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Imperial Literature: Languages, Bodies, and Others in the Japanese Empire

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

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Professor Seiji Mizuta Lippit, Chair

This dissertation examines the conflicting roles of literature in the production of discursive spaces of the Japanese empire from the 1920s to the early 1940s, with a focus on the relationship between linguistic imperialism, mechanisms of colonial violence, and multi-voiced and hybridized colonial spaces. I have constructed the category of Japanese imperial literature as “literature in between,” which stands between Japanese literature (*nihon bungaku*, national literature) and Japanese-language literature (*nihongo bungaku*, Japanophone-literature), in order to shed light on the role of ambivalent and precarious colonial others as the driving force of the expansion of the Japanese empire. Japanese imperial literature emerges as the site that repeatedly (re)produces the unified notion of Japanese subjects through continuously invoking ambivalent and precarious colonial and imperial subjects as ideological objects of desire, which, in turn, function to displace the violence exercised under the state of emergency through the idealized vision of the multi-ethnic, harmonious Japanese empire. The ideological vision of the

multi-ethnic empire is perpetually reproduced not just through the imposition of imperial power on the colonized subjects by the colonizers, but through a dynamic chain of colonial violence, in which colonial assaults and inequalities are endlessly displaced onto others within a multi-layered hierarchical structure consisting of racial, gender, class differences, as well as hierarchical divisions between the visible and invisible, between the audible and inaudible, and between language and non-language. Therefore, this dissertation examines together literary works written in Japanese by authors in both the metropole and the colonies, including female proletarian writer Hirabayashi Taiko's "In the Woods" (*Mori no naka*, 1929) and "At the Charity Ward" (*Seryōshitsu nite*, 1927) in chapter one, Taiwanese writer Long Yingzong's "The Huang family" (*Ōke*, 1942) in chapter two, Japanese writer Ibuse Masuji's "The City of Flowers" (*Hana no machi*, 1942) in chapter three, and Korean writer Kim Saryang's *The Taebaek Mountains* (*Tebekku Sanmyaku*, 1943) in the epilogue, in order to elucidate "Japanese imperial literature" both as the site of colonial violence and as a site that makes visible mechanisms of colonial power.

The dissertation of Mari Ishida is approved.

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Introduction:

Japanese Imperial Literature and the Ideological Vision of Empire

The Greater East Asian Writers Conferences, 1942 to 1944

On November 3, 1942, about eleven months after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, which the Japanese empire waged under the slogan, “repelling the West and liberation of the East,” about 1500 participants from Japan (including Korea and Taiwan), Manchukuo, China, and Mongolia attended the opening ceremony for the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference (*daitōa bungakusha taikai*), which was held at the Imperial Theater beside a moat of the imperial palace in Tokyo.¹ The conference was organized by the Japanese Literature Patriotic League (*Nihon bungaku hōkoku kai*), which was founded to mobilize Japanese writers for the war under the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*taisei yokusan kai*). The objective of the conference was to gather together writers from Japan, Manchuria, Mongolia, and China, to discuss how writers should work together for the successful completion of the Greater East Asia War and the subsequent construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and thus define the mission of writers in Greater East Asia, according to an article in the *Japanese Arts and Sciences*

¹ Ozaki Hotsuki, *Kindai bungaku no shōkon: kyūshokuminchi bungaku ron* [Scars in modern literature: criticism of the literature on the former colonies] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991) 22. Sakuramoto Tomio, *Nihon bungaku hōkokukai: daitōa sensōka no bungakushatachi* [*The Japanese Literature Patriotic League: The Writers under the Greater East Asian War*] (Tokyo, Aoki shoten, 1995) 161-162.

The Japanese empire situated the Greater East Asia-Prosperity Sphere as a unification of these intendent states while defining the intendent states as “the sub-states” that must be subordinated to the Greater East Asia-Prosperity Sphere and thus to the Japanese empire. The 1943 Greater East Asia Conference aimed at promoting and visualizing the image of the Greater East Asia-Prosperity Sphere as the unification of the independent states in East. The political representatives from Philippines, Burma, Thailand, Manchukuo, China, and India were made to attend this conference.

*Newspaper (Nihon gakugein shinbun).*² The performative aspect of the Greater East Asian Writers Conference highlights the underlying mechanisms of the literary category “Japanese imperial literature,” which my dissertation proposes in examining the role of literature in the Japanese empire in relation to the continuous production of ambivalent subjects in between. Both the conference and “Japanese imperial literature” appear as sites where the fantastic vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire is perpetually conjured up to conceal and displace various forms of colonial violence, inequality, and antagonism.

The attendees for the first conference included fifty Japanese writers and intellectuals representing Japan, three Chinese and Manchurian writers and one Russian writer representing Manchukuo, eleven Chinese writers and scholars and one Japanese poet representing China, two Mongolian writers (among them one writer could be a Chinese) and one Japanese writer representing Mongolia, two Han-Taiwanese writers and two Japanese writers representing Taiwan, three Korean writers and critics, a Japanese president of the Keijō daily newspaper company, and one Japanese scholar representing Korea. Those representing Korea and Taiwan were included in the category of “Japan,” as Korea and Taiwan were subsumed into the Japanese empire.³ All of the attendees were asked to bow towards the imperial palace at the beginning of the ceremony. The first Greater East Asian Writers Conference was held until November 5th. After the conference ended, some of the attendees were invited to a four-day trip to the ancient

² “Ketsui wa kore idai naru ajia no hini [the determination for the day for the Greater East Asia],” *Nihon gakugei shinbun [the Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper]*, (November 15, 1942): 1, rpt. in *Nihon gakugei shinbun: fukkoku ban [the Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper: Reprinted Edition. Vol II]* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1986) 337. *The Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper (gakugein shinbun)* was the semi-monthly paper, which came to be issued by the Japanese Literature Patriotic League since August 1942.

³ Ozaki 52-55. Sakuramoto Tomio, *Nihon bungaku hōkokukai [The Japanese Literature Patriotic League]* 141-148.

capitals including Nara, Kyoto, and the city of Ise for sightseeing, and to the city of Osaka for lectures. The second Greater East Asian Writers Conference was held for three days from August 25, 1943 in Tokyo and the third Greater East Asian writers Conference was held in Nanjing, China from November 12 to 14, 1944, when the war situation grew severely aggravated for the Japanese empire.

Shin Jiyong points out that the Greater East Asia Writers Conferences were like “a mobile theater” in which participants were made to perform as imperial subjects through the various types of rituals, including the bow to the imperial palace, the three cheers of hurra (*banzai sanshō*) and trips to the old capitals such as Nara and Kyoto.⁴ Through various forms of performative acts, the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences invoked the ideological vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

The performative acts are also noticeable on the discursive level. The minutes of the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference, which were published in the Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper (*gakugein shinbun*) in November 15, 1943, make visible the speeches of the male and female participants from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China, Manchukuo, and Mongolia, as if all these participants are equal in the conference and therefore in the Greater East Asia. As recorded in the minutes, there was a smooth progression of speeches at the conference, as each writer from each region was appointed to make a speech on each discussion topic that was given. The Japanese organizers also invited writers from Indonesia, Burma, and the Philippines, although their participation in the conference was not realized. Instead, the letters of greeting from

⁴ Shin Jiyong, “ ‘Fuzai’ • ’tsūro’ wo enjiru ‘chōsen’ bunjin tachi: Daitōa bungakusha taikai (daiikkai~daisankai) wo megutte [The Korean writers who perform the roles of ‘an absence’ and ‘a passage’: Regarding the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences from the first to the third ones], ” *Chōsen gakuhō*[Journal of the Academic Association of Koreanology in Japan] 226 (January 2013) : 45-73.

representatives of French Indochina, the Philippines, Java, Burma, Indonesia, and Thailand were read aloud. In addition, the chairman of the conference, the Japanese writer Kikuchi Kan, introduced observers from India and asked the audience to applaud them, stating that the liberation of India from the British Empire should be their hope. But what did the audience from the colonies and the territories directly or indirectly controlled by the Japanese empire feel when they were requested to applaud for the liberation of India while they were themselves under the rule of the Japanese empire?

On the surface, the transcribed speeches in the archives shape the Greater East Asian Writers Conference into an ideal image of the ethnically and culturally diverse empire of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, which seems to accommodate racial, ethnic and gender differences in the Greater East Asia.⁵ In the minutes of the conference, the representatives of each region are presented as if they are given equal rights to speak. But Serk-Bae Suh underlines that while colonial discourse assumes the reciprocal and symmetrical colonial relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the colonial reciprocity rests not on two groups equal in economic and political and cultural power, but on “the equivalents in the act of exchange that posit the two parties as equal to each other.”⁶

Likewise, the conference produces an illusory image of equality and diversity within the

⁵ There is a question about how the conference organizers chose the countries of Southeast Asia. While the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference includes the letters from French Indochina, the Philippines, Java, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand in order to visualize southeast Asia as a part of the Greater East Asia, I do not know why the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference did not include a letter from the former British Malaya, which was conquered by Japanese military in 1942 and to which the writers, artists and intellectuals including Ibuse Masuji were sent as members of the military propaganda unit.

⁶ Serk-Bae Suh, *Treachorous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: Global, Area, and International Archive University of California Press, 2013) 50.

multi-cultural and multi-ethnic discourses, consisting not of equal, earnest exchanges of opinions or thoughts among the attendees, but only of an equal chance to speak. In reality, the conference was organized around the linguistic hierarchy of Japanese and non-Japanese, as the attendees were allowed to speak only in Japanese language at the conference. While speeches made in other languages were translated into Japanese, Japanese speeches were not translated into Chinese or other languages for speakers from abroad. Such a one-sided discourse by one language, which disguises itself as the multi-ethnic dialogues participated by the diverse groups, is closely related to the colonial practices of translation.

As Tejaswini Niranjana states, translation is not an equal exchange of language but serves to constitute and is constituted within “the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism.”⁷ While the practice of translation assumes the commensurability between two languages, the compulsory use of Japanese language at the conference, in fact, not only reflects but also serves to maintain the uneven power relationship between the Japanese empire and other regions, between Japanese language and other languages, and thus between “Japanese writers in the metropole” and writers from abroad. For the practices of translation and transcription manipulate the speeches made by others while creating “coherent and transparent texts and subjects” as if the translated and transcribed records faithfully present “something that already exists.”⁸ At the same time, one-sided translation also serves to exclude from discourse those who cannot understand the Japanese language used in the conference. As I will argue in chapter 3, along with physical violence, the Japanese empire exercised power by making Japanese language

⁷ Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992) 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

into the language of authority in the empire and thereby alienating colonized subjects from power on multiple levels.⁹

Yet, what must be noted in the performative acts of the speeches in the conference is that the privileged status of the Japanese language must not just be forcefully imposed by the oppressor but also be advocated by the oppressed, as the discursive space of the conference is coordinated within an uneven collaborative work. The conference not only allows Japanese writers to speak to justify the authoritative status of Japanese subjects, culture, and language in Greater East Asia, but also makes speakers from the colonies and occupied territories advocate for Japanese language as a common language in Greater East Asia and Japanese literature as a model for other ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups. For example, the Korean intellectual and writer Yu Chino insists at the conference: “I believe that it is imperative to spread the Japanese language in order to destroy Euro-American colonial policy that keeps people subjugated, to thoroughly inculcate culture in billions of people in the East, and to instill the Japanese spirit of governing the eight corners of the world under one roof (八紘一宇 *hakkōichiu*) and founding the nation (肇国 *hatsukuni*) (applause). As for the construction of Greater East Asia, the Japanese language must be spoken as an international language and Japanese literature must be studied as a model by

⁹ In his analysis of linguistic colonialism and imperialism by the European Empires, Louis-Jean Calvet argues that colonialism constitutes linguistically exclusive areas in dual sense. As the colonizer excludes the colonized language from the area of power, the colonized subjects who speak the colonized language are, in turn, excluded from the area of power. He also points out that only few colonized elites can speak both the colonizer’s language and the language of the colonized as many of the colonized remain monolingual. The linguistic power structures that Calvet describes are found in the linguistic hierarchical relation between *kokugo* and the languages of the colonized in colonial Taiwan and Korea, as well as the hierarchical relation between *kokugo* and the languages of the oppressed (such as dialects) Louis-Jean Calvet, *Gengogaku to Shokuminchi shugi: kotobakui shōron [Linguistique et Colonialisme]*, trans. Sunano Yukitoshi (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2006) 74-79.

other ethnic groups.”¹⁰ Yu Chino further argues that colonial education had contributed to the cultural development of Korea as it led Korea to imperial conscription that started from 1944. Yu Chino’s argument is echoed by other participants such as the Japanese female writer and translator, Muraoka Hanako, who is famous for the translation of English children's books. Being asked to speak as a representative of women, Muraoka asks the attendees to acquire Japanese language ability to make possible a smooth communication among the attendees. She further requests the attendees from abroad to make children in their countries learn Japanese for the future unity of Greater East Asia, although Muraoka does not mention that Japanese people should learn other languages.¹¹

It could be argued that taken together, the participants’ discourses at the conference invoke the ideological vision of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere defined by the Japanese empire: “the basic principle for the construction of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere originates from the underlying principle of our national polity (*kokutai no hongī*) and aims to spread the cause of eight corners of the world under one roof (*hakkō ichiu*) thoroughly in the Great East Asia. In order to realize this, each nation and each ethnic group should assume its proper place respectively under the empire’s guidance and rule, and a new order must be established based on moral principles.”¹² Referring to the Japanese authorities’ ambiguous use

¹⁰ “Daitōa bungakusha taikai, [the Greater East Asian Writers Conference,” *Nihon gakugei shinbun*. (November 15, 1942): 3-14, rpt. in the *Nihon gakugei shinbun: fukkoku ban daiikkan*[*the Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper: Reprinted Edition. volIII*] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1986) 339-449.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 339-449.

