangetsuki*, as well as some of his other works, for example, *Deshi* and *Riryô*, can be called such in that almost all the high school students in Japan read his works during Japanese (*kokugo*) class as part of their state-mandated study of Japanese, and many of them recall their first encounter with Nakajima as a writer included in their high school textbooks. Kawamura points out that eighteen out of twenty Japanese textbooks employed Nakajima’s pieces in 2002. Kawamura claims that Nakajima, due to the frequency of his works’ appearance in Japanese textbooks, has attained almost equal status to Natsume Sôseki, Akutagawa Ryûnosuke, and Mori Ôgai. Furthermore, Kawamura points out the fact that those textbooks have already generated two or three generations of Nakajima readers. Nakajima, thus, can be deemed a “national literature writer” (*kokumin bungaku sakka*).⁹⁷ Nakajima constitutes part of the canon in the history of Japanese literature.

Yet, disagreeing with the normative and canonical interpretation of Nakajima’s *Sangetsuki*, which is premised on psychological rationality (*shinrigakuteki risei*), Kawamura Minato argues that it is nonsensical to expect students to accept the interpretation that this normative discourse on *Sangetsuki* requires, since it assumes that everyone would have the same state of mind under the same conditions. What is missing in the canonical interpretation, according to Kawamura, is the recognition that madness (*hakkyô*) is what turned Richô into a tiger. Moreover, Kawamura points out the arrogance

inherent in the normative discourse that deems it possible to understand fully the psychologies of either human beings or tigers. Kawamura argues that that arrogance, generated by reason and intellect, was what Richô himself embodied and it was the very reason why Richô was punished by Heaven (*tenbatsu*).⁹⁸ Yet, as Kawamura challenges the normative discourse on *Sangetsuki*, his analysis still reveals some affinity with that discourse in the way in which Kawamura associates Richô's transformation with a notion of "punishment" (*tenbatsu*). The notion cannot be separated from a moral judgment, a reading which Komori Yôichi challenges explicitly.

Komori Yôichi intervenes into the conventional reading of *Sangetsuki*, which reduces the text into a "banal moral thesis" (*bon'yô na dôtokuteki shuda*).⁹⁹ In other words, he argues that a reading that explains *Sangetsuki* through the lenses of the self-consciousness of an intellectual and the karma of a man of letters (*bungakusha no gô*) comes into being by concealing the historicity inherent in *Sangetsuki*.¹⁰⁰ Historically situating Nakajima's writings, Komori claims that Nakajima wrote all the events, specifically such as wars between nation-states (*kokka*) and power-struggles within the nation-states, by negotiating with discourses that justified power structure (*ken'ryoku*). Nakajima's writings, according to Komori, allow cruel events to be recalled and narrativized (*monogatarika suru*). Komori states that Nakajima writes battlefields only. Komori recognizes Nakajima's will, which cuts through his *écriture*. The will, Komori argues, enabled Nakajima to be attentive to the sense of incongruity towards the other

(*tasha e no iwakan*) as well as enabled him to maintain his sensibility with which he became aware of the fact that the other, whom he was unable to understand, would exist.¹⁰¹

Thus, Komori concludes that Nakajima's discourse is the opposite pole of the discourse that celebrated the war of aggression (*shin'ryaku sensô*) as the "liberation of the Greater East Asia" (*daitôa no kaihô*); his discourse is also contrasted to that which deemed the control over other ethnicities and other countries as "All the world under one roof" (*Hakkô ichiu*).¹⁰² Komori suggests that such aggressive discourses conceal difference and otherness and thereby describe the other as if identical with oneself.¹⁰³ Moreover, Komori points out the most serious ideological problem inherent in the post-war Japanese literary education (*sengo no kokugo kyôiku no ideorogî jô no saidai no mondaï*): namely, the education system presupposes that humanity (*ningensei*) is *a priori* immanent in human beings without inquiring into the substance of it. This ambiguously presupposed notion of humanity then treats those who deviate from the humanity as "evil."¹⁰⁴

According to Komori, the term "humanity" concealed historicity in *Sangetsuki*, which is now treated as national literature, and its post-war dominant reading closed itself under the narrative of "lack of humanity" (*ningensei no ketsujô*) while ignoring the otherness within the interiority of Japan ("*Nihon*" *no naibu ni*).¹⁰⁵ He argues that the illusion that there should be a correct and pure form of "humanity" (*tadashiku junsui na*

ningensei) hides facticity and its historicity and then repeats the structure of "history = story." In other words, Komori argues, it is self-complacency in the absence of the other (*tasha fuzai no jiko nattoku*), and hence, it is fragile.¹⁰⁶ Komori thus calls for a rereading of Nakajima Atsuhiko from the perspectives of difference and otherness (*sai to tasha sei*).¹⁰⁷ My analysis on Nakajima can be situated in this line of inquiry that Komori proposes.

Colonial Experiences

Although Nakajima may have achieved wide recognition through his inclusion in literature primers, his ideas on colonial Korea, Dalian, and the Pacific have not yet fully been explored. Publishers of the textbooks described above have included only selections that support a grand narrative of national literature while ignoring other works that do not. Such works remain, then, minor. Nakajima wrote these works based on inspiration from his own colonial experiences in the former Japanese colonies. He lived in Korea from 1920-1926. During his stay in Korea, he visited Dalian where his uncle and aunt lived. He was later sent to the island archipelago of Palau by the Japanese Empire in order to educate the natives and compile Japanese language textbooks for them. Contrary to the colonial mission of the Japanese Empire, his writings on Japanese former colonies capture moments in which he questions the ethical validity of the presence of the Empire in Palau. In other words, Nakajima portrays how colonial subjects are unevenly articulated through

sex, gender, race, and class. I argue that these colonial works of Nakajima deserve more attention since they foreground asymmetrical power dynamics between the Japanese and their former colonial subjects, as well as the violence that permeated everyday life in the colonies.

In this section I will examine "Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923" (1929),¹⁰⁸ which depicts the life of subjugated Koreans in Seoul under the Japanese imperial regime. Nakajima was only twenty years old when he published it in Tokyo. The following is a brief background of the story. Nakajima lived in Korea from 1920 until 1926, the year when he came back to Japan in order to enter the First Upper School in Tokyo (Kyûsei Dai Ichi Kôtô Gakkô). Three years later, in 1929, Nakajima published the short story, "Landscape with a Patrolman," in *Kôyûkai zasshi* volume 322, organized by the First Upper School, a feeder school for Tokyo Imperial University.¹⁰⁹ The school was established in order to educate elites who were expected to lead the Japanese Empire in the future. In this sense, it is ironic that Nakajima addresses colonial oppression and exploitation of Koreans by the Japanese in the story, since his ideas interrupt and critique the Japanese colonial project in which many of his school colleagues actively participated. Moreover, Nakajima wrote this piece at the risk of his career and made himself vulnerable to the harsh censorship that functioned to protect the dignity of the Japanese imperial body. Kawamura Minato expresses surprise that "If this work ["Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923"] that implies that Koreans were massacred during the

great Kantô earthquake had been published and officers had found out, it would have been banned.”¹¹⁰

Lee Yŏng-chŏl highly values “Landscape with a Patrolman.” In an essay titled, “History, Situation, and Language: 100 years of Colonial Rule and Japanese Literature”¹¹¹ (*Rekishi jyôkyô kotoba: Chôsen shokuminchi shihai 100 nen to Nihon bungaku*), Lee argues that when Nakajima first started his career as a writer, he had an image inscribed in his mind of Korean people as “struggling with and resisting the Japanese regime.” Nakajima was also “shocked by the incident of the massacre of Koreans by Japanese at the time of Great Kantô earthquake.”¹¹² It may be worth noting that he evaluates “Landscape with a Patrolman” highly, a fact that is particularly notable considering that he teaches at an institution, Korea University (Chôsen Daigakkô) in Tokyo, which is funded and supported by both the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Zai-Nihon Chôsenjin Sôrengôkai*) and the North Korean Government. I am not saying that Lee’s interest is identical with that of these institutions, but I argue that Nakajima’s insight approaches one that stands against the Japanese government’s totalitarian ambitions, despite being a canonical national literary figure. In Lee’s essay, he appreciates the fact that Nakajima criticizes violence inherent in the totalitarian Japanese regime as a Japanese national. It seems to me that Lee is responding to the disruptive potential that Nakajima’s imagination manifests.

Lee goes on to claim that Nakajima exposes the falsehood (*kyogi*) of colonial rule, as well as the deceit (*giman*) of "Cultural Rule" (*bunka seiji*) by delineating a complex reality in colonial Seoul where both assimilation and discrimination, as well as both pro- and anti-Japanese sentiments, mingled together. According to Lee, this can be traced back to the March First Movement in 1919. The movement led to a series of demonstrations by Koreans for independence from the Japanese Empire. Lee urges audiences to read not only Nakajima's already accepted canonical works, which are authorized as selections in Japanese textbooks, but also these works on colonial Korea.

Lee points out that the problem inherent in Japanese society is that it barely questions its own "narcissism" with which the Japanese erase their "other" (*tasha o shôkyo*). Therefore, he claims that it is imperative for Japanese today to read Nakajima's work in relation to his colonial experiences in Korea.¹¹³ He does not define what "narcissistic self-image" (*narushisutikku na jikozô*) means in Lee's own writing. Neither does he articulate what he intends to say by "erasing their other." Yet he points to the reactionary narcissism of Japanese through inflated self-importance or self-absorption, not through what might be necessary for development. In other words, this narcissism allows the Japanese to exclusively focus on themselves, enabling them to lack empathy for others. Also, Lee raises an awareness of the processes by which Japanese subjects appropriate their other in order to establish and reinforce their own stable subjectivity.

Therefore, he recommends that Japanese consider Nakajima's experiences in Korea. Lee seems to recognize in Nakajima's works the power of literature for social change.

Lee also claims that the following fact deserves special attention: Nakajima, as a Japanese author, depicts a Korean policeman whose job makes him waver between two opposing positions, i.e., the ruler and the ruled. For Nakajima, Lee argues, Korea is not only a space that marks his literary beginning, but also a *topos* where Nakajima "painfully abstracts a notion" (*itami to tomo ni chûshutsu*) with which he is able to overcome dynamics of "the powerful / the powerless" and "the ruler / the ruled." Even though Lee does not explain what he suggests by "painfully abstracts a notion," he states that Korea is present as an "undercurrent" in Nakajima's literary imagination. In other words, Lee implies that a concern for Korea is at the heart of Nakajima's works. Lee describes Nakajima's imagination as rich with "a sense of self- skepticism, ontological inquiries, language, violence, and consciousness shaken in the face of the other."¹¹⁴ I argue Lee's positive account of Nakajima singles out Nakajima's receptivity toward others. This receptivity or openness may form an ethical condition of responsiveness to others. Additionally, Lee's phraseology, "painfully abstracts," implies an awareness of the affect at work within Nakajima as a writer in his relationship with Korea. Lee, in this way, valorizes Nakajima's ethical orientation toward Korea.



Figure 3-2: Japanese Empire at its Peak (1942) ¹¹⁵

“You are also Korean, are you not?”

“Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923” is an effort to outline and critique Japanese imperial forms of consciousness and ongoing colonizing processes by a member of the colonizing class: Nakajima Atsushi also constitutes a part of this class.¹¹⁶ Interestingly, in this short story, Nakajima Atsushi sets a Korean police officer, Cho Kyoyŏng, as the main narrator of this story. Cho works for the Governor-General of Korea (1910-1945) in Keijyō, modern-day Seoul. In this sense, he is situated in a complicit relationship with the colonizing force that disciplines people in Korea and helps to reproduce ideal subjects for imperial Japan.

Mainly through Cho's eyes, snapshots of the everyday lives of colonial Koreans, as well as of Japanese who emigrated from the metropole Japan, are narrated. The story is set in 1923. Nakajima reveals the unevenly distributed power between Koreans and Japanese that permeated their everyday lives. As disclosed later in the story, 1923 is the year when the Great Kantô Earthquake occurred, which was followed by the persecution and massacre of Korean residents in Japan by Japanese. This persecution was based on false accusations that Koreans were intending to riot against Japanese, or attempting to kill them by poisoning wells.

Ideology is a structured pattern of meanings, feelings and, above all, consciousnesses. If so, how are the patterned consciousnesses formed and produced? For this inquiry, I will examine a scene on a public train in the story. The narrator, Cho, as a police officer, is endowed with the small privilege that he is allowed to use public transportation for free. His position also lets him stand at his favorite spot next to the driver, where he is able to enjoy fresh air coming from outside, without anyone reproaching him. One summer morning when Cho is standing at his favorite spot, a male Japanese middle-school student starts to occupy the spot, probably also to enjoy the fresh air. The driver tells the student to relocate himself since it is not a spot for passengers and the student is in the way of other passengers. The Japanese student, however, arrogantly dismisses the driver's request. Pointing at the Korean officer, Cho, the student says, "If he doesn't step inside, I won't either" (*"Sono hito o naka e irenain*

nara, ore mo iya dayo").¹¹⁷ The student does not use honorific speech, even though such a social situation almost mandates that the student use respectful language (*sonkeigo*), humble language (*kenjyôgo*), or at least polite language (*teineigo*), since he is merely a student while Cho is a government official. Moreover, Nakajima adds an interesting comment in brackets after the student's remark: "(Naturally, he knew that the conductor was a Korean, too.)"

The offensive remark is predicated on an assumption that the young student as Japanese is situated in a higher, or at least, equal social position than both the Korean policeman and the Korean driver, relieving him of the need to express politeness, respectfulness, or humility toward them. The Japanese student notices the dismay manifested on their faces and enjoys his power as a Japanese despite the fact that he is younger than these two Koreans in a society where respect or humbleness before one's elder is usually assumed, expected, and practiced. Thus, in this scene, the racial superiority of being Japanese interrupts the hierarchy arranged by age that permeates the society. Moreover, his arrogance as a Japanese disrupts the governmental authority of the police officer. Racial hierarchy in this way challenges and disturbs other power structures. Thus, the consciousness that reaffirms the racial hierarchy that places Japanese on top is activated and reinforced.

Additionally, the arrogance manifested in the young Japanese student reveals the tautological structure that operates behind the badge of authority that marks one as a

member of the colonizing class.¹¹⁸ The badge of authority hides its rationality. As Chela Sandoval argues, the favorite tautological answer to those who question authority is: "Because I said so, that's why!" This supremacy functions as if it were "magic." The magic, according to Sandoval, produces a figure that depends on its influence of power, which freezes meaning into place, thereby protecting and legitimizing its authority. Inspired by Sandoval, I argue that the Japanese student is also the figure that appeals to and depends on the power of the Japanese Empire. By confirming his racial supremacy, he legitimizes and protects his power over Koreans in this structure, within which he is right only because he is Japanese. In other words, what his gesture explicitly implies is that Koreans must obey him because he is Japanese. The fact that he is Japanese, thus, operates as a badge of authority in the face of Koreans.

In another incident on the train in the story, an everyday word is also revealed to be saturated with unequally distributed power dynamics. One day, Cho witnesses a dispute between an older Japanese woman and a young Korean man. The woman's lower social status and her lack of access to proper education are hinted at in the description of the shabby clothes that she wears, as well as in the unrefined version of a Kansai accent that she speaks. The two are frustrated with each other. Miscommunication lies between the two. They are not speaking the same language. In other words, they do not share the same social codes when they talk to each other:

"How dare you call me 'yobo'?"

"I said. 'yobo-san,' did I not?"

"It's all the same. Calling me 'yobo'?"

"I did not call you 'yobo' but 'yobo-san'"

... "Yobo-san, please have a seat. Why are you so mad at me when I take the trouble to offer you a seat?"¹¹⁹

Her intention to be polite ironically co-exists with her clear ignorance. Other passengers on the train are laughing at her. The young Korean man stares at her angrily. This less educated Japanese woman misses the point. She does not understand a tacit assumption that Japanese calling Koreans "yobo" is itself a derogatory act, and hence, even if she adds an honorific marker, the suffix "san," she still fails to display respect. She is ignorant of the Korean term "yobo," which literally means "you," being an intimate reference only when used by a Korean speaker to address his or her significant other. If used by Japanese, such a sign of intimacy is transformed into one of disrespect, aggression, and affront.

The narrator, Cho, subsequently raises a question about Korean identity. He cannot help but question: "Why does this young Korean man need to argue? Why does this "moderate protestor" (*onken na kôgisha*) feel so honored in acting like someone who is different from what he was first thought to be? Why does he feel ashamed of who he is?"¹²⁰ This "yobo" utterance by a lower-class Japanese woman with no ill-intention and simply animated by her lack of education, exemplifies how everyday words are permeated by asymmetrical power dynamics between the Japanese and Koreans. This demonstrates how even an everyday word like "yobo" cannot be free from such dynamics.

Cho witnesses how the term “yobo” is negatively employed a second time that same day. As a police officer, he is now guarding political candidates during their campaign speeches for the legislative assembly. After several speeches by Japanese candidates, the only Korean candidate finally begins his speech, in which he talks about hope in fluent Japanese. He is a man highly respected by both Japanese and Koreans: He once served as the head of the Chamber of Commerce. During his speech, however, a young Japanese man, who does not appear to have yet turned twenty, starts abruptly to yell at him: “Shut up, yobo!” (*damare yobo no kusen*).¹²¹

As discussed in the previous chapter, the conjunctive particle “*kuse ni*” indicates a paradoxical condition which counters or defies an intuition or logic. It, hence, connotes blame. So the utterance “*yobo no kuse ni*” can be translated as “pretentious yobo” in terms of its implication. Then, the Korean candidate exclaims by raising his voice: “I’ve just heard some totally unacceptable language uttered (*sukoburu ikan na kotoba*). I am still one who firmly believes that we are also part of the glorious Japanese people.”¹²² Some members of the audience in one corner, in response, start clapping their hands earnestly.

