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PRESENTATION ABSTRACTS

SESSION I: CULTURAL STUDIES

A Bridge Too Far? Reconciling Soft Power, J-pop and K-pop

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The metaphor of “bridging Japan and Korea” necessarily implies divisible entities with a gap between them, and few would dispute the existence of determinable geographical units “Japan” and “Korea” separated by a significant body of water, whose name itself is frequently and vehemently disputed. But this common-sense approach rapidly becomes complicated by crucial geopolitical questions: what do we mean by Korea, when two nation-states on the Korean peninsula vie for legitimacy? While the governments involved function as separate, definable entities, how readily can we distinguish cultural forms among the societies in these respective nation-states? How are we to understand the fact that South Korea now shares some historical contexts with its alienated sibling to the North, but many others with Japan, its partner in late-capitalist postmodernity?

In this post-Cold War, pre-reunification era, new relations of interaction and entanglement are arising between “Korea” and Japan, and in this paper I want to examine the extent to which popular culture can play a role in achieving reconciliation between those who share fraught histories. In recent years much scholarly attention has been given to Joseph Nye’s concept of soft power, and the South Korean and Japanese governments are among the world’s most eager proponents of brand nationalism in their aggressive marketing of the Korean Wave and Gross National Cool, respectively. Furthermore, Korea and Japan function as crucial signifiers in each other’s popular discourse, and pop cultural success has been both viewed and deployed by each as an instrument for establishing new hierarchical relationships. Furthermore, while some “bottom-up” popular cultural phenomena work to build pylons for bridges of understanding (Yon-sama fans embarking on study of Korean language), others simultaneously set about to demolish the structures of these incipient bridges of reconciliation (consider, e.g., the *Ken-kanryu* manga: “Hating the Korean Wave”).

Jung EunYoung concludes her 2007 dissertation, *Transnational Cultural Traffic in Northeast Asia: The*

“Presence” of Japan in Korea’s Popular Music Culture by writing:

“it is far too early to evaluate the most significant ramifications of Japan’s new presence in Korea. But it is inevitably changing Korean notions of Japan... It is not impossible, or even unreasonable, to imagine a time... when Japanese pop will finally have shed its pariah status... in Korea...” (p. 274)

Heeding Jung’s caveat that it remains too early to evaluate fully the ramifications of Japan’s new presence in South Korea (and vice-versa), I will offer here two detailed but tentative case studies in which I ask whether pop culture interactions between South Korea and Japan are producing reconciliation via new, shared forms; whether we are seeing a potentially welcome desire (or unwelcome disdain) for the Other; or whether K-pop and J-pop, despite mutual influences and cross-fertilization, are already in fact diverging and “singing past each other.” First I will compare J-pop girl groups (e.g. Morning Musume, Berryz Koubou, C-ute, Buono!) and K-pop girl groups (e.g. SNSD, Wonder Girls, 2NE1, T-ara!) and their reception in each other’s countries and then I will move to a look at the interaction between the Japanese and South Korean punk rock scenes. I currently hypothesize that, ironically, it is in the notoriously combative and confrontational genre of punk rock, in which sub-cultural identity can trump national identity as primary affiliation that we find greater possibilities for reconciliation rather than in the more diffuse, competitive and globalizing mainstream efforts of J-pop and K-pop. In this paper I will explore this hypothesis in detail, with empirical data from primary resources including newspaper articles, fan websites and music videos.

Thoughts on 'Furusato no Kaze', the Government of Japan’s Radio Broadcast to the Abduction Victims in North Korea

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This paper is an analysis of a single broadcast of the radio program *Furusato no Kaze* (ふるさとの風, The Wind of the Hometown), which is edited and broadcast by the Secretariat of the Headquarters for the

Abduction Issue (拉致問題対策本部事務局, Rachimondai Taisakuhonbu Jimukyoku), a governmental agency formed in 2009. The program is aimed at the twelve missing persons that the Government of Japan recognizes as kidnap victims of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but it is also applied as a means for informing the Japanese public about the background and current state of the abduction issue. By discussing several sections of the program in the light of such concepts as uncertainty reduction (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1992) and response reinforcing (Roloff and Miller 1980), this paper should be understood as an initial effort of what could be a much larger research project in the future- the analysis of the multitude of PR efforts regarding the abduction issue, of which *Furusato no Kaze* forms a small part.

The Recreation of European Club Culture in Meiji Era Japan

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European club culture has origins deeply rooted in early eighteenth century European society. In the 1700s coffeehouses evolved into gentleman's clubs, which would serve as networking localities for the elite of London society. Gradually as European influence spread throughout the world, institutions common in those countries also began to emerge wherever a colonial or informal colonial base was established.

In 1858, after virtually two hundred years of isolationism, the Tokugawa Shogunate reluctantly opened Japan to make way for the great trading powers of the day, namely the United States, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France, through the signing of the Ansei Treaties. Throughout the Meiji era, the foreign community was an integral part of Kobe's prosperity, the marks of which are still clearly evident in the city's urban layout and historic districts. 1870 and the years thereafter, saw the establishment of several foreign clubs in the city of Kobe. The two most prominent of these were the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club, and the Kobe Club, both of which, are still in existence today.

Both institutions occupied differing roles within the fabric of early foreign life of nineteenth century Kobe. The K. R. & A. C was primarily a sports club founded by the Scotsman Alexander Cameron Sim in 1870. What is now the Kobe Club, by contrast went through several stages of development before finally becoming the Kobe Club sometime around 1872. Due to the various disasters that Kobe has endured throughout the twentieth century much of the early records of these institutions has been lost. However, largely due to the scholarly efforts of the Australian and long-term Kobe resident, Harold S. Williams, much of the city's historical association with the foreign community has been documented for posterity. The Harold Williams Collection is now housed in the National Library of Australia, however, Williams also published a large

number of material concerning the foreign experience in Japan.

The English language press in Japan also provides a unique insight into the inner workings of the foreign community in Kobe. A detailed account of the relevant sources in relation to the clubs is available to us, however, our early view of the port is influenced by the narrow scope of the predominantly British/American political thought of the day. Consequently, the emergence of an English-language media in Japan performed the role of a mechanism that would pave the way for a form of cultural imperialism. In the case of Kobe, Western countries enjoyed a period of extraterritoriality until 1899. the Western community was basically exempt from local jurisdiction and law. As a result of the semi-autonomous nature of the port, various communities sought to establish their own social institutions that mirrored those of their own countries. Divisions within the social hierarchy of the foreign community can be analyzed by their relation to or exclusion from these institutions.

Terms such as 'cultural imperialism' and 'informal imperialism' are examined as utility concepts in trying to gain a wider understanding of the changes that took place within Japanese society during the era of extraterritoriality. These theories have been employed in the past in order to analyze the changes taking place on a global scale throughout the post-colonial era. However, they have often fail to account for the role of the nascent society in gauging how much has been chosen to adopt or discard from the more economically dominant culture. In the case of Japan, the meteoric rise of the Meiji era Japanese nation saw the country behave in many ways similar to those of the great European and American powers of the day. In conclusion, the paper argues that the formation of a club culture in Meiji era Kobe must be viewed within the wider context of the propagation of the Western ideology during an era of mass colonization. While never a colony as such, Japan has in many ways exhibited facets of both colonizer and the colonized. Viewed in this context, the existence of a club culture, similar to that which existed in colonial countries proper, gives us a wider understanding of the development of the foreign community in Kobe and its wider influence upon Japanese culture.

Korean cuisine and its role in the process of national identity making in contemporary Korea

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There is a recent vivid trend in South Korean society to stress its national identity by promotion of national culinary traditions. Nowadays their cultural significance can rival the main achievements in traditional art, architecture, science and technology. The first lady is actively patronizing the program of *hansik* globalization in order to present Korean cuisine in the world as one of the main symbols of Korean culture in

general. The growing interest in domestic food and culinary customs can be also seen inside Korea. Now there Korean cuisine is interpreted not only as reflection of national palates but more likely as symbolic representation of Korean way of life, aesthetics and philosophy.

In my presentation I will describe and try to analyze this original phenomenon on the basis of the most recent Korean facts and events, find its origins and define its role and perspectives in modern South Korean cultural reality. Among other issues the focus will be given to the question of Japanese colonial influence on Korean food culture and the problem of perception and interpretation of this influence by today's Koreans.

Keywords: Korean national identity making, Korean food culture

SESSION II: LINGUISTICS

Language reactivation among Korean adoptees in Sweden: Evidence from phonetic perception test with Korean consonants and vowels

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Have Korean adoptees living in Sweden completely lost their ability in the discernment of phonemes in their first language (L1) after birth? Results from a research project on language reactivation among Korean adoptees in Sweden suggest that the adoptees have not completely lost their first language and that there are traces of the adoptees' L1 Korean.