¹² “Daitōa kensetsu kihon hōsaku: Daitōa kensetsu shingikai tōshin [Basic Policy for the Construction of the Greater East Asia: The Council for the Construction of the Greater East Asia],” 2, rpt. in *Daitōa kensetsu shingikai shiryō: Nanpōgunsei shiryō23* [*Sources of The Council for the Construction of the Greater East Asia: Source of Military Government in South 23*], vol.1 (Tokyo: Ryūkei shosha, 1996) .

of the term “proper place” in the principle of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, John Dower notes that the term “proper place,” which derives from early Confucianism in China, is re-appropriated by the Japanese authorities in the above statement, as it is used to designate “division of labor — an international and interracial allocation of tasks, chores, and responsibilities that was based on gradient of national ‘qualities’ and ‘abilities’ determined in Tokyo and that was structured economically and politically as to ensure that the relationships of superior and inferior would be perpetuated indefinitely.”¹³ Then, how can we think about the subjectivity of those who are allocated to “the proper place” in the “division of labor” in examining the discourses at the conference?

Yu Chino might have merely performed a good and loyal imperial subject in the eyes of the Japanese authority at the conference. Or he might have believed that the support for the Japanese empire’s ambition for expansion and the assimilation of colonized subjects could be a means for colonized Korean subjects to attain equal rights and thus overcome discrimination.¹⁴ In any case,

¹³ John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race & War in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 266. Nakano Satoshi notes that the term “the proper place [*sono tokoro wo eru*]” does not just mean the hierarchical relationship between the ruler and the ruled but also imply the empire’s declaration of the benevolent rule. According to Nakano, the term “the proper place” comes from the document handwritten by the Meiji emperor. According to Nakano, the term “the proper place” is used in this document to indicate that people can sustain stable life according to their occupations under the benevolent rule of the emperor. Nakano Satoshi, *Tōnan ajia senryō to nihonjin: teikoku • nihon no kaitai*[*The Occupation of Southeast Asia and Japanese :The Empire/ the Dissolution of Japanese*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2012), 101-103.

¹⁴ Kawamura Minato, *Manshū Hōkai; ‘Daitōa bungaku’ to sakka tachi*[*the Collapse of Manchuria: The Greater East Asian Literature and the Writers*] (Tokyo: Bungeijyunjū, 1997) 16-18. Yu Chino was an extraordinarily excellent intellectual, who took the position of the lecturer in the faculty of Law at the Keijo Imperial University under the Japanese rule. He participated in the Korean Writers' Association (*Chōsen bujin kyōkai*) which was organized by the colonial authority to mobilize the colonial writers in Korea. Drawing on Im Chong-guk's *On Pro-Japanese Literature (Ch'inil munhangnon)*, Kawamura Minato implies that he was not a zealous collaborator with the Japanese empire, as he produced only a few Japanese -language works although he could have done more .

“the proper place” here is occupied by ambiguous and ambivalent subjects who stand between collaborators and dissenters in the colonial discursive spaces of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire.

The Greater East Asian Writers Conference is analogous to the literary category of “Japanese imperial literature,” which I propose in order to examine literature in the Japanese empire as a site that continuously (re)generates the fantastic vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire. Both the conference and “Japanese imperial literature” not only aim to maintain the monolingualism of Japanese language but also call for subjects in between, like Yu Chino, to serve as key components in (re)producing the ideological image of the ethnically diverse and harmonious empire. By ideology, I follow Slavoj Žižek’s theory of ideological fantasy as performative process and effect. According to Žižek, ideology is not “a dreamlike illusion,” which allows us to escape from unbearable reality, but an active, constructive meaning-making process that operates through “what [people] are doing,” instead of “what they know.” Žižek argues that ideology serves not as an illusion that masks reality, but as an “unconscious fantasy” that organizes our social reality and relationship, for ideology is generated within the action of people; “they know that in their activity, they are following an illusion, but still they are doing it.”¹⁵ In other words, regardless of whether that is individual’s intention or not, by participating in the Greater East Asian Conference, the participants help maintain the ideology of Greater East Asia as a multi-ethnic empire centered around Japanese ethnos and language. Žižek further argues that ideology functions not to provide us a means to escape from reality, but to “offer us

¹⁵ Žižek explains the formula of “they know that in their activity, they are following an illusion, but still they are doing” by taking the classic Marxist example of fetishized commodity; while people know that money itself possesses no inherent values, they still use money and thus act as if money is an unmediated embodiment of its attributed value. Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989) 27-28.

the social reality itself as an escape from some traumatic, real kernel.”¹⁶ For ideology serves to displace the social contradictions and antagonisms inherent in society by projecting these contradictions onto the ideological objects of others.

As found in the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences, the performative acts are exercised on multiple levels in order to continuously fabricate and facilitate the ideological fantasy of the Japanese empire. On the one hand, the performative act is constituted based on the division of labor in that the colonial others are invoked as performers while the colonizers act as an audience who see and listen to the performance of the colonial others. Japanese metropolitan (male) writers acts as an audience call for ambivalent subjects in between as ideological objects of desire, onto which modern subjects project their desires (what they want others to perform) so that in the colonizers’ eyes the colonial others appear to act voluntarily to fulfill the colonizers’ desire.¹⁷ On the other hand, the colonial subjects in between, who are invoked as colonial others by the colonizers, also internalize the colonial violence and injustice inflicted upon them, displacing it onto their others (the others of others) such as colonized women or other colonized

¹⁶ Ibid., 45.

¹⁷ I rely on Naoki Sakai’s critical argument on imperialization literature in colonial Taiwan, in theoretically defining literature in the empire as a theatrical staging consisting of uneven division of labor. The imperialization literature in colonial Taiwan was written in the 1940s, when the colonized subjects were mobilized for the war effort of the Japanese empire. In his critical analysis of imperialization literature, Sakai argues that imperialization literature internalizes the contradictory function of imperialization policy, which aims to assimilate the colonized subjects into the category of Japanese, and at the same time excludes them from it. Sakai contends that imperialization literature serves to generate a fantasy in which the contradiction inherent in the colonial policy is internalized by the colonized subject as a driving force for them to pursue the Japanese identity. For this reason, literary works written in Japanese by the colonized writers express colonized subjects’ desire to become Japanese so that they can overcome colonial discrimination. He further notes that imperialization literature also appears as a fantastic staging consisting of uneven division of labor. In this scenario, the colonized subjects perform for Japanese audience in the metropole. They are seen by Japanese audience as an object of desire, which is necessary for the Japanese subjects to complete their identity. Naoki Sakai, “Two Negations: Fear of Being Excluded and the Logic of Self-Esteem,” *Novel: A Forum on Fiction; Summer2004* 37. 3 (June 2004): 229-257.

ethnic groups. In other words, the subjects in between are not just passively integrated into the ideological fantasy imposed by the colonizer; they also actively participate in the fantasy to establish themselves as imperial subjects in the Japanese empire.

Likewise, Japanese imperial literature also served as a site to continuously (re)produce the ideological fantasy at every moment of the state of emergency by calling for colonial and imperial others as ideological objects of desire. Japanese imperial literature emerges as a site to repeatedly (re)produce the unified notion of Japanese subjects through continuously invoking oppressed others as ideological objects of desire, which, in turn, function to displace violence exercised under the state of emergency through the idealized vision of the multi-ethnic harmonious Japanese empire. The ideological vision of the multi-ethnic empire is maintained and reproduced not just through the imposition of imperial power on the colonized subjects by the colonizers, but through a dynamic chain of colonial violence, in which colonial assaults and inequalities are endlessly displaced onto others within a multi-layered hierarchical structure consisting of racial, gender, class differences as well as hierarchical divisions between the visible and invisible, between the audible and inaudible, and between language and non-language. In order to explore the dynamic chain of colonial force and the colonial structure of others, I will use not only the colonizer and colonized binary to indicate the uneven power relationship based on national hierarchies in colonialism, but also the oppressor and oppressed binary to designate the unequal gender, class, ethnic, and racial relationships among subjugated peoples, going beyond the fixed binary of colonizer and the colonized.

It must be also noted that the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences aimed to construct the ideological vision of empire by eclipsing and silencing dissenters' voices. As Ozaki Hotsuki notes, not only famous writers from China, but also the Japanese literary group, the Society for

the Study of Chinese Literature (*Chūgoku bungaku kenkyūkai*), which was organized by Japanese intellectuals and writers such as Takeuchi Yoshimi and Takeda Taijun, refused to participate in the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences.¹⁸ Likewise, Japanese imperial literature as a generator of the ideological fantasy also rests on the erasure or manipulation of colonized languages, as it is constituted and maintained by the linguistic hierarchy in the Japanese empire, in which the Japanese language functions as an official and authoritative language, thereby serving as the language of power, while depriving the colonized languages of authoritative power.

By taking into consideration the voices and languages that were eclipsed by the hegemony of the Japanese language, this study examines the production of discursive spaces of the Japanese empire from the late 1920s to the early 1940s, with a focus on mechanisms of colonial violence and the production of multi-voiced and hybridized colonial spaces. Through critically exploring literary works on the Japanese colonies by various authors writing in Japanese in the metropole and the colonies, I define imperial Japanese literature as literature that belongs neither to Japanese national literature (*nihon bungaku*, Japanese literature) nor to Japanophone literature (*nihongo bungaku*, Japanese-language literature) in order to shed light on the ambivalent and precarious imperial and colonial subjects that emerge out of the uneven dialogic interactions between colonizer and colonized and between oppressor and oppressed in relation to the

¹⁸ Ozaki 38-48. In the journal, Chinese Literature (*chūgoku bungaku*), Takeuchi insists that he cannot officially accept the Greater East Asian Writers Conference as the conference for the representative of Chinese writers and the representative of Japanese writers in terms of the China-Japanese relationship. He further implicitly criticizes the conference, lamenting, “it is painful to see Chinese literature that is trifled with.” See, Takeuchi Yoshimi, “Daitōa bungakush taikai nit suite.[Regarding the Greater East Asian Conference],” *Chūgoku bungaku [Chinese Literature]* 89 (November 1 1942): 265-266. Miyata Setsuko also notes that many of colonial subjects in Korea maintained frigid attitude toward the Greater East Asian war. Rather they were dissatisfied with the rise in price and the hardships of poverty under the war. Miyata Setsuko, *Chōsen minshūo 'kōminka'seisaku [Korean people and 'the Imperialization' policy]*(Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985) 96-103.

continuous (re)creation of imperial ideology. My study examines a specific set of literary works written in Japanese by Japanese female proletarian writer Hirabayashi Taiko, Taiwanese colonized writer Long Yingzong, Japanese male writer Ibuse Masuji, and Korean colonized writer Kim Saryang in order to elucidate certain characteristics of the category of “Japanese imperial literature.”

By exploring the literary works by the above writers together, this dissertation explores mainly four characteristics of Japanese imperial literature. First, Japanese imperial literature, along with colonial language policies, takes part in colonial violence. Literature in the empire and language policies not only aimed to deprive colonized subjects of their native languages but also produced hierarchical divisions between literature in the metropole and literatures in the colonies and between modern Japanese subjects and their others, in addition to the hierarchical divisions between the visible and invisible, and between the audible and inaudible. Second, Japanese imperial literature is a site where violence leaves its traces through the process of linguistic and cultural hybridization, as hybridization is the product of violence. In particular, I highlight the ambivalent and hybridized imperial and colonial subjects that stand between Japanese imperial subjects and their others and allies and enemies. In this gray zone, ambivalent imperial and colonial subjects are exposed to colonial power, violence, and death in different degrees and forms. Third, Japanese imperial literature serves to produce and maintain the imaginary vision of the Japanese empire by appropriating the precarious colonial subjects and transforming them into an ideological objects of desire, which serve as necessary others for Japanese subjects to unify their identity. This imaginary vision of the empire serves to reconcile the contradiction inherent in the empire in that while it promotes the harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire, it is violence that creates ethnically and linguistically hybridized

empire. Finally, the category of Japanese imperial literature can also be potential sites of counter-practice against violence. Some of Japanese imperial literature aims to re-appropriate languages, bodies, and literatures that were once deprived by colonial violence. But I also want to underscore that resistance is very limited in degree during the colonial period. Rather, I would say, the counter-practice emerges out of the practices of retrospectively recognizing violence by current readers.

The Literary Category of Japanese Imperial Literature as Literature in Between

I have put forth the category of Japanese imperial literature in order to distinguish it from the category of Japanese literature (*Nihon bungaku*) and the category of Japanese language literature (*Nihongo bungaku*). On the one hand, the category of Japanese literature has been criticized because it takes for granted the unity among nation-state, language, and ethnicity. The literary scholar Komori Yōichi points out that Japanese literature has served to continuously reproduce the illusory vision of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and national unity. He contends that when the unity of ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities is presented as something self-evident and natural, it serves as an apparatus that produces discrimination and exclusion.¹⁹ By establishing a self-contained literary category and institution, Japanese literature has denied its interactions with other literary categories outside the institution of Japanese literature in the course of its development. The category of Japanese imperial literature aims to uncover the uneven but dialogic interactions between Japanese literature and its others, which the category of

¹⁹ Komori Yōichi, *Yuragi no nihonbungaku* (Tokyo: Nihon hōshūshuppan kyōkai, 1998) 5-18.

Japanese literature has disavowed or obfuscated, by linking it to another self-sufficient category of the national language, *kokugo*.