Comparing himself to this Korean political candidate, Cho recalls the angry young Korean man whom he just met earlier that day, and then ponders the “country” (*kuni*) called Japan. Cho also thinks about the “ethnicity” (*minzoku*) called “Korean” (*Chôsen*).¹²³ Cho, moreover, thinks about himself, his job, and his wife and child. He faces a dilemma:

he must work to support and protect his wife and child; however, his job places him in a collaborative relationship with the rise of the Japanese Empire that subordinates Koreans under the Japanese in its racial hierarchy.

The political candidate's rhetorical choice, with which he embraces and prioritizes the identity of Japanese over Korean in order to achieve his goal of winning the election, deliberately activates, reproduces, and reinforces the ideology that Koreans are Japanese while freezing the ideology into an eternal reference that protects and legitimizes the Japanese Empire.¹²⁴ Ironically, the rhetoric also resonates well with that of *Hakkô ichiu* (the world under one roof), the notion which later becomes popular as the slogan for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in order to justify Japanese expansionism over other parts of Asia in the name of peace and racial equality under the moral leadership of the Japanese Emperor.¹²⁵ The difficulty of having a Korean identity is thus foregrounded.

The next episode implies that Cho has also unwittingly internalized the racial hierarchy that subordinates Koreans to Japanese. Cho is walking through the filthy streets of Seoul, where he sees a fortuneteller suffering from tuberculosis whose face is lightened up in the dark, as well as a trembling old man reading aloud from a book in Hangul in front of a used book store. While he is walking in the poor area of town, a Japanese gentleman speaks to him. The gentleman inquires of Cho in an extremely polite manner about the address of the house of a high official of the Governor-General of Korea. Assuming the gentleman is also of a higher rank, Cho becomes self-conscious, realizing

that he felt pleased being treated with such polite manners by a Japanese gentleman. Because of this, Cho compares himself with "a child who has been treated with even the slightest bit of seriousness by an adult" (*chôdo kodomo ga otona ni sukoshi demo majime ni aite ni sareru to, sukkari yorokonde shimau yôn*).¹²⁶ He notices that Koreans are often treated as children while Japanese are "adults." Now he realizes that he cannot laugh at the Korean young man who argued with the older Japanese woman on the train, or at the Korean political candidate who pandered to Japanese by expressing his honor at being a member of the "glorious Japanese" empire.

This scene provides another snapshot of colonial Korea that reveals unequal power dynamics when an attempt by a Korean to denaturalize Japanese authority fails. Korean police officers, ironically, can participate in the failure, too, as the following episode indicates. One cold winter afternoon, the Governor-General of Korea comes back from Tokyo. After officials bow to him mechanically, the Governor-General gets into a car that has been waiting for him, and at the very moment when the car starts to move, a skinny young Korean man suddenly begins shooting at it. He is in his mid- twenties. Police officers surround him. They stare at each other. The man, however, suddenly takes off his hat and flings it against the ground. He bursts into laughter as if mocking himself. He throws his gun into the crowd. The police catch him. The Korean man does not resist. With a smile of mockery on his trembling lips, the man stares at the police.

Now calmness, despair, mockery, and deep pity are observed in the young Korean man's eyes. Curiously enough, these paradoxical descriptions by Nakajima resonate with expressions from *Sangetsuki*, such as the "timid pride" (*okubyô na jisonshin*) discussed earlier. In this sense, *Sangetsuki* and "The Landscape with a Patrolman" approximate each other. Their ethos resonates with one another. Cho, the policeman, cannot look into the Korean man's eyes even though he is grabbing the man's arms. The man's eyes are speaking to him, but Cho cannot read what they are saying. Or more precisely, Cho refuses to face what is manifested in them. Cho asks himself: "Who was captured? Who captured whom?"¹²⁷ The Korean officers, in this way, protect the Japanese Empire while arresting their fellow Korean. This episode implies the police officers in colonial Korea have faultlessly absorbed and reinforced the Japanese imperial consciousness.

In another case, Cho witnesses the arrest of a Korean prostitute, Kim Dongnyŏn, which reveals how the ideological structure of the Japanese Empire regulates, fixes, and generates a version of reality in colonial Korea. The structure also determines what must be silenced. The prostitute, Dongnyŏn, has no choice but to sell her body in order to survive after her husband's sudden death during a business trip to Japan. She has no relatives upon whom she can rely. She believes that her husband died in the Great Kantô Earthquake in 1923. She knows nothing about the tragedy that happened to Koreans in Japan shortly after the earthquake. She does not know that he was most likely killed in the aforementioned Korean massacre after the earthquake.

While chatting with one of her clients, the harsh reality is revealed. Dongnyŏn is now running around in the cold December morning as if a lunatic, screaming about the massacre of Koreans. Mobs gather around her, appalled by her disheveled hair, one layer of clothing despite the winter morning cold, and her bloodshot eyes. To the mob, she appears mad when she speaks about the massacres at the time of the earthquake. A Korean policeman then comes and arrests her. Vexed, crying, Dongnyŏn yells at the policeman: "What? You! You are also Korean, are not you? (*"Nanda, omae datte onaji Chŏsenjin no kuse ni"*) You, you, you....."¹²⁸ The police arrest her, and she is sent to jail.

What can be observed in this scene is an ironic structure in which a Korean arrests another Korean, in order to protect the dignity of the Japanese imperial body. The authority deems Dongnyŏn's act to be a crime that violates the Japanese sovereign state. Nakajima, thus, portrays a Korean who forms a complicit relationship with the Japanese authority while silencing a deprived Korean prostitute who threatens such authority. Nakajima thereby describes a structure in which fellow Koreans are conditioned by the Japanese colonial regime to oppose each other.

Moreover, the conjunctive particle "*kuse ni*" is again employed, connoting censure when something that counters intuition occurs: "What? You! You are also Korean, are you not? (*"Nanda, omae datte onaji chŏsenjin no kuse ni"*). In this case, what goes against Dongnyŏn's intuition is the fact that a Korean woman would be arrested by a fellow Korean when she protests against the violence done by Japanese against Koreans,

including her beloved husband. She therefore expresses her blame in the word, "*kuse ni*." The nuance of this speech is, hence, as follows: "as fellow Korean, how could you arrest me?"

Eloquent Silence when Writing is Compromised

Furthermore, in the scene above, the audience faces eloquent silence in Nakajima's writing strategy as he navigated censorship under the Peace Preservation Law, which policed and punished ideas and acts that implicitly and explicitly manifested dissent against the Japanese Empire.¹²⁹ For Nakajima, writing is a battlefield in this regard. Nakajima, in this short story, does not explicitly state that Dongnyŏn's husband was murdered by the Japanese right after the earthquake, but simply depicts the situation in a way in which both Dongnyŏn and her client cannot find appropriate language to discuss the Korean massacre. Instead, Nakajima employs multiple ellipses to indicate silence and imply politicized views. In so doing, he strategically invites readers to enter a shared but unspoken discourse by acknowledging that many Koreans were killed after the Great Kantô earthquake. Nakajima in this way implicitly articulates the possible murder of the prostitute's husband:

"-----When did he die?"

"-----This past fall. It happened all of a sudden."

"-----What? Had he been ill?"

"-----There was nothing wrong with him. It was during the earthquake. He died then."

...

"-----Really? So your husband was in Japan at that time?"

...

"-----What? So you have no idea what happened to him?"

"-----What? What do you mean?"

"-----Your husband must have beenThe poor thing!"

...

"You had better keep your mouth shut about this. If not, you will get into trouble."

...

"-----So you all knew about it, didn't you? You knew what happened during the earthquake."¹³⁰

The client insinuates that Dongnyŏn's husband is one of the thousands of Koreans who were massacred by the Japanese authorities or by private militias. Additionally, it was also the case that the Governor-General of Korea censored the media and tried to prevent any news of the massacre from reaching colonized Koreans.¹³¹ Nakajima was writing the piece "Landscape with a Patrolman" at a time when no one would dare to say anything that would insult the Japanese imperial body. Self-censorship by Nakajima might have also been at work in writing the short story. Nakajima, thus, lets the silence eloquently speak when writing is compromised. In addition, in terms of censorship, Kawamura Minato suggests that the following words are likely deleted from Nakajima's text: "He must have

been killed by Japanese or self-defense soldiers (*jikeidan*)."¹³² Kawamura also points out the impossibility of clearly articulating the massacre even in a student journal.¹³³

Difficulty or Impossibility of Having a Korean Identity

Each Korean formed his or her own life differently in negotiation with structured patterns of feelings and consciousnesses under the Japanese Empire. In other words, some Koreans, like Cho, may have actively participated in the colonial apparatus by forming collaborative and complicit relationships with the Japanese while others may have attempted to interrupt it and thereby form a renewed political collectivity; and others still may simply have been exploited, betrayed, and abandoned by the colonial structure. One day, Cho's chosen course is interrupted; he is fired for disagreeing with his boss over a dispute between Korean and Japanese students. Robert Tierney suggests that this episode possibly refers to the Kwangju Student Movement that started in 1929, the year Nakajima wrote "Landscape with a Patrolman." The movement, fueled by anti-Japanese sentiment, led to a series of demonstrations in colonial Korea against Japanese rule.¹³⁴ Nakajima captures a reality in colonial Korea that the authorities often, if not always, favored the Japanese side when such a dispute between the Japanese and Koreans occurred. He also foregrounds the negative repercussions of taking the Korean side when he portrays Cho's being laid off. In other words, what was deemed to be "right" and

“correct” was, in many cases, to collaborate with the Japanese Empire. Justice was thus contingent, if not arbitrary, in colonial Korea.

Nakajima concludes his story by suggesting the impossibility of having a Korean identity under the Japanese Empire. Once fired, Cho, on his way home, stops by a Korean brothel and spends the night there. After losing his job, he is concerned about the future of his wife and child, and he contrasts himself with his fellow Koreans who gather in a dark, small room to plan a revolt against the Japanese. These Koreans are future-oriented and full of hope, unlike Cho. He sees the gap and now aimlessly walks the streets early in the morning. He then comes close to Chôsen Industrial Bank, an institution established by the Japanese for investment in Korea. Beside the pillars of the bank, many homeless Koreans are sleeping. The bank, a symbol of the wealth of the Japanese Empire, is juxtaposed against the poverty of everyday Korean people. While looking at the Korean homeless people, Cho starts to tremble and cry: “You, you. This peninsula..... This people (*minzoku*).....”¹³⁵

“Landscape with a Patrolman” thus embodies and reveals the full contradictions of Nakajima’s time within the Japanese Empire. This may make him more of a critic of the Empire than a passive participant. Even if Nakajima does not outspokenly call for the immediate decolonization of Korea, he is engaged in critiques of the Empire. With this in mind, Nakajima sheds a critical light on the following images, which he constellates in the story: 1) a Shintô Shrine, Chôsen Jingû (1925-45) in Namsan, Seoul, devoted to the

worship of Meiji Emperor and Amaterasu-ômikami; 2) a classroom where Korean students mechanically repeat the phrase "Hideyoshi, thus, invaded Korea" after their young history teacher who utters it more hesitantly; and 3) a new Japanese school principal, who imprints the virtue of obedience on young and impressionable Korean students.

Nakajima critically implies that these are all colonial mechanisms that shape knowledge and produce the ideal colonial and imperial subject. Even with hesitance, history is taught from the perspective of Japanese. Nakajima's portrayals of Chôsen Jingû and schools in Korea under Japanese authority interfere with the dominant Japanese colonial consciousness that attempts to discipline, educate, and generate colonial subjects as ideal, docile, and subservient others, who constitute and support the "glorious" Japanese Empire (to employ the term used by the Korean political candidate). By portraying everyday political and social life in Korea, Nakajima critiques the existing educational system and its role in creating and maintaining the conditions of Japanese rule over Koreans. In so doing, Nakajima destabilizes the components that form the Empire. "Landscape with a Patrolman" thus questions, rather than advocates, the colonial apparatus by revealing the inherent contradictions within colonial discourses.

Nakajima in a Larger Context

Watanabe Kazutami argues that “Landscape with a Patrolman” raises the Korean problem (*Chôsenjin mondai*) more keenly than his contemporaries in proletarian literature did, despite the fact that Nakajima is more of a modernist writer.¹³⁶ Watanabe argues that Nakajima’s insight is deeper than that of proletarian writers, such as Hayama Yoshiki, Kaji Wataru, Yamauchi Kengo, Kuroshima Denji, Iwatô Yukio, Hirabayashi Taiko, Nakano Shigeharu, and Etchûya Riichi,¹³⁷ who also wrote about Koreans in the late 1920s. According to Watanabe, these contemporaries simply expressed sympathy toward Koreans as an oppressed group of people, as they were treated more poorly than the Japanese. As a result, their claims ended simply with calls for Korean liberation.

Watanabe, in this way, criticizes the portrayals by leftist writers as being “generic and cliché” so that the word “Korean” in their works can be easily replaced by other marginalized groups, such as Chinese or *burakumin*, Japan’s outcaste class.¹³⁸ Interestingly, Watanabe’s claim parallels criticism of inter-war-period Japanese Marxism, which prioritized class struggle over other struggles, such as ethnic or gender struggles, in order to heighten the solidarity among the proletariat. In other words, Marxism intentionally concealed or erased other differences to achieve a common interest, i.e., to liberate the proletariat. On the contrary, Nakajima’s gaze individualizes Koreans. I argue

that his portrayals complicate the notion of Korean ethnicity by presenting a mosaic of Korean snapshots.

Nakajima vividly describes the ironic reality of colonial Seoul, where Koreans self-alienate by hurting or disempowering other Koreans, due to a social structure ruled by the Japanese Empire. In this sense, even though Nakajima is not a proletarian writer, his "Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923" evokes a scene from the short story, "Senjin" (Koreans), by the proletarian writer, Kuroshima Denji (1898-1943).

In "Senjin," Kuroshima describes a twisted power structure among Koreans. In the story, a gentleman in Western clothing (unnamed in the story; for convenience, we will refer to him as Mr. A), who acts as Japanese, knocks a drunken old Korean man down to the ground in public, claiming in fluent Japanese that the old man is in his way and annoying him. Mr. A also directs a derogatory "yobo" epithet toward the older Korean man. Then, another Korean man in Western clothing (Mr. B) shows up and accuses the aforementioned violent gentleman, Mr. A, in fluent Korean for behaving as if Japanese. Mr. B knows that Mr. A is not ethnically Japanese but in fact is Korean. In other words, Mr. B knows that Mr. A is simply performing Japanese-ness in order to present himself as being higher in the ethnic hierarchy. This fact having been pointed out, Mr. A, who was pretending to be Japanese, apologizes for his misconduct in his mother tongue, Korean. The truth is now revealed to everyone on the street. Mr. B grabs the apologizing Mr. A by the chest and parades Mr. A before a Korean crowd, which dashes over to Mr. A, yelling

"Trample him [Mr. A] to death! Beat him to death!"¹³⁹ As a result, Mr. A, who was performing a false Japanese identity, is beaten in public by his fellow Koreans in return.

Thus, Kuroshima portrays a structure in which Koreans turned on other Koreans because their everyday lives were saturated with asymmetrical power dynamics between the Japanese and Koreans. This structure evokes the one that Nakajima depicts in "Landscape with a Patrolman," implying that both Nakajima and Kuroshima understand that this dynamic, in which Koreans are pitted against one another, benefits the Japanese Empire. This dynamic also helps to foreclose the possibility of revolt by Koreans against the Empire.

What is more, Nakajima's spirit, as a man from the metropole, resonates with the Scottish Highlander descendent Robert Louis Stevenson's (1850-94) critique of the European Empires and the U.S hegemony. Nakajima portrayed Stevenson in his last novel, *Light, Wind and Dreams* (1942), which was published a little before his sudden death from an asthma attack. In the novel, Stevenson travels the U.S. and the Pacific before settling in Polynesian Samoa. Stevenson was not only a famous novelist for *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), but also a lawyer. Nakajima in his novel depicts him as a man who has developed a critical eye toward the U.S. and the European powers that vied for the Pacific Ocean in the late nineteenth century.



Figure 3-3: Robert Stevenson with his wife, Fanny, and natives
in Butaritari island, Kiribati in Micronesia (1889)

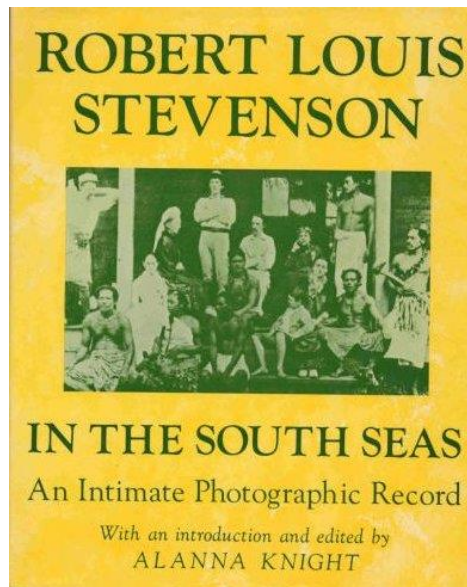


Figure 3-4: *In the South Seas* by Robert Stevenson.
Stevenson is sitting in the middle in a white shirt.

In the novel by Nakajima, Stevenson recognizes the injustice inherent in colonial rule and stands against the colonial powers, as he writes a letter to *The London Times* in order to expose everyday realities in Samoa. Stevenson is the only European man who gives voice to injustice in the story. I argue that Nakajima's critical gaze toward colonial Korea parallels that of his own creative interpretation of Stevenson. Interestingly, Nakajima had written this novel before he left for Palau. This episode reveals the fact that Nakajima had already been aware of colonial violence even before he moved to the Pacific. It is not surprising that Nakajima had nurtured such a keen sensibility toward aggressive colonial expansions, if we consider the fact that he had witnessed injustice permeating colonial subjects' everyday lives in Korea, as well as the fact that he had already produced short stories such as "Landscape with a Patrolman" in his early literary career, when he was only in his early twenties.