In the perceptual experiment, 21 Korean adoptees and 11 native Swedish-speaking learners of Korean were tested on fourteen Korean consonants and nineteen vowels. Eighty minimal pairs of the Korean consonants and vowels (forty pairs respectively) were used as stimuli. All the subjects had studied the Korean language for minimum one year at Stockholm University in Sweden. The Korean adoptee subjects were divided into three groups. One group (6 subjects) includes those who arrived in Sweden before the age of one, another (8 subjects) those who arrived between the ages of one and two and the other (7 subjects) those who arrived after the age of two. The subjects in the experiment were asked to listen to and discern the minimal pairs containing a Korean consonant in the word-initial position. In particular, the consonants were chosen because they may be considered difficult by Swedish-speaking learners.

According to the test results, some Korean adoptees performed almost as perfect as native Koreans in perceiving Korean consonants, whereas no Swedish-speaking subjects did. Data from the perception test with words beginning with difficult Korean vowels will be analyzed and presented. It would be of

interest to see whether the adoptees have higher perceptive skills also in Korean vowels than the Swedish speakers. If the adoptees demonstrate higher competence also in vowel perception, this would corroborate the previous findings of the test that the adoptees' early experience with their L1 Korean has left traces of the language and that these traces have an effect on their phonetic perception, when they relearn the language as adults.

A Linguistic Approach to Linguistic Landscape: Information Gaps in Japanese-English Bilingual Signage in Japan

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Since Landry and Bourhis' (1997) seminal work, linguistic landscape has attracted a number of researchers from a wide range of fields to the study of language which is present in public spaces. It has recently been establishing itself as a subfield of sociolinguistics. Although previous studies look at various intriguing issues on linguistic landscape, it would be worth mentioning that many of them tend to focus on its social aspects, i.e. relationships between language in signage and society, which might be referred to as SOCIOlinguistic studies of linguistic landscape. In contrast, there are relatively fewer studies on its linguistic aspects, i.e. language itself in signage, which might be referred to as socioLINGUISTIC studies of linguistic landscape. The present study discusses the latter approach and explores what kind of implication it might have for the study of linguistic landscape.

In so doing, the study investigates a particular aspect of language used in bi/multi-lingual signage; viz. information gaps between languages. To be more exact, it looks at Japanese-English bilingual notations in bi/multi-lingual signs, and examines what sorts of information gaps there are. Data are drawn from signs, notices and other types of written mediums for providing the public with some sort of information found in urban and tourist areas of Japan, such as Tokyo and Sapporo, as those places attract many international visitors and therefore have a lot of bi/multi-lingual signs. Although more and more signs are getting multilingual rather than bilingual in Japanese and English in Japanese society (Shouji, Backhaus and Coulmas 2009), including languages like Korean, Chinese, and Portuguese, the study focuses on Japanese and English notations since English is still the most commonly found foreign language in bi/multi-lingual signs in Japan. It would be useful to understand the nature of information gaps between what is written in Japanese and what is provided in English there.

Information gaps in this study refer to differences between languages used in bi/multi-lingual signs in terms of their information contents. This excludes 'superficial' differences due to diversities in ways of expressions observed in individual languages. For example, the Japanese counterpart of 'Thank you' in

English is 'Arigatou', which could literally be translated as 'difficult to exist' (although few Japanese would be aware of it in daily life). This example is not considered as an information gap in this study, however, as they function basically in the same way in each language. In fact, it could be argued that it constitutes one of the most straightforward cases of 'zero' gap, i.e. there is essentially no information gap.

Given a sign provides the public with certain pieces of information, it would be rather natural that information contents provided in each language should be the same in a bi/multi-lingual sign. It is interesting to notice, however, that it is not always the case. There are cases where part of information written in Japanese is missing in what is provided in English. The most extreme case would be a sign which provides information in a complementary way, i.e. a certain piece of information written in Japanese is not at all provided (or 'translated') in English whilst the rest of information written in English is not provided in Japanese, hence a 'full' gap. Although such a case is fairly rare, there is a spectrum of degrees of information gaps between the two extremes, which is the focus of this study.

The study of language itself used in bi/multi-lingual signage would have implications for not only the study of linguistic landscape but also language services. The same research method could be applied to other bi/multi-lingual cases such as Japanese-Korean, Korean-English, and so forth. A better understanding of information gaps observed in bi/multi-lingual signage would contribute to active international/cultural exchanges.

On the transition from desiderative POSI to ITASI in Classical Japanese: A view from the Ryukyuan dialects

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The Japanese desiderative *-itasi* is understood to have developed in the following way:

itasi 'sore' > *itasi* 'extreme' > *-itasi* '(desiderative)'

痛し 甚し

The first step in this development is amply attested cross-linguistically (e.g. English "sorely miss", Chinese 痛快...), but I have been unable to find cross-linguistic support for the second step of an intensifier developing into a desiderative.

As the desiderative, *-itasi* appears in the 12th century as a colloquial expression, and eventually displaces the earlier *-amaFosi* desiderative, which had developed from *-amaku posi*, a nominalised irrealis form followed by *posi* 'want'. In this paper I will propose a scenario of how the intensifier *-itasi* became a desiderative, taking over from *-amaFosi*, based on a distinction between post-verbal POSI and ITASI observed in a number of geographically separated Ryukyuan dialects.

In the Hatoma dialect (Yaeyama branch of Southern Ryukyuan), *-pus-* (POSI) is the desiderative form, but *-cca-* (ITASI) is attested, used only when denoting involuntary physical actions.

pari-pus-aN 'want to go'
sibaru si-cca-aN 'want to urinate'
ffai-pus-aN 'want to eat'
ssu mari-cca-aN 'want to defecate'
numi-pusaN 'want to drink'
paki-cca-aN 'want to vomit'
pana pusi-cca-aN 'want to sneeze'

Precisely this same distribution is found in the distantly related Nakachi dialect (Irabu island, Miyako branch of Southern Ryukyuan).

jum-busi-munu 'want to read'
sibai sii-ta-munu 'want to urinate'
niv-ta-munu 'want to sleep'

A similar situation is attested in Northern Ryukyuan. In the Tsuha dialect (Oogimi-son, Okinawan branch of Northern Ryukyuan), POSI and ITASI are used in the following way, with ITASI expressing a "physical feeling", to use the words of an informant.

'iki-ba-haN 'want to go (to Nago)'
'iki-cja-haN 'want to go (to the toilet)'
sii-ba-haN 'want to do'
suubee sii-cja-haN 'want to urinate'
misi-ba-haN 'want to show'
niNbi-cja-haN 'want to sleep'

In the Agarisuji dialect of Kuroshima (Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan), both POSI and ITASI can be used with the same verbs, as in *Isanakee pa(r)-pisa ~ Isanakee pa(r)-cca-sa* 'I want to go to Ishigaki', but the *-cca-* (ITASI) form implies a very strong form of desire, bordering on necessity. Necessity, rather than desire, is what ITASI with involuntary physical actions indicates, and so it can be seen that the Agarisuji situation is a development of the situation observed in the other dialects, with ITASI now cooccurring with controllable actions.

I propose that the desiderative usage of ITASI developed from a 10th century (and possibly even earlier) usage of ITASI with verbs denoting involuntary physical actions, meaning 'need to'. This is attested in the form *nebu-tasi* 'be sleepy', but it is expected that it would also have been widely used in reference to other actions like going to the toilet or vomiting.

中田 (1998: 31) notes that, in contrast with *-amaFosi*, *-itasi* was commonly used with verbs expressing physiological desires (especially 'eat' and 'drink'). This is what would be expected if desiderative ITASI developed from the use of ITASI with involuntary physiological processes, first meaning 'extreme situation / necessity', and from there 'desire'.

The Ryukyuan situation illustrated above may not be typical of Ryukyuan dialects. It is likely that in most Ryukyuan dialects either just one form exists (e.g. POSI in Shuri and Nakijin (Okinawan); ITASI in Taketomi (Yaeyama) and Takazato (Oogimi-son, Okinawa)), or both forms are used with no clear distinction (e.g.

Miyara (Yaeyama), Ooganeke (Oogimi-son, Okinawa)). At the moment I leave open the question of whether the Ryukyuan situation illustrated above dates back to antiquity, or whether the distinction in geographically and genealogically separated dialects is due to parallel development.

Reference

中田幸子 1998. 「希望表現の歴史的変遷 — 「まほし」「たし」「ばや」に関連して —」『早稲田大学大学院教育学研究科紀要 別冊』6: 19–34.

The perfective imperative in Japanese

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The present discussion focuses on a phenomenon in Japanese in which an imperative is expressed through the use of the markers of past tense and perfective aspect *-ta* and *-tari*, as seen in the example sentences below.

- (1) Doi-ta, doi-ta!
move.away-PAST move.away-PAST
'Get out of my way!' (lit.) 'You got out of my way!'
- (2) Saa saa, it-tari it-tari!
Well well go-TARI go-TARI
'Go on, scram!' (lit.) 'You went!'