On the other hand, the category of Japanese language literature emerged as a critique of Japanese literature over the past twenty years. According to the literary scholar Kamiya Tadataka, studies about Japanese language literature in the colonies and the occupied territories in the Japanese empire have grown in Japan since the early 1990s.²⁰ The category of Japanese language literature aims at including those literary works that have been excluded from Japanese literature, such as minority literature, literature written in Japanese by non-Japanese writers, and literary works that are set in the colonies and occupied territories in the Japanese empire or the overseas settlements outside the Japanese empire, such as those in North and South America. In particular, the category of “Japanese language literature in the external territories” (*gaichi Nihongo Bungaku*) has been advocated by scholars in Japan who have studied the literary works that were produced in official and unofficial colonies of the Japanese empire. The three volumes of *The Anthology of Japanese Language Literature in “the External Territories”* (“*Gaichi” no Nihongo bungaku sen*) edited by the writer and critic Kurokawa Sō, was published in 1996. This anthology covers literary works that were set in or produced in the colonies and occupied territories, including Korea, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sakhalin.²¹ Scholarly books such as *The Critique of Japanese Language Literature in “the External Territories”* (“*Gaichi” Nihongo bungaku ron*, 2007)” and *The Scope of Japanese Language*

²⁰ KamiyaTadataka, “Jo ‘gaichi’ Nihongo bungaku wo atsukau koto no igi [Introduction: The Significance of Dealing with Japanese Language Literature in ‘the External Territories’],” *‘Gaichi’ Nihongo bungakuron* [*The Critique of Japanese Language Literature in “the External Territories”*], eds. Kamiya Tadataka & Kimura Kazuaki (Tokyo: Sekai shisōsha, 2007) 3-10.

²¹ “*Gaichi” no Nihongo bungaku sen* [*The Anthology of Japanese Language Literature in “the External Territories”*], 3 vols, ed. Kurokawa Sō (Tokyo: Shinjuku shobō. 1996).

Literature in “the External Territories” (“*Gaichi*”*Nihongo bungaku eno shatei*, 2014) respectively collect current scholars’ critical essays about literary works that are set in the external territories, which include Japanese official colonies such as Taiwan, Korea, and the Marshall islands, and the unofficial colonies such as China, Manchukuo, and South East Asia, in addition to overseas settlements in North and South America.²² In this way, the category of “Japanese language literature in the external territories” (*gaichi nihongo bungaku*) has provided critical spaces to examine literary works that are set in the external territories in addition to literary works written not only by Japanese writers but also by colonized writers, such as Taiwanese and Korean writers, who wrote in Japanese.

While my research has been greatly indebted to these pioneer studies on Japanese language literature, the category of Japanese imperial literature that I propose differs from Japanese language literature. In my view, the term “Japanese language literature” (*Nihongo bungaku*) is

²² “*Gaichi*” *Nihongo bungakuron [The Critique of Japanese Language Literature in “the External Territories”]*, eds. Kamiya Tadataka & Kimura Kazuaki (Kyoto: Sekai shisōsha, 2007). “*Gaichi*” *Nihongo bungaku no shatei [The Scope of Japanese Language Literature in “the External Territories”]*, eds. Ikeuchi Teruo, Kimura Kazuaki, Takematsu Yoshiaki & Tsuchiya Shinobu (Tokyo: Sōbunsha shuppan, 2014)

Some other pioneer scholarly works on Japanese Language Literature in the External Territories (*gaichi nihongo bungaku*) include:

Ikeda Hiroshi, *Kaigai shinshitsu bungaku ron jyosetsu. [The Introduction to the Advance of Literature to Overseas]* (okyo: Impact Shuppan kai. 1997)

Kawamura Minato, *Ikyōno shōwa bungaku: “manshū” to kindai nihon. [The Literature in the Shōwa era in Foreign Lands: “Manchuria” and Modern Japan]* (Iwanami shoten, 1990)

---. *Nanyō • Karafuto no nihon bungaku [Japanese Literature in South Seas and Sakhalin]* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1994)

Sakka no ajia taiken. Kindai nihonbungaku no inga [The Writers’ Experiences in Asia: Negatives of Modern Japanese Literature]. Eds. Ashiya Nobukazu, Ueda Hiroshi, Kimura Kazuaki (Kyoto: Sekai shisōsha, 1994)

Shōwa bungaku kenkyū [The Study of Shōwa Literature]. Vol 25. Shōwa bungakukai. (September 1992). This particular issue features the topic “Shōwa bungaku to ajia [Literature in the Shōwa era (1924-1989) and Asia].”

Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan no nihongo bungaku [Japanese Language Literature in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Goryu shoin, 1995)

problematic, because it unintentionally conceals and displaces the violence committed by colonial language policies and the imperial institution of Japanese literature in the Japanese empire. Such violence is manifested in the distinction between *kokugo* (national language) and *Nihongo* (Japanese language).

The sociolinguist Lee Yeounsuk argues that *kokugo* (national language) and *Nihongo* (Japanese language) have different connotations in Japanese.²³ On the one hand, *Nihongo*, which can be translated as Japanese language in English, is a proper noun. As a proper noun the term *Nihongo* indicates the Japanese language as one language system among many others, such as Chinese, English, and Korean, and so on. At the same time, the term *Nihongo* refers to the Japanese language that should be taught to foreigners as a foreign language. On the other hand, the term *kokugo*, which can be translated as national language in English, functions as a common noun when it means a national language that could refer to various languages. Lee points out that “national language” was initially understood as the word that was translated from the English word “language” in the late 1890s.²⁴ At the same time, *kokugo* also serves as a proper noun when it indicates the Japanese language and the mother tongue for Japanese people. Yet, unlike *Nihongo*, *kokugo* is often used to designate the Japanese language that should be taught to Japanese people as a mother tongue. The idea of *kokugo* as a mother tongue and thus the language for the nation emerged around the late 1890s when Japan strived to establish the nation-state and the empire at the same time, modeled upon the European ones. As we will see,

²³ Lee Yeounsuk, “*Kotoba*” *toiu genei: Kindai nihon no gengo ideorogī* [“Language” as an Illusion: Linguistic Ideology in Modern Japan], (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2009) 177-198.

²⁴ Lee notes that Ōtsuki Fumihiko’s Grammar Book, *Kō nihon bunten bekki* [A Comprehensive Japanese Grammar] defines the term “*kokugo*” as the word that corresponds to the English word, “language.” Ibid., 182-184.

like the category of Japanese literature, the term *kokugo* came to be used to promote the unification of nation-state, ethnic identity, and language as something pre-given and innate, throughout the course of the expansion of the Japanese empire.

The different usages of the terms *kokugo* and *Nihongo* can be seen in the discourses on colonial language education during the colonial period. The Japanese empire initially implemented *kokugo* education in their official colonies such as Taiwan, Korea, and the Marshall Islands.²⁵ But as the Japanese empire expanded its territories in the 1930s and the early 1940s, it applied *Nihongo* education to the unofficial territories of the Japanese empire. On the one hand, the term *Nihongo* was used to indicate Japanese language that should be taught in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, which includes Guandong state, South East Asia, Manchukuo, China, and Mengjiang. On the other hand, the term *kokugo* was used to denote the Japanese language that should be taught to the national and imperial subjects not only in the Japanese archipelago but also those in the official colonies, Korea and Taiwan, as well as the second generation of Japanese emigrants living overseas and students from overseas.²⁶ In other words, as the imperial and national subjects of Japanese empire, Taiwanese and Korean colonial subjects also learned Japanese language not as *Nihongo* but as *kokugo*. Accordingly, Taiwanese and Korea writers wrote novels not in *Nihongo*, but in *kokugo*.

Both *kokugo* and *Nihongo* bear expansionist ideologies as they are respectively imposed on

²⁵ It must be noted that prior to the imposition of the *kokugo* education on their official colonies, Japanese government enforced Japanese language education on people in the internal colonies (people in Okinawa and Ainus indigenous people in Hokkaidō), which were integrated into Japan's nation-state and empire, before the establishment of the Constitution of Imperial Japan in 1889. Tani Yasuyo, *Nihongo kyōiku to kindai nihon [Japanese Language Education and Modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin. 2006) 80-96.

²⁶ Lee, "Kotoba" *toiu genei* ["Language" as an Illusion] 177-198

the official colonies and the occupied territories in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere to integrate and assimilate these territories into the linguistic sphere organized around the Japanese language. While both *kokugo* and *Nihongo* education are oppressive colonial language policies, they are also different. *Nihongo* education as implemented in these occupied territories represented the ideology of imperialist multiculturalism, in which the colonial authority respects other ethnic languages and cultures in principle and Japanese language serves as a common language that could bridge the different ethnic languages spoken by different ethnic groups in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.²⁷ On the contrary, unlike *Nihongo*, the *kokugo* education enacted in the official colonies, Taiwan and Korea, contradicts the imperialist ideology of multiculturalism. *Kokugo* education began when the colonial authorities imposed Japanese language as the national language on Taiwan in 1896 and Korea in 1911, respectively. *Kokugo* education became more exclusive and monopolistic, especially after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Despite the colonial authorities' efforts, the monolingualistic use of *kokugo* in colonial Taiwan and Korea was never realized and the official colonies remained multi-lingual spaces until the collapse of the empire. But what I want to underline is that there is destructive logic inherent in the *kokugo* education in the colonies, represented by Tokieda Motoki's idea of *kokugo* education.

In his essay, "The Future of National Language Policies and National Language Education

²⁷ According to "The Reports on The Cultural and Educational Policies For The Construction of Greater East Asia," which was submitted to the Council for the Construction of Greater East Asia in July 1942, the colonial language policy in the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere intended to respect local languages, while they aimed to enforce Japanese language as a common language of the Greater East Asia: "while local languages must be respected as much as possible, the concrete policies are required to implement Japanese language as a common language in the Greater East Asia and thus to abolish European languages as soon as possible. (固有語は可成之を尊重すると共に大東亞の共通語として、図るべく具体的な方策を策定し、尚欧米語は可及的速やかに之を廃止し得る如く措置す)" "Daitōa kensetsu kihon hōsaku [Basic Policy for the Construction of the Greater East Asia]" 2.

in Korea” (*Chōsen ni okeru kokugo seisaku to kokugo kyōiku no shōrai*), which was published in 1942, Tokieda Motoki, a Japanese linguist who taught at Keijō Imperial University in Seoul, calls for the necessity to redefine the term *kokugo*, as he argues that *kokugo* is not any more a language exclusively for national subjects in Japan but rather a language for the state, which should be given to the imperial Korean and Taiwanese subjects and Japanese subjects equally.²⁸ In her examination of Tokieda’s theory of *kokugo*, Tomiko Yoda rightly notes that that his theory of *kokugo* in fact derives from “the expansionist logic of Japanese imperialism and its agenda of producing imperial subjects out of colonial populations.”²⁹ At the same time, his expansionist logic differs from what we can find in the expansionist logic of *Nihongo* in the multi-ethnic empire of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. For Tokieda envisions the replacement of the Korean language with *kokugo* and thus the extermination of the Korean language, as in the above essay he proposes to make *kokugo* into the mother tongue for the Korean people by providing Korean women with *kokugo* education:

As the word mother tongue implies, the primary educator of language is the mother, and language is given by the mother. Today, the largest obstacle for the spread of *kokugo* in Korea is the fact that *kokugo* is hardly used at home. ...In order to overcome this obstacle, we must first think of *kokugo* education for women on the peninsula who will become mothers in the future. If possible, I want to see *kokugo* as something close to their everyday lives and that will be thus used to educate children more affectively, instead of something that is learned

²⁸ Ibid., 60-61.

²⁹ Yoda Tomiko, *Gender and National Literature: Heian Texts in the Construction of Japanese Modernity* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004) 161-162. Yoda Tomiko notes that while Tokieda’s work on the study of *kokugo* strives to evade fascistic and xenophobic linguistic nationalism, which was widely spread during the colonial period, Tokieda’s redefinition of *kokugo* as “a subjective and experiential process open to any individual or community that uses it (transcending the boundaries of race, culture, ethnicity, and so on) was in fact closely related to the expansionist view of language in Japanese imperialism.

through a textbook.³⁰

As Yoda and Christina Yi respectively point out, his idea of *kokugo* education rests on the uneven division of labor by gender. The colonized mother is dually alienated from languages and subjectivity—Korean language and colonial subjectivity and Japanese language and imperial subjectivity—as Yoda underlines that the Korean mother is invoked only as a catalyst that makes possible “the transcendence – from the dividedness of the colonial subject to the integrity of the imperial subject” through the mother tongue of the Japanese that the Korean women speak. In other words, in Tokieda’s vision, the Korean mother is included in the Japanese empire as a teacher of *kokugo* and a mother of future imperial subjects, by being forced to acquire *kokugo* and thus to abandon their own mother tongues. At the same time, as Yi underscores, Tokieda’s view of the Korean mother includes colonized women into the colonial project of imperialization by excluding them from the category of imperial subjects, defining their role as a mere instrument used to turn (male) Korean children to the imperial subjects.³¹ Here, the metaphor of the mother is used to conceal and displace the violent and oppressive power of the “patriarchal” imperial state, which aims to replace the Korean language with *kokugo* as a mother tongue and exterminate Korean language from colonized tongues.³²

³⁰ Tokieda Motoki, “Chōsen ni okeru kokugo seisaku to kokugo kyōiku no shōrai[The Future of National Language Policies and National Language Education in Korea],” *Nihongo[Japanese Language]* 2.8. (August 1942):54-63, rpt. in *Nihongo[Japanese Language]*, vol 2. (the Second Part) (Tokyo: Toji shobo shinsho, 1985)

³¹ Christina Yi, *Fissured Languages of the Empire: Gender, Ethnicity, and Literature in Japan and Korea, the 1930s and the 1950s*, diss., Columbia University, 2013, 62.