What is more, *Light, Wind and Dreams* was nominated for one of the most prestigious literary awards in Japan, the Akutagawa Literary Award, in 1942. The work was published in that year, at the time when publication was becoming increasingly difficult because of the severe censorship that policed any literature that might criticize the Japanese Empire. It is unclear whether the Japanese literati (*bundan*) were aware of the implicit criticism against the Empire that was inscribed in *Light, Wind and Dreams* as I have argued it. How much were the literati able to recognize the critical, if not linear,

continuity from his early work, "The Landscape with a Patrolman," to his later work, *Light, Wind and Dreams*? Did the literati deem Nakajima a "safe" writer?

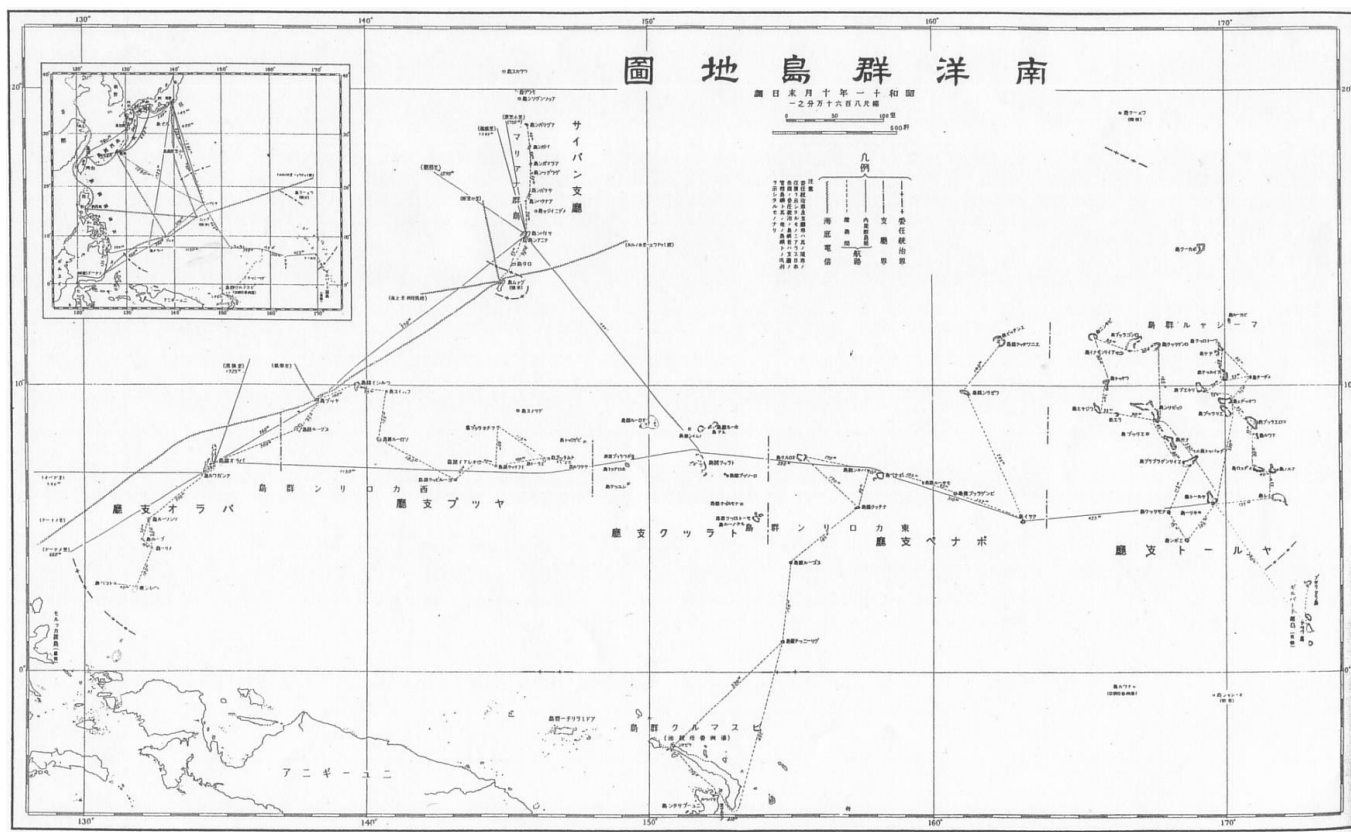


Figure 3-5: Map of Nanyô guntô (1930s) ¹⁴⁰

Proximity between the Canon and Colonial Works

Nakajima, in his letters to his wife, Taka, expressed his doubts about his mission to revise and compile Japanese language textbooks for natives in the South Seas (*Nanyô*). In 1941, Nakajima was sent to Palau by the *Nanyôchô* (1922-45), the South Pacific

Mandate, which was recognized by the Treaty of Versailles (1919) as a result of the defeat of Germany in World War One. By October 1914, Japan had already seized the German possessions of Marianas, Carolines, Marshall Islands, and Palau. During his tenure in Palau, Nakajima traveled to various islands in Micronesia, such as Saipan, in order to observe Japanese schools for natives where the natives were educated in Japanese. Yet, Nakajima writes in his letter to his wife, dated as November 9th, 1941:

Well, I clearly started to see how nonsensical it is to compile textbooks for natives. There should be something that is more important than that to make them happy. The textbooks are the least important matter. I, however, cannot do the job to make them happy in the current of the time. Under the current circumstances, it is becoming more and more difficult to provide them with enough housing and food. At this very moment, what do a little more refined textbooks do for the natives? Dandling education may make them unhappy. I no longer have a passion for the compilation work. It is not because I don't like natives. It is because I love natives. I like natives. I like natives more than skinny Japanese (*naichi jin*) who live in the South Seas.¹⁴¹

Nakajima questions the architecture of the Japanese Empire by which it educates natives in the South Seas. It has been widely understood that Nakajima quit his job in the South Pacific Mandate because the weather of Palau was worsening his asthma. In his letter to his wife, dated as August 6th 1942, he states as much: "I submitted a letter of resignation. It is not because I want to write literary works, but instead because my physical condition does not allow me to stay here."¹⁴² Yet, was it really so? Was that his intention?

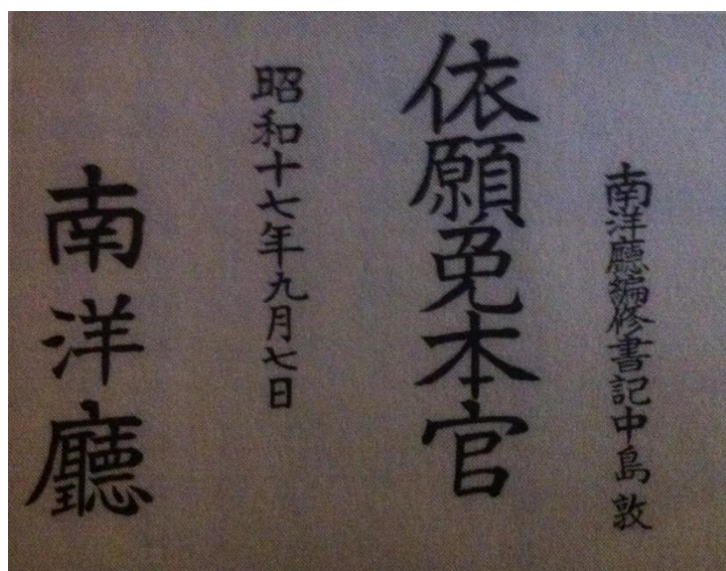


Figure 3-6: A Letter of Resignation by Nakajima Atsushi ¹⁴³

It is true that Nakajima was suffering from a severe case of asthma, which terminated his life in 1942. I, however, argue that the deeper reason he resigned his post was that he could not stand to watch himself succumbing to the "bureaucratic vulgar evil," as Richô

calls it in *Sangetsuki*. Nakajima was not in a position to financially jeopardize his wife, his two young sons, and his wife's mother, who was suffering from debts and whom Nakajima was taking care of almost all by himself. Criticizing the Japanese Empire explicitly could have easily put him at risk financially. He had no other choice but to negotiate his life with the Empire. This ethos also resonates with that of Korean civil servants who had to compromise their own ethnic pride in order to protect their families and their everyday lives and survive under the Japanese Empire in "Landscape with a Patrolman." Therefore, the asthma seems to be his stated reason (*tatema*), while his real intention (*hon'ne*) was his skepticism toward and disappointment with the Empire.

His early work, "Landscape with a Patrolman: A Sketch from 1923," challenges an assumed gap between the early Nakajima and the late Nakajima. In other words, his critical orientation toward the authoritarian government in his early colonial works resonates with his late works: the anti-governmental ethos of the character Richô in *Sangetsuki*, who prefers to become a tiger rather than succumb to "bureaucratic vulgar evil," and Stevenson in *Light, Wind and Dreams*. More importantly, the fact that "Landscape with a Patrolman" is deemed minor among Nakajima's works enables us to think about the half-blind processes of canonization of certain works, for example, *Sangetsuki* (1942) and *Light, Wind and Dreams* (1942). These major works encourage us to see the rest of his work as minor, and what is considered as minor falls away from the category of national literature (*kokumin bungaku*).¹⁴⁴

Nakajima's minor works allow us to explore why certain pieces by Nakajima have been forgotten and marginalized, as well as how these can serve as a critique of national literary values under certain political conditions. Yet, as I have argued, both the minor and the major works of Nakajima approximate each other in their essence, as manifested not only in his rhetorical choices to dialectically combine two opposing elements to describe characters, their feelings, thought processes, and beliefs, but also in themes that focus criticism against the cotemporary governments in each work. *Sangetsuki* (1942) should be read in light of his colonial experiences rather than in the depoliticized ways authorized in canonical interpretations.

Chapter

Four

I Perform, therefore I am not:

Ri Kôran's Building of the Empire



"Your right eye is free and uninhibited but your left one is calm."¹⁴⁵

Umehara Ryûzaburô

"We were almost the same age. We were at the same place. But one is a movie star and the other is a comfort woman. How could this have happened?"¹⁴⁶

Yamaguchi Yoshiko

"My life story? Okay. Which one would you like, truth or lie?"¹⁴⁷

Ri Kôran

Who is Ri Kôran?

"A beautiful woman who presents herself always as the other" (*tasha to shite tsune ni genzen suru josei*).¹⁴⁸ This is how Yomota Inuhiko, a film historian, portrays the representation of Ri Kôran (1920-); it is the way in which many Japanese may imagine her, since she easily crosses boundaries of nationality, ethnicity, and language. In many films of the Manchuria Motion Picture Production and Distribution Company (Man'ei, 1937-45), Ri performed as a Han Chinese or Manchu woman, who was perfectly fluent in both Japanese and Mandarin Chinese. The "Continental Trilogy" (*tairiku sanbusaku*) are good example of this: *Song of the White Orchid* (*Byakura no uta*, 1939), *A Vow in the Desert* (*Nessa no chikai*, 1940) and *China Nights* (*Shina no yoru*, 1940). Also, she performed as an indigenous girl (*takasago zoku*) of Taiwan in *The Bell of Sayon* (*Sayon no kane*, 1943).

Moreover, Ri, in *My Bush Warbler* (*Watashi no uguisu*, 1944), portrayed a Russian girl who sang Russian opera and folk songs with the Harbin Orchestra (1936-45), led by conductor Sergey Schweikovsky.¹⁴⁹ Many members of the orchestra were white Russians and Jews who escaped to Manchukuo as political refugees: the former, due to the Russian Revolution in 1917; the latter, the pogroms and Nazism. In her representations, Ri was active, vibrant, somewhat elusive, and mobile. Yomota, by referring to Roland Barthes's well known facial comparison between Greta Garbo as "Idea" and Audrey Hepburn as

“Event,”¹⁵⁰ argues that Ri takes the position of Hepburn while her contemporaneous Hara Setsuko (1920-) takes that of Garbo.¹⁵¹

As the first child of a Japanese couple, Fumio and Ai Yamaguchi, Ri Kôran was born in 1920 in Běiyantai, near Mukuden (Hôten), Manchukuo, a city that was occupied by Russia until 1905 and then by Japan until 1945. Her given name was Yamaguchi Yoshiko. The family soon moved to Fushun (Bujun). Her father, Fumio, was a Mandarin teacher at the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu, 1906-45). Fumio also provided his daughter with training in Mandarin from an early age, emphasizing its pronunciation, which was distinctively different from the dialect acquired naturally by locals in that region of Manchukuo. In the year 1933, she became an “adopted daughter,”¹⁵² akin to a god daughter, of Li Jichun, according to the Chinese custom, and at that time, she was given the name, Li Xianglan. The combined sounds of “Li” and “Xia” later served as a base for her Hollywood name, Shirley.

Ri Kôran is the Japanese pronunciation of the kanji character for Li Xianglan. The name, Li Xianglan,¹⁵³ was later employed for her stage name as both an actress and singer. By the time she entered elementary school in Fushun, she was already playing the violin, piano, and Japanese zither (*koto*). In 1933, she started her formal training in classical vocal under Madam Podoresov(a), who was said to have been a dramatic soprano singer for an opera theater under the Russian Empire (1721-1917). Madam Podoresov(a) established the foundation for Ri’s voice as a future coloratura soprano.¹⁵⁴

In 1934, Ri moved to Beijing to study at an All Girls' Catholic School, *Yijiao Girls' School*,¹⁵⁵ where she was able to polish her Mandarin Chinese, specifically a version spoken by girls from the upper-middle class in Beijing. Ri later recalls that their Mandarin sounded "beautifully flowing."¹⁵⁶ Yet, that is not to say reality at the school was always rosy. Because of the school's anti-Japanese ambience, she had to conceal her identity as Japanese; to that end, she used the name Pan Shuhua¹⁵⁷ at the school as again an adopted daughter of Pan Yugui (1884-61),¹⁵⁸ who used to be a Mayor of Tianjin (Tenshin). Ri Kôran thus spent her early years in a bourgeois upper-middle class atmosphere.

It may be worth mentioning an episode from the anti-Japanese movement that Ri experienced when she was at the Catholic Girls' school, as it marks her dual and torn identification with China and Japan as a teenager. At a political gathering that took the nominal form of a tea party, a leader of the anti-Japanese activists asked Ri about what she would do should the Japanese army cross the walls of Beijing and attack Chinese. After a period of silence, unable to take either side, Ri answered, "I will stand still on the wall." Ri later explains that at that time she felt that she would rather be killed by gun shots by Japanese and/or Chinese than take either side. She was only sixteen when she stated this. She figuratively called Japan her ancestors' country or fatherland (*sokoku*) while calling China her motherland (*bokoku*). It was impossible for her to take either side.¹⁵⁹ This torn identity between two different nations might help explain why she was once married to an artist with a similar background, Isamu Noguchi (1904-88), in 1951.

Ri recalls her marriage with Noguchi, which ended in divorce: she felt a closeness to him because they both underwent difficult periods, being torn between two beloved nations (*aisuru futatsu no kun*) during World War II. He was born to a Japanese father, Noguchi Yonejirô aka Yone Noguchi (1875-1947), a poet, and an American mother of European descent, Léonie Gilmour (1873-1933). In May 1942, he became a voluntary internee in a Japanese internment camp. Noguchi was placed in the Poston War Relocation Center, Arizona, which was opened after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. As a Japanese American, Noguchi also felt torn between the two countries: the US and Japan. When Noguchi first met Ri, he told her: "You must have suffered during the war. I also endured pain because of the war between the US and Japan."¹⁶⁰ This is how their hearts resonated with each other and how they developed intimacy towards each other.¹⁶¹

Manchukuo's Mottos and Man'ei

As an actress, Ri Kôran's performance for Man'ei was an embodiment of an ideological slogan of the Japanese Empire: "Harmony of the Five Races" (*gozoku kyôwa*). The Manchukuo government subsidized Man'ei. Man'ei's official brochure announces its mission in English that the company "controls the exportation, importation, and distribution of motion picture films and to carry on enterprises relating to the production

of educational, cultural and entertainment films, with a view to contributing to the exaltation of the national spirit and to the promotion of the national education."¹⁶² In this way, Man'ei's films intended to produce and cultivate an imagined collective 'Japanese national' sensibility among its audiences, whether they were ethnically Japanese or not. This was achieved despite the ethos and effort of Amakasu Masahiko, the belatedly appointed head for Man'ei (1939-45), as explained below.

Amakasu advocated producing films for Manchurians and not for Japanese.¹⁶³ He argued against the possibility that Japanese would misrepresent Manchukuo by "eroticizing" and "vulgarizing" Manchurians. Unlike other Japanese officials in Manchukuo, he held a progressive view toward Manchurian people, contrary to his austere and brutal public image created by the Amakasu Incident (1923). For example, he corrected the unequal salary system between Chinese and Japanese. He promoted more talented Chinese employees over less capable Japanese. He did not hesitate to lay off less skilled Japanese employees in spite of the dominant ethnic hierarchy of Man'ei, in which Japanese were situated on top and Chinese were subordinated.¹⁶⁴

Moreover, another liberal minded Man'ei employee, Kawakita Nagamasa (1903-1981), also advocated for "a cinema of the Chinese, by the Chinese, and for the Chinese."¹⁶⁵ He was a cosmopolitan. He was born in Tokyo but was educated in Peking University and studied abroad in Germany. He was fluent in both German and Chinese. Later in his life, he was awarded *L'ordre national de la légion d'honneur* by the

government of French Republic, as well as the *Ordine al merito della Repubblica Italiana* by the Italian government. It is said that many in Chinese movie circles trusted him. In 1947 when the American Occupation forces purged him from public office, Chinese and Jewish individuals whom Kawakita helped during the war issued a statement in support of him. Nevertheless, his job at Man'ei committed him to produce national policy films (*kokusaku eiga*), whose expressed goal was to realize a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Therefore, Kawakita faced political dilemmas at Man'ei. Despite such internal contradictions, Man'ei fundamentally operated to promote Empire building through films.