The constructions shall here be termed imperative *-ta* and *-tari*. The use of these forms as imperatives has been touched upon by various scholars, but a detailed account of the phenomenon, its diachrony, and its place in a cross-linguistic context has not previously been performed.

This discussion is a continuation of the presentation made at the 7th conference of the Nordic Association of Japanese and Korean Studies, taking into account feedback given by the participants, and greatly expanding the use of historical and cross-linguistic data. As in the previous presentation, the constructions are described in detail, and a contrastive analysis determines how imperative *-ta* differs from other imperatives in modern Japanese

The relation between aspect and imperative utterances seen in imperative *-ta* and *-tari* is discussed, focusing on their connection to perfective aspect. The discussion also touches on the occurrence of past tense and perfective imperatives cross-linguistically, comparing the Japanese construction with similar phenomena found in German, Russian, Polish, Persian, Mandarin Chinese, and other languages. It is argued that these phenomena may be connected through the concept of deictic projection (Lyons 1977, Tavangar and Amouzadeh 2006).

The attempt to identify perfective imperatives in other languages is in conjunction with the search for hortative and near-future uses of past tense or perfective markers, as the present author considers them to be related phenomena. A typological generalization is posited: Languages that employ the past/perfective to

express the certain future are more likely to also express the imperative through their use than languages that do not. Conversely: if we, in a certain language, identify the use of a past/perfective marker as an imperative, chances are high that we shall also find uses of the past/perfective to express the certain future. It is concluded that a construction viewed by scholars as a quirk of Japanese pragmatics may now be placed in a wider category, as a linguistic phenomenon shared in principle, if not necessarily in the details of usage and historical development, with many other languages.

The history and development of the perfective imperative in Japanese is also discussed in detail, including a discussion of previous hypotheses on the subject by Yoshida (1971), Shinzato (2005), and Cho (2003). The focus is on establishing all the facts currently available as to the possible origins of the construction, and enumerating the hypotheses that the data allows us to put forward. Various explanations of the emergence of imperative *-tari* and *-ta* are discussed, and a number of alternate hypotheses as to this development, all with their consequences in interpreting the diachronic evolution as well as the synchronic function of the construction, are presented. The discussion concludes with a final outline of the history of the perfective imperative in Japanese. The outline is based on the historical data available and unifies some of the proposals previously made in the literature.

Keywords: Aspect, deictic projection, imperative, Japanese, past tense, perfective aspect, *-ta*, *-tari*

SESSION III: HISTORY

History, memory and oblivion: Seodaemun Prison Museum's narrative on Korea's past and its omissions

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Sciences Po

Built in 1908 by the Japanese colonial authorities, Seodaemun Prison (Seodaemun Hyeongmuso) has been one of Korea's central penal institutions before and after the 1945 Liberation. Seodaemun Prison's inmates were moved to another facility outside Seoul in 1987, on the eve of the Olympics, and its buildings were subsequently refashioned to revive the place as it existed during the colonial era. The prison opened to the public in 1998 as a "history hall" (yeoksagwan) honoring the Korean independence fighters who had been imprisoned under Japan's colonial rule.

However, Seodaemun Prison History Hall does not provide a narrative that accounts for the prison's whole history. As a matter of fact, it only tells half of that history, concentrating on the four decades of Japanese colonialism (1905–1945) while erasing the prison's abiding role under the US Army Military Government (1945–1948) and the successive South Korean authoritarian regimes (1948–1987). Why is the period from 1945 to 1987 silenced? Why did the memory of

colonialism prevail over that of dictatorship? Are the two incompatible with one another? Such an omission is all the more surprising that the memory of dictatorship isn't a taboo in contemporary South Korean society where a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set in 2005 to investigate "past incidents". So why would a democracy apparently unembarrassed about its authoritarian past avoid mentioning it in what used to be its emblematic place of display?

It was not an accident that the effort to convert Seodaemun Prison into a memorial of Korean resistance against colonial rule took place in the 1990s. The project started under President Kim Young-sam (1992–1997) who had promised to open a "new era" (*saesidae*) for Koreans, breaking with both the authoritarian rule and the colonial hangover. When Seodaemun Prison's transformation was started in 1995, the dome of the National Museum - the ex-Chosen Sotofuku or Japanese Governor-General's office - was also demolished to commemorate the Liberation's 50th anniversary. Moreover, since the 1980s and the first textbooks crisis in 1982, Korea and Japan had experienced a revival of tensions in their relationship¹. The latter deteriorated during the 1990s through the reactivation of their territorial dispute over Takeshima/Dokdo island, while Korea's new focus on "comfort women" - Japanese army's sex slaves during the Pacific War - contributed to worsen ties further.

All these elements seem to have created a favorable environment for issues related to the colonial memory to grow more and more important inside Korea. Yet, while colonial issues did gain ground in Korean politics through the 1980s and 1990s, one should try to go beyond the politics in order to explore how collective memory is created. It should be recalled that "memory" is one of today's leading term and theme in cultural history, mainly approached through the political uses of the past - the "politics of memory". This approach does not exhaust the complexity of memory processes. On the contrary, it only scratches the surface, through a top-down understanding of how collective memory functions².

Acknowledging the limits of dealing with memory through a monument such as Seodaemun Prison's museum, this paper aims at exploring both the museum's discourse about colonial past and its silence over the authoritarian years. It argues that Seodaemun Prison should be considered a memorial rather than a "history hall", emphasizing that its one-sided memory illustrates first and foremost the impossibility of depicting colonialism and dictatorship together. Indeed, it still seems unacceptable for South Korean historiography to draw a comparison between the two and suggest what they have in common. Since the early 1990s, unofficial and fragmented memories such as the

recognition of Japanese army's sex slaves have helped trigger a more open, plural and democratic debate on the colonial past. But facing colonialism's deep and lingering legacy still appears difficult to the South Korean society³.

Besides the reluctance to tackle both anti-colonial resistance and pro-democratic struggle in a single place, talking about the independence movement and the colonial period themselves also proves uneasy. This paper argues that the paradigm of "colonial modernity"⁴ which applies to Korean prison institutions is still alien to the museum's historiography, even though it does not diminish the atrocities committed by the Japanese authorities. Moreover, this work shows how the reality and transformation of the independence movement are not fully treated in the "history hall"'s narrative. Indeed, the latter tends to focus on the 1919 "March 1st movement" (*Samil undong*) without presenting radical activists - mainly communists - as the critical force of the anti-colonial struggle after the 1920s⁵. Besides the silence on the post-1945 period, even today's discourse on Korea's colonial past is plagued with omissions. This paper eventually asks whether the museum's incomplete narrative echoes the South Korean society's relationship to its past or not.

Regarding the Diplomatic Process of Korean Annexation by Japan: A Study of Treaties and Agreements (1876–1910)

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The aim of this study is to examine how Korea was annexed to the empire of Japan. Through national archives of Japan and Korea, we attempted to identify the spirit of innovation at work in the first concrete manifestations of Japan's diplomatic strategy in the process of Korean seizure. The first part of the study traces the context of the diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan up to the end of the mandatory diplomacy system and the opening of diplomatic relations based on International law between the two countries in 1876.

The second part considers the birth of antagonistic elements among the powers: The various elements which contributed to conflicts. The third part treats the loose of the Korean independence. These elements

¹ DELISSEN Alain, « Le retour des ilche chanjae/nittei zanshi : de l'historiographie nationaliste à l'historiographie citoyenne », *Ebisu*, n°17, printemps-été 1998, p.49-64.

² CONFINO Alon, « Collective memory and cultural history : problems of method », *The American Historical Review*, vol.102, n°5, pp.1386-1403.

³ The structures of punishment and repression remained particularly similar to the colonial ones throughout the post-1945 decades, as the example of Seodaemun Prison until 1987 demonstrates it.. On the colonial legacy to the post-1945 period, see for instance CUMINGS Bruce, *The origins of the Korean war*, vol. I. et II, Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1981.

⁴ SHIN Gi-wook, ROBINSON Michael (ed.), *Colonial modernity in Korea*, Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1999.

⁵ ROBINSON Michael, *Cultural nationalism in colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, Seattle, Washington : Washington University Press, 1988.

take the aspect of a challenge to colonization practices, of a gradual absorption of Korean diplomatic independence according to the alliances Japan contracted using empire's rivalries. The mode of seizure has been successively analyzed. Even though two wars opposed Japan to China and to Russia, the strategic perspective was the same and shows three different modalities: a limited conflict with the help of alliances with powers capable of intervening, local action through Seoul palaces military occupation, and the canceling of every attempt launched by Korean government to modernize its institutions.