³² In her examination of the linguistic reformer Ueda Kazutoshi’s notion of national language in the late 1890s, Lee argues that Ueda uses the term “the mother” to metaphorically associate *kokugo* with “a mother tongue.” Lee emphasizes that his metaphorical use of the term “the mother” serves to displace the violent and oppressive state power, which forcefully imposed national language on the national subjects with the image of the “affectionate” and “devoted” mother who generously gives the mother tongue to the

I have examined Tokieda's 1942 vision of *kokugo* in colonial Korea in order not only to delineate the difference in the expansionist logic between *kokugo* education and *Nihongo* education but also to highlight the brutal imperialistic impulse inherent in *kokugo* education, under which the colonized subjects and writers learned *kokugo* and wrote novels in *kokugo*. Going back to my discussion about Japanese language literature, the category of "Japanese language literature" (*Nihongo bungaku*) could serve to conceal the colonial violence that *kokugo* education directed against the colonized subjects and writers. Those colonized subjects were assimilated as imperial and national subjects of the Japanese empire through colonial education, while they were simultaneously excluded from the ethnic and national category of Japanese. Taiwanese and Korean writers' *kokugo* was often been criticized as imperfect *kokugo* by Japanese writers. Furthermore, female colonized subjects were often excluded from a target for imperialization as Yoda and Yi note. In order to shed light on colonial violence that Japanese literature and Japanese language literature respectively maintain or conceal, I define literature written in Japanese in the Japanese empire as Japanese imperial literature that occupies the liminal space between Japanese literature and Japanese language literature.

I also want to underline some distinctions between "Japanese imperial literature" and "a minor literature" as defined by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Deleuze and Guattari define a minor literature not as literature written in a minor language but as literature that "a minority constructs within a major language."³³ They argue that minor literature is written by a

national subjects. Lee Yeounsuk, "*Kokugo*" *toiu shisō: Kindai nihon no gengo ninshiki* [The Ideology of *Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996) 125.

³³ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. trans. Dana Polan, (Mineapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) 16.

linguistically and politically minority group with the use of the politically authoritative and privileged language of a major language.³⁴ They explain that a minor literature has the following three characteristics: “the deterritorialization of language, the connection of the individual to a political immediacy, and the collective assemblage of enunciation.”³⁵ These three characteristics of a minor literature highlight the revolutionary potentiality of a minor literature written in the authoritative language in the community.³⁶ Their theory of minor literature pays particular attention to sounds, songs, noises, and stammering in literature as “a nomadic movement of deterritorialization” that blurs and disturbs not only the existing boundaries of languages (German, Czech, Yiddish and so on), but also the existing boundary between language and non-language (and thus human and non-human). In other words, through the linguistic and literary process of deterritorialization, a minor language and a minor literature together challenge the territories of the existing authoritative language (a major language) and thus the authoritative discourses maintained by the major language. For this reason, a minor literature inevitably

³⁴ Deleuze and Guattari’s conception of the binary of the minor and major languages can be associated with the sociolinguistic conception of language, diglossia, coined by the linguist Charles A Ferguson. Ferguson, defines diglossia as the linguistic conditions of a community where the hierarchical relationship between two different variations of languages are used according to the social situations and scenes; the highly valued language (a written form/ literature/ language used in the official public domains such as religious texts, education, other privileged kinds of usage) and the less-valued language (informal conversations at home, trade, etc). They refer to Henri Gobard’s tetralinguistic model based on Ferguson’s theory. Charles A Ferguson, “Diglossia,” (1959) *Languages and Social Context*. ed. Pier Paolo. (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1972) 232-251.

³⁵ Deleuze and Guattari 18.

³⁶ Deleuze and Guattari take Kafka’s works as a prime example of a minor literature. Kafka employed Prague German, a major language in the Austria/Hungary Empire, for his writing. But in his practice of writing, Prague German is exposed to, interacted with and changed by other minor languages (Czech and Yiddish) that he uses in his community. Accordingly, through hybridized interactions of minor and major languages, his writing in Prague German comes to disturb the linguistic norms and the signification system of the authoritative language of German and thus aims to deterritorialize the German language sphere.

becomes political. While a minor literature is isolated from the institutionalized national literature, the “literature of masters,” which is established and maintained by the major language, it seeks a new potential community that differs from the existing national community through the process of deterritorialization that helps constitute new forms of linguistic and historical subjectivity.³⁷

Japanese imperial literature also seeks the horizon of the movement of deterritorialization, looking at the oppressed writers’ literature as a potential site and process to form new possible communities and subjectivities, which differ from those established by the metropolitan literary institution of Japanese literature, a “literature of masters.” But before jumping at the possibilities of resistance and revolution in oppressed writers’ literature, it is imperative to think of what denies and eliminates the possible existence of a minor literature in a minor language and why minor writers have to use a major language, as the literary critic Nakazato Isao underscores. In reading Deleuze and Guattari’s definition of minor literature within the context of Okinawan literature, a minor literature in Japan, Nakazato astutely argues that the definition of a minor literature as a minority’s literature written not in a minor language but in a major language too quickly dismisses minor literature written in a minor language as a mere site of territorialization. Instead, he emphasizes the importance of paying close attention to the power that subordinates a minor language to a major language to begin with.³⁸

Nakazato’s criticism is very important in thinking about Japanese imperial literature, for

³⁷ Deleuze and Guattari states, “if the writer is in the margins or completely outside his or her fragile community, this situation allows the writer all the more the possibility to express another possible community and to forge the means for another consciousness and another sensibility.” Ibid., 17.

³⁸ Nakazato Isao, *Kanashiki agengotai: Okinawa • Kōsasuru shokuminchishugi [Tristes Sub-tropiques :Okinawa • Intersecting Colonialism]* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 2012) 135-139.

colonial violence is the foundation of Japanese imperial literature. Japanese imperial literature not only emerges out of, but also participates in colonial violence and the imposition of the major language of Japanese on national, colonial, and imperial subjects, subjugating dialects, colonized languages and other ruled languages. On the one hand, Japanese imperial literature makes perceptible the failed attempts of literary and linguistic resistance (deterritorialization) in the oppressed writers' literature. At the same time, while actual resistances against colonialism and imperialism were repeatedly suppressed and defeated by imperial and colonial authorities, the literature by oppressed writers in turn aims to conceal and displace the failed attempts at resistance, as found in Japanese proletarian literature and colonized writers' literature. Therefore, I want to underline that unlike Deleuze and Guattari's minor literature, Japanese imperial literature is a series of tensions between the movements and processes of territorialization (domination), deterritorialization (resistance), and reterritorialization (a decolonized process of a new national consciousness of the colonized subjects) that includes both the colonizer's literature and the colonized writers' literature, as well as literary discourse in both the metropole and the colonies. I critically investigate the category of Japanese imperial literature as a site that constructs, challenges, and reconstructs the multi-layered, hierarchical boundaries and relationships between the metropole and the colonies, between Japanese literature and other literatures, between the Japanese language and other languages (colonized people's language, dialects, female language, etc), between men and women, between the colonizer and the colonized, between the oppressor and the oppressed, in addition to the hierarchical divisions between the domain of language and the domain of non-language and thus between human and non-human.

For these reasons, I want to define Japanese imperial literature as the site of dialogic but

uneven interactions between Japanese literature and the various literary subcategories of Japanese literature. Japanese literature established itself as a central and authoritative institution in the Japanese empire based on its uneven relationship with numerous subcategories of Japanese literature. The subcategories of Japanese literature include women's literature (*joryū bungaku*) in the metropole, colonial literature (*shokuminchi bungaku*), literature in the external territories (*gaichi bungaku*), provincial literature (*chihō bungaku*), imperialization literature (*kōmin bungaku*) in colonial Taiwan, national literature (*kokumin bungaku*) in colonial Korea, and Greater East Asian literature (*daitōa bungaku*). The subcategories of Japanese literature differ from the literary schools or literary movements. On the one hand, Japanese literary schools and movements, such as the proletarian movement, the new sensationist school, and the romantic school, were formed by a (male-centered) group of writers who shared (political) thoughts, literary styles and forms, and the journals that they published their works.³⁹ In other words, Japanese literary schools are organized by the subjects of Japanese literature and thus the modern subjects of the Japanese nation-state and empire. On the other hand, the numerous subcategories of Japanese literature are established and invoked as the others of Japanese literature. Just as Joan E. Ericson points out that the category of "women's literature" (*joryū bungaku*) shared "no unifying tradition, no school, and no journal,"⁴⁰ the literary subcategories were not organized based on unified thought or style, but rather defined as a negative of Japanese literature or as a complement to it. Colonial literature (*shokuminchi bungaku*), literature in the external territories (*gaichi bungaku*), provincial literature (*chihō bungaku*), are all relegated spatially to the

³⁹ Joan E Ericson, "When Was Women's Literature," *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997) 27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

periphery or the margin of the Japanese empire.⁴¹ The terms women's literature (*joryū bungaku*), imperialization literature (*kōmin bungaku*) in colonial Taiwan, national literature (*kokumin bungaku*) in colonial Korea, respectively designate the writers of these categories as a negative of the modern male subjects of Japanese literature. Women's literature refers to women, imperialization literature refers to colonial subjects that must be imperialized, and national literature refers to colonial subjects that must be turned into national subjects. In particular, imperialization literature in Taiwan and national literature in Korea, both of which emerged in the 1940s, refer to literature in which the colonized subjects express their impossible desire to identify themselves with the Japanese colonizer and thus to attain the position of active historical

⁴¹ I must underline that there are considerable differences between colonial literature (*shokuminchi bungaku*), literature in the external territories (*gaichi bungaku*), provincial literature (*chihō bungaku*) in terms of historical and sociopolitical connotations. The category of provincial literature appeared in the metropolitan literary discourses around the mid-1930s when the metropolitan literature called for the revival of and return to the agrarian cultures in the peripheries of the metropole, which had been neglected in the development of capitalism. The category of provincial literature also served to integrate the colonized writers' literature written in Japanese into a part of the metropolitan literary institution of Japanese literature, as I examine in the chapter 2. The category of colonial literature (*shokuminchi bungaku*) has multiple connotations. Some of Japanese proletarian writers define the category of colonial literature as the literature written by the colonized subjects while other Japanese writers understood the category of colonial literature as the literature on the colony written by Japanese writers or as the literature on the colony written by both Japanese and colonized writers. In the chapter 1, I will examine the category of colonial literature in relation to the uneven dialogues between Japanese proletarian writers and Taiwanese writers in the 1930s. While the category of literature in the external territories (*gaichi bungaku*) also has been used in various contexts, it was critically defined by Shimada Kinji, the literary scholar and comparatist who taught in Taiwan. In her insightful examination of *The Literary Historiography of Formosa (Kareitōbungakushi)* by the Shimada Kinji, Hashimoto Kyōko argues that drawing on French literary category "littérature colonial," Shimada strive to establish "the category of literature in the external territories" as the literature by the colonial settlers in Taiwan, in particular the literature written by Japanese settlers in Taiwan. Hashimoto points out that by constructing the literature in the external territories, Shimada hope not only to establish the specific subjectivity of Japanese settlers in Taiwan, which differs from the Japanese subjectivity in the metropole, but also to make the Japanese readers and literary world in the metropole understand Taiwan from the perspective of the settlers. Hashimoto Kyōko, "*Kareitō bungakushi*" to sonojidai: *Hikaku bungakusha shimada kinji no Taiwan keiken [The Literary Historiography of Formosa and Its Time: The Experiences of Taiwan by the Comparatist Shimada Kinji]* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2012).

subjects in the Japanese empire.⁴² By contrast, Greater East Asian literature represents the imperialist vision of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural literary sphere of Greater East Asia in which each ethnic group develops its own culture and literature modeled upon Japanese literature, as found in the discourse of the Greater East Asian Writers' Conference.⁴³ At the same time, I also want to underscore that those colonized or oppressed writers who were allocated

⁴² Although I don't have a space here to examine in detail, I want to touch upon the historical and political connection between the category of national literature (*kokumin bungaku*) in the metropole, the categories of national literature (*kokumin bungaku*) in Korea and imperialization literature (*kōmin bungaku*) in Taiwan. These literary categories respectively appeared when literature along with other institutions became the site to shape Japanese imperial subjects to mobilize people for the war and the empire. National literature came to emerge in the metropolitan literary discourses around 1937 not only as the site of political conversion from the proletarians to the imperialistic nationalists but also as the nationalistic literary movement that aims to envision the ideal imperial subjects for the Japanese empire. The former proletarian writer Asano Akira defines national literature as a literature for Japanese people, as it seeks to create a universal image of a hero that represents common people in Japan who had been neglected by the existing literary tradition of modern Japanese literature as something old and feudalistic. Imperialization literature emerged in the colonial Taiwan around 1937 and national literature in Korea around 1941 when the colonies were mobilized for the total war. Imperialization literature and national literature in the colonies aimed to develop the colonized subjects into the imperial subjects. While the national literature in the metropole envisions the unity of Japanese people as the imperial subjects by displacing class inequality, imperialization literature in Taiwan and national literature in Korea respectively seeks the unification of the colonized subjects and the colonizers on one hand and the unification and development of colonized culture on the other. I will discuss more about the issues related to imperialization literature in Chapter 2. For the metropolitan discourses of national literature in the 1930s and the early 1940s in relation to the political conversion of Japanese proletarians, see Naitō Yoshitada, *Kokumin bungaku no sutorateji: puroretaria bungaku hihan no riro to airo The strategy of National Literature: The Logics and Impasses in the Critiques of Proletarian Literature* (Tokyo: Sōbun sha, 2014)

Numerous articles and discussions on “national literature” emerged in the metropole in the late 1930s and the early 1940s. Among them, Asano Akira started to advocate “national literature” in relation to neo-Japanism (*shin-nihonshugi*) in the late 1930s, after he went through political conversion.

Asano Akira, “Kokuminbungaku ron no konpon mondai [The Essential Problems in the Theory of National Literature],” *Shinchō [New Current]* 32.8 (August, 1937) :176-184.

---, “kokumin bunga eno michi,” *[New Current]* 37.11 (November, 1940) :176-184.