Manchukuo: an Arty Ideological Devise

What was the ideology of Manchukuo, the puppet regime, for which Ri Kôran played a part in propagating its made-up positive images? What does it really mean when Manchukuo foregrounds the idea of "Harmony of the Five Races" (*gozoku kyôwa*)? Let me first introduce the brief historical background of Manchukuo. It was located in today's Northeast China and Inner Mongolia. The Qing Dynasty (1636-1912) first governed it under a form of constitutional monarchy. The Dynasty ruled China from 1644-1912. However, after the Mukden Incident in 1931, the Japanese Empire seized its territory and founded a puppet state with Aisin-Gioro Puyi (1906-67). He is the man known today as the last Emperor of China. Manchukuo was established in 1932 and lasted until 1945, with

the defeat of Imperial Japan. "Ethnic Harmony" was one of the most important slogans of Manchukuo. The image below illustrates the slogan:



Figure 4-1

The Concordia Association (Manshûkoku Kyôwakai, 1931-45) published the image above in order to promote its ideals of Pan-Asianism and create a multi-ethnic nation state. The association's honorary leader was Puyi. The motto of the association was the aforementioned 1) "Harmony of the Five Races" (*gozokukyôwa*) and 2) "Arcadia, Presided over by a Virtuous King" (*ôdôrakudo*). The word, *ôdô*, indicates the idea, originally proposed by Mencius (372-289BCE), a Confucian, that virtues instead of the military power should conduct politics. The word also connotes the idea that Eastern virtues rule over

Manchukuo, instead of Western military powers. The term, *rakudo*, is often associated with Buddhist ideas, and it means a place free of anxiety or suffering, and hence, a dream-like *topos* where everyone is able to live peacefully.

The combination of Chinese and Hangul characters in the top-right corner of figure 4-1 describes how the five different colors of Manchukuo-flag stand for five different ethnic groups (*gozoku*), as well as their ability to live together harmoniously (*kyôzon*). Also, an image of the Japanese flag behind the five men, the *hinomaru* flag, should deserve some attention. It is symbolized by the image of a rising sun in a form of encompassing or embracing these five men, suggesting that the Japanese Empire is guarding them behind.

Each color in the Manchukuo flag symbolizes an ethnicity. The color yellow corresponds to the Manchu people, red the Japanese, blue the Han Chinese, white the Mongolians, and black the Koreans. In this way, Manchukuo was represented as an ethnically, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous space that embodied "ethnic harmony" under the Japanese Empire by virtue of being "liberated" from European colonialism.

Under the Manchu-kuo flag, there are five men adorned in different ethnic clothes. From the left, the first one represents the Manchu; the second in the western clothes, the Japanese; third, the Han-Chinese; fourth the Mongolians, the very right signifies the Koreans. In it, the Japanese man is the only one who wears Western clothing. Japanese

is the only race not scarred by an ethnic mark. This lack figuratively marks the desire of Japanese to situate themselves as leaders who are the equivalents of the Western powers. Figure 4-2 below is also a picture that illuminates the Manchukuo slogan through the representations of women.



Figure 4-2¹⁶⁶

The image in figure 4-2 was employed for stamps and thus reproduced, disseminated, and circulated. In so doing, its message of ethnic harmony was reinforced. In the image, five women are dancing harmoniously hand in hand, each representing a different ethnicity. From the left, the woman in blue signifies the Han-Chinese; the woman in yellow, the Manchu, the woman in kimono in the center, the Japanese; next the Korean,

the one to the right, Mongolian. This peaceful and serene image resonates with the aforementioned Manchukuo mottos.

It is also worth noting that the Japanese woman in the center is dressed in ethnic clothes, *kimono*, unlike the Japanese man is dressed in Western clothes in figure 4-1. This critical difference in attire based on gender difference seems to dialectically suggest that a Japanese woman is not necessarily required to become Westernized even if she is situated in a leading position at the center of the harmony among women of different ethnicities. She differs from her male counterpart in Western clothing who presents himself as having a mission to guide, rule, and lead ethnically different people in Manchukuo. This implies that it was crucial for Japanese men to acquire Western knowledge, as leaders in Manchukuo, or at least it was necessary for them to present themselves as equivalents of the Westerners. More importantly, these two tuneful images (figure 4-1 and 4-2) resonate with the Man'ei ethos of "Manchu-Japanese Good Will," (*Nichiman shinzen*), the message of which Ri Kôran carried out in her roles as an actress and singer. The ethos of Man'ei intended to defuse anti-Japanese sentiments held among Chinese people, as will be discussed later.

Ri Kôran and her Performances

Michael Baskett argues that “Ri Kôran was a powerful tool of propaganda that brought disturbing new life to Japanese Pan-Asianist slogans, for in no uncertain terms she promised the fulfillment of the catchphrase ‘Asia is one.’” Baskett claims that the “promise of Pan-Asian unity that Ri Kôran embodied went a long way toward neutralizing the Japanese fear of communicating with alien races.”¹⁶⁷ In other words, for Japanese audiences, Ri to some degree bridged emotional gaps between Japanese and Chinese. Yet, what about Chinese audiences? Was Ri effective for them?

A film critic and producer, Tsuji Hisakazu (1914-81), explains the unfavorable response from Chinese audiences as follows: “Characters of Chinese men and women were created in a way that was convenient for Japanese. This may be an overstatement, but they appeared to be dolls. Such national policy films (*kokusaku eiga*) provoked unpleasant feelings and hatred of Chinese audiences because they failed to depict what Chinese actually looked like in real life (*Chûgokujin no ikita sugata*) -- in short -- their hearts, even if the film makers did not mean to insult the Chinese people.”¹⁶⁸ Tsuji wrote this as he recalled his experience as a censor at the Shanghai News Department (Shanghai-gun Hôdôbu). He was a member of the Japanese colonial elite in Shanghai. He had studied German language and literature at the Tokyo Imperial University.

The most humiliating film for the Chinese audiences was *China Nights* (*Shina no yoru*, 1940). This film was later used as evidence at Ri' Kôran's trial: she was deemed a "Hanjian" during the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45).¹⁶⁹ Hanjian is a term used for a Chinese who has betrayed another Han Chinese. This crime was, therefore, applicable only for Chinese. This confused accusation eloquently speaks to the fact that even in the eyes of Chinese authorities, Ri was able to "pass" as Chinese, and therefore was prosecuted for committing her crime as an active collaborator with the Japanese Empire.



Figure 4-3 ¹⁷⁰

In her memoir, Ri explains about the explicitly disrespectful title, *Shina no yoru*. "Shina" is a derogatory term used by Japanese to signify China. The fact that the character, 支, "shi," upset Chinese since it indicated merely branches and leaves, hence, something petty. They could not tolerate the fact that Japanese called them by names that could be associated with trivial and insignificant images.¹⁷¹ Anyhow, the film was released under the revised title, *Shanghai Nights (Shanghai no yoru)* for Chinese audiences. Yet, this revision provoked a stronger sense of loathing in Chinese. Many of them despised this transparent trick. The film was aired in Hongkou, a Japanese district in Shanghai, rather than in the Bubbling Well Road (Jing'ansi), an area that was compared to Broadway in New York and therefore deemed more prestigious. The film was not even shown at the Ta Hwa Theater, which was the only movie theater that screened Japanese films at that time.¹⁷² Now Ri confesses that the film makes her embarrassed because it obliges her to see herself in ignorant days (*muchi na jidai no jibun*).¹⁷³

What was most catastrophic about the film was that Japanese were inept at reading different cultural codes between Japan and China. In her autobiography, Ri clearly articulates this:

In prewar Japan, man's slapping of a woman was regarded as a manifestation of love. It was considered to be a form of love awakening. In it, the Japanese woman discovered man's strength and thoughtfulness. Therefore, a number of plays and films featured this scene. Yet, this form of

expression of love made sense only within Japanese society. Had the film been played by “Japanese” actors, Hasegawa Kazuo and Yamaguchi Yoshiko, targeting exclusively Japanese audiences, it would not have caused a problem. On the contrary, Chinese interpreted the film this way: A Chinese woman, Ri Kôran, was slapped by a Japanese man. This is why the Chinese audiences regarded the film disturbing.

What was worse, the Chinese saw this doubly humiliating: 1) A Chinese woman was slapped by a Japanese man; 2) Nevertheless, she started to love him all the more for that. Everyday Chinese audiences symbolically understood the film as concerning the invading and the invaded (*shinrykusha tai hishinryakusha*). They saw the relationship between Japanese and Chinese in the film. The film stimulated their everyday sense of hatred and revulsion (*zôo to hanpatu*) against Japanese even more. Instead of enlightening the Chinese people, the film reinforced their anti-Japanese sentiments.¹⁷⁴

Another aspect of the film that cannot be dismissed is its theme song, “Suzhou Nocturne” (*Soshû yakyoku*), which gained extreme popularity among Japanese audiences, fueled by their yearning for the continent (*tairiku bûmu*). This song was sung by Ri Kôran in the film, but the version released in record form was performed by Watanabe Hamako (1910-99). It was composed by Hattori Ryôichi (1907-93). Hattori was trained by a Jewish refugee from Ukraine, Emmanuel Leonievich Metter (1878-41), who served as the conductor of Harbin Orchestra and Kyoto University Symphony Orchestra. Hattori created the piece by employing both Chinese melodies and Western musical theories while

infusing it with a touch of jazz. As to instruments, he incorporated *kokyû* (the so-called “Chinese fiddle”), violin, and cornet. A symbolist poet, Saijyô Yaso, (1892-70) wrote its lyrics. Saijyô studied the poems of Arthur Rimbaud (1854-91) and was befriended by Paul Valéry (1871-1945) during his stay at Pantheon-Sorbonne University (*Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne*).¹⁷⁵ In a sense, “Suzhou Nocturne” was the paradigmatical cultural fruit of its time.

The lyrics describe a platonic relationship between a young man and woman in a historic landscape in Suzhou. They are spending their time together by a Buddhist Temple, Hansansi. Birds are singing. A temple bell is tolling. Nature has its own feelings: Willow trees weep (*yanagi ga susurinaku*). A hazy moon sheds its tears (*namida gumu yôna oboro no tsuki*). Mobilizing such highly emotional tropes, along with a romanticized historic landscape, the song succeeded in appealing to the pathos of wider audiences. This mobilization of pathos reached audiences across the globe. In the West (*ôbei*), the song was disseminated and enjoyed popularity under the title of “China Baby in my Arms.”¹⁷⁶ This phenomenon exemplifies the proliferation of the Japanese Empire in a form of popular culture. Additionally, it is worth noting that the employed terms, “China Baby,” mark the infantilizing of China, suggesting the unequally distributed power dynamics between the West and the East.

Ironically, even today “Suzhou Nocturne” is prevalent and covered by a number of Japanese and their former colonial musicians, such as Misora Hibari (1937-89), Yukimura

Izumi (1937-), Oda Kazumasa (1947-), Kuwata Keisuke (1956-), Ishikawa Sayuri (1958-), ASKA (1958-), Judy Ongg (1950-, Taiwanese), Yashiro Aki (1950-), Okuda Tamio (1965-Hiroshima), Sakamoto Fuyumi (1967-), UA (1972-), Ann Sally (1972-, Zainichi Korean), Natsukawa Rimi, (1973-, Okinawan), Hitoto Yô (1976-, Taiwanese), Ueto Aya (1985-), Matsuura Aya (1986-), and many others. These celebratory reproductions implicate today's unwitting collaborations with the Japanese Empire in a way that is common in contemporary popular culture, particularly the populist culture in Enka, J-Pop, Jazz, and R&B.

Peculiarity of *Suzhou Nights*



Figure 4-4¹⁷⁷

This section closely examines the film, *Suzhou Nights* (*Soshû no yoru*, 1941), which was a collaborative production of Man'ei and Shôchiku. It was directed by Nomura Hiromasa (1905-79). In it, Ri Kôran portrays a Chinese woman, Meiran, from Suzhou, who works for an orphanage. Akin to her continental trilogies, Meiran first held strong anti-Japanese sentiments; however, she overcomes these sentiments by learning the "genuine" benevolence of one Japanese man, falls in love with him, and through this develops pro-Japanese feelings that support dreams of the Japanese Empire. Meiran falls in love with a handsome Japanese doctor, Kanô, who is determined to dedicate his life to saving the lives of everyday Chinese people, especially those in small villages, whom even Chinese doctors abandon. Kanô was portrayed by the popular actor, Sano Shûji (1912-78).¹⁷⁸ Both Sano and Ri's popularity reached to many Japanese audiences.¹⁷⁹ At first glance, the film may appear to be one of Ri Kôran's familiar B-class melodramas. Yet, I argue that what makes *Suzhou Nights* peculiar is that it concerns not only the theme of modernity versus pre-modernity, but also Japanese language education, bio-power, a carefully-avoided inter-racial marriage, and implicitly avoided inter-racial reproduction as its consequence.

This section attempts to answer the following lines of inquiry. What does Kanô's decision not to marry Meiran explain about the Empire if we refuse to interpret the film as merely a tear-jerker failed love story between a handsome Japanese man and a beautiful Chinese woman? How is inter-racial marriage between Japanese and Chinese subtly avoided while their romance is encouraged? How is the possibility of inter-racial

reproduction foreclosed? How does biopower operate when Kanô is a Japanese doctor who dedicates his life and passion to improving the lives of everyday Chinese people, while compromising his own personal pursuits: an honorable marriage with a respected Japanese doctor's daughter and a romantic marriage with an attractive "cultured" Chinese woman, Meiran? What does a cultured positive image of Meiran, a native Chinese woman, suggest? How these two forms of marriages, one Japanese and one Chinese, are contrasted and contested, as well as being regarded as modern and pre-modern? How is the notion of "choice" at work in these marriages? As for film techniques, what is mobilized in Meiran's close-ups, the film's mise-en-scène, and its music? How does popular music operate in relation to the Empire? How do multiple languages, such as Japanese, German, and Chinese play out throughout the film? What is the significance of Mandarin Chinese language that Ri Kôran speaks with native fluency? What about her fluent Japanese? How does the Japanese language operate when it is spoken by other Chinese actors with accents that contrast with that of Meiran? What is implied when Chinese is spoken by Chinese actors without being dubbed in Japanese in the film? What does German, employed briefly in the film, suggest?

Implications of Languages: Japanese, Chinese, and German

Throughout the film, *Suzhou Nights*, the Chinese language spoken by everyday Chinese people on the streets and villages is usually represented as incomprehensible mumbles, murmurs, or simply meaningless background noises. Japanese subtitles are not added for these. This suggests that this Chinese language operates as a marking, endowed with no further significance. This stands in sharp contrast to the Mandarin elegantly pronounced by Meiran. Her Mandarin is presented with Japanese subtitles, indicating her status as significant. Ri Kôran spoke pristine Mandarin, as discussed earlier, and portrayed an ideal cultured Chinese woman, despite her national origin as Japanese. The structure of performance that produces an ethnicity is akin to that through which she produced an image of ideal woman, having been trained by a kabuki male actor (*oyama*), Hasegawa Kazuo, (1908-84). He guided Ri on how to act like a “true” woman, and thereby becoming a “perfect” woman in the film.¹⁸⁰ Just like femininity was performed and created, an ideal Chinese womanhood was acted upon and shaped by Ri Kôran.



Figure 4-5¹⁸¹

Hasegawa Performing a Woman in *Yukinojôhenge* (1935)

Japanese, which is clearly, correctly, and fluently articulated by Meiran, is contrasted with that enunciated with accents by Chinese actresses; for example, her Chinese co-workers at the orphanage. In the film, Meiran confesses to Kanô that she studied music in Japan, which enabled her to acquire Japanese. Unlike Meiran, the latter speaks Japanese, stuttering with strong Chinese accents. Combined with Meiran's "Chinese-ness," this creates a paradigm that distinguishes her from other Chinese fellow characters.¹⁸² The paradigm, I argue, positions Meiran as being far enough away to be exotic but close enough to be attractive. Moreover, Meiran's body as a cultured native

attests to the fantasy of expanding a Japanese Empire that crosses linguistic, national, and ethnic borders in the name of modernity: the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

In *Suzhou Nights*, not only the Chinese language but also German reveals the Empire's desire for modernity. There is a scene in which Meiran performs at a concert hall where she sings for charity. The proceeds go to the orphanage that she works for. In the hall, a host introduces Meiran to audiences in German. (See figure 4-6 and 4-7). It is not explicitly stated, but it is implied that the main audiences are German or at least German speakers, because they seemingly understand the language that the host uses. In this scene, Japanese subtitles are added. (See figure 4-7).

Interestingly, Japanese are the only Asian audiences in the hall. The Japanese doctors, including Kanô and his colleagues, sit at an all-Japanese table. German operates as a sign for modernity for the Japanese as cultured subjects. They understand German because it was mandatory for Japanese doctors to learn German.¹⁸³ It was the primary language for Western medical education in Japan. Additionally, here Western medicine is presumably contrasted as a form of modernity to that of Chinese as archaic and pre-modern, and hence, backward. Ironically, this scene implicitly manifests the Empire's desire to identify itself with the West more than Asians, even as it attempts to be an Asian leader in Greater East Asia.



Figure 4-6

Figure 4-7

Popular Music and the Empire

The way in which popular music is employed in this scene cannot be ignored. An instrumental piece for “Kôjô no tsuki,” composed by Taki Rentarô (1879-1903), is played before Ri appears on the stage. The piece was first created in 1901 by Taki, arranged by Yamada Kôroku (1886-1965) in 1907, and later by Koga Masao (1904-78). Its lyrics were written by Doi Bansui (1871-1952), a poet and English literature scholar. The song became popular during wartime especially as a piece to comfort soldiers in battlefields (*senchi imon*) through music. Not only was the song, which functioned as consolation for soldiers heading off to their deaths on the battlefields, part of Ri Kôran’s repertory, it was also a regular piece of Awaya Noriko, another wartime popular singer (1907-1999). Awaya was a classically trained opera singer at Tokyo College of Music; yet, she is known more as the “Queen of Blues” (*buruusu no joô*). In *Suzhou Nights*, as the instrumental music of “Kôjô no tsuki” approaches towards its end, the German host walks onto the stage in front of

the audiences. This way, "Kojô no tsuki" creates an aura that celebrates and glorifies the Japanese Empire in the theatre shortly before Meiran's performance beings. (See figures 4-6 and 4-7).