The ten years between the first contract signed with the Yunnan Syndicate and the French government involvement in Korea's affairs which prevailed Japan to act quickly and obliged the Japanese government to contract secret agreements with England concerning the spheres of influence using the antagonism between this power and the French-Russian *Entente* in the Gulf of Bo Hai, and the possibility of Japanese troops intervention to guarantee neutralization of the Korean peninsula to prevail French funds to help Russian government in developing Korean mineral resources through its railway network in Manchuria and Liaodong peninsula which would have helped financially Korea to modernize its infrastructures in a way that would have weakened the military equilibrium in case of a third conflict contemplated after Russo Japanese war by England press accusing Russia of imposing its supremacy over the Pacific, and compelling Itô Hirobumi to proceed secretly to Korean neutralization.

The five years between the Japanese military victory in Korea and annexation are considered under the angle of the *open door policy* in Far eastern Asia which prevailed Japan to act quickly and obliged the Japanese government to contract secret agreements concerning the spheres of influence with western empires by using the powers antagonisms in the Balkans, the frontier regions of India, Pakistan, Tonkin, up to the Philippines, and the possibility of Japanese troops intervention to guarantee powers interests through secret agreements which allowed Japan to obtain the recognition of Korean seizure which army's modernization would have weakened the military equilibrium in case of a third conflict contemplated again during the summer 1910, this time, by the American press compelling Premier Katsura Tarô to proceed secretly to Korean seizure while he intended to reassure American public opinion concerning a conflict foreseen in the thirty years to come, qualifying it an *impossible fact*.

Korea in Russo-Japanese relations after the Russo-Japanese war (1905–1910)

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The period of 1905–1910 takes a special place in the history of both Korea and Japan. After the Russo-Japanese war Japan proceeded with the final decision of Korean question – abolition of Korean statehood. In April 1905 Japanese government had approved the

plan of establishing protectorate rights on Korea, according to which Korea had to remise its diplomatic relations to Japan and agree on establishing in Seoul the Japanese General Resident with wide “supervision” rights in domestic affairs.

Before taking decisive actions Japanese government has performed a serious preparation work by concluding agreements with great powers. As a matter of common knowledge, according to the Katsura-Taft agreement (July 1905) and the second Anglo-Japanese alliance treaty (August 1905) the USA and Great Britain recognized Japanese exclusive rights in Korea. It is assumed that in the Portsmouth treaty (September 1905) Russia has also recognized Japan's special position in this country and desisted from the attempts to influence the situation in the Korean peninsula. But even after signing the peace treaty with Japan, St. Petersburg was still trying to put barriers to the Japanese expansion in Korea, showing its support to the pro-Russian party of Korean elite and refusing to accept Tokyo's point of view about the new international position of Korean state. In fact, Russia became the last great power, which was trying to defend the idea of Korean independence, using it as a bargaining chip in the unstable relations with Japan after the war.

In October 1905 Russian government invited the Korean delegation to the Hague peace conference, planning to raise the Korean question and discuss it in the international arena. After the signing of the Japan-Korea Protectorate treaty (November 1905), Russian officials were accumulation information regarding the details of its conclusion and considered to open a question about “the violence” made to the Korean emperor Kojong (Gojong). After all, St. Petersburg decided to appoint a General Consul to Seoul, disacknowledging Japanese demands to control Korean foreign affairs and grant the exequaturs to the foreign representatives in Korea. Therefore, Korea became the subject of a heated discussion between Russia and Japan even after the Portsmouth peace.

Nevertheless, Russian government, weaken because of the war 1904–1905 and being isolated by the major great powers, finally had to accept Japan's position in the question of Korea almost in all aspects. After the replacement of foreign minister in May 1906, the head of Russian diplomacy became Alexander Izvolsky, who was focusing on mending fences with Japan. The new minister immediately recognized the right of Japan to grant the exequatur to the Russian Consul in Seoul, making a principal concession to Tokyo in the Korean problem. That opened a new way to the Russo-Japanese relations. Two empires had started negotiations about dividing the Far East into spheres of influence; that finally led to the conclusion of the first Russo-Japanese political convention in July 1907. So far, Korea became the main victim of the Russo-Japanese raprochement.

Even after the sign of the first political convention, Korea remained to be a serious factor in the relations between Russia and Japan. Although central government in St. Petersburg had already defined its position regarding the Korean question, Russian military and

local authorities in the eastern borders of empire took extremely cautious position towards Japan and its measures in the Korean peninsula. At the same time, a lot of Korean immigrants found their shelter in the Russian Far East, which also became a base for some Korean insurgents. With an aggravation of the situation in the region, including the assassination of Ito Hirobumi (October 1909), Japanese government decided to take drastic actions and annex Korea.

Being interested in the developing the relations with Japan, Russian central government took a number of measures against the anti-Japanese movement in the Far East and agreed to acknowledge any kind of Japanese actions in their sphere of influence, including Korea. The second Russo-Japanese political convention (July 1910) became one of the concluding stages to the end of Korean state, which was liquidated with the signature of Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty in August, 22th 1910.

In his paper the author is planning to clarify the role of Russian factor in the history of Japan and Korea from the end of Russo-Japanese war up to the annexation of Korea in 1910, focusing on the period of 1905-1907, when the discussions were especially intensive and heated.

The speaker is planning to present a comparative analysis of the declassified documents from several Russian archives with the materials of the Japanese side, bringing to light unknown pages history and providing the complex picture of "Korean question" in the relations between Japan and Russia in 1905-1910.

SESSION IV: LITERATURE

The Images of Russians in Korean Colonial Literature: the 1930s

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Although hardly of any primary significance for post-Cold War South Korea, Russia/Soviet Union used to be an important point of reference for the colonial (1910-1945) Korean intellectuals. In addition to being a mighty power bordering on the Korean Peninsula, Russia had a pre-colonial record of interfering in the Korean politics, while Soviet Union was seen, for bad or good, as a civilizational alternative of sorts for the entire capitalist world, Korea included. So, it was hardly surprising that some colonial publication even posed the dilemma of Korea's eventual future choice of the developmental path in terms of "America vs. Soviet Union", and analysed the political set-up of the colonial civil society in terms of "pro-American party" vs. "pro-Russian party".⁶ In a way, such view prophetically

⁶ Ch'angnang'gaek (1933), "Chosŏn hyŏnjae ch'inmip'a, ch'illop'a seryŏkkwan: kyŏngjejŏk, munhwajŏk, sasangiŏk ūro" (The estimation of the strength of the pro-American and pro-Russian fractions in Korea now: economically, culturally, ideologically), - *Samch'ŏlli* 5/9: 22-25.

anticipated the tragic post-1945 future of the divided Korean Peninsula.

The Soviet issue was, expectedly, a very divisive one politically. A staunchly pro-Soviet attitude was *de rigueur* for any Communist, or even a Socialist intellectual vaguely sympathetic to the Communists. It may be said that a measure of approval of at least some aspects of Russian Revolution functioned as an ideological shibboleth of sorts: it was demanded from anybody claiming to be progressive. For example, a Protestant writer, Yu Kŭn, writing for a YMCA publication, depicted Bolsheviks as having resorted to extreme violence "inevitably, since there were no more grounds to believe in the efficacy of the social reforms".⁷ Thus, even non-Communist progressives critical of the revolutionary violence in Russia, were trying hard to find also a positive side in the "Russian events".

For the real, *bona fide* Communists the requirement of the "loyalty to the Soviet experience" was much stricter. For this group, any criticism of October revolution and USSR was "reactionary" by definition. A Korean Communist, Yi Kang, writing for a Comintern publication, ascertained the "reactionary turn" in the views of Ch'oe Rin (1878-1958), a Korean nationalist religious leader, by quoting him as saying that he "saw many jobless people and beggars while travelling in the USSR"⁸ For a Communist, it was possible to write in a sceptical tone about "arrogant military politician Trotsky", his "aristocratic airs" and overzealous speech and behaviour,⁹ since Red Army's great founder was already excommunicated; the attitudes towards USSR's acting leaders were, however, to be much more reverent. Even these Communist intellectuals who privately voiced doubts about the forced deportation of the Soviet Koreans in 1937, or the Soviet-German Pact of 1939, like the brilliant literary scholar Kim T'aejun (1905-1949), never aired these doubts publicly. At the same time, a denunciation of the "Comintern and Soviet red imperialism" was a required part of the "thought conversion" ritual for these leftists who decided to join the Japanese Imperial "mainstream" in the late 1930s or early 1940s.

It is interesting, however, that this rigid "pro-Soviet - anti-Soviet dichotomy" was to a degree being overcome in the Korean novel of the 1930s. In this presentation, I will focus on the works by a female writer of a Communist background, Paek Sinae (1908-1939), whose autobiographical novel and travelogue based on her thwarted attempt to illegally enter the Soviet Maritime Province, demonstrate both a romantic infatuation with Siberia and Siberian Russians and frustration at the rigidities of the Soviet system. An-

⁷ Yu Kŭn (1922), "Kongsanjuŭi ūi sajosa" (The History of the Communist Thought), - *Ch'ŏngnyŏn*, 10: 23.