Numerous articles and discussions on “national literature” emerged in the metropole in the late 1930s and the early 1940s.

⁴³ For example, Jinbō Kōtarō a poet and a scholar on German literature argues that the Greater East Asian literature is the cultural movement in East Asia under the guidance of Japanese literature, in which each ethnic group becomes aware of their own tradition and creates and develops their specific characters. Jinbō Kōtarō, “Daitōa bungaku jyoron [The Introductory Theory of the Greater East Asian Literature],” *Bungakukai [The Literary World]* 11.2 (February 1944):2-7.

respectively to each of these literary subcategories also strive to re-appropriate the meanings of the literary subcategories that are defined by the metropolitan subjects of Japanese literature.

By constructing and differentiating the category of Japanese imperial literature from Japanese literature, Japanese language literature, and Deleuze and Guattari's notion of minor literature, this study aims to situate Japanese imperial literature as the site of dialogic but uneven interactions between the metropole and the colonies, which generate the multi-layered structure of others in terms of race, gender, class, and language. Recent scholarship on Japanophone literature in the Japanese empire intends to explore uneven interactions and hierarchical relationship between the metropolitan literary institutions and writers and literary institutions and writers in the colonies in the Japanese empire, as found in works on literature in the Japanese empire by scholars in English and Japanese such as Faye Yuan Kleeman, Nayoung Aimee Kwon, Serk Bae Suh, Izumi Tsukasa, Kurokawa So, to name a few, in addition to the Japanese scholarly works on Japanese Language Literature in the external territories, which I mentioned earlier.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i press, 2003)

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

Serk-Bae Suh, *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013)

Izumi Tsukasa, *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan to teikoku no "bundan": "bungaku kenshō" ga tsukuru nihongo bungaku [Taiwan under Japanese Rule and the Literary World in the Empire: Japanese Language Literature Created by the Literary Prizes]* (Tokyo: Hitsuji shobō, 2012)

Kurokawa Sō., *Kokkyō: Kanzenban. [The Borders: Completed Edition]* (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 2013)

In addition to the above works, Mark Driscoll's work highlight that the violent exploitation of marginalized subjects as essential conditions for the expansion of the Japanese empire. The works by Kimberly Kono and Robert Tierney examine various literary representations of colonial relationships with a focus on discourses of inter-racial marriages and the discourses of savage respectively, shedding light on the marginalized texts written by Japanese settlers or travelers on the colonies. The study by Leo Ching examines colonial and imperial ideology of the Japanese empire as the condition for the construction of colonial identity. *Reading Colonial Japan*, the anthology that put together the primary sources of the texts and the analytical works highlight diverse socio-political issues in the various places in the Japanese empire from Hokkaido, Okinawa, Taiwan to Manchuria.

T.S. Leo Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley

To investigate the uneven, dialogic interactions between literature in the metropole and the literature in the colonies is essential to expose the mechanism of the continuous (re)production of the multi-layered, hierarchical structure centered on Japanese language and ethnos and thus the continuous expansion of the Japanese empire. While my study on Japanese imperial literature is greatly indebted to previous English and Japanese-language studies on the literary institutions and practices in the Japanese empire in terms of the interactions between the metropole and colonies, I focus on the mechanism of colonial violence as well as the mechanism of perpetual (re)invention and expansion of the Japanese empire, in order to investigate the direct and indirect connections among colonial violence, colonial language policies, and the practice of writing. At the same time, I also explore various potential forms of resistance in the failed attempts of resistance by oppressed writers, shedding light on suppressed voices as well as the resonances among these voices.

Mechanisms of Colonial Violence in Language and Literature

As institution and practice, language and literature play an important role in producing and maintaining the contradictions inherent in the way in which the empire generates and sustains its hierarchical orders while expanding itself. On the one hand, literature in the empire, along with colonial language policies, takes part in the exercise of colonial violence, making the space of

& Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2001).

Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism 1895-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

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

Robert Thomas Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2010)

Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique, eds. Michele M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

the empire intelligible and visible through various levels of discursive power, including linguistic policies, literary institutions, and literary practices, which often correspond to physical violence. Japan's colonial wars and subsequent colonial domination were accompanied by the implementation of colonial language policies and education in the colonies.⁴⁵

In his *Monolingualism of the Other: or the Prosthesis of Origin*, Jacques Derrida delineates the mechanism of linguistic colonialism by redefining the notion of national language as mother tongue. He states,

“[Contrary] to what one is often most tempted to believe, the master is nothing. And he does not possess exclusively, and *naturally*, what he calls his language, because, whatever he wants or does, he cannot maintain any relations of property or identity that are natural, national congenital, or ontological, with it, because he can give substance to and articulate [dire] this appropriation only in the course of an unnatural process of politico-phantasmatic

⁴⁵Kawamura Minato, *Umi wo Watatta Nihongo. Shokuminchi no “Kokugo” no jikan [Japanese Language that Crossed the Ocean: The Class of “Kokugo” in the Colonies]* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2004), Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i press, 2003).

Komagome Takeshi, *Shokuminchi teikoku nihon no bunka tōgō [Cultural Unification in the Colonial Empire of Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1996).

Komori Yōichi, *Nihongo no kindai [Modernity of Japanese Language]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 2000).

Shi Gang, *Shokuminchi shihai to Nihongo: Taiwan, manshūkoku, tairiku senryōchi ni okeru gengo seisaku. Zōho ban [Colonial Domination and Japanese Language: Colonial Language Policies in Taiwan, Manchukuo, the Occupied China]* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2003).

Tani Yasuyo, *Nihongo kyōiku to kindai nihon [Japanese Language Education and Modern Japan]*. (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2006).

Tsai Mao-Feng, *Taiwan ni okeru nihongo kyōiku no shiteki kenkyū [The Historical Study of Japanese Language Education in Taiwan]* (Taipei: Soochow University. 1989).

Yasuda Toshiaki, *Teikoku nihon no gengo heisei [The Formations of Languages in the Japanese Empire]* (Tokyo: Seiri shobō, 1997)

The close relation between the violent domination and colonial language education is symbolized by the event called “Zhishanyan Incident.” As Faye Kleeman note respectively, the colonial language education in Taiwan began “amidst the still ongoing battles between the Japanese army and hastily assembled Taiwanese civilian resistance.” The colonial educator and linguistic reformer Izawa Shūji started Japanese language school in 1895 while the Japanese military still fought against local resistance to colonize and dominate Taiwan. Less than six months after the colonial language education started, the local dissenters attacked the school and killed all six Japanese teachers while Izawa was absent for the trip to Japan to recruit Japanese teachers. Later, the colonial authority and Izawa worshiped these teachers as a symbol of the spirit of promoting Japanese language in the colony.

constructions, because language is not his natural possession, he can, thanks to that very fact, pretend historically, through the rape of a cultural usurpation, which means always essentially colonial, to appropriate it in order to impose it as 'his own.' That is his belief; he wishes to make others share it through the use of force or cunning; he wants to make others believe it, as they do a miracle, through rhetoric, the school, or the army....Because there is no natural property of language, language gives rise only to appropriative madness, to jealousy without appropriation.⁴⁶

Derrida argues that the colonizer imposed the colonizer's language on the colonized as "his own" in order to conceal the fact he cannot own language and imaginarily identify himself with that language. The colonizer attempts to identify himself with his national language by imposing the language as "his own" and making others believe that the language is the colonizer's. Derrida locates colonial violence as a site necessary for the colonizer to attain an illusory identification with the national language and therefore establish himself as coherent and unified national subject. In other words, the colonizer exercises violence in order to conceal and displace the essentially impossible unity between the colonizer and his national language.

In examining the above passage by Derrida, Ukai Satoshi links colonial violence to historical amnesia by redefining the binary of the colonizer and the colonized. Ukai concisely rephrases Derrida's argument, stating "Can we say that the colonist himself was originally assimilated and that in order to forget or to avoid recalling the pain he experienced in his own assimilation process, he imposes that culture as 'mine' on the other?"⁴⁷ Ukai contends that colonial violence is the displacement of violence that was initially directed against the colonizers themselves in the process of the formation of the nation-state and the national subjects. In other

⁴⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other or the Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 2, emphasis in original.

⁴⁷ Ukai Satoshi, "Koroniariizumu to modaniti.[Colonialism and Modernity]," *Sōsho Tenkanki no Firosifi: Tenkanki no bungaku vol5[A Series of Philosophy in Transitional Time: Literature in Transitional Time vol5]* (Tokyo: Mineruva shobo, 1999) 206-226.

words, the colonizers can establish themselves as national subjects only after they forget the pain inflicted upon them by the brutal assimilation process and therefore the fact that they also initially occupy the place of the other, by displacing it onto colonial others. Ernest Renan in his “On the Nation” also underlines that violence and the oblivion of that violence are imperative for nation-building, as he states: “Forgetting, and I might even say historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of a nation, and this is why the progress of historical studies is often a danger to the principle of nationality. Historical investigation, in fact, brings to light the deeds of violence that took place at the origin of all political formations, even those whose consequences have been most fortunate. Unity is always achieved brutally.”⁴⁸ Before and during the construction of the nation-state, those who would become national citizens in the Japanese archipelago were exposed to various forms of violence, including civil war, tax reform, national conscription, and compulsory national education. But at the same time, unlike Renan, Ukai and Derrida underscore the unrealizability of unity even after the national citizens have gone through the initial violence of nation-building and historical amnesia. In other words, colonial violence must be repeatedly exercised in order to continuously (re)evolve an illusory vision of unity between a nation, language, and culture, thereby concealing and displacing the fact that actual unity is never realized.

Colonial oppression and imposition of language, in turn, generates discriminatory practices of assimilation and exclusion, which serve as a driving force for the continuous (re)production and expansion of the Japanese empire, as Oguma Eiji demonstrates. By placing Japanese colonialism within the triangular relationship between Japan, Japan’s colonies, and the European

⁴⁸Ernest Renan, “What is a Nation?,” Shlomo Sand and Ernest Renan, *On the Nation and the “Jewish People,”* trans. David Fernbach. (London & NY: Verso, 2010) 45-46.

empires, Oguma states that the colonial policies of simultaneous assimilation and exclusion in the Japanese empire function to construct the colonial borders as a contested site of a unified notion of Japanese. The simultaneous colonial process of assimilation and exclusion helps demarcate the boundary between “a unified” notion of Japanese and its colonial others and the boundary between the Japanese empire and Western imperial empires simultaneously. On the one hand, exclusion functions to distinguish the ethnic and national category of “Japanese” from its colonial others, thereby constructing “Japan” as a nation-state that is equivalent to those modern nation-states in Europe. On the other hand, assimilation serves to subsume its colonial others under the category of “the East” or “Pan-Asianism,” to construct the Japanese empire as a counterpart to European empires. At the same time, the simultaneous process of assimilation and exclusion also engenders the shifting and contested boundary of the Japanese, as it corners certain groups of people at the boundary where they are included into, and simultaneously excluded from, a unified notion of Japanese. Oguma emphasizes that the shifting and contested boundary is the kernel of the Japanese empire, for the Japanese empire maintained itself as a coherent unity by displacing the contradiction, that is, the shifting and fluid boundary of Japaneseness, onto the colonized subjects.⁴⁹

In my study, I specifically link the colonial discriminatory practices of assimilation and exclusion to Judith Butler’s notion of “frames of war,” in which such practices are employed as an extreme device to divide the population into allies and enemies and therefore into life and death under the state of emergency.⁵⁰ From the perspective of the oppressed, Walter Benjamin

⁴⁹ Oguma Eiji, “*Nihonjin*” no kyōkai: Okinawa • Ainu • Taiwan • Chōsen Shokuiminchi shihai kara fukki undōmade [*The Borders of Japanese: Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Korea: From the Colonial Domination to the Post-War Reversion Movement in Okinawa*] (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1998) 3-15.

⁵⁰ Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2010).

tells us that colonial violence is not an exception but rather the norm to which the oppressed people are continuously subjugated; as he says, “[the]tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule.”⁵¹ The colonial authorities repeatedly invoke the state of emergency and exercise violence repeatedly in the colonies, (future) oppressed territories, and the metropole throughout the course of the expansion of the Japanese empire, in order to continuously generate an ideological and fictive vision of the unified identity of Japanese. Conversely, the colonized and oppressed subjects are constantly exposed to various forms of violence and power.

Judith Butler defines the frames of war as “certain epistemological frames...through which we apprehend or, indeed, fail to apprehend the lives of others as lost or injured (lose-able or injurable).”⁵² Butler underscores that the frame of war is a part of the operation of power and thus closely related to the production of the subject and “personhood.” For under the frames of war the lives of certain kinds of subjects that conform to the norms become intelligible, recognizable, and grievable while the lives of others that fail to conform to the norms become unrecognizable, unintelligible, and ungrievable. Butler’s notion of frames of war is closely linked to Michel Foucault’s notion of biopower, in which war serves as a process of racialization that distinguishes “good,” “normal” races that must live from “abnormal” and “inferior” races that must die.⁵³ For through war, the biopolitical state aims at eliminating inferior races in order to

⁵¹ Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History,” Selected Writings vol4, 1938-1940, trans. Edmund Jephcott & others, eds. Howard Eiland & Michael W. Jennings, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003) 392.

⁵² Butler 1.

⁵³ Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*” Lectures at the Collège de France, 1976-76. trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003) 254. In his *Society must be Defended*, Foucault argues that that racism

improve and purify the race. Therefore, Foucault argues, “In a normalizing society, race or racism is the precondition that makes killing acceptable... Once the State functions in the biopower mode, racism alone can justify the murderous function of the State.”⁵⁴ In other words, war promotes ethnocentric-nationalism, as it invokes an illusory sense of racially, ethnically unified subjectivity at the cost of others’ lives. Yet, while the ungrievable lives of others appear as something exterior to the valuable lives of “our” people on the surface, they are, in fact, an essentially integral part of “our” valuable lives, for the unity of worthy lives is completed by the presence of ungrievable lives of others.