Figure 4-8

Figure 4-9,

Figure 4-10

In another film, *Escape at Dawn* (*Akatsuki no dassô*, 1950), Harumi, performed by Ri softly sings "Kôjô no tsuki" with her soprano voice, garbed in a white silky dress, as she tries to comfort hundreds of soldiers through music. Such singers were called comfort singers (*imon kashu*). She sings with a simple melody, accompanied by an accordion. (See Figures 4-8, 4-9, and 4-10). The close-ups in figure 4-8 and 4-9 capture the intense moments of both affirmation and negation of life, when one is facing death on the battlefield. The close-ups allow audiences to have access to the feelings of characters on both sides. The audience is invited into the intensity and intimacy that Ri and soldiers collaboratively produce.

In her memoire, Ri recalls her own acts as an *imon kashu* as follows.¹⁸⁴ In her free time during shooting films on battlefields, Ri not only sang Japanese songs for soldiers but also took care of their wounds, which included limbs lost, heads shot, and skin full of maggots. Familiar faces disappeared day by day. It is not that she was singing on a fancy stage in a gorgeous dress as can be observed in the figure 4-8. Rather, she was singing outside, dressed in humble clothes under a night sky. Only a moon and stars were there. It must have been almost impossible to own a white dress (despite figure 4-8), considering the reality on battlefields where she had to wash herself and her clothes with muddy water from the Yellow River.¹⁸⁵

Additionally, the inspiration for the woman Ri played in *Escape at Dawn* was a comfort woman from the novel *Shunpuden* (1947), written by Tamura Tajirô (1911-83). Censored by CIE (Civil Information & Educational Section) under GHQ (General Headquarters), the woman was, however, re-written as a comfort singer in the film.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, there is an interesting episode between Ri and Tamura. Ri had personally known Tamura for a long time and recognized him as a writer. She, nevertheless, happened to see him on a train as one of the lower rank soldiers (*jôtôhe*) for the Empire while she was filming *Yellow River* (*Kôga*, 1942) in Kaifeng, Henan. Tamura, then, spat out: "Obnoxious war. Obnoxious army."¹⁸⁷ Remembering his words, his original novel, and the film adaptation, *Escape at Dawn*, Ri claims that the comfort women issue thus became "her life work" (*watashi no raifu waaku*).¹⁸⁸

Biopower

Biopower fosters, maximizes, and enhances life by managing and excising power over bodies. It can be practiced both individually and collectively. My argument is based on the assumption that assuming biopower must be negative leads to misreading of its fundamental nature because it nurtures life as its positive aspect. Yet, it is still a technology of power via health, and therefore enables the management of populations, once their bodies have been targeted as a group. Thus, it becomes an integral tool for communities, modern nation-states, or modern forms of Empire to emerge.

One example of biopower is public health. In *Suzhou Nights*, for example, Kanô educates a Chinese *typhoid patient regarding hygiene*. *The patient lying on a bed picks up a piece of food on the floor and tries to eat it. Noticing this insalubrious act, Kanô immediately runs to the patient, brushes the food off, and prevents the patient from putting it into his mouth. Kanô states out loud, "Food should not be on the floor [such a place]." (Konna tokoro ni tabemono o oicha ikenai ja naika). In this context, "such a place" means the floor. (See figures 4-11 and 4-12). In this way, Kanô introduces everyday Chinese people in a country side to a new knowledge of cleanliness to protect their health. He guides them through hygiene and sanitization. This power benefits their health, and thus, makes it harder for them to resist against or boycott the help of Japanese doctors, which despite its positive effects is nonetheless power saturated with the Empire.*



Figure 4-11



Figure 4-12

Kanô's selfless devotion to improving lives of everyday Chinese who have never seen doctors, and his trained in Western medicine, unwittingly parallel with the desire of the Japanese Empire to subjugate and manage the Chinese populations. Kanô's genuine aspiration to take care of their lives is manifested in such acts as not only jumping into water to save a drowning Chinese girl, one of Meiran's students, when no one else dares to do so, but also making a voluntary visit to Suzhou, as a doctor, where a life threatening infectious disease, *typhoid*, is prevailing. He risks his own life while no Chinese doctors are depicted who attempt to save them.

However sincere his goodwill is, Kanô's actions are still translated into a notion of collaboration with the Empire building. His generous character cannot be divorced from the Empire. It cannot be free from it. It is embedded within it, regardless of his will. For example, in an opening scene, in response to his senior colleague's statement that their

work is a national project (*kokkateki shigoto*), Kanô says that he hopes that his small Chinese patients will grow into young men who will truly understand Japan in the future (*sono kodomotachi ga yagate Nihon o hontô ni rikai shita seinen ni natte kureru*). Then his colleague cheers Kanô up. (See figure 4-13. On the right is Kanô. On the left is his senior colleague).

As has been argued, biopower is hard to resist and difficult for Chinese patients to go outside of, as in the case of the medical care provided by Japanese doctors under the Japanese Empire. Significantly, this scene starts with an action in which both Japanese doctors wash their hands before getting into the aforementioned conversation. This suggests that the notion of sanitization and modernization is reinforced in the film. (See figure 4-14). They are both washing their hands together. Under the name of life and health, Empire's desire to manage Chinese populations is obscured.



Figure 4-13

Figure 4-14

Inscribed Rising Sun (*hinomaru*) in Japanese Education

A Japanese language classroom serves as an effective form of political management to produce a homogenous category of subjects. Meiran teaches orphans the Japanese language in a classroom within the orphanage. She is fluent in Japanese because she used to live in Japan with her family and study music there. In the classroom, her students repeat after her in Japanese the phrase “akai asahi,” meaning red morning sun. (See figures 4-14 and 4-15). Seemingly, she is simply instructing Japanese; yet, what is ideologically taking place goes far beyond that. She is, at the same time, inscribing a notion of the rising sun, i.e., the Japanese Empire in her lecture. The rising sun operates as a symbol of the imperial Japanese flag, i.e., *hinomaru*. “akai” indicates red and “asahi” refers to rising sun.

By repeating the phrase, these Chinese children accept and gradually internalize the image of the Japanese flag into themselves without a choice. In other words, they are thrown into the ambience of the Empire. Japanese education, thus, subtly trains native Chinese children in the Empire’s taste, knowledge, authority, and legitimacy in the hopes of turning them into subjects who will serve and protect the interests of the Japanese Empire in the future. Additionally, what is significant about the Japanese lecture is that it is conducted by a Chinese woman, Meiran. She is on the frontlines of linguistic and cultural assimilation policy. She is the “cultured” native who makes the authority of the

rising sun available to yet-to-be cultured native children. She is, in this sense, a tamed convenient other for the Japanese. These dynamics parallel with Kanô's hope that his young Chinese patients will in the future become adults who will truly understand Japan.



Figure 4-14



Figure 4-15

An Encouraged Intra-racial Marriage and an Avoided Inter-racial Reproduction

This section discusses three different potential forms of marriage, as well as both explicitly encouraged and implicitly avoided forms of racial reproduction, which exist in the film: 1) between a Japanese man, Kanô, and a Japanese woman, Chieko; 2) between a Japanese man, Kanô, and a Chinese woman, Meiran; and 3) between a Chinese man, Yûmin, and a Chinese woman, Meiran. The section also examines how notions of modernity and pre-modernity play out in these potential marriage and reproduction

arrangements. This also considers how racial mixing and racial purity are both implied and foreclosed.

Kimberly Kono argues that “[d]uring the first half of the twentieth century, Japanese colonial officials in Korea (1910-1945), Manchuria (1932-1945), and Taiwan (1895-1945) drew upon romantic and familial relations between Japanese and colonized subjects in the service of the colonial project.”¹⁸⁹ Moreover, *vis-à-vis* the notion of the family-state (*kazoku kokka*), “officials and intellectuals of the Meiji period (1868-1912) rendered the family as a microcosm of the nation and the nation as an extension of the familial.”¹⁹⁰ In this way, “[o]fficials described the nation of Japan as an extended family with the Emperor as the grand patriarch and his subjects as his descendants. This linking of the nation with the family allowed officials to draw upon intimate sentiments to mobilize the nation.”¹⁹¹

In *Suzhou Nights*, marriages figuratively represent geo-political configurations. Kanô rejects an arranged marriage with Chieko, a daughter of a respected senior doctor who runs his own clinic in Tokyo. The doctor is honorably referred to as “sensei” by Kanô. Sensei wants Kanô to marry his daughter and inherit his clinic. His rejection of this proposal successfully presents Kanô as an altruistic persona, regardless of whether this was his intention or not; the explicit reason given for the rejection was his determination to dedicate his life to save people in China. He does not mention that he has someone else in his heart, i.e., Meiran, in China, which presumably played a part in his decision as well. On any account, Kanô chooses his altruistic dream over an honorable position and

financial security in Tokyo. Yet, in this scene, there is another important aspect which no previous study has ever argued as discussed below.

However old fashioned the arrangement with Chieko may appear, what is singular about this arrangement is that, at the same time, it is presented as “modern” in a way in which Sensei treats it as something that should be decided ultimately by Chieko and Kanô themselves. They are not forced to accept this proposal based on social duty or obligation, arranged by a social hierarchy. Kanô is given the power to refuse. In this sense, this arranged marriage emerges as relatively “modern.”



Figure 4-16

In figure 4-16, after presenting the deal for the marriage, we see Sensei encouraging Kanô to meet with Chieko, talk face to face about their future, and decide on it by themselves (*futari no koto dakara futari de hanashiainasa*). The individual is free to overcome the authority of the social hierarchy. This suggests that marriage between a Japanese man and woman is more "modern," in contrast to the "pre-modern" form of marriage seen between Meiran and Yûmin, a Chinese man and woman, in the film's grand finale.



Figure 4-17: Meiran in a Red Chinese Wedding Dress

The marriage between Yûmin and Meiran is presented as old-fashioned. Yûmin's father begs Meiran to marry his son and create offspring, since that has always been his

dream. However, in this melodrama reality is complicated. Knowing Meiran's feelings towards Kanô, jealous Yûmin attempts to shoot and murder Kanô. Yûmin's attempt fails. His gunshot dramatically misses Kanô. Yet, what is strange about the plot of this melodrama is that Kanô generously forgives Yûmin's error; in the process of forgiving Yûmin, rather than being caught by fear or anger, he is instead moved by Yûmin's father's true love for his son; the father implores Kanô to punish him instead of the son. This scene also foregrounds Kanô as a man of character because he pardons the man who tried to kill him. He does not even report this case to the authorities. Moreover, in the end, he behaves in a way that achieves happiness for Yûmin and his father. The symbolic image of a generous Japanese who chooses to pursue not his own happiness but that of others, Chinese others, is again operative. In this arranged marriage between Yûmin and Meiran, there is no place for their free choice, unlike the situation with Kanô and Chieko. The marriage of Chinese, thus, emerges as being "pre-modern," in which family is more valued and respected than the individual's free will. Progressive Japan and regressive China are thus contrasted.

Yet, what is even more bizarre is that Kanô comes to be convinced that Meiran will become happy if she marries Yûmin and settles into his family. Yûmin would have become a possible felon if Kanô had reported the case; nevertheless, Kanô persuades Meiran to marry Yûmin. What kind of man encourages a woman, whom he adores, to marry someone capable of such violence? The plot of the story appears to be rather forced.

What is implied by this forced plot? Peter High argues that by “averting a marriage between Sano and Ri, the film may be telegraphing a shift in thinking about ‘interracial’ marriages. Made in the final month before the outbreak of the Pacific War, just when Japan was drawing ever closer to Germany, some of the Nazi ‘racial purity’ thinking may have been at work in the background.”¹⁹²

By pushing High’s insight further, I argue that what is denied by avoiding the marriage between Kanô and Meiran is inter-ethnic or to be more precise, inter-racial reproduction. I intentionally employ the term, “inter-racial,” considering the fact that Chinese are being “racialized” during the inter-war period (as I argued explicitly in chapter one). While calling for ethnic harmony and “romantic and familial relations between Japanese and colonized subjects” was part of the colonial project, as Kôno described, this particular film, *Suzhou Nights*, writes against the grain of the colonial project. The grand finale of marriage between Meiran and Yûmin concludes with the only potential form of racial reproduction being among Chinese, as indicated by Yûmin’s father’s plea for offspring. Moreover, as the figure 4-17 reveals, Meiran wears a red Chinese wedding dress, as implicitly opposed to the conventional white of Japanese brides, and has her hair ornamented with glittering accessories, as explicitly contrasted to the Japanese formal *bunkintakashimada*, when the hair is covered with a white silk cloth (*tsunokakushi*). The *mise-en scène* manifested in Meiran’s wedding scene emphasizes the idea that colonial marriage should occur intra- racially and not inter- racially. *Suzhou Nights* does not

tolerate dynamics in which the inter-racial marriage and reproduction can figuratively embody the union of Japan and China. Meiran's marriage to Yûmin, therefore, minimizes the threat of transgressing racial boundaries between the colonizer and colonized, evoking the "racial purity" propagated by the contemporaneous Nazi regime.

Appendix I

My Thought

Ôtaka Yoshiko¹⁹³

Translation by Nobuko Yamasaki

More than sixty years have already passed since the time of that war.¹⁹⁴ Memories of Japanese nationals have eroded with the passage of time, and those who have no direct experience of war have come to outnumber those who do.

It was around 1990 when former comfort women first spoke out. When I think of these women, who were born around the same time I was, it is almost unbearable. It is impossible to fully compensate them for the humiliation and the pain they went through. Nonetheless, I decided to join the Asian Women's Fund (1995-2007) in the hope that it might be possible to help them live the rest of their lives as peacefully as possible. That is how I became a spokesperson, then board member, and now am serving as vice-chairman of the organization.

Right after the Fund was launched, Ms. Miki Mutsuko¹⁹⁵ and I went to a meeting for the issues of comfort women. The meeting took place in the City of Yamagata, Professor Ônuma Yasuaki's hometown.¹⁹⁶ After we talked at the meeting, one gentleman

stood up and said, "I was drafted and went to the war. There I visited a comfort station. I genuinely apologize for this. This is not much, but I have brought some money. I saved this amount from my pension. Please accept this as a donation for the Fund." I was moved by his courage in speaking in this way in front of an audience. Emotions such as these have been supporting the Fund.

What was most unforgettable of my time working with the Fund was my encounter with a former Korean comfort woman. She contacted me and I met with her. She said that she knew me even during wartime. I was quite surprised. She started to narrate her memory. One day, she heard that Ri Kôran was filming a movie in Suzhou. To see me, she came to the location where we were shooting. One of the soldiers took her there. She said, "From among the crowd, I saw you singing 'Suzhou Nocturne' (*Soshû yakyoku*),¹⁹⁷ holding artificial peach blossoms. As a matter of fact, there was no natural blossom with an appropriate shape of stem, so the staff made the artificial one for me. This is something that you would never know unless you had been there. She remembered such details.

According to her, when she was fifteen, she was taken by the police from the street in her hometown, forced onto a train, taken to Shanghai, and then placed in one of the comfort stations in Suzhou. She attempted to run away several times, all in vain. Once she was jabbed in the stomach with a gun. She said, "I attempted to commit a suicide by swallowing some cresol. Perhaps because I had taken too little, or perhaps because it was

too diluted, either way it was unsuccessful." It was around this time that she saw me shooting the film. I was overcome by emotion. "That must have been so hard for you. I apologize." I apologized to her from my heart. I kept in touch with her by phone after that time. She has since passed away. But I will never be able to forget her.

I also recall fondly an aboriginal woman from Taiwan, Wen Hong Shi. At the International Symposium in Makuhari, she was the first one to say "yes" to accept the Fund for the former comfort women. However, facing fierce opposition, she had no other choice but to rescind her acceptance.

The Fund is coming to an end. Yet, I think that it is imperative for us to continue to talk about our wartime experiences with younger generations. With this Fund, we have also been working on related issues, such as domestic violence. Reading newspapers recently convinces me that it is becoming more and more important to take action to oppose violence against women. It would be my great pleasure if society as a whole could start to face the issues that the Fund has been taking on for the last twelve years. I hope our effort will serve as a basis for a society-wide movement to address these problems.

Appendix II

A Timeline of Japanese Imperialism

All the information below is adopted from James L. Huffman, *Japan and Imperialism: 1853-1945* (2010), with some additions by Nobuko Yamasaki.

Early 1800s: Foreign incursions approached Japanese ports.

1853: Matthew Perry arrived in Edo Bay, seeking opening of Japan.

1854: Treaty of Kanagawa opened ports to American ships.

Late 1850s: Anti-foreign movements opposed Tokugawa regime.

1863-64: European and American troops attacked Satsuma and Chôshû domains.

1860: First diplomatic embassy was sent to the United States.

1862: First diplomatic embassy was sent to Europe.

1868: Meiji Restoration toppled Tokugawa government.

1869: Ezo was renamed Hokkaido, placed under Hokkaido Colonization Office (*Kaitakushi*).

1871: Iwakura Mission toured the West.

- 1872: Japan freed Chinese Labors abroad Peruvian Bark *Maria Luz*.
- 1873: Iwakura Mission returned to Japan.
- 1874: Japan traveled to Taiwan to following Taiwanese murder of Ryûkyû fishermen.
- 1875: Kuril Islands (*Chishima rettô*) were secured under treaty with Russia.
- 1876: Bonin Islands (Ogasawara guntô) were annexed. Commercial relations with Korea began.
- 1879: Ryûkyû Islands were taken and made into Okinawa prefecture.
- 1889: Meiji Constitution made Japan Asia's first constitutional monarchy.
- 1890: Yamagata Aritomo advocated "line of sovereignty" (*shuken sen*) and "line of advantage" (*rieki sen*). The Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyôiku chokugo*) was issued.
- 1894: Treaty was signed, providing that extraterritoriality (*chigai hôken*) would end in 1899.
- 1894-95: Japan won Sino-Japanese War, followed by Triple Intervention (*sangoku kanshō* by Russia, Germany and France) by forcing Japan to return Liaodong Peninshula to China.
- 1895: Taiwan became Japan's first colony. Korea's Queen Min was assassinated.
- 1900: Japanese troops assisted ending China's Boxer Rebellion (*Giwadan no*

ran, 1900-01).