⁸ Yi Kang (2006 [1933]), "O national-reformizme v Koree" (On National Reformism in Korea), - *Materialy po natsional'no-kolonial'nym problemam* 1. Reprinted in Yu.Vanin (ed), *Kolonial'naya Koreya. Iz publikatsiy v SSSR 1920-1930-kh gg.* (Colonial Korea. From the Soviet Publications of the 1920s-1930s) (Tula: Grif), pp. 146-180.

⁹ Im Wŏn'gŭn (1932), "Nae gap on Rosŏa ūi T'ŭroch'ŭk'I" (Russia's Trotsky, as I saw him), - *Samch'ŏlli* 4/7: 7.

other object of my analysis is Yi Hyosŏk (1907–1942) and his belletristic writings of late 1930s–early 1940s on Harbin-based Russian emigrants. Cultured but impecunious, essentially "western" and at the same time reduced to the status of helpless exiles in the "eastern" Japanese Imperial territory, they symbolized both the inherent tragedy of the human life and the ambiguities of what Yi understood to be the new, coming "world order" in Asia. The officially negative attitude to the USSR notwithstanding, the Russians were the only "Western" subjects of the Japanese Empire, the part of the civilizational West thought to be the closest and most available for the Korean colonial intellectuals.

Representations of the "School-girl" in Japanese and Korean Women's Writing

ELIZABETH E. GRACE
University of Cambridge

The Japanese occupation of Korea was a period of great change in both nations, and nowhere were these changes more acute than in the ideological construction of women. Japanese imperialist and colonialist discourses such as "good wife, wise mother" (Korean: *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ*; Japanese: *ryōsai kenbo*) sought to construct women as corporeal subjects whose bodies and minds would become the silent servants of the regime, producing and reproducing "good citizens" to become part of the expanding empire. Concomitant with the manipulation of the conventional roles of wife and mother for political ends, for the first time in both countries there was also a public discourse concerning the "new woman" (Korean: *shin yŏsŏng*; Japanese: *atarashii onna*). This resulted in female bodies not only becoming sites for competing patriarchal ideologies, but they also became the central resource in women's own efforts for social change. Although the ideal of the "new woman" is often seen in terms of being an attempt at women's liberation through education and economic independence, both of these notions are problematic in a capitalist schema.

Consequently, proletarian women's writing from Japan and Korea during this period shows a great concern with the construction of a modern femininity that reacts against more traditional patriarchal discourses, often using the sexed body as a means of questioning the continuing oppression of women, even in these newly articulated female roles. This is seen in a number of ways, ranging from disparaging representations of the "new woman" as somehow loose and immoral, to the portrayal of school-girls (Korean: *yŏhaksaeŋ*; Japanese: *jogakusei*) as being self-obsessed and ignorant. Indeed, the idea of education in many works by Japanese and Korean women writers occupies an ambiguous, sometimes negative position; an interesting paradox given the necessity of education in facilitating the rapid progress of women's writing in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, while scholars have pursued some of these themes in literature by women in both countries respectively, little comparative work exists, particularly in the colonial era. This is unfortu-

nate, since such work is central to enhancing our understanding of gender issues in both the colonizing and colonized nation, and to rectifying the polarized views of history that still affect bilateral relations. However, it is only by comparing the experiences of proletarian women in both Japan and Korea, that we can come to understand the complexities of systems of colonialism in themselves, and begin to move away from analyses that privilege the idea of national boundaries over other variable such as class and gender.

Therefore, by considering images of the "new woman" focussing on works by proletarian women writers from the period, I propose a paper that will emphasise common issues for Japanese and Korean women resisting the colonialist and nationalist patriarchies through their work. In doing so, I do not intend to deny the specific difficulties of writers in their respective countries, since I fully acknowledge the gulf of difference that exists between Korean and Japanese historical experience. Rather, I intend to demonstrate that despite geographical and cultural distance, in both Japan and Korea, proletarian women writers encountered similar difficulties in portraying female subjects. Indeed, women in the texts are often unable to resist the three-fold oppression of colonialist, patriarchal, and capitalist ideologies that all sought to place woman in a subordinate position to man. Through highlighting cross-cultural commonality in the work of Japanese and Korean women writers, I will show the gendered nature of Japanese rule both on the Japanese mainland and on the Korean peninsula, and hope to contribute to current efforts to comprehend the importance of gender in participation with and resistance to such ideologies.

SESSION V: HISTORY

Logical Structure of Ishibashi Tanzan's "Small Japan Policy"

YUSUKE SUZUMURA
Hosei University

The main purpose of this presentation is to examine the logical structure of the "Small Japan Policy" advocated by Ishibashi Tanzan (石橋湛山, 1884–1973).

In three consecutive editorials of the *Toyo Keizai Shinpo* entitled "The phantasm of the 'Big Japan Policy'" (1921), Ishibashi Tanzan pointed out how important it was for Japan to give up its overseas expansionist policy, and provided a statistical basis for his claim. In these editorials Ishibashi mentioned two difficulties inherent in the "big Japan policy": first that, such notion was a mere phantasm and second, those who advocate this notion are blinded by shortsighted desire and therefore do not know how to achieve a great ambition. Even if it were desirable for a great power to have a large territory, it was impossible for Japan now to imitate the territorial expansionism of the great powers. Such being the case it would rather be a wise strategy for Japan to have the great powers set free

those territories, and for Japan to take the first step in this direction. In addition he also analysed the consequences of the failure of the Racial Equality Proposal of 1919 to be adopted in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In his opinion, Japan preached what she did not practice herself, Small wonder then that this proposal was voted down.

Japan's complaint about being treated unfairly was merely in relation to other colonial powers. Japan actually had colonies of its own such as Korea and Taiwan, ignoring the fact that Koreans and Taiwanese had reason to feel treated unfairly by Japan. Advocates of the "Big Japan Policy" claimed that the actions of the advanced powers were correct, but that such claims of "correctness" were merely a pragmatic justification of Japan's policy, arguing that this was the major trend of this age, rather than being based on a general principle. Ishibashi, on the contrary, argued the importance of making sure that its policies were based on genuine principles. Indeed, Japan's success in modernizing its country alone among Asian countries was due to the fact that Japan did not adhere to principles. But Ishibashi has different views from those who advocate a "Big Japan Policy" on pragmatic grounds. In short, Ishibashi's arguments were based on what was beneficial for Japan's economic development or military power, and this led him to argue for a policy of abandoning colonial acquisitions.

Although the Racial Equality Proposal is universal in nature, this proposal was voted down not only by the British Empire and the USA, countries generally regarded as discriminatory, but also by the Republic of China, herself being in the league of states discriminated against. The reason for this was obviously that Japan did not practice what it preached when it talked about racial equality, being only motivated by considerations of national interest. That in itself is natural at the level of diplomacy place, but this remains problematic when we analyze the substance of the matter. Ishibashi questioned the logic of policies by those in power who fail to see the inner contradictions and the lack of logic of their policies.

The Destiny of Koreans in the Soviet Union and Soviet-Japanese Relations in 1920–1930

SON ZHANNA
Russian Academy of Sciences

After clearing (liberation) of the Far East of interventionists in 1922–1923 the main task of the young Soviet State was the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Tokyo. Representatives of the USSR and Japan had been signed on January, 20th, 1925 "the Convention on main principles of mutual relations between the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan". The convention established bilateral diplomatic and consular relations between Soviet Union and Japan. The mutual obligation of the states not to suppose presence in the territories which are under their jurisdiction, the

organizations or groups was one of the major positions of the Peking contract, "applying to become the government on any part of territory of one of Contracting parties".

To the Soviet party this position allowed to achieve that the territory of Korea and other Far East countries (China) was not used by the White Guard emigrants who have sat down there. But, on the other hand, the same position has been directed against figures of the Korean organizations operating in territory of the USSR, including "Cheondoge" which have been with hostility incited against Japan. For the same reason the Soviet management has not given the permission to carrying out in Moscow the next congress of "the Union of the Koreans living in territory of the USSR». Moreover, «the Union of Koreans» was is taken under the rigid control, and in 1926 its activity has been forbidden.

The Japanese policy "blood and iron" was actively spent in Korea which annexed in 1910 and Tokyo considered itself as the absolute master on this peninsula. The essence of this policy is eloquently stated in the Memorandum of the prime minister of Japan of general Tanaka Giiti (1927). This document has been presented for approval to the emperor of Japan Хирохито, its basic points opened the long-term plans directed on capture of China and Mongolia, and also predetermined aggressive plans and Russia. The Japanese officials denied and continue to deny real existence of doctrine Tanaki, considering, that is result of ideological war.

In this project there is a part, concerning the Korean immigration:«... Stimulation and protection of the Korean immigration. Thanks to riches of the country (China) and creation of favorable conditions for the Korean immigration the number of the Korean immigrants in Manchuria and Mongolia grows every day...». Japan aspired to develop forces of Koreans riches of Manchuria and Mongolia, to monopolize trade. Inflow of Koreans on these territories had "enormous economic and military value" for Japanese. The Japanese authorities have been interested in creation in Korea intolerable conditions for residing, compelling Koreans to immigrate. Certainly, such actions should already guard the Soviet government because the stream of Koreans-immigrants began to increase and in the Soviet Far East.