Butler further underlines that biopolitical racism constitutes and at the same time is constituted within the representation of war and violence in visual and literary media. She contends that the frames of war “[seek] to contain, convey and determine” what we can conceive and perceive in distinguishing the lives of our group that we can apprehend as “livable,” “grievable,” and thus “valuable” from the lives of the others that we fail to apprehend as such. By this, the frames seek to construct the hegemonic view of material reality. Butler notes that “precariousness” is a generalized condition in life, in that one’s life is always in some sense in the hands of others and depends on others. Yet, the ideological “frames,” which she associates with state violence, seek to conceal and displace the generalized condition of “precarious life” and the precariousness itself in order to shape the conditions by which certain kinds of life are chosen to be seen as livable and grievable and thus understood to be protected on one hand, and other kinds of life are chosen to be unseen and devalued and thus left unprotected on the other.

is a precondition of war in the era of the modern states, for racism serves as “a break between what must live and what must die.”

⁵⁴ Ibid., 256-257. Foucault clearly states the simultaneous emergence of the modern state of biopolitics and the colonial empire, “racism first develops with colonization, or in other words, with colonizing genocide.” (257)

The denial of the generalized condition of “precarious life,” in turn, produces the “precarity” of life, which is “[a] politically induced condition that would deny equal exposure through the radically unequal distribution of wealth and the differential ways of exposing certain populations, racially and nationally conceptualized, to greater violence.”⁵⁵ In other words, the denial of the colonizer’s own vulnerability incurs the endless chain of the displacement of violence. At the same time, violence is not always transposed from the colonizers to the colonized or the dominant class to the subordinate class. It also takes place both among the colonizers and among the colonized or oppressed groups of people, seeking the more vulnerable and more precarious lives of others.

While Butler focuses on media representations in her argument concerning “frames,” literature also serves to facilitate frames through the practice of inclusion and exclusion. Japanese imperial literature distinguished the worthy lives of the unified Japanese from the unworthy lives of the enemy through practices of representation. Literature makes invisible and inaudible the killable or killed lives of others in the representation of the ethnically diverse empire (for examples, overseas Chinese dissenters in Singapore, colonized women in Taiwan, as I examine in chapters 2 and 3) or makes visible and audible the killable or destroyable lives of others by relegating others into the domain of the in-human and the domain of non-language (for example, Koreans in Tokyo under the 1923 marital laws as I explore in chapter 1). At the same time, it is not only that the frames of war divide the population into the worthy and grievable lives of “our” people and the unworthy and ungrievable lives of others. The brutal discriminatory practices of inclusion and exclusion also generate ambivalent and precarious imperial and colonial subjects who stand between the valuable lives of Japanese subjects and the unworthy

⁵⁵ Butler 28.

lives of its enemy, and therefore, between *kokugo*, *Nihongo*, and other languages, and between life and death. Accordingly, the imperial and colonial subjects occupy this gray zone, being exposed to power, violence, and death in different degrees and forms.

Subjects in Between as the Locus of Hybridization and Ideological Fantasy of the Japanese Empire

While Japanese imperial literature takes part in colonial violence through the imposition of the colonizer's language and the operation of frames of war, Japanese imperial literature also makes those mechanisms of violence visible through linguistic and cultural hybridization, which is an effect of colonial domination and therefore a trace of violence. In examining women's literature in the Japanese proletarian movement, imperialization literature in Taiwan, and war literature in the metropole together, I look at the various forms of ambivalent and precarious imperial and colonial subjects that emerge at different moments of the state of emergency, as sites that make mechanisms of colonial violence recognizable,. The precarious and ambivalent subjects in between are hybridized subjects that appear within uneven and dialogic interactions between the metropole and the colonies, between the colonizer and the colonized, between oppressor and the oppressed, and between *kokugo* and other languages. Just as Oguma shows that the shifting and contested boundary of Japaneseness is the kernel of the Japanese empire, the hybridized, ambivalent subjects serve as a driving force for repeatedly (re)generating the imaginary notion of unified Japanese and expanding the Japanese empire. For the gray zone that is occupied by the precarious, hybridized subjects in between is the domain of the multi-layered, hierarchical structure of others, in which contradiction (and violence) is endlessly displaced onto others.

In this sense, my critical analysis of hybridity differs from that found in poststructuralist criticism. Poststructuralist theorists have tended to view the ambivalent, hybridized realm as a site for subversion. Homi Bhabha defines hybridity as an effect of colonial domination and at the same time as a site to subvert the colonial authority. Bhabha points out that hybridization is generated within colonial domination and interactions sustained by the contradictory colonial processes of assimilation and differentiation. The colonizers maintain their privileged position as modern subjects in their relationship with the colonized subjects by simultaneously recognizing and denying difference between the colonizers and the colonized. Accordingly, the colonizers cast hybridity inherent in themselves at the colonial others to imagine themselves as homogeneous and coherent subjects. But, according to Bhabha, hybridity also appears as a site that cannot be assimilated and dominated and therefore becomes a potential site to subvert and challenge colonial authority.⁵⁶ Although I do not deny the subversive function of hybridity that Bhabha's theory demonstrates, it must be noted that while linguistic and literary hybridity could point to the linguistic and literary site of subversion, actual colonial hierarchies constructed based on multiple apparatuses of oppression—physical violence, economic exploitation, and political inequality—were never easily overturned in reality. In other words, hybridity can exhibit its subversive effects only within dialogic interactions between two different groups and voices on equal footing, as Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of linguistic hybridity presents.

Bakhtin indicates hybridity as a fundamental condition and capacity of language, looking at language as the site of dynamic interactions between two voices and two languages. Bakhtin

⁵⁶ Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 152-174. Bhabha states, "If the colonial power is seen to be the production of hybridization, [the ambivalence] at the source of traditional discourses on authority enables a form of subversion, founded on the undecidability that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention."(160).

defines “[hybridization as] mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses.”⁵⁷ He argues that such linguistic hybridization is made possible by the dialogic nature of language, because “language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker’s intentions.” Instead, language is generated through the dialogic interactions and tensions between two voices, two different belief systems, two contradictory meanings, and two different contexts, because “the word in language is half someone else’s.”⁵⁸ The dialogic interaction of discourse is an exact opposite of what he calls “monologism,” which “denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities, another I with equal rights (*thou*).”⁵⁹ He further contends that monologism is a self-contained monologue deaf to the other’s response, viewing another person not as another consciousness, but mere “object of consciousness.” The colonial discourses of Japanese empire that I explore in this study do not consist of dialogized interactions between two persons with independent voice and consciousness. Rather, colonial discourses maintain the hierarchical imperial relationship between the metropole and the colonies, and between Japanese and non-Japanese, not only through monologism but also through the denial of their dialogic yet uneven relationship and interactions.

⁵⁷ M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981) 358.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 293. Bakhtin further notes that there two different modes of hybridity. The intentional hybridity or novelistic hybrid sets against two different points of view dialogically within the boundaries of a single utterance, as found in the literary style of parody. The organic hybridity never contrasts one with another language, as the mixture remains vague and fusion.

⁵⁹ M M Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. ed and trans. Caryl Emerso (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 292-294.

Colonial interactions, even violent encounters manifested in war, presuppose coeval interactions between colonizer and colonized. But imperialistic discourses often deny the shared time and space between the colonizer and colonized, as Johannes Fabian underscores in his critique of anthropological practice. Fabian argues that ethnographic practice centers on the dialogic interaction between anthropologists and indigenous people who are the object of study, for a sharing of time and space, which Fabian calls “coevalness” is “a condition without which hardly anything could ever be learned about another culture.”⁶⁰ However, as he insists, when researchers produce anthropological writings, they deny the dialogic interactions by “[forgetting or disavowing] their experiences of coevalness with the people they studied.”⁶¹ Rather, anthropological discourses distinguish anthropologists from natives by spatially and temporally establishing distance between anthropologists’ culture and others’ cultures, thereby relegating indigenous people into the domain of “the past” or “the primitive.” Likewise, Japanese metropolitan discourses of literature and language also deny coeval relations between the metropole and the colonies and between the oppressor and the oppressed, although the authority and authenticity of *kokugo* and Japanese literature in the metropole respectively were constituted and had been maintained within its dialogic and coeval relation with the colonies.

Hybridized and ambivalent subjects are constructed through the repeated denial of coevalness in the violent, dialogic interaction between the modern Japanese subjects of *kokugo* and their others. While oppressed peoples are assimilated into authoritative imperial discourses, their participation and presence are denied by those authoritative discourses. Although the

⁶⁰ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University, 1983) 33.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

colonized resist the colonizers' denial of coevalness, they are eventually re-integrated into the imperial discourses as ideological objects, facilitating the ideological and fantastic vision of the Japanese empire as a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire centered on Japanese language and ethnos and thereby displacing the contradictions inherent in empire, such as the violence exercised under another ideological frame of war.

Difference, Hybridity, and, the ideology of *kokugo*

In the previous sections I have defined the category of Japanese imperial literature as situated between Japanese literature and Japanese language literature and between *kokugo*, *Nihongo* and other languages, and between the domain of language and that of non-language in order to examine colonial violence as the foundation of Japanese imperial literature and the uneven dialogic interactions between the oppressor and the oppressed, with a focus on hybridized subjects in between. The final sections illustrate the relation between the ideology of *kokugo* and the practice of writing in the operation of ideological fantasies in the multi-ethnic community of the empire, by explicating the differences among the notion of difference, the notion of hybridity, and the ideology of *kokugo* within the historical context of the simultaneous construction of the empire, the nation-state, and *kokugo*.

The distinction between the notion of difference and the notion of hybridity is crucial in understanding the historical context of the construction of *kokugo* as an imperial and national language. I have stated earlier that the term *kokugo* (national language) differs from *Nihongo* (Japanese language) in that while *Nihongo* belongs to a proper noun, *kokugo* could belong to both a common noun and a proper noun. But what must be noted here is that both of the terms

kokugo and *Nihongo* are conceived in the structure of differences, which differs from Saussurian conceptions of language based on the relations of differences and oppositions.⁶² In the Saussurian theory of language system, a word (a signifier) does not possess a meaning (a signified) inherently. Rather, the system of differences allows the word to signify something in relation to another word. But contrary to the Saussurian notion of language, the category of language is constructed based on the hierarchical differences among multiple languages from the beginning in the era of modernity. As preceding studies on Japanese national language ideology and colonial language policies point out, the simultaneous construction of the nation-state of Japan and the Japanese empire paralleled the creation of the national language, *kokugo*.⁶³ Under this circumstance, in which the Japanese imperial state had not yet unified a language for the national subjects while colonizing and dominating the external territories, Ueda Kazutoshi, the language reformer and enlightenment linguist, advocated the urgent need for the standardized language of *kokugo*. Ueda studied the modern discipline of linguistics in Germany and France and contributed to language reform and the construction of the ideological notion of *kokugo* after

⁶² Saussure famously states, “in language there are only differences without positive terms. Whether we take the signified or the signifier, language has neither ideas nor sounds that existed before the linguistic system, but only conceptual and phonetic differences that have issued from the system. The idea or phonic substance that a sign contains is of less importance than the other signs that surround it.” Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011) 120.

⁶³ To name a few, these previous scholarly works include, Komagome Takeshi, *Shokuminchi teikoku nihon no bunka tōgō [Cultural Unification in the Colonial Empire of Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), Komori Yōichi, *Nihongo no kindai [Modernity of Japanese Language]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2000). Lee Yeounsuk, “*Kokugo*” *toiu shisō: Kindai nihon no gengo ninshiki. [The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996). Oguma Eiji, “Nihon no gengo teikoku shugi: Ainu, ryūkyū kara Taiwan made [Linguistic Imperialism in Japan: From Ainu ryūkyū to Taiwan],” *Gengo teikokushugi towa nanika [What is Linguistic Imperialism?]*, eds. Miurata Nobutaka & Kasuya Keisuke (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2000). Tani Yasuyo, *Nihongo kyōiku to kindai nihon [Japanese Language Education and Modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2006). Yasuda Toshiaki, *Teikoku nihon no gengo heisei [The Formations of Languages in the Japanese Empire]* (Tokyo: Seiri shobō, 1997).

his return to Japan in 1894.⁶⁴ In his speech called “*Kokugo* and the Nation-State” (*Kokugo to Kokka to*), which was made during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and right after his return from Europe, Ueda envisions *kokugo* not just as the national language but as the imperial language that is equivalent to the imperial languages in the Europe, such as English, German, and French. He argues that because European imperial nation-states such as Britain, France, and Germany states respect their own national languages as a mean to unify nations, they do not allow people to speak languages other than the national language at parliament, such as Welsh and Gaelic at the British parliament, Basque and Breton in the French parliament, Polish, Dane, and French in the German parliament. Unlike the Saussurian notion of language, the languages such as British, French and German respectively establish themselves as a privileged language within its hierarchical relationship to their minor languages, such as Gaelic, Basque, and Polish while British, French, and German could constitute non-hierarchical difference in the category of imperial language.⁶⁵

The notion of difference, which is manifested in hierarchical differences between multiethnic groups in the European empires, differs from the notion of hybridity. Basically, two distinct but interrelated conceptions of hybridity can be found in the late 19th century and the

⁶⁴ In Germany, Ueda was exposed to a new modern discipline of linguistics and national language reform by neogrammarians that led the construction and the purification of national language in German Reich. Lee Yeounsuk, “*Kokugo*” *toiu shisō* [*The Ideology of Kokugo*] 96-118.