1902: Anglo-Japanese Alliance (*Nichi ei dōmei*) was signed.

1904: Russo-Japanese War broke.

1905: Japan won the Russo-Japanese War. Portsmouth Treaty was signed.

Sakhalin (*Karafuto*) became a colony. Japan moved into Korea,

assuming Russian interests in Southern Manchuria.

1910: Japan annexed Korea.

1911: Japan accomplished tariff autonomy

1912: Taishō Emperor (1879-1926) ascended throne.

1914: Japan took Micronesian Islands (*Nan'yō*).

1915: "Twenty-one Demands" (*Taika nijūikka jō yōkyū*) were issued to China.

1918: Troops were sent to Siberia (*Shiberia shuppei*).

1919: March First Incident prompted softer policy in Korea and other colonies.

The Micronesian Islands were mandated to Japan.

1922: Washington Conference limited Japanese naval spending.

1924: America banned immigration from Japan.

1925: Japan recognized Soviet Union.

1926: Shōwa Emperor (1901-1989) ascended throne.

1928: Japan signed anti-war Kellogg-Briand Pact, Pact of Paris (*Fusen jōyaku*).

Army extremists assassinated Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin (*Chō*

Sakurin).

1929: Great Depression began.

1930: London Naval Conference continued limits on Japanese Naval spending.

1931: Manchurian Incident (*Manshû jihen*) initiated takeover of Manchuria.

1932: Manchukuo formed.

1933: Japan left League of Nations. Tanggu Truce (Tanku Kyôtei) extended Japan's control into China proper.

1936: Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany.

1937: Marco Polo Bridge Incident triggered China war. Shanghai fell in November. Nanjing Massacre occurred in December.

1939: Soviet Union defeated Japan in Nomonhan (*Nononhan Jiken*).

1940: Japan signed Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy (*Nichi doku i sangokku dômei*).

1941: Japan signed Neutrality Pact with Soviet Union (*Nisso chûtsu dōyaku, Nisso fukashin jōyaku*). Japan invaded southern Indochina. Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, igniting World War Two in Asia and Pacific.

1942: Japan was victorious until May but lost in Midway Battle in June.

1944-45: Japan encountered Southeast Asian resistance movements. This laid groundwork for postwar independence.

1945: Okinawa fell. Atomic bombs were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Japan surrendered. The Japanese Empire dismantled.

Coda

Memories that cannot be narrated or historicized. Memories that resist being treated as such. Memories that bridge the lives of present individuals with those of the past. In other words, the lives that cannot manifest the processes for turning themselves into history, or the lives that embrace fragmentary memories while unable to historicize themselves. The crucial fragments for life.

Lee Chong Hwa, *Tsubuyaki no seijishisô*

In concluding this dissertation, I am citing Lee Chong Hwa again, since her subtle, attentive, and alert manifesto resonates with the ethos of the dissertation. I hope it is evident now that I am interested neither in writing a linear coherent historiographical narrative, nor in supporting essentialist nationalist discourses. Rather, I am attempting to explore voices and experiences that have fallen away from official historiographies or imperial nationalist archives: I am striving to foreground voices and experiences that literature is elegantly able to capture, embrace, and recuperate, if not fully then at least momentarily, while cutting through and fragmenting the imperial nationalist narratives and its temporalities. I am concerned with how each writer and actor negotiated and produced their works and managed their lives within the power structures of the

totalitarian Japanese Empire and / or its imperial legacies, and how they shed new light on imperial Japanese history.

This dissertation looks at four different authors and an actor who have sought to address the marginalization of women, as well as of former colonial subjects (both men and women, listed in order of their birth): Nakajima Atsushi (1909-42), a Japanese male writer who grew up in Korea and later was sent to Palau as a colonial official; Ri Kôran (1920-), a Japanese actress who was born and raised in Manchukuo; Hayashi Kyoko (1930-), a Japanese woman writer who was raised in a Japanese concession in Shanghai; Theresa Hak Kyung Cha (1951-82), who was born in Korea and later migrated to the U.S.; and Lee Yang-ji (1955-92), a Zainichi Korean woman writer who was born and grew up in Japan. The dissertation, then, examines works by two separate groups: Japanese nationals and former colonial (or current post-colonial) subjects. The materials that the dissertation examines are different in terms of genre, temporality, and space; yet, what robustly unifies their creators is their acute interventions into imperial Japanese history.

The Japanese writers and the actor elucidated processes of gendered and racialized formations of Japanese nationals. What they revealed is the constructed nature of being Japanese while also uncovering normative dynamics produced gender as well as racial exclusions and violence. I seek to address how racially and sexually others approached gendered and racialized violence.

Some may criticize that I am treating autobiographical short stories, novels, and films as if facts. Others may say that I am employing memoirs as if they were truth. Conflating facts and imagination is indeed problematic since such art forms as literature and films not only reflect but also refracts facts. Also, I employ a number of memoirs, which led me to consider what it meant to make an argument through such texts. It made me question the following: What can history know? What cannot be known by history? What forms of memory can memoirs narrate? Despite its closely related nature to the past, the memoir form still conforms to its genre.

Memoirs, autobiographies, and autobiographical stories subjectively control their contents. They limit other locations and temporalities than their own. In this sense, they have selective understandings of the past, however sincerely authors attempt to make truth-claims based on their own lived experiences. Materials employed in this dissertation are all mediated through positionality of each author and in this sense they all have limitations. Even if the very material realm of the Real that can never disappear exists, we are no longer able to hear immediate voices of its core. Thus, my arguments may be simply scratching the surface of the Real.

Some may argue that the dissertation has not examined materials enough that have been produced by former colonial subjects. That is, however, intentional to some degree as a first step for my larger project. In order to combat racism, I argue that not only accepting criticisms from outside but also examining, revealing, and exposing racism

within Japanese nationals become crucial for a better future, since self-criticisms from within allow us to read history in a reflective manner and renew our consciousnesses.

The project that lies before me is the exploration of the voices of former comfort women in forms of documentary and / or oral history, since focusing solely on Japanese writers might inadvertently reinforce their already established dominant positions. Art, such as literature, film, and music, obliges us to face the past and forces us to re-interpret the past. Works of art re-energize and re-activate temporalities and cut through violence inherent in totalitarian imperial narratives, thereby opening up new intellectual horizons.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ Morisaki Kazue writes, "*Suterareta monono kankaku wa sô tanjun demo naku, sono uragawa niwa, betsuno sekai ga sodachimasu. Iunareba kimin toiu jisshitsu ni taisuru suterareta kikoku no kansei desu. Kokka o nogarete kosumoporitthikku ninaru toiu Yorimo nebukaku, kokka o suteruyôna shûnen ga sodatsu.*" See Morisaki Kazue, *Izoku no genki*. (Tokyo: Yamato Shobô, 1977).

² John Treat, *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 362.

³ For essays on Hayashi Kyôko that examine her works as atomic bomb literature, see Kuroko Kazuo, *Genbaku bungakuron: kakujidai to sôzôryoku* (Tokyo: Sairyûsha, 1993), 93-115; Sumiko Watanabe and Suriano Manuela, *Hayashi Kyôko: hito to bungaku* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2009); John Treat, *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Davinder Bhowmik, "Temporal Discontinuity in the Atomic Bomb Fiction of Hayashi Kyôko," in *Ôe and beyond: Fiction in Contemporary Japan*, ed. Gabriel, Philip and Stephen Snyder (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 58-88.

⁴ See "Zetsubô kara kibô e: Hayashi Kyoko san ni kiku, ge, sukui wa ningen no nakani aru, datsugenpatsu demo ni Kômyô," in *Nagasaki Shimbun*, 08, 10, 2012. For in

detail, <http://www.nagasaki-np.co.jp/news/k-peace/2012/08/10115716.shtml>. Other literary figures such as Ôe Kenzaburô and Setouchi Jakuchô are also participating in such protests on the streets of Tokyo against the Japanese government.

⁵ *Hayashi Kyôko zenshû vol 2* (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentâ, 2005), 465.

⁶ See *Hayashi Kyôko zenshû vol 1* (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentâ, 2005), 480. Hayashi stated "Hibakusha to shite kuni kara no eiyo o ukeru wake niwa ikanai."

⁷ See Kyôko Selden and Noriko Lippit, *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth-Century Short Fiction* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc—East Gate, 1991), 271.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁹ Regarding the fact that *ryôtei* provided sexual services, see C. Sarah Soh's "The House of Entertainment," in *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 119-121. Soh touches upon Japanese comfort women at *ryôtei*. Mark Driscoll's focus on Japanese prostitution in his "Peripheral Pimps," in *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: the Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895-1954* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 57-80, varies significantly from Hayashi's depictions in "Yellow Sand" in terms of both form and temporality.

¹⁰ In terms of the combination of *yukata* and *tabi*, Kyoko Selden translates the relevant section as follows: "When living in a foreign country, one was apt to feel that each person represented his or her home county. Since at that time national prestige was

important, the Japanese residents especially were strongly self-conscious. Women were even forbidden to go out without socks or stockings. It was thought that Japanese women's skin should not be exposed to foreigners' eyes. My mother, too, went out wearing white *tabi* as though rich." See Selden and Lippit, 212. As can be seen in the expression, "went out wearing white *tabi* as though rich," Selden in her translation associates wearing *tabi* and *yukata* together *with* being wealthy. My reading, however, departs from Selden's interpretation. In her original text, Hayashi simply writes as follows: "*Hahatachi wa yukata ni shiro tabi o haite gaishutsu shiteita.*" I hence translate as follows: "Mothers used to wear white *tabi* even when they went out in *yukata.*" See *Hayashi Kyôko, "Kôsa,"* 167.

Moreover, I argue what is implied in Japanese women's wearing *tabi* in combination with *yukata* is the manifestation of Japanese national pride even if the combination is not at all a proper way to put these two together as I explain below. The Japanese women that Hayashi describes run the risk of looking unrefined and unsophisticated in order to protect their national pride, which could be achieved through concealing bare skin from foreign eyes. Thus, I do not think this combination has anything to do with the wealth, as Selden reads it, but more to do with a manifestation of Japanese national pride, as I argue later.

Furthermore, in Hayashi's original Japanese, there is no implication of financial situation, or equivalent term for "as though rich" as can be seen in Selden's translation.

Did Selden mistake "*yukata ni*" for "*yutaka ni*"? Additionally, in the original Hayashi describes Japanese women in plural forms, "mothers" while Selden translates the word into a singular particular mother, i.e. "My mother."

¹¹ Unknown author.

¹² Unknown author.

¹³ World2Hires_filled_mercator.svg and Image:Pacific_Area_-_The_Imperial_Powers_1939_-_Map.jpg

¹⁴ I agree with Balibar's insight that exclusionary forces are necessary for nation formation. What is more, he seems even to suggest that every community is formed based on such exclusionary forces, not just the nation.

¹⁵ For the intersection of Marxist feminisms and Balibar, see Alys Weinbaum, *Wayward Reproductions: Genealogies of Race and Nation in Transatlantic Modern Thought* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004). My feminist analysis of Japanese nationalism in Hayashi Kyôko is indebted to and inspired by this book.

¹⁶ Hayashi Kyôko, "Kôsa, 167. Translations of the texts are Kyôko Selden's with some modifications by myself.

¹⁷ Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 59.

¹⁸ Balibar employs the term race and ethnicity interchangeably, so I will follow this trend in my arguments.

¹⁹ "Kôsa," 167

²⁰ Balibar and Wallerstein, 59.

²¹ To analyze the nationalism at work in this context, I accept Balibar's equation of race to ethnos, an ethnic people; however, there are also other forms of nation formation under the Japanese Empire, especially in the context of Manchukuo, which propagated a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural fantasy of the Japanese Empire. I would argue that this fantasy is also a form of violent knowledge production. See chapter four. Therefore, the paradigm that Balibar presents is not always applicable in examining nation formation under the Japanese Empire.

²² "Kôsa," 167.

²³ Watanabe and Manuela also suggest that Japanese women working at *ryôtei* are engaged in the sex industry. They also read the term *ryôtei* as a euphemism for brothel. They write: "*Shanghai niwa Nihonjin no gunjin ga afurete ite, rikugun kaigun betsubetsu no ryôtei de karera o Nihonjinjosei ga settai shita. Settai no nakami wa sôzô ga tsuku.*" Following is my translation: "Shanghai was full of Japanese military officers, and Japanese women served them at the *ryôtei*. There were *ryôtei* exclusively for the navy, and *ryôtei* for the army. It is not hard to imagine what was really taking place under the name of 'service.'" See Watanabe and Manuela, 51.

²⁴ "Kôsa," 165-66.

²⁵ Balibar and Wallerstein, 99.

²⁶ "Kôsa," 167.

²⁷ Ibid., 168-69.

²⁸ Hayashi Kyôko, "Introduction to *Matsuri no ba giyaman bîdoro*" (Tokyo: Kôdansha bungei bunko. 1989).

²⁹ Ibid., also, Watanabe and Manuela interpret this comment as Hayashi's "severe criticism" (*tsûretsu na hihanse*). See Watanabe and Manuela, 52.

Notes to Chapter Two

³⁰ The original is written in a poetic fragmentary narrative. “Katare nai kioku, rekishika surukotono dekinai, sôsasenai kioku. Hahen no yôna kioku. Imatsuzuiteiru honnintachi ga ikerukoto ni tsunagaru kioku. Tsumari, shôgen ni, rekishi ni natteiku katei dewanai, rekishika dekinai kioku no danpen o kakaete ima genzai ni tsuzuiteiru sei. Sono sei niwa daiji na hahen.” See Lee Chong Hwa, *Tsubuyaki no seiji shisô: Motomerareru manazashi, kanashimi eno, soshite himerareta mono eno*. (Tokyo: Seido Sha, 1998).

³¹ John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 1-2. Referring to preceding critics, Lie maps out that with enforced migration (*kyôsei renkô*), the earthquake and the ensuing mass murder became an enduring memory and source of identity for the Korean population in Japan; the post-earthquake massacre became something of a literary tattoo or an ethnic meme. Yet, Lie also revises the widely accepted view on enforced migration. He writes “The fundamental fact is that Korean immigration to the Japanese archipelago was more or less voluntary until wartime mobilization generated involuntary recruitment in the 1940s. ...Zainichi historiography exaggerates the elements of constraint and force. The Japanese empire—including the economic transformation that uprooted the

peasantry—is certainly a condition of possibility for the Korean diaspora in Japan. But it should be seen, at least in the 1920s and 1930s, as facilitating opportunities in Japan as much as destroying livelihoods in Korea. *Kyôsei renkô* (forced migration) is not synonymous with Zainichi origins” (5-7). What interests me is this discontinuity or logical incoherency in forming the Zainichi Korean identity. In their identity formation, what they rely on is more of the shared affect than historical continuity or coherency. This reliance on the socially shared affect becomes important for my study, as Lie also suggests that the shared memory of suffering is a “literary tattoo” and “ethnic meme.” He explains this by referring to Zainichi writer Yû Miri’s *Yamanotesen uchimawari* (2007).

³² Lisa Yoneyama, “Hon’yaku, Shokuminchishugi, Hihantekisôki: Varutâ Benyamin to nihongun jûgunianfu” in *Nijûikkeiki bungaku no sôzô vol 5: Ekkyô no bungaku*, ed. Ryûta Imafuku (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2003), 195.

³³ Regarding a subject that cannot be archived in historiography but in literature, Neferti Tadiar, in analyzing Philippine literatures, argues that her work is a continuous and critical extension of subaltern studies projects in relation to the “nonhegemonic, dissident national subjects,” in the contemporary period and as articulated not in historiography but in literature. In contrast to the conceived notion of subalternity as fade-out points of realities, the subjective practice that Tadiar examines falls away from the representations of proper political subjects in social movements. They are, nevertheless, figured and enacted in the literatures in the very materials of concrete reality that they

ethnographically render. Tadiar writes of experiences at this figural enactment. My project also echoes with Tadiar's mode of thought. See especially Chapter 1, 2, and 3 in Neferti Tadiar, *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

³⁴ *Salp'uri* is a ritualistic dance believed to wash away evil spirits and cleanse souls. Dancers use a white silk scarf. A shaman has traditionally presided over its presentation. *Salp'uri* is the climax of shaman rituals. It is widely practiced in the Honam region, in the southwestern part of Korea. In figure 2-1, Lee is dancing in Fujiyoshida, Yamanashi. Her family moved there in 1959 when she was four years old. The photo was originally taken by Itô Jun'ichi. The image is from *Lee Yang-ji zenshû* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1993).

³⁵ Ibid., 61-95.

³⁶ Kawamura Minato, *Umaretara soko ga furusato: Zainichi Chôsenjin bungakuron* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 271-73

³⁷ "Princess Bari" is a shamanist mythology about an abandoned princess who sacrifices her life for her parents.

³⁸ Kawamura Minato, 275-76. Also see especially the section titled, "'Yoru no kodomo' to 'Tasogare no kodomo'"—Fukazawa Kai to I Yanji," 270-80.

³⁹ Lee Yang-ji, "Watashi wa Chôsen jin" (I am Korean) in *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 591.

⁴⁰ The struggle to achieve Korean identity is well described in her semi-autobiographical novel, *Koku* (1985).

⁴¹ Levy Hideo, "Kaisetsu" in *Koku* (Tokyo: Kôdansha), 2010.

⁴² See Lee Yang-ji, *Kazukime* in *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 72. In the Japanese original text, Toshihiko says, "Oi, gosai," which literally means "Hey, second wife."

⁴³ Lee Yang-ji, "Watashi wa Chôsen jin" in *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 591.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 585.

⁴⁵ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁴⁶ Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). Especially see the chapter titled "Consciousness doth Make Subjects of us all: Althusser's Subjection."