Since 1927 of the USSR Koreans to accuse began actively in "the Japanese espionage". Reprisals have amplified in 1926–1927, 1931–1932, 1937–1938 of Change in foreign policy between these countries directly were reflected in destiny of the Soviet Koreans. Koreans in territory of the Soviet Far East have appeared "hostages" of two countries USSR and Japan. After occupation of northern Manchuria by Japan (the end of 1931 – the beginning of 1932) In Far East ОГПУ made active search of spies-saboteurs among the Korean population. Searches of "the Japanese spies" were conducted basically among local population, usual citizens. By August, 1937 the Soviet management had set of proofs of "the Japanese espionage» among the Soviet Koreans. It had been

proved the decision № 1428-326 cc CHK the USSR and Central Committee VKP () “About eviction of the Korean population of borders of Far East edge”, broken constitutional and ethical standards concerning an ethnic generality. 200 thousand Koreans have been accused of «the Japanese espionage». Reprisals in relation to Koreans proceeded and in 1938 after deportation to Kazakhstan and republics of Central Asia. On statistical data with 1920–1953 it has been arrested more than 9 000 Koreans, more than half from them have undergone to execution.

The Road from Isolation: Qing Scholar-Officials Introduce Knowledge about Western Countries into Nineteenth Century Japan and Korea

SERGEY VRADYI
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The paper outlines the role played by China upon Japanese and Korean societies in the second half of the XIX century. China set an example as a negative alternative for the possible perspective of Japan, and at the same time introduced to Japan and Korean societies the works of the progressive Chinese scholars, who described foreign countries and its up-to-date scientific achievements.

Confrontation with Western countries during the first half of 19th century jolted the Chinese into a more realistic perception of the wider world. Before the Opium War, the Chinese took little notice of the world beyond the traditional Chinese realm; during the course of the war China's inadequate knowledge of overseas countries proved to be a strategic disadvantage. In the 1840s, knowledge of the wider world was important to China's defense against Western intrusion, and a handful of Chinese scholar-officials who shared this view engaged in the serious study of foreign nations. A small but influential group of Chinese set out to expand China's knowledge of the West; they did so in the belief that this was essential to China's survival. The comprehensive accounts put together by Lin Tse-hsu 林則徐 (1785–1850), Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1856), Hsu Chi-yu 徐繼畲 (1795–1853), Liang T'ing-nan 梁廷柵 (1796–1861) and shorter works by other authors suggest the importance of this new perspective.

The works certainly affected the Japanese who tried to resist foreign incursions and transform its domestic policy and state structure, thereby stimulated the development of the country towards Meiji Restoration.

China has played a significant role in shaping the worldview of Koreans, its defeat in the clash with Western countries helped to redefine the relations to the outside world, to China itself, stimulated the growth of interest in the surrounding reality. Since China is in many ways failed to give adequate resistance to the military aggression of the West, the attitude towards it became more critical among Korean scholars, as 李圭景 Lee, Gyu Gueong (1788–1856), 尹宗儀 Yoon, Jong Eui (1805–1886) and others. This shift

indicates also the common interest to the ideological changes, as a result became the basis for the opening of Korea to the outside world.

SESSION VI: LITERATURE

Cultural Interactions: The Case of Raymond Radiguet

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In comparative literature study, one of the central subjects has been to study an introduction of a foreign writer to another country, and to study his/her influences on authors of the receiving country.

My intention is not to present another example of this kind of ‘influences’, but to discuss in more general terms the cultural phenomenon of the reception of a foreign writer into a different literary environment.

To discuss the phenomenon ‘cultural interactions’, I will study a case of Raymond Radiguet and his introduction into Japan in the late 1920s and the 1930s. I do not mean that the case of Radiguet will speak exhaustively for all kinds of cultural interactions and reception of foreign writers into a different cultural environment, but it, nevertheless, can give us an idea of what can affect the reception, and which cultural aspects can have an effect on the nature of the reception.

Several factors are thought to have a decisive significance regarding ‘cultural interactions’, which are, according to my hypothesis, in the first place, the role of translation; the status of translation in the receiving cultural milieu and its significance in general in the culture. In the second place, general cultural and literary situations in the receiving county can affect the nature of reception. In the third place, different cultural situations in the sending and receiving countries can result in different evaluation of an introduced author, in this case, of Radiguet.

I will discuss authors such as Hori Tatsuo, Itô Seo, Kobayashi Hideo and Mishima Yukio in relation to Radiguet to discuss above hypothesis. My conclusion is that the cultural circumstances in the receiving country can, like in the case of Radiguet, thrust to a more round understanding of a foreign author than that which the latter enjoys in his native country.

Method and Conception of Inoue Yasushi's Historical Novels. A Comparative Study of *Tenpyō no iraka* and its source *Tōdai wajō tōseiden*.

SHINOBU KURANAKA
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One of the main questions in Japanese literature is certainly the relationship between history and literature, considered by several authors and in several ways in modern period. One of the well-known contribute is Mori Ōgai's *Rekishi sonomama to rekishi banare* (‘History

as *It Is and History Ignored*'), written during Meiji Period, where he examined the problem of how to deal with historical documents in his works and how to modify them into fiction.

In the second postwar period, when Inoue Yasushi published his historical novel *Aoki ōkami* (The Blue Wolf, 1960), Ōoka Shōhei criticized Inoue's attitude toward historical documents in the essay "Aoki ōkami wa rekishi shōsetsu ka" (Is *The Blue Wolf* a historical novel?). This was a trigger in the 'debate on historical novel' raised by the Japanese *bundan*.

Among Inoue Yasushi's historical novel, there is also *Tenpyō no iraka* (The Roof Tile of Tempyō Era), the story of Jianzhen (Jp. Ganjin), a Chinese monk lived in the Tang Period, who brought the tradition of *vinaya* from China to Nara Period Japan and firstly established the 'platform' in the Tōshōdai Temple in Nara. The original source of this novel is *Tōdai wajō tōseiden*, an ancient Japanese agiography written by Ōmi no Mifune (722–785) during Nara period used by Inoue Yasushi to build his new literary world.

In this paper, I will propose a comparative analysis of *Tōdai wajō tōseiden* and Inoue's version in order to clarify Inoue's attitude toward historical documents, his method and conception.

SESSION VII: SOCIAL SCIENCES

Japan-DPRK Relations: Hard Path for Normalization

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2010 marks the centenary of Japanese annexation of Korean peninsula. Nevertheless 65 years after the colonial rule was liquidated Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK), Japan's closest neighbor, remains the only of the estimated 194 countries in the world with which Japan has no diplomatic relations. In early 1960s when some 100,000 Koreans in Japan chose DPRK for their repatriation and influential pro-North Chongryon association was established it seemed that the two countries were on a steady way for reconciliation. Yet Japanese-South Korean normalization agreement advocated by the USA and signed by the two parties on June 22, 1965 seriously undermined this process as article 3 of the agreement admitted legal authority of Republic of Korea over the whole territory of Korean peninsula.

New impulse to bilateral relations was given in early 1970s when North Korean leadership decided to diversify DPRK foreign trade and Japan government lifted restrictions on relations with socialist countries. By mid-1970s Japan had emerged as the third largest North Korean trade partner following the USSR and Peoples Republic of China. Even North Korean default on Japanese commercial banks credits in 1979 didn't damage economic turnover: in the last two decades of XX century Japan remained DPRK major partner in the capitalist world importing raw material and providing technologies to the secluded state.

Actually negotiations on normalization started between the Japanese and North Korean governments only in 1991 after Soviet leadership had breached status quo on Korean peninsula by granting astonishingly rapid diplomatic recognition to previously neglected Republic of Korea. Those contacts brought no results and were totally abandoned as North Korean nuclear problem emerged. Then, on September 17, 2002, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi amazed the international community by paying a one-day visit to Pyongyang for a summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il. In Pyongyang joint declaration the two leaders agreed to make every possible effort for an early normalization of relations. Koizumi expressed "deep remorse and heartfelt apology" for "the tremendous damage and suffering" inflicted on the people of Korea during the colonial era, while Kim Jong Il apologized for the abductions of 13 Japanese and for the dispatch of spy ships in Japanese waters.

Quite unexpectedly Kim Jong Il's confession on the abductees provoked outraged anti-DPRK feelings in Japan heated by massive propaganda campaign in mainstream media. As a result within a few weeks the relations between the two governments turned to a hostile. It coincided with US announcement of alleged North Korean uranium enrichment program which played into hands of those politicians who were interested in disrupting Japan's normalization process with DPRK. Prime Minister Abe who succeeded Koizumi in 2006 gave abduction issue priority over nuclear problem and imposed strict economic sanctions on DPRK. Prohibition of North Korean exports to Japan resulted in total curtail of bilateral trade relations.