⁶⁵ Here I want to recall Nakazato Isao’s question, “what subjugates a minor language to a major language.” The language used for national and imperial literature is a privileged and powerful language whose prestige is constituted within linguistic hierarchies established by standardization of the nation-state and colonization. I have explored, Deleuze and Guattari refer the hierarchical difference of multiple languages used in one community as the hierarchical binary of major and minor languages. From the sociolinguistic terms, sociolinguist Charles A. Ferguson defines the linguistic hierarchy in a community as “diglossia,” consisting of hierarchical binary of H variety and L variety. Ferguson designates the language of H variety as a privileged and official language, which is used for literature and the language of L variety as vulgar, unrefined languages such as dialects.

early 20th century discourse of *kokugo/Nihongo*: internal hybridity and hybridity as a process and effect of interactions. Sakai Naoki argues that in order for the homogenous and unified notion of *kokugo/Nihongo* to be established, the existing multiple languages, writing styles, and systems in a community are first recognized as negative and abnormal situations that must be overcome. Sakai argues that the establishment of *kokugo/Nihongo* is made possible when it is conceived not only as a language that is equivalent to another national language but also as a homogenous and unified language that excludes linguistic hybridity and multiplicity.⁶⁶

While Ueda defines *kokugo/Nihongo* as an imperial language equivalent to European imperial languages, he also distinguishes the Japanese language from the Chinese language. Ueda states, “Although we always employ Han Scripts (*kango* 漢語) as a written language, Japanese language (*Nihongo*) is closer to English, German and French languages than to Chinese language (*Shina no go* 支那の語) substantially.”⁶⁷ Ueda uses a racialized term, “Chinese language,” to designate Han scripts and writings, which had been used in Japan as a part of the writing system for a long time, in order to make Chinese words and language into something external to *kokugo/Nihongo*, and therefore casting internal hybridity of language as something abnormal. Ueda’s racialized perception of the “Chinese language” is closely related to the geopolitical situation in Asia at the time. Ueda felt a sense of urgency in the contemporary situation, in which Han scripts and writing were still considered prestigious ones for knowledge and literature even though the Japanese empire was conquering the Qing Dynasty in the

⁶⁶ Sakai Naoki, “Shisan sareru nihongo nihonjin,” *Shisan sareru nihongo • nihonjin: nihon no rekishi chiseiteki haichi* [The Stillbirth of Japanese as Language and Ethnos: The Geo-political Configuration of Japanese History] (Tokyo: Shinyō sha, 1996) 166-210.

⁶⁷ Ueda Kazutoshi, “Kokugo to kokkato to [Kokugo and the Nation-State],” *Kokugo no tame* [For Kokugo], 1897. rpt.in *Kokugo no tame* [For Kokugo] ed. Yasuda Toshiaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) 24.

Sino-Japanese War at the time. In his essay called “Regarding the Study on *Kokugo* (*Kokugo kenkyū ni tsuite*),” which was published in 1895, Ueda criticizes the status of Han scripts and writing as a privileged and official language in Japan, as he argues, “even now, we cannot publish the emperor’s words, write essays, and obtain social status, without recourse to Han scripts and words. Figuratively speaking, this situation is equivalent to that in which four hundred fifty thousand Chinese people penetrate into forty-five thousand Japanese people, hindering our prosperity, depriving us of our government, and restricting our freedom. While *kokugo* is a national language for Japanese people, it is shameful that *kokugo* ends up becoming ‘garnishes’ for Chinese language and Chinese context.”⁶⁸ Ueda sees Han scripts and writings prevalent in the official discourses as a negative factor of hybridity, as he believes that the exclusive use of Han scripts and writings in the official discourse by the elites hinders the creation and the spread of standardized national language that should be used by common people in the nation-state.⁶⁹ His figurative association of linguistic and literary prestige of Han scripts and writings with Chinese invasion to a Japanese community serves not only to appeal to

⁶⁸ Ueda Kazutoshi, “Kokugo kenkyū ni tsukite [Regarding the Study of *kokugo*],” *Kokugo no tame [For Kokugo]*, Tomiyamabō, 1897. rpt.in *Kokugo no tame[For Kokugo]*ed. Yasuda Toshiaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) 26-37.

⁶⁹ The debate for abolishing the Chinese characters emerged in the late Edo period(1603-1867)and continued during the Meiji period (1868-1912). In the early Meiji period, Japanese reformers discussed the break from China in relation to the creation of new national phonetic language based on the phonetic language, while they defined Chinese characters as ideographs and thus considered them as the marker of the uncivilized as opposed to the European phonetic scripts, being influenced by European imperialistic view of language. Yet, the debates over the abolishment of Chinese characters became a mere façade after Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), as Han scripts were employed to translate European keywords of the modern knowledge into Japanese because of the economy of its ideographic features. Osa Shizue, *Kindai nihon to kokugo nashonarizumu[Modern Japan and Kokugo Nationalism]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998) 27-31. Komori Yōichi, *Nihongo no kindai [Modernity of Japanese Language]*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2000) 66-67.

⁶⁹ Osa 27-31.

people's national consciousness but also to relegate internal linguistic and literary hybridity into the realm outside *kokugo/Nihongo*.⁷⁰ By doing so, Ueda posits the existence of purified and homogenous notion of *kokugo* and homogenous national people as a fait accompli.

While Ueda acknowledges European empires as multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empires having a central race and language that governs other races and languages, he defines the Japanese nation-state as a linguistically and racially homogenous state consisting of the Yamato race. Ueda defines *kokugo/Nihongo* as “a spiritual blood,” which “should maintain Japanese national polity” and serve as the “strongest and longest enduring chain that unites the race of Japan,” as he states, “the language indicates spiritual comrades for its speakers, as if the blood of language designates the comrades based on physical appearance.” He further insists, “because of this, when a catastrophe happens, our forty million fellow men listen to the voices, go anywhere to save their comrades, and sacrifice themselves to the point of death. Therefore when they hear good news, people from Chishima to Okinawa celebrate together, singing that the reign of your

⁷⁰ The hybridized uses of scripts were prevalent and multiple writing styles influenced by both European writings and Chinese writing coexisted in the Meiji period (1868-1912). The hybridized use of language in the Meiji period is manifested in the appropriation of European concept into the Japanese context. The European languages, goods, and ideas were appropriated into the Japanese contexts through the mediation of Han scripts and phonetic annotation of *rubi*, as represented by the words, 硝盃 (glass)、筆 (pen) , 金剛石 (diamond). The mix use of Han scripts for meaning and phonetic Japanese annotation for European sounds became popular in the early 1890s. *Nihongo no rekishi 6: Atarashii kokugo eno Ayumi [The History of Nihongo: A New Approach to National Language]*, eds. Kamei Takashi, Otou Tokihiko, and Yamada Toshio (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2007) 369-373.

Ueda notes that coexistence of multiple writing styles at the time in his essay, “The Language Problem after the Enactment of Mixed Residence (Naichi zakkyogo niokeru gogaku mondai, 1900),” as he states that there are Japanese classical writing, the writing style modeled upon the direct translation from European writings, the writing style modeled upon direct translation from Chinese writing, and writing style influenced by dialects, and old epistolary writing in Japanese in the world of *kokugo* at the time.

Ueda Kazutoshi, “Naichi zakkyogo niokeru gogaku mondai[The Language Problem after the Enactment of Mixed Residence],” *Kokugo no tame [For Kokugo] vol2*.1903, rpt. in *Kokugo no tame[For Kokugo]*ed. Yasuda Toshiaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) 205-222.

majesty prospers for thousands of years.”⁷¹ His speech underlines that *kokugo* is an affective voice of power that conceives or interpellates the national subjects into what Benedict Anderson calls “a deep, horizontal comradeship...that makes it possible...for so many millions of people not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”⁷²

At the same time, while Ueda outlines the borders of national territory, including the newly acquired territories of Chishima islands in the north and Okinawa in the south, (Chishima was integrated into the empire in 1875 and Okinawa was in 1879), he does not explicitly mention the people and languages of the Ainu in Hokkaido and Chishima and the native inhabitants of Okinawa. Komori Yōichi argues that Ueda’s association of *kokugo/Nihongo* with “spiritual blood” serves to obscure and conceal the status of the Ainu people and Okinawans as colonial subjects. The Ainu were defined as colonial subjects who should not only be assimilated and excluded but also must be made extinct, while Okinawans were colonial subjects that must be excluded and simultaneously assimilated.⁷³ It could be also argued that because unified notions of Japanese race and language have not yet existed, Ueda needs to invoke the imaginary vision of the unified ethnos and language by disavowing the existence of different languages and people in Japanese territory at the time.

The homogeneous and unified notion of Japanese ethnos and language is conceived when the division between purity and hybridity is made and internal hybridity is disavowed and seen as something external to *kokugo/Nihongo*. When internal hybridity comes to be perceived as excess and deviance, the dialogic interactions of the Japanese language and people with other

⁷¹ Ueda, “Kokugo to kokkato to [kokugo and the Nation-State]” 25.

⁷² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed. (London & New York: Verso, 2006) 7.

⁷³ Komori, *Nihongo no kindai [Modernity of Japanese Language]* 147-156.

languages and ethnic groups of people also appear to the Japanese political reformers as a threat of hybridization. As Ueda implies in his speech, “*Kokugo* and the Nation-State,” Japan was “not yet an authentic nation-state”; Japan was still under the sway of unequal treaties with the British, French, Dutch, and Russian empires as well as the United States, in terms of tariff autonomy and extraterritoriality. In 1894, when Ueda made the speech, Japan was able to revise the unequal treaties and it reached an agreement to abolish them in 1889.

But the revision of treaties also allowed European foreigners to stay and live in Japan proper. In turn, as Lee Yeounsuk notes, the possible influx of these foreigners into the interiority of Japan became a socio-economic, political issue at the time, for Japanese political reformers thought that the mixed residence with foreigners (*zakkyo* 雜居) would disturb and destroy the unification of Japan.⁷⁴ Ueda addresses a warning to his readers in his essay: “When we open the country, permit mixed residence in Japan proper, and disregard the widespread use of foreign languages, as our Japanese empire as a law-abiding country will see this in the near future, we cannot ensure that if we might be able to see again our Japanese society, which has been maintained by the Yamato race for a thousand years and has no equal in the world, as its language could be divided and mixed with others.”⁷⁵ Ueda’s concern is that the European languages would encroach on the domain of *kokugo/Nihongo* of Japan proper, as foreigners would deluge the interior of Japan after the enactment of mixed residence. Ueda laments that while Japan’s state faces a serious situation of the mixed residence with foreigners, Japanese people lack a sense of urgency and a sense of respect for their national language, as they still

⁷⁴ Lee “*Kokugo*” *toiu shisō* [*The Ideology of Kokugo*] 96-118.

⁷⁵ Ueda Kazutoshi, “Naichi zakkyogo niokeru gogaku mondai [The Language Problem after the Enactment of Mixed Residence in the Interior],” *Kokugo no tame* [*For Kokugo*]vol2,1903, rpt. in *Kokugo no tame*[*For Kokugo*]ed. Yasuda Toshiaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) 205-222.

continue relying on the hybridized language system consisting of the mixture of ideographic, phonetic, and syllabic words and their local languages for communication. In order to prepare Japan for the invasion of the foreign languages and people, Ueda calls for the need to establish a unified and standardized *kokugo* as a means to Japanize the foreigners and newly naturalized subjects and therefore to protect the core of the unified Japanese people and language. What must be noted here is that it is only after the dialogic interactions between two different racial and ethnic groups and languages appear as a danger of being hybridized that the internal unity of the nation-state and its citizens comes to be virtually imagined as something that must be protected.

While European imperial languages and empires emerged as a threat of hybridization of Japanese language and ethnos, colonial others came to be seen as hybridized beings, a state that is contagious and infectious. In her examination of the discourse of the mixed residence (*zakkyo*) in the 1890s, Lee points out the contradiction inherent in the revision of the unequal treaties at the time.⁷⁶ While the Japanese empire revised the unequal treaties with European empires and let them live in Japan, it kept imposing the unequal treaties on China and Korea and excluded them from the metropole. When Japanese intellectuals were greatly alarmed by the political, economic, and linguistic encroachment by European empires after the implementation of the mixed residence, Japanese empire encroached upon Korea, causing the economic and political crisis there and turning it into the battlefield for the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).⁷⁷ The

⁷⁶ Lee Yeounsuk, "'Zakkyo' e no kyōfu," *Gendai nihon bunka ron: Taiken toshite no ibunka 7* [*Theory of Modern Japanese Culture: Intercultural Experiences 7*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997) 70-98.

⁷⁷ Cho Kyong-Dal points out that Japan's economic intrusion in Korea after 1885 influenced Korean economy, turning Korea into the market for the Japanese empire. In particular, it brought great unrest to the poor Korean farmers' lives. Uchida Jun also argues that merchant workers, settlers, and investors played a significant role in making a foundation for Japanese colonization of Korea in the late 19th century.

unequal power relationship is reflected in the representations of those colonized Asian people as unclean and inferior in pathological and hygienic terms as Lee underlines.

Naitō Chizuko also writes that not only the bodies of Asian others such as Chinese people, but also bodies of the poor, the outcaste groups, and women in Japan proper came to be associated with infectious, fluid, and unclean bodies in the late 1890s, a time when the internal and external borderlines of the Japanese empire were fluid and shifting due to the revisions of the unequal treaty, the Sino-Japanese War and Japan's colonial expansion.⁷⁸ The unified, purified notion of *kokugo/Nihongo* becomes thinkable only when the internal hybridity is redefined as something abnormal and external. Likewise, the unified notion of the national subject is also conceived when the internal hybridity in the national body is displaced onto unclean, sick, and hybridized bodies of others, as I will examine in my analysis of hybridized voices and bodies of women in relation to the male-centered discourse of the proletarian movement and the representation of colonial space of Dalian in chapter 1.