⁴⁷ Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex" in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157-210.

⁴⁸ Kang Sang-jung, *Nashonarizumu no kokufuku* (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2002), 200.

⁴⁹ Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women," 158.

⁵⁰ *Lee Yang-ji Zenshû*, 91.

⁵¹ The new religious movement group that Kayo belongs to is hinted at as *Sôka gakkai*, since Kayo stresses the importance of *shakubuku*, the notion of which is to recruit others to their belief system and convert them into *Sôka gakkai* members. *Shakubuku* is also a key term with which many *Sôka gakkai* members are often associated. The group does not necessarily have a good reputation because of their aggressive recruitments. Kayo also mentions the fact that her colleagues are avoiding her, due to her being a *Sôka gakkai* member. Moreover, Kayo chants for Ane whenever she is caught by negative thoughts, stating "I will chant for you," (*Odamoku o tonaete agerukara*). This phrase is also known to characterize *Sôka gakkai*. See *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 88-89.

⁵² Lee Yang-ji, "Wakamono ni denshō sareteiku Chōsenjin besshi" (Contemptuous Look on Koreans) in *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 606.

⁵³ See the appendix of *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 684.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁵ John Lie discusses this test of the early 20th century in an example of "pa pi pu pe po" pronunciation. Jon Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity*, 18.

⁵⁶ Raymond Williams, 122.

⁵⁷ As to an anthropological analysis on former comfort women, see C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁵⁸ As to the uterus removal of former comfort women, see "Digital Museum: The 'Comfort Women' Issue and the Asian Women's Fund" (*Dejitaru kinenkan: Ianfu mondai to Ajia jyosei kikin*): <http://www.awf.or.jp/3/oralhistory-00.html>. This link compiles testimonials of the former comfort women. At the URL above, for example, one can read a testimonial by Kimiko Kaneda, a Zainichi Korean woman, who had to remove her uterus in her 20s due to complications caused by harsh sexual labor as a comfort woman.

⁵⁹ *Lee Yang-ji Zenshû*, 91-92.

⁶⁰ For the concept of "biopower," see especially Michel Foucault, *"Society must be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, trans. David Macey (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003). *Security, Territory, Polupation: Lectures at the College de France 1977-78*, trans. Graham Burchell (Houndmills, Basingstroke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan Publisher, 2007).

⁶¹ *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 92

⁶² Judith Butler, 106.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 116.

⁶⁵ *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 80

⁶⁶ Ibid., 80.

⁶⁷ The aim of this hunger strike was to demand the release of Dokuhyon Yi, who was imprisoned, based on false allegations in the Marushô incident. The strike had lasted for a week in August 1976. When Lee joined the strike, she was twenty-one years old. Later on, she confessed that she started to feel twisted self-hatred in relation to the strike because of the way she acted during it. That is, she could not stand being someone who only yelled out slogans and propaganda. See Appendix of *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 685.

⁶⁸ Yang-ji Lee, "Fuji-san" in *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 621-22.

⁶⁹ For example, "Ise no ama no asa na yû na ni kazuku to ifu awabi no kai no katamoi ni shite." *Man'yôshû*, 2798, vol. 11.

⁷⁰ *Lee Yang-ji zenshû*, 94.

⁷¹ All of the photos from Jeju-do are provided by Yoshikazu Fujihara, a chief editor of a local history journal, *Kochi no sensô: Shôgen to chôsa*. He used to serve as a journalist for *Shimbun Akahata*, a newspaper published by the Japanese Communist Party.

⁷² Uno Kuniichi, "Itami, Shiro, Ishi....." in *Ikyô noshintai: Teresa Hakkyon Cha o megutte*, ed. Ikeuchi Yasuko and Nishi Masahiko (Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 2006), 242-43. The

following is the original. "Konseki ni yotte iki, shikô surukoto, kore wa Hakkyon Cha ga hiki uke yô to shita shûdan no shukumei darô ka. Kono moji wa jikan sô ni kizamareru. Bôkyaku ni yotte ikiru minzoku ga ari, konseki ni yotte ikiru minzoku ga aru. Soko kara wa ai irenai jikan to, rekishi to, shikô ga umareru shika nai darô."

⁷³ In 2006, a collection of essays on *Dictée* written by Korean and Japanese literary critics was published in Japan. See *Ikyô noshintai: Teresa Hakkyon Cha o megutte*. In this volume, Japanese translations of writings by Lisa Lowe and Elaine Kim are also compiled.

⁷⁴ Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, *Dictée* (Oakland: U of California 2001), 47

⁷⁵ For theories of "tone," see Sianne Ngai, "Tone" in *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 38-88.

⁷⁶ Regarding the status of Koreans in Manchukuo under the Japanese Empire, see Yoon Keun Cha, "Nihon teikoku shugi shihai ka no Chôsen Chôsen jin," *Kozetsu no rekishi ishiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 1990), 3-49, especially the section titled, "Manshû imin to nihonjin kanri," 12-19. Yoon claims that the most victimized group was Koreans. "Koreans in Manchukuo suffered the most because of the Japanese imperial rule over Manchukuo. As 'new Japanese,' they were forced to behave as collaborators in its invasion. Korean nationalists and communists who were enthusiastically anti-Japanese were severely persecuted. At the same time, Chinese often suspected Koreans, with or

without any supporting evidence, of being instruments of the Japanese Empire. Thus, Koreans regularly became the prime target of the anti-Manchukuo and anti-Japanese movements (*han man kônichi undô*). Historically, there had been no ethnic conflicts between Koreans and Chinese; in fact, Koreans and Chinese had much in common. Yet, as Yamada Shôji argues, the Japanese Empire stirred Koreans up to be antagonistic toward Chinese and thereby divide them, when they otherwise may have found solidarity. With discrimination and segmentation as its goals, the Japanese government planted seeds of bias and tension between the two."

I argue that the following claim -- that there was no tension between Koreans and Chinese until the time of the Japanese invasion -- is an overgeneralization. Yet, as Yoon points out, we cannot dismiss the fact that the Japanese Empire contributed to fostering tension between Koreans and Chinese, and this had an impact on the status of Koreans in Manchukuo. The following is the original from Yoon: 「日本帝国主義の満州支配の最大の被害者は、満州の朝鮮人であった。彼らは、『新日本人』として侵略の片棒を担ぐよう強制された。同時に、彼らのなかの最も頑強な抗日分子である民族主義者や共産主義者は、日本の官憲からいわば獅子身中の虫とみられ、最も過酷な弾圧を受けた。また一方、中国人からは、日本帝国主義の手先ではないかといういわれなき嫌疑を受け、そのため反満抗日運動の矛先は、しばしば朝鮮人へと向けられた。もともと中国人と朝鮮人のあいだでは、日本の満州侵略まで民族的利害の対立する面はなく、むしろ、共通する面のほうが大きかった。しかし、山田昭次が主張するように、日本帝国主義は朝鮮人

を中国人と対立するようにそそのかし、連帯すべき中国・朝鮮の被抑圧民族間に分裂を持ち込んだ。中国人、朝鮮人に対する差別・分断政策をこととし、両者に偏見・反目の種をまき散らした。」 (Ibid., 17).

⁷⁷ *Dictée*, 49.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Flatley, "Affect, Emotion, Mood (*Stimmung*), Structure of Feeling" in *Affective Mapping* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

⁷⁹ *Dictée*, 49.

⁸⁰ Makino Nobuaki had the following scholars translate the "kyôikuchokugo" into English: Kikuchi Dairoku, Inoue Tetsujirô, Nitobe Inazô, and etc. See *Nihon hyakka daijiten*, Sanseidô, Tokyo (1908-). At that time, Makino was serving the first Saionji Kinmochi Cabinet. Additionally, Makino's biological father was Ôkubo Toshimichi. Below is its original in Japanese:

朕惟ふに我か皇祖皇宗を肇むること宏遠に徳を樹つる
 こと深厚なり我か臣民克く忠に克く孝に億兆心を一にして世々厥
 の美を濟せるは此れ我か國體の精華にして教育の淵源亦實
 に此に存す爾臣民父母に孝に兄弟に友に夫婦相和し
 朋友合信し恭儉己れを持し博愛衆に及ぼし學を修め業を習ひ以
 て智能を啓發し徳器を成就し進て公益を廣め世務を開き常に國憲を重し

國法に遵ひ一旦緩急あれば義勇公に奉し以て天壤無窮の皇運
 を扶翼すへし是の如きは独り朕か忠良の臣民たるのみならず又
 以て爾祖先の遺風を顕彰するに足らん
 斯の道は實に我か皇祖皇宗の遺訓にして子孫臣民の俱に遵守すへき所之
 を古今に通して謬らす之を中外に施して悖らす朕臣民と俱に拳
 拳服膺して咸其徳を一にせんことを庶幾ふ

明治二十三年十月三十日

御名御璽

⁸¹ James L. Huffman, *Japan and Imperialism, 1853-1945: Key Issues in Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, Inc, 2010), 19.

⁸² For more details on the "Imperial Rescript on Education," see the page composed by Meiji Jingû, Tokyo: <http://www.meijijingu.or.jp/about/3-4.html>

⁸³ See especially the section titled "Mood" within "Glossary" in Jonathan Flatley's "Affect, Emotion, Mood (*Stimmung*), Structure of Feeling." Following Heidegger, Flatley develops an idea of "mood" in order to refer to a kind of "affective atmosphere." Flatley explains that "mood" is a concept that provides a way to articulate the shaping and structuring effect of historical context on our "affective attachments." What Flatley means by "affective attachment" is that particular affects can be attached to particular objects. Following Heidegger's notion of "thrownness," Flatley claims that we all find ourselves

thrust into a particular world or historical context, as well as we are placed in a given position therein vis-à-vis object relations.

⁸⁴ Oku Yoshiisa (1858-1933), who specialized in *gagaku* composed a concurrent melody, and Franz Eckert (1852-1916) from Prussia added the harmony for “Kimigayo” in 1880. Eckert also served as director of the Japanese Imperial Navy band from 1879-1880.

⁸⁵ The following is the English translation by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), Professor at Tokyo Imperial University (1886-):

Thousand years of happy reign to be thine;

Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now

By ages united to mighty rocks shall grow

Whose venerable sides the moss doth line.

Prior to that, Chamberlain used to teach at the Imperial Naval Academy in Tokyo (1874-82). He was a British-born Japanologist. He is the first scholar who translated *Kojiki* into English in 1882. He also studied Ainu and Ryûkyûan languages. This seems to suggest that Chamberlain had already developed consciousness about the relationship between the Japanese Empire and its colonies. Additionally, regarding the role of *Kojiki* in formation of Japan’s national self-image, see a preface by Sakai Naoki in *Kojiki-sen: Book 1 / Motoori Norinaga*. (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1997).

⁸⁶ As to the debate on "Hinomaru" and "Kimigayo," see Komori Yôichi and others, *Honomaru Kimigayo o koete*, ed. Ukai Satoshi, Nishitani Osamu, Ishida Hidetaka, and Sakamoto Hiroko (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1999). Additionally, "Kimigayo" is a poetry originally compiled in *Kokin waka shû* (circa 905), ordered by Emperor Daigo (897-930) during the Heian period. The poetry was later employed as the national anthem of the Japanese Empire in 1880, Meiji 13. Again, the gesture of appealing to the eternal past in order to provide the present with authority is operative. Both "Hinomaru" and "Kimigayo" were together utilized to represent the authority of the Japanese Empire.

⁸⁷ *Dictée*, 46.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁹⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Two Histories of Capital" in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 47-71.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 70-71.

⁹³ Lisa Lowe, "Unfaithful to the Original: the Subject of *Dictée*" in *Writing Self Writing Nation: A Collection of Essays on Dictée by Theresa Hak Kyung Cha*, ed. Elaine H.

Kim and Norma Alarcón (Barkley: Third Woman Press, 1994), 56. Moreover, Lowe argues that the "'feminized'" narration of the subject / homeland relationship as a relationship between daughter and mother, as opposed to between son and father...intervenes in the nationalist narrative which subordinates the feminine figuration of the motherland to the developmental progress of a masculine nationalist state formation." In other words, Lowe critically sheds a positive light on the realm of the "feminized" as a productive force for intervention, while the realm of the "feminized" is often associated with the disempowerment of women (Lowe 49).

⁹⁴ Jung Yeonghae, "Kotoba to tengai," in *Ikyô no shintai: Teresa Hakkyon Cha o megutte*, 63.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

Notes to Chapter Three

⁹⁶ Atsushi Nakajima, *Rôshitsuki, Rôshitsuki*, in *Nakajima Atsushi Zenshû vol 1*, (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1976).

⁹⁷ Kawamura Minato, *Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku to shôgai: Rôshitsu seiden* (Tokyo: Kaiwade Shobô Shinsha, 2009), 9-10.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 and 198-206.

⁹⁹ Komori Yôichi, *Yuragi no nihon bungaku* (Tokyo: NHK books, 1998), 242.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 242.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 246-7.

¹⁰² Regarding the notion of "Hakkô ichiu," I have explained more in detail in Chapter four.

¹⁰³ Komori Yôichi, 247.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 251-53.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹⁰⁸ Atsushi Nakajima, "Junsa no iru fûkei," in *Nakajima Atsushi Zenshû vol 2*, (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2001), 68-81.

¹⁰⁹ *The Kôyûkai Zasshi* by the First High School is a journal that was first published in 1890 and ended in 1944. Students at the school wrote for the journal. The school attracted students from all over Japan and its former colonies. The First High School was a boarding school. The journal was not commercial, however, literary circles emerged from the journal that later formed the so-called *bundan* literati. Writers and critics such as Kawabata Yasunari, Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, Yanagida Kunio, Watsuji Tetsurô, and Nakamura Shin'ichirô also contributed to the journal in their early careers.

¹¹⁰ Kawamura Minato, *Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku to shôgai: Rôshitsu seiden*, 58.

¹¹¹ See Lee Yöng-chöl, "Rekishi jyôkyô kotoba: Chôsen sholuminchi shihai 100 nen to nihon bungaku," *Chôsen shinpô*, January 24th, 2011. <http://www1.korea-np.co.jp>.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ The following is the original: "*Tasha o shôkyo shi narushikutikku na jikozô o tsuyutomo utaganu gendai Nihon ni atte, kyôkasho ni noru Nakajima sakuhin ga sono Chôsen taiken to tomoni issô fukaku yomaretai.*"

¹¹⁴ Lee Yöng-chöl, "Rekishi jyôkyô kotoba: Chôsen sholuminchi shihai 100 nen to nihon bungaku."

¹¹⁵ The figure 3-2 is cited from the following world map link: www.historyplace.com

¹¹⁶ Regarding the political, historical, and cultural situatedness of Koreans under the Japanese Empire, see Yoon Keun Cha, "Nihon teikoku shugi shihai ka no Chôsen Chôsen jin," *Kozetsu no rekishi ishiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 1990), 140-46.

¹¹⁷ Junsu no iru fûkei," 69.

¹¹⁸ Regarding how such a tautology operates under the Empire, see Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press 2000). Sandoval opens up a new reading of Roland Barthes as a theorizing paradigm of power structure between the colonizer and the colonized. See her analysis on such tautologies on page 121.

¹¹⁹ "Junsu no iru fûkei," 69-70.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 70.

¹²¹ Ibid., 70.

¹²² Ibid., 70.

¹²³ Nakajima in the original uses the term *minzoku* for "ethnicity." However, as argued earlier, when I am analyzing dynamics between different ethnic groups, I use the term "race" more frequently. As mentioned previously, in the case of Balibar, I use the two terms, race and ethnicity, interchangeably.

¹²⁴ I am examining the power structure between the Japanese and Koreans with inspiration from Chela Sandoval's *Methodology of the Oppressed*. By placing Frantz Fanon and Barthes into dialogue, Sandoval articulates the imperial power structure

between the French and the Algérie française. Japanese imperialism, I argue, shares certain structures with French imperialism; however, there are also differences, especially when it comes to the aspect of skin color that Fanon examines. As long as I am aware of the limitations of Sandoval's astute arguments, her analysis becomes useful when I apply her theory to the analysis of Japanese imperialism. In this sense, I am using her theory while modifying it.

¹²⁵ The notion of "*Hakkô Ichiu*" was coined by Tanaka Chigaku (1861-1939), a Nichiren sect Buddhist priest. Tanaka defines the term as follows: the Japanese Emperor, being descended from *Amaterasu*, a sun goddess, will unite the entire world. Literally the word means "eight cords and one roof." Etymologically speaking, Tanaka produced this term by reinterpreting *Nihon shoki*, compiled by the legendary first Emperor Jinmu. Later, the term was employed as the slogan for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

¹²⁶ "Junsa no iru fûkei," 72.

¹²⁷ The original reads: "Torawareta mono ha dareda. Toraeta mono ha dareda." See "Junsa no iru fûkei," 77.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹²⁹ Regarding censorship issues especially after the Peace Preservation Law was issued in 1925, see Kôno Kensuke's *Ken'etsu to bungaku: 1920 nendai no kôbô* (2009). Kawamura Minato, however, argues that in 1929 the censorship on colonialism was not thorough enough to examine works published in student journals (*Kôyûkai Zasshi*).

Therefore, Kawamura concludes that Nakajima was thinking too much in his decision to compile "Warabi, Take, Rôjin" (Bracken, Bamboo, Old Man) with "Landscape," claiming that the former serves as an antidote for the latter, which could counteract the poisonous effect of "Landscape." See Kawamura Minato, 107.

¹³⁰ "Junsa no iru fûkei," 78-79. The ellipses "..." between lines within the citation is the abbreviation of the original text, while "....." right before "The poor thing" indicates silence. Moreover, Nakajima uses hyphens "-----" at the beginning of each line within dialogues. My translation keeps these peculiar lines that Robert Tierney deletes.

¹³¹ See the translator's note by Robert Tierney

¹³² Minato Kawamura, *Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku to shôgai: Rôshitsu seiden*, 59

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹³⁴ See Robert Tierney's note.