Japan anti-DPRK sentiments culminated in 2009 after North Korean decision to launch a satellite, announced in February. Japan, as a temporary UN Security Council member, became major orchestrator of the Security Council presidential statement of April 13, 2009 countering North Korean rocket launch and of Resolution #1874 of June 22, 2009 following its second nuclear test. For DPRK, nothing could be more humiliating than the awareness that its former colonial master now leads the world in denouncing and sanctioning it. That was not the last reason for North Korea's harsh reaction to withdraw from the Six Party Talks in Beijing and re-start its nuclear facilities bringing the "North Korean problem" back to a stalemate.

Thus, latest developments prove that Japan's failure to reconcile with DPRK remains one of the major obstacles on the way to a comprehensive peace solution on Korean peninsula. May be it's time for Japan to reassess its almost decade-long hard-line attitude towards North Korea and find political will to reload normalization process.

The DPRK: Mass Movements and Ideological Campaigns

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Social and economic hardships, drastic decline in well-being of the DPRK's population coupled with sweeping changes on international scene have forced the country's leadership to pay ever more attention to ideological work. Ideology was always considered as a major tool to maintain political stability, ensure social control and mass mobilization. Kim Il-sung taught that "ideology can resolve everything". Kim Jong-il, his son and heir, was more explicit, saying that "there is nothing impossible in the world if people are set in motion ideologically". North Korean authorities believe that ideology plays "a decisive role in the activities of people". Therefore a task was set under any conditions, when solving any problem to attach a paramount importance to "political work" with people and "to strengthen revolutionary ideological offensive". Practical realization of these directions has resulted in staging a lot of mass campaigns and movements (*undong*). Some of them were analyzed in this paper. Special urgency to this activity was given because of events in East Europe and the former USSR where, according to the North Korean media, "renegades of socialism" had given up the cause of arming people with socialist ideas and simultaneously under slogans of "glasnost" and "pluralism" had thrown people into ideological chaos, "opened wide a door to penetration of reactionary bourgeois ideology and culture into people's consciousness".

Various "national" and "all-party" movements and other mass campaigns were usually initiated by the North Korean authorities for achievement of certain political aims and solution of economic problems. Participation in such mass movements is a duty of all members of the North Korean society. An important element of practically all campaigns is targeting politically unreliable persons among those groups of the population for which the campaign was designed. Another major feature of mass campaigns in the DPRK was their close interrelation with a process of fierce competition between North and South Korea for military-political and economic superiority on the peninsula. With Kim Jong-il's assuming the position of the country's top leader in 1998 a new doctrine calling for building in "the near future" a "powerful and prosperous nation" (*kangsong taeguk*) on the Korean peninsula became the dominant official ideology. The old communist dogmas were pushed to the backstage. A number of mass movements were started for practical realization of the new national idea. Most of them happened to be a replica of the movements initiated in the country at the previous stages of "socialist construction". Among them are "The Second Grand Chollima March", the movement of "Hidden (modest) Heroes". The mass campaign named the "Kanggye Spirit" calls for "absolutely worshipping the Leader", "devotedly implementing his orders without fear of death".

Since the middle of the 1990s the ruling Worker's Party of Korea (WPK) has emphasized another traditional direction of ideological and political education had been intensified: "class-consciousness education". At the same time there are indications that efficiency of campaigns was drastically reduced. Many people demonstrate apathy toward a row of new "epoch-making" movements. One can notice that, hardly having begun, a new campaign quickly loose its strength, compelling its initiators to look for more "fresh" methods of mass mobilization which appear nothing other than a little bit renewed reprinting of movements which were launched in the DPRK 30-50 years ago. Numerous meetings, rallies and mass processions are incapable to influence consciousness of people tired of them not less, than from chronic social problems. Beyond the framework of official duties and events, the North Koreans are getting ever more politically indifferent.

SESSION VIII: LITERATURE

The problems of traditional Korean and Western background in modern Korean Literature (the short story *So Many!* by Park Wan Seo)

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These problems can be discussed within Park Wan Seo's *So Many!*, written in 1975, a year when Korea started to go through the major economic changes. Social changes were marked by active promotion of the western, American lifestyle which often contradicted the traditional culture. Under the pressure of the most popular motto of that time "Let's try to live better!", which referred to the material aspects of life, the material aspects began to replace the moral ones causing the degradation of traditional cultural values.

So Many! highlights the loss of moral guidelines by individuals in the modern society in which money plays the central role.

The main characters are ex-lovers who had to break up upon graduation from university. They come from poor families so they believed they wouldn't be happy in marriage. Either one has dreamt to get rich by marrying into money. They run into each other seven years after breaking up. She is now 30 but she hasn't yet found the right man. She is teaching English in school but hates her job. Park Wan Seo shows the image of a teacher that is in fact far away from the image of the true teacher. He has married a sorcerer who tells people's fortune, "sells them a hope of happiness, good luck, and a prosperous career" and makes a lot of money out of it. Thanks to the popularity of his wife-sorcerer, he lives in wealth and tries to show it off to his ex-girlfriend. This encounter brings disappointment to both of them. The young couple have betrayed their love to become rich at any cost, but nevertheless fail to get happy.

The story is based on the Thomas Stearns Eliot's poem *The Waste Land*. The very title of the story is a phrase taken from his poem. The focus of the poem is the dying of the god in a human soul, which leads to the moral death of the society. The poem is talking about people having lost their trust in god, having turned love into a game, having soiled their souls with dirty passions. Some images, such as Phantom city, the sorcerer-charlatan, the soiled river that has ceased to be the source of life and has rather become the symbol of the destruction of life are the keynotes of the poem.

The entire story is written by some "Western standards" – the female main character teaches English, likes Eliot's poetry. Images, characters, and Christian symbolism are borrowed from his poem. Notably, all the symbols are related to death.

At the same time, in the story, beneath the "Western layer" one can find traditional Korean mentality. Its origins go back to the Ancient Greek mythological model of the world order, in which the chaos gets replaced by the cosmos. In the Park Wan Seo's story one can trace the same traditional mentality. She takes as a baseline the moral death of a modern human being, the theme of the Eliot's poem, and tells her own story, in Korean, by means of a system of mythological signs, and color symbolism in particular. Perhaps, Park Wan Seo, subconsciously perceiving the world through mythological signs and symbols, points to the state of moral death of the female character that must be replaced by a new state. That is, the disorder must be replaced by the harmony.

As can be seen from the above, in the story, beneath the outer layer associated with the Western culture, lies traditional Korean background.

In my opinion, in *So Many!*, Park Wan Seo shows her concern about the ambivalent influence of the Western lifestyle on people's minds in Korea. The author demonstrates that attempts to follow the Western model of development lead to the degradation of the traditional moral culture which transforms from the ethical principles into "an object of trade", the means of enrichment. However, Park Wan Seo solves this problem in a traditional way. She shows that the awakening of a human being and his or her harmonious reunion with the world are possible.

Traditional Korean Poetry in Vernacular: Living through the First Decades of the 20th Century

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The first decades of the 20th century were marked by many changes in Korean literature which resulted in forming so-called modern poetry or modern prose in Korea. At the same time the role of traditional forms of Korean literature were highly actualized in a view of political circumstances. This phenomenon will be examined in several aspects basing on the principle example of *Namhun Taepyeong-ga* anthology – a collection

of the most popular vernacular poetry works- as well as other examples.

Japanese researchers were first to make an attempt of commenting on the anthology (articles in *Joseon* journal in the first decade of the new century). Besides they made translations of several dozens of texts for the *Joseon* journal as well as for the Anthology of Korean Literature published in Tokyo in 1920s. The *Namhun Taepyeong-ga* anthology is one of the editions that attracted attention of Japanese. This may be interpreted through the concept of understanding vernacular poetry as a "heart of the nation" demonstrating specific features of the people to get to know in the context of colonial politics.

Republication of 19 century editions of Korean literature was carried out by newly formed Korean publishing house Hannam Seorim. The great number of the books were low-cost editions targeting as wide readers population as possible. Multiple re-publication of the *Namhun Taepyeong-ga* anthology mostly containing positively oriented texts giving a "heart rest" served an instrument to lift up spirit of the nation.

Within the framework of the Enlightenment movement activity there were projects of collecting, publishing and disseminating of Korean traditional literature initiated by Choe Nam-seon. The anthology drew his attention and became the only poetical object published among prose works within the project of "Prose for six *cheon*" aiming at introducing the most valuable pieces of literature to the wide readers audience. This project was in line with the Enlightenment Movement participants' goal to preserve national culture in the situation when its independence is facing a threat.

The same decades witnessed the beginning of research on Korean literature undertaken by Korean scholars. Activity of Jo Yun-je, a famous collector of old books and researcher serves a bright example. He was the first Korean to make a research on the exemplified anthology and one of the first to write a monograph on History of Korean Traditional Literature.