¹³⁵ Atsushi Nakajima, "Junsa no iru fûkei," 81. Here Nakajima uses the term *minzoku* for ethnicity.

¹³⁶ Watanabe Kazutami sees Nakajima's modernist style (*modanizumu fû*), in the opening paragraph of "Landscape with a Patrolman." Watanabe cites the following sentence as exemplifying what he calls *modanizumu fû*: "Like an oyster to its shell, the carcass of a frozen cat stuck to the pavement. Above it the red, tattered banner of a

chestnut vendor fluttered in the wind." See Watanabe Kazutami, *Tasha to shitenô Chôsen: Bungakuteki kôsetsu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 30.

¹³⁷ Ecchûya Riichi (1901-70) is a proletarian writer. He was dishonorably discharged from the Japanese Imperial Army because he protested orders that discriminated against socialists as well as Koreans during the Great Kantô Earthquake.

¹³⁸ Watanabe Kazutami, *Tasha to shitenô Chôsen: Bungakuteki kôsetsu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 30-1. Even though I cite Watanabe, I do not completely agree with his view that Kuroshima is one of the writers whose portrayal of Koreans is full of clichés. I argue that Kuroshima delineates Koreans with more subtlety, especially in his masterpiece "Senjin" (Koreans). I argue Kuroshima Denji is an important writer, who portrays a social structure in Korea that has been complicated by the Japanese colonial regime. I cite Kuroshima Denji in a preceding paragraph simply to remain as close as possible to Watanabe's original.

¹³⁹ Denji Kuroshima, "Senjin" in *Kuroshima Denji Zenshû vol. 2* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1970), 197.

¹⁴⁰ The figure 3-5 is from the section "Nanyô no bu" in *Dainihon gaichi shashin chô*, Tokyo: Tôkai Tsûshinsha (1937).

¹⁴¹ Nakajima Atsushi, *Nakajima Atsushi Chichikara ko e no Nanyô dayori*, ed. Kawamura Minatto. Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2002, 179.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 238.

¹⁴³ The figure 3-6 is adopted from the appendix of *Nakajima Atsushi Chichikara ko e no Nanyô dayori*, 238.

¹⁴⁴ In terms of Richô's transformation into a tiger, Japanese textbooks (*kokugo kyôkasho*) have typically interpreted it as symbolizing a failed artist who mocks his own fate. Kawamura Minato traces this interpretive origin back to *Shinkokugo bungaku san-nen ge*, published by Futaba Publishing in 1950. This version was the first appearance of *Sangetsuki* in Japanese textbooks. Kawamura, however, intervenes into the canonical understanding of Richô's transformation and suggests that Richô's mockery of his own fate still involves "arrogant pride" (*kyogô*) as well as "calm and confidence" (*yoyû*) after transforming into a tiger. In this sense, Kawamura argues that Richô is not deploring his transformation as an "unfortunate" fate. Kawamura, moreover, suggests that the image of the tiger is noble, since a tiger is deemed "the king of beasts" (*hyakujû no ô*) in East Asia. Thus, rather than associating the tiger Richô with notions of insanity, disappointment, or self-mockery (*hakkyô, shitsui, jichô*), Kawamura reads the notions of resolution, triumph, and self-confidence (*kizen, tokui, jiji*). I agree with Kawamura's interpretation. See Kawamura Minato, *Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku to shôgai: Rôshitsu seiden*, 15-18.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹⁴⁵ Yamaguchi Yoshiko, *"Ri Kôran" o ikite: watashi no rirekisho* (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbunsha, 2004), 32. Below is the portrait of Ri Kôran, painted by Umehara Ryûzabuzô (1888-1986), titled, "Kûnyan ga." Umehara painted this during his stay at Beijin Hotel (北京飯店). He visited Beijin five times between 1939 and 43. He is from a family that ran a textile dyehouse in Kyoto. He was educated in both Kyoto and Paris, the latter of which, he was trained by Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841-1919). In 1944, Umehara became a Professor of the Tokyo University of the Arts.



¹⁴⁶ Yomota Inuhiko, "Ri Kôran to Chôsenjin ianfu," in *Ri Kôran to higashi ajia*, ed. Inuhiko Yomota (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2001), 196-97.

¹⁴⁷ This comment was made by Ri Kôran when Jûzaburô Suzuki interviewed her. See *Kinema Kuhô*, September 1, 1939, 11. The title of this article is written, 「利巧娘李香蘭」. In romanizing this, I would read this as follows: "Rikônyan Ri Kôran." The reason why to read this character 「娘」 "nyan" is as follows: Japanese media often described Ri Kôran as 「姑娘」, meaning an unmarried young Chinese lady, pronounced as "kûnyan." This "nyan" stands for 「娘」. I argue Suzuki intentionally picked this character 「娘」 in order to rhyme with her name, Ri Kôran. See also Yamaguchi Yoshiko and Fujiwara Sakuya, *Ri Kôran: Watashino hansei*, 134-35.

¹⁴⁸ Yomota Inuhiko, *Nihon no joyû*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Regarding the history of Harbin Orchestra and its relationship to Ri Kôran and Amakasu Masahiko (1891-1945), in producing the film, *My Bush Warbler (Watashi no uguishu*, 1944), see the thorough examination by Iwano Yûichi, "Watashi no uguisu" to ongaku no miyako, Harbin" in *Ri Kôran to higashi ajia*, 77-100.

¹⁵⁰ Roland Barthes, "The Face of Garbo," in *Film Theory and Criticism*, 536-38.

¹⁵¹ Yomota Inuhiko, *Nihon no joyû*, 11-19. Below is Hara Setsuko.



¹⁵² In Chinese, 乾女兒. Some Chinese families practice this adoption with their relatives or family friends. This is not legal or religious in nature but cultural and it is done through a ceremony on a selected date with good fortune based on their astrological calendars. It is practiced to strengthen ties between the involving families.

¹⁵³ Her Hollywood name is Shirley Yamaguchi. Within the sound of Shirley, that of Li Xianglan is inscribed: Xia and Li. This is how the Hollywood name was coined. See Yamaguchi and Fujiwara, 398.

¹⁵⁴ See Yamaguchi and Fujiwara, 43-51 and Yamaguchi Yoshiko, *"Ri Kôran" o ikite: watashi no rireki sho*, 22-26. Regarding the Russian last name Podoresov, it is more grammatically correct to call her in a female form, Podoresova; however, Ri Kôran claims that her teacher's name is always Madam Podoresov for her. See *ibid*, 22.

¹⁵⁵ 翊教女学校 in Chinese.

¹⁵⁶ Yamaguchi, *"Ri Kôran" o Ikite: Watshi no rirekisho*, 32.

¹⁵⁷ 潘淑華 in Chinese.

¹⁵⁸ 潘毓桂 in Chinese.

¹⁵⁹ Yamaguchi, "*Ri Kôran*" o *Ikite: Watashi no rirekisho*, 34-36. Yamaguchi and Fujiwara, *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 74-80.

¹⁶⁰ Yamaguchi, "*Ri Kôran*" o *Ikite: Watashi no rirekisho*, 148.

¹⁶¹ However, the marriage between Isamu Noguchi and Ri Kôran did not last long. They got married in December 1951 and divorced in February 1956. They were able to live together only for a year in total during their marriage because of their careers being on different paths and visa problems. Ri Kôran confesses that their marriage was difficult partly because Noguchi was uncompromising about his own aesthetics. For example, he provided Ri with a pair of thongs to wear made of straws in their farm-style house in Kamakura, decorated with Noguchi's art works, such as lanterns and chairs. He thought those thongs fitted the aesthetics of the house. Yet, it was painful for Ri to wear the thongs, and therefore, she bought a pair of pink colored beach sandals to wear instead. It was not aesthetically acceptable for Noguchi. He became so upset that he threw those away into a rice field across the house. The house was owned by an artist, Kitaôji Rosanjin (1883-1959). See Yamaguchi, "*Ri Kôran*" o *Ikite: Watashi no Rirekisho*, 152-54.

¹⁶² Michael Baskett, *The Affective Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2008), 29.

¹⁶³ See Amakasu Masahiko, "Manji no tameni eiga o tsukuru" in *Eiga junpô*, August 1, 1942, 3. Also, see Michael Maskett, *The Attractive Empire*, 30.

¹⁶⁴ Yomota Inuhiko and Iwano Yûichi discuss the progressive character of Amakasu Masahiko. See *Ri Kôran to higashi ajia*, ed. Inuhiko Yomota 264-67. Furthermore, Ri Kôran recalls Amakasu's liberal, generous, and somewhat charming personality. Having worked with him, she started to see him this way, "A storm like terrorist whom we were scared of as "a person, maneuvering behind the scenes of slaughter of Ôsugi Sakae," along with the image of "conspirator of the Continent" had become a father of Man'ei without our noticing it. 「"大杉栄・虐殺事件の黒幕" に "大陸の陰謀者" のイメージが重なり畏れられた風雲のテロリストは、いつのまにか満映の父になっていた。」 *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 148. See Yamaguchi and Fujiwara, *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 143-52.

¹⁶⁵ Poshek Fu, *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas* (California: Stanford University Press, 2013), 94-100.

¹⁶⁶ Adopted from the website, Manshû Shashinkan Manshû no kaiga." http://www.geocities.jp/ramopcommand/geo_contents/090718/Manchukuo00D.html. The author of the website has collected a series of valuable pictures from Manchukuo. Yet, his view on history reveals a tendency toward conservative ethnocentric politics.

¹⁶⁷ Michael Baskett, 78-79.

¹⁶⁸ *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 156. Tsuji Hisakazu's original comments are compiled in "Chûka den'ei shiwa," *Eigashi Kenkyû*, vol 4-15 (Tokyo: Satô Tadao). These series are now compiled into one book, titled, *Chûka den'ei shiwa: Kawakita Nagamasa to Nicchû eiga "kôryû* (Tokyo: Gaifûsha, 1998). The original Japanese is written in a passive form. This means the agency, who created the "doll" like Chinese and offended them, is missing in Tuji's important claim. Thus, for pragmatic reasons, in order to translate this original Japanese into English, I used national policy films (*kokusaku eiga*) as the agency. The original Japanese is as follows: 「中国人の男女は、日本人の立場に都合よく合わせて仕立てられた。極端にいうと、人形のようにであった。中国人を侮辱する気持ちはまるでなくても、中国人の生きた姿、端的にいうと、その心を描けないために、中国人に不快な印象や嫌悪感をあたえる結果となったのである」。

¹⁶⁹ In February 1946, it was proven that Ri Kôran was ethnically Japanese with the help of her childhood friend, Lyuba Greenetz(a), Jewish Russian lady. Thus, she was proven to be innocent, and thereby, released from captivation. She was not jailed. Lyuba delivered Ri's family register (*koseki tôhon*) from Beijing to Shanghai: in the former city, Ri's family was still living; in the latter, Ri was captivated. In the family register, Ri's Japanese name, Yamaguchi Yoshiko, her birth place in Saga prefecture, and her Japanese parents' names were clearly stated. Later on, in 1998, with the help of NHK (*Nihon hôsô kyôka*), Ri was able to meet with Lyuba after long silence. Then, Ri found out that Lyuba's older brother was killed in Unit 731. Ri's life cannot be narrated either directly or indirectly

without the violence of the Japanese Empire. See Yamaguchi, *“Ri Kôran” o ikite: Watashi no rirekisho*, 108-16, and 178-83.

Lyuba Greenetz(a) is a woman and therefore her sir name should be spelled in a feminine form, Greenetza. Ri, however, calls her Greenetz, so I bracketed the ending “a” in her last name.

¹⁷⁰ This image is adopted from the appendix of *Ri Kôran to higashi ajia* by Yomota Inuhiko. Originally, Makino Mamoru at “Mikino Korekushon” provided Yomota with the image.

¹⁷¹ *“Ri Kôran” o ikite: Watashi no rirekisho*, 60. In it, she recalls that she knew that Chinese were so upset that she rejected a few of the offers to record the song of her voice under the title of “Shina no yoru.” See *ibid*, 60. In the film, Ri sang the song; however, a version sung by Watanabe Hanako (1910-99) was published and sold.

¹⁷² *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 154-56.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 155-56.

¹⁷⁵ The following is the lyric:

君がみ胸に 抱かれて聞くは

夢の船唄 鳥の唄

水の蘇州の 花散る春を
惜しむか柳が すすり泣く

花をうかべて 流れる水の
明日のゆくえは 知らねども
こよい映した ふたりの姿
消えてくれるな いつまでも

髪に飾るか 接吻しよか
君が手折りし 桃の花
涙ぐむよな おぼろの月に
鐘が鳴ります 寒山寺

¹⁷⁶ *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 165.

¹⁷⁷ Figure 4-4 is adopted from *Ri Kôran to higashi ajia*. The image is originally provided by the aforementioned "Makino Korekushon."

¹⁷⁸ Even though Sano Shûzo was a popular actor, he was drafted three times between the years of 1941-45.

¹⁷⁹ Regarding Ri's preceding popularity, so called, "Nichigeki shichimawari han jiken" witnesses this. This took place a little before the release of *Suzhou Nights*. See Washitani Hana, "Ri Kôran Nichigeki ni awararu: Utau daitôa kyôei ken" in *Ri Kôran to*

higashi ajia, 21-56 and Yamaguchi and Fujiwara, *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 174-99. Regarding the "Nichigeki shichimawari han jiken," Washiya argues that "Nichigeki" (*Nihon gekijyô* 1933-81) became a space which negated the distance between foreign land (*ikkyô*) and homeland (*kyôdo*) as well as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*daitôa kyôei ken*) and Japan (*nihon*). The space allowed people to dream about that their homeland would limitlessly erode the foreign land and Japan would endlessly expand into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In other words, the "Nichigeki" on February 11th 1941 provided its audiences with a program which enabled them to forget the fact that they were repeating the same colonial expansionism as the West (*seiyô*), which presumably had to be denied. In this way, the program allowed the audience to imagine Japan's territory expansion (*nihon no ryôdo kakuchô*), or to be more precise, homeland's expansion (*kyôdo kakuchô*). See Washitani, 50.

¹⁸⁰ *Ri Kôran: Watashi no hansei*, 137-38. Hanasega taught Ri how to create femininity. He taught her how to move her eyes (*me no kubarî*), body (*karada no konashi*), and arms and hands (*te ni yoru shina zukuri*).

¹⁸¹ Maruo Toshirô, *Jidai geki rokudai stâ senzen hen: Fujinami Yonejirô korekushon*, ed. Maruo Toshirô (Tokyo: Waizu Shuppan, 1997), 160.

¹⁸² For accents and colonialisms, see Robert Stam and Louise Spence, "Colonialism, Racism, and Representation: An Introduction," in *Film Theory and Criticism*, ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 240.

¹⁸³ For example, Mori Ôgai's (1862-1922) life explains the relationship between German language and Western medicine in Japan. Even though Ôgai is known as one of the most important writers in modern Japanese literary history, he was also a Japanese Army Surgeon. He grew up in a doctor's family. He studied German from an early age. He studied medicine at *Tokyo Daiichiku Igakkô*, a current Medical School at the University of Tokyo, where he received education taught by German instructors. During 1884-88, he studied medicine in Germany for four years, funded by the Army Ministry of Japan (*Rikugun-shô*). His stay in Germany is reflected in his short story, "The Dancing Girl" (*Maihime*, 1890).

¹⁸⁴ *Watashi no hansei*, 262-267. "*Ri Kôran*" o ikite: *Watashi no rirekisho*, 140-44. Her repertoires were as follows: "Kôjô no tsuki," "Umi yukaba," and "Debune."

¹⁸⁵ "*Ri Kôran*" o ikite: *Watashi no rirekisho*, 140-41.

¹⁸⁶ See "*Ri Kôran*" o ikite: *Watashi no rirekisho*, 138. Also, Yomota Inuhiko closely examines the whole processes of censorship by GHQ, regarding the film. See "*Ri Kôran to Chôsenjin ianfu*," especially 205-11.

¹⁸⁷ "*Ri Kôran*" o ikite: *Watashi no rirekisho*, 138.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁸⁹ Kimberly T. Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3. And see also Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myth: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

¹⁹¹ Kimberly T. Kono, 3.

¹⁹² Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Year's War, 1931-1945*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 2003), 283. In it, High refers to Kanô and Meiran by their acting stage names.

Notes to Appendix I

¹⁹³ Yamaguchi Yoshiko / Ri Kôran has been using this name Ôtaka Yoshiko since she was married to a Japanese diplomat, Ôtaka Hiroshi, in 1958.

¹⁹⁴ "That war" refers to the World War Two.

¹⁹⁵ Miki Mutsuko (1917-2012) was a political activist and a wife of a former Prime Minister of Miki Takeo (1907-88). He was a prime minister between the years of 1974-76. Mutsuko's political views were far more liberal and progressive than those of her husband. She supported the unification of North and South Korea and maintained a relatively close relationship with North Korean leaders such as Kim Il-sung (1912-94). She also took a pro-Article 9 position.

¹⁹⁶ Ônuma Yasuaki (1946-) is a Professor Emeritus of Law at the University of Tokyo. He specializes in International Law and worked on issues of war responsibility. He served as a board member for the Asian Women's Fund. He is the author of *"Ianfu" mondai towa nan datta noka: meddia, NGO, seifu no kôzai* (Tokyo: Chûôkôron shinsha, 2007). Regarding the Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which renounces war, he supports the idea of partial revisions, instead of preserving the Constitution in its current state. The text of Article 9 reads as follows:

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

¹⁹⁷ The popular song, "Suzhou Nocturne," (*Soshû yakyoku*) was published in 1940 as a theme song for a film, *China Nights*, (*Shina no yoru*, 1940). The piece was composed by Hattori Ryôichi (1907-93) and its lyrics were written by a poet, Saijô Yaso (1892-1970). The published record of "Suzhou Nocturne" in 1940 by "Columbia Record" was sung by Watanabe Hamako (1910-99) and Kirishima Noboru (1914-84). In the film, *China Nights*, Ri Kôran herself sings the song. The version that Ri sings was published in 1953.

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