The first decades of the 20th century called for actions preserving oral tradition related to traditional poetry. Thus, grouped in societies, the activity of *kisaeng* (a part of singers) was put in an organized form, new records were made. The oral transmission was specialized. For instance, special figures were chosen among singers of *gasa* musical genre to be the "keepers of the tradition".

Attention to traditional poetry actualized in the examined period may be explained through the prism of traditional understanding of a text, especially poetical text, as an instrument of influencing the society and then universe in a whole. This function was exploited during the period of social discontent. Also this phenomenon speaks of the place of traditional poetry in the period of poetry development.

SESSION IX: SOCIAL SCIENCES

De-mystifying and defining Japanese nationalism from a historical perspective

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Japan and nationalism invoked in the same sentence can often lead the reader to think about kamikaze-pilots, atrocities committed by the Manchukuo Army in China during the Second World War, women and children with bamboo spears ready to face American invaders on the beaches of Honshu and other similar unpleasant vistas. All things considered, although how horrible Imperial Japan's actions might have been, automatically associating Japanese nationalism with pre-war imperialist policies is perhaps one of the most problematic notions when discussing this still quite volatile and sensitive subject. It may very well be that, because of this very same sensitivity to the issue at hand, we can find two quite different schools of thought when discussing Japanese nationalism and subjects that involve nationalism and Japan in general.

Is Japan a country where right-wing ultra-nationalism is seeping through every part of society from education to economics, where old imperial sentiment has firm roots in everyday conduct of the state and individual, or is Japan a country that has forever renounced war and where nationalistic thought "was vaporized by the nuclear blasts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" as Brian McVeigh puts it when he discusses the extreme divide between these two schools of thought?

Because of this great dichotomy concerning Japanese nationalism, here I mean the great divide between the schools of apologists and critics, it is important to ask the question: what is nationalism in Japan? Because of simplifications, or lack of, historical analysis on the subject the discussion about Japanese nationalism tends to lead to the strengthening of popular Japanese myths (national homogeneity, unique historical development and so forth, that in turn fuel the debate on nationalism). Because of this it is prudent to historically define the nationalisms that exist or have existed in Japan as they exist or have existed in other nations as well. It is important to construct a historical perspective and narrative to clarify and to objectively analyze this broad and intertwined subject.

Why nationalism? Issues and controversies regarding nationalism, not only in Japan but also in China and Korea, are indeed quite contemporary and very real. History is often used as an important, if not the most important, building block of modern nation states and the nationalistic ideologies that follow. Understanding nationalism and placing the phenomenon in to a historical context can bring about a reduction of the inflammatory usages of said phenomenon without playing in to the hands of extreme interpretations.

By demystifying Japanese nationalism we can seek historical closure to issues that, while being exacerbated by interpretations and analysis that might seem

somewhat out of place in our time, might otherwise remain unsolved at the best and cause international conflicts at the worst. By providing a historical framework that objectively and calmly interprets, explains and seeks to find an answer to the following questions: what constitutes Japanese nationalism before the year 1945, what constitutes Japanese nationalism after this important year and what is the continuity, if there is one, between these two, can we reach a conclusion that helps us come to terms with past events in North-east Asia.

Low-Skilled Migrant Workers' Program in Japan and the Relevance of Korean Experience in Dealing with the Similar Program

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Today, South Korea and Japan, two societies that have long regarded themselves as "homogenous", face similar issues of how to accommodate foreign workers as they age rapidly. Apart from Hong Kong and Singapore, they have become significant receiving countries of foreign workers in Asia in the 90s. In 1990, Japanese government established a type of visa called "training" – a move which turned out to be the threshold of Industrial Trainee and Internship Program and opened its door for small- and medium-size enterprises to use "trainees" as cheap temporary labor without protection under labor law. Such duplicity was necessary for the government not to contradict its ideology of homogeneity and official guideline that does not allow unskilled foreign workers to enter Japan. South Korea started a similar program in 1991; however, civil society activism against abuses of the program grew large and forced the government to put an end to it in 2007 and replace it with Employment Permit System that provide foreign workers with better protection and conditions.

On the other hand, although Japan has not acknowledged "trainees" as workers, the government amended the law of Industrial Trainee and Internship Program to improve the foreign migrant workers' conditions due to pressures from civil society. NGOs and labor unions in both countries have been reshaping themselves to support foreign migrant workers to win better working and living conditions and to sue employers, if necessary. They not only actively base their argument on norms set by international organizations but also promote solidarity with Korean/Japanese counterparts to share their experiences and apply pressure on the government to respond.

In this paper, I first outline the trajectory of Industrial Trainee and Internship Program in two countries in relation to how NGOs and labor unions have been influencing the governments' decisions. I then move on to introduce solidarity actions between Korean and Japanese NGOs and labor unions. In conclusion, I discuss the significance of their solidarity and exchange of experiences in historical and global context.

Keywords: foreign migrant workers, Industrial Trainee and Internship Program, NGOs, labor unions

A Divided Heart – Koreans in China

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The largest group of overseas Koreans is those who reside in China, concentrated mostly in Northeast China. However, in the multiethnic Chinese Society Koreans take up only 0.17% of the total Chinese population and 2.1% of the total Chinese ethnic minorities. Despite their relatively small size Koreans in China have been successful in maintaining strong ethnic identity as Korean as well as strong national identity as Chinese. The major objective of this study is to explore the changing ethnic and national identity of Koreans in China in the context of increasing urbanization as well as the rising prestige of China in the recent period. The major data of this study comes from the author's living experience in a Korean village in the outskirts of Shenyang, Liaoning Province in China as well as an extensive literature review on ethnic Koreans. This study will show that the possibility to maintain strong ethnic identity as Korean for those Koreans in China is likely to decrease in the future. This is because the younger generation of Koreans with higher education is more likely to be bilingual than the older generation of Koreans with lower education and during their education period and working life the younger generation of Koreans have a higher opportunity to interact with the majority Han-Chinese than the older generation of Koreans. This circumstance may offer the Koreans in China with a higher possibility for assimilation to the majority Han-Chinese in their usage of everyday language as well as other areas of the typical ethnic Korean characteristics. The major argument of this study is that the increasing urbanization as well as the rise of China in the world in the recent period may further undermine the possibility for Koreans in China to maintain the strong ethnic identity of Koreans in China in the future.

SESSION X: LITERATURE

Texts from Fragments: Where does the Author hide in the Medieval Japanese Texts

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The importance of literature for the classical East Asian culture can hardly be exaggerated. Not only did the writing system of the Chinese spread to the whole of East Asia, but also the literary models and ways of relating oneself to texts – not to speak about the notion of appreciating literacy itself. Thus there develops a literary mindset, a common intellectual background that by the 12th and 13th centuries is so deeply embed-

ded in the minds of Japanese intelligentsia that if not effortless

This common literary background can be glimpsed in various ways. One of the most obvious, but yet most hard to grasp, is the vastness of “common textual knowledge” – classic texts that were known at least to a degree by every member of this literary circle. This common knowledge allowed a writer for example to refer to older texts in order to comment or to carry over a hint of a feeling, not perhaps present in his own words but completely clear for an educated listener. The schoolbook example of this referential system at its height is the classical Japanese poetry, where a carefully selected word can unlock several meanings and several antecedent poems.

Somewhat less researched is the phenomenon of completely “borrowed” texts. These are works where almost the whole text is made up from other texts, either as quotes with minimal commentary or source reference, or as a seemingly fluid “personal” narrative where the origin of the text is not seen explicitly but is nevertheless clear for every literate person reading it. What I propose to do is to take a look of this text type, my main textual examples being from 13th c. Japan, the *Hōjōki* (1212) by Kamo no Chōmei and the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (c. 1235) by Shinran. I will be concentrating on the questions of authorship and intention – how should one read these texts, where is the author hiding between the quotes, or do questions of authorship even matter?

Nakagami Kenji – Monogatari, bloodline, hierarchy: a vanishing point revealed

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Nakagami Kenji had a background unlike most novelists of his age. He was the first of his family to attain literacy. In his fiction, he portrays the world of the back-alleys of Japan, a world of public non-existence, and hence a world without a voice.

Nakagami Kenji's fiction is remarkable in the sense that from its illiterate, unstructured and violent world, one can discover an embryonic mass of elements that mirror the structures of the formally accepted history of Japan and its literature. In it, we find the themes and issues of genealogy, bloodline, taboo of incest, the *sine qua non* of classical literature. Yet, the mirror is inverted. Born from the obscure history of pariahs of a world structured around the emperor system as its center, Nakagami cleaves along its breaches and applies definite pressure on the weak points. The result is a distorted face of a distorted empire, his.

As Asian brush painting does not follow the rules of perspective, there can be no vanishing point. But in the world of literature, as the *monogatari* revolves around an empty, pure center, Nakagami has found a way to show it functions nevertheless.