Under the tensions of unification and hybridization, *kokugo/Nihongo* is invoked both as “a defensive wall” to protect the imagined national unity and as an affective medium of power that could Japanize not only national subjects but also others from European empires and East Asia, as Ueda summarizes these two closely connected functions of *kokugo* in his famous aphorism; “*Kokugo* is a defensive wall of the imperial household. *Kokugo* is a benevolent mother of

Cho Kyong-Dal, *Kindai Chōsen to nihon [Modern Korea and Japan]*(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 2012) 95-98. Uchida Jun, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* (Cambridge and London: Harvard East Asian Monographs 337, Harvard University Asia Center ,2011) 35-95.

⁷⁸ Naitō Chizuko, “Yamaushintai: Chi to seishin no hiyu [Diseased Bodies :The Metaphors of Blood and Spirit,” *Disukuru no teikoku. Meiji sanjūnendai no bunka kenkyū*[*the Discourses of the Empire: The Studies of Culture in the Meiji 30s*, eds. Akio Kaneko, Osamu Takahashi, & Morio Yoshida (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2000) 56-81.

nation.”⁷⁹ Focusing on its affective power, Ueda envisions *kokugo/Nihongo* as “a common language in East Asia (*Tōyō zentai no futsūgo*), used by people in the domains of academic activities, politics and commerce in East Asia, regardless of whether they are Korean, Chinese, European, or American.”⁸⁰ About forty-seven years after Ueda’s speech, Japanese imperial authority envisioned the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire based on the hierarchical relationship between Japanese and other languages and ethnic groups.⁸¹ As explored in the context of the Greater East Asian Writers Conference, *Nihongo* was implemented as a common language in East Asia. Unlike exclusive nationalists, Ueda emphasizes the importance of learning other foreign languages. But his vision of *kokugo/Nihongo* as a common language in East Asia was realized when *kokugo/Nihongo* was one-sidedly imposed on colonized and oppressed subjects by denying and displacing its dialogized and hybridized interactions of *kokugo/Nihongo* with other languages, which are essential for the productions of language and communication, as Bakhtin underscores.

As I have discussed, the notion of hierarchical difference and the hierarchical binary of purity

⁷⁹ Ueda Kazutoshi, “*Kokugo no tame [For Kokugo]*” (Tomiyamabō, 1895, rpt. in *Kokugo no tame [For Kokugo]*, ed. Yasuda Toshiaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011). His aphorism appears in the opening page in both his “Kokugo to kokkato to [Kokugo and the Nation-State]” and “Naichi zakkyōgo niokeru gogaku mondai [The Language Problem after the Enactment of Mixed Residence in the Interior].”

⁸⁰ Ueda Kazutoshi, “Kokugo kenkyū ni tsukite [Regarding the Study of *kokugo*],” *Kokugo no tame [For Kokugo]*, Tomiyamabō, 1895, rpt. in *Kokugo no tame [For Kokugo]*, ed. Yasuda Toshiaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) 29-30.

⁸¹ The Council for the Construction of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, which was established in February 1942, determined the basic vision in May 1942, as follows: “the basic principle for the construction of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere originates from the underlying principle of our national polity (*kokutai no hongī*) and aim to spread the cause of eight corners of the world under one roof (*hakkō ichiu*) thoroughly in the Great East Asia. In order to realize this, each nation and each ethnic group should occupy proper place respectively under the empire’s guidance and rule and a new order must be established based on the moral principles.” “Daitōa kensetsu kihon hōsaku” 2.

and hybridity are intricately intertwined in the construction of *kokugo/Nihongo*. *Kokugo/Nihongo* came to be envisioned as the national and imperial language that subordinates other languages under the logic of hierarchical difference, only when *kokugo/Nihongo* was conceived as a unified and homogenous language that denies and displaces the hybridizing process of dialogues and interactions. While Ueda does not make clear the difference between *kokugo* and *Nihongo*, as I have explored earlier, *kokugo* came to be distinguished from *Nihongo* in the discourses of colonial language education. As Lee astutely underscores, unlike *Nihongo*, *kokugo* emerges as a self-closing and self-sufficient space that can expand infinitely when *kokugo* is viewed as only one unique language for the nation and national citizens, which is outside the system of difference.⁸² In such a definition of *kokugo*, the word *kokugo* is indicated not by the content of the notion, but by its antithetical relation to the category of non-*kokugo*. In other words, the ideology of *kokugo* is structurally self-sufficient and tautological and performative in that, as Slavoj Žižek notes in relation to the production of ideological fantasy, “its signification coincides with its own act of enunciation.”⁸³ In this way, the ideology of *kokugo* appears as an embodiment of the ideological fantasy of the empire, concealing its internal void and displacing hybridized nature of languages onto colonized and occupied others’ writings and speeches.

The Practice of Writing, Colonial Violence, and Hybridity

The ideology of *kokugo* plays an integral role in colonial expansion in an attempt to expand its linguistic sphere by concealing and displacing the internal contradiction inherent in both

⁸² Lee, “*Kokugo*” *toiu shisō*[*The Ideology of Kokugo*] 282-308.

⁸³ Žižek 109.

kokugo and the Japanese empire. Likewise, the practice of writing also participates in the violent production of the space of the empire, serving as a means to appropriate, assimilate and exclude certain voices, and literary, and linguistic spaces in the Japanese empire, for the colonial discriminatory processes of assimilation and exclusion, which serve as a driving force for the expansion of the empire, rests on the signification system in linguistic and literary terms, along with the modernization and the standardization in temporal and spatial terms. In particular, like *kokugo/Nihongo*, the practice of writing serves to construct the unified notion of self by differentiating it from the others and thus displacing internal hybridity onto the others. Such functions in writing are closely related to the construction of the modernized, standardized, and phonocentric writing system called *genbun itchi* (the unification of speech and writing), based on which *kokugo/Nihongo* was established.

The notion of *genbun itchi* (the unification of speech and writing) rests on the belief in the commensurability between speech and writing, as it aims to “write as one speaks” (*hanasu yōni kaku*). Ueda Kazutoshi designates the language of *kokugo* as *genbun itchi*, which should appear to be “identical in speaking, in listening, in transcribing, and in reading.... In other words, *kokugo* should possess the spirit of unification of speech and writing.”⁸⁴ Especially, Ueda argues that standardized *kokugo* as *genbun itchi*, should be created based on the speeches of “educated Tokyoites.”⁸⁵ Ueda’s proposal for linguistic reformation in the mid and late Meiji period (1868-1912) coincided with the literary *genbun itchi* movement. The writers in the

⁸⁴ Ueda, “Naichi zakkyogo niokeru gogaku mondai [The Language Problem after the Enactment of Mixed Residence in the Interior]” 206.

⁸⁵ Ueda Kazutoshi, “Hyōjungo nit tsuite [Regarding the Standard Language],” *Kokugo no tame* [For *Kokugo*], Tomiyamabō, 1895, rpt. in *Kokugo no tame* [For *Kokugo*] ed. (Yasuda Toshiaki. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011) 44-45.

genbun itchi movement aimed “to write as one speaks” in order to create a modern writing system based on the approximation of phonetic speeches of “educated Tokyoites.” Yet, what must be noted here is that epistemological inversion is at work in *genbun itchi* ideology. Ueda’s proposal for the construction of *genbun itchi* writing assumes that the speeches of “educated Tokyoites” had already existed prior to the establishment of *genbun itchi* writing. But it is only after *genbun itchi* writing was established that the speech of educated people in Tokyo was produced.⁸⁶ Instead, the phonocentric system of *genbun itchi* writing was constructed through various kinds of literary and linguistic practices including the translation of European texts, the literary sketching of the external world (Karatani & Li), the creating of colloquial writing based on the transcribed texts by stenography (Komori), and the practices of reading aloud Han script writing in Japanese (Saito).⁸⁷ In the *genbun itchi* movement led by the various literary and linguistic practices, writing came to be conceived as a transparent and immediate medium of voice and external reality, as Karatani Kōjin contends that the *genbun itchi* writing made possible the emergence of national collective consciousness through the simultaneous discovery of the external national landscape and the national interiority in modern Japanese literature.⁸⁸ At the

⁸⁶ Miyako Inoue, *Vicarious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) 90-91.

⁸⁷ The *genbun itchi* writing was constituted also by distinguishing itself from other writing forms and styles at the time, including mixed Japanese and Chinese, the writing style modeled upon direct translation of European writings, and the writing style modeled upon Japanese reading of Classical Chinese, etc. See Karatani, Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans and ed. Brett De Bary. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). Komori Yōichi, *Nihongo no kindai [Modernity of Japanese Language]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2000). Lee Hyonduk, *Hyōshōkūkan no kindai. Meiji “nihon” no media hensei [The Modernity in representational Space: The Reformation of Media in Meiji Japan]* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1996). Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbun-myaku to kindai nihon: mōhitotsu no kotoba no sekai* (Tokyo: NHK hōsō shuppan kai, 2007).

⁸⁸ Karatani *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*

same time, the simultaneous discovery of the external national landscape and national interiority was made possible by displacing internal hybridity and the function of language in mediation. For the notion of *genbun itchi* writing as a transparent medium of voice is facilitated by excluding and displacing the multiple meanings and the various literary contexts inherent in ideographic Han scripts and writings, thereby making certain representation of voice and external world intelligible and normatized and others unintelligible and incomprehensible.⁸⁹ In turn, *genbun itchi* writing serves to represent the external landscape and internal voice, as if it merely reflects them as they are.

The invention of the spoken language and the hierarchical division of the narrating and the narrated are key to the construction of the division between the transparent, immediate voice of self and the hybridized and unintelligible voice of others. Sakai Naoki underlines that the phonocentric ideology of *genbun itchi* constructs the spoken language by taking it out from its contexts of hybridized and dialogized interactions with other people. The speaking subject is inherently divided, as Bakhtin states, “the speaker is not Adam, and therefore the subject of his speech itself inevitably becomes the arena where the opinions meet those of his partners. [The] utterance is related not only to preceding but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communion.”⁹⁰ However, *genbun itchi* writing camouflages the divided subject with a unified subject by taking out one’s speech from the chain of dialogized interactions between two speakers and excluding and disavowing such dialogized interactions. It is through the

⁸⁹ Lee Hyonduk, *Hyōshōkūkan no kindai. [the Modernity in Representational Space]* 67-137.

⁹⁰ M. M Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, trans. Vern McGee, eds. Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986) 94.

construction of the spoken language, which is divorced from its contexts that a new form of a narrating voice emerges in *genbun itchi* writing.

As Miyako Inoue underscores, this new narrating voice is invoked as the voice from the point of view of “the modern rational and national (male) citizen” and thus from “an omniscient point of view.”⁹¹ In her examination of the discursive production of women’s speech upon the construction of Japan’s nation-state, Inoue further argues that literature based on *genbun itchi* writing serves to construct and maintain a hierarchical division between a narrating (male) voice and the narrated object. For a literary text emerges as a “formal space where *alterity* is constructed, highlighted and neatly kept apart from the self [, for] the novel ... formally created a hierarchical relationship in which the narrated is always objectified by, represented through, and subjected to the male gaze of the narrating subject or of the modern Japanese citizen.”⁹² As Inoue points out, it is important to acknowledge the authoritative narrating voice unmarked by identity as “(the middle-class) male,” because only male Japanese modern subjects could have full access to the newly created public sphere of the national and imperial authoritative discourses. Japanese imperial literature both internalizes and resists against the omniscient point of view of the national (male) citizens as well as a hierarchical division between a narrating (male) voice and the narrated object. On one hand, the oppressed writers aim to internalize the omniscient point of view of the national (male) citizens, by constituting the hierarchical relationship between themselves and their others when they aim to establish themselves as modern subjects of the literary discourses. On the other hand, they also attempt aim to reinvent a

⁹¹ Inoue 92.

⁹² Ibid., 92. emphasis in original

narrating voice in an attempt to subvert such hierarchical relationship by opening a channel for the communication between a narrating voice and the narrated.

When we view writing as a discriminatory device of assimilation and exclusion, which separates a transparent, unified voice of self from hybridized, unintelligible voices of others, we can clearly see the connection between the practice of writing and frames of war. The frames of war function to separate “our” group of valuable lives from “our” enemy of unworthy and killable lives by denying “our” coevalness and unequal interactions with others to a very extreme degree. The frames of war also produce the precarious ambivalent subjects in between the collaborators and enemy and between life and death. Likewise, writing in Japanese imperial literature often (not always) makes invisible and inaudible the voices of the enemy and the dissenters, while making visible and audible the unified voices of Japanese. Writing also makes visible and audible the precarious ambivalent subjects in between. Being assimilated and excluded from a transparent omnipresent voice of writing, their voices are invoked as hybridized illogical voices outside the system of language. At the same time, when the oppressed writers write from the place of others, they aim to restore the dialogues between the authoritative voice and their voices as the process of hybridization, which is disavowed by the authoritative voices of Japanese literature. Therefore, the hybridized languages that emerge in imperial Japanese literature can be seen both as the traces of violent assimilation and exclusion and as the marks of resistance. But the resistances against the authoritative discourses and voices are often frustrated, as the oppressed writers’ narrators inevitably internalize the authoritative narrating position by displacing their hybrid voices onto their others. Finally I want to add that writing presents spaces and voices under the state of emergency in the empire as if it reflects external reality, although writing itself helps construct the hierarchical differences in terms of literary and linguistic

categories and different groups of people and establish the meanings. In order to challenge the hegemonic representations of the spaces of the empire, maintained by the writing, I aim at analyzing literary texts within historical and socio-political contexts of the each historical instance I examine in each chapter and invoking the dialogized interactions between voices and languages, which are denied and displaced, by tracing invisible oppressed subjects and their inaudible voices.

Chapter Summaries

This dissertation looks at a few moments in the state of emergency among many in the history of the Japanese empire as exemplary sites of Japanese imperial literature. They include the metropolis of Tokyo under the martial law in 1923, Dalian under Japanese occupation in the late 1920s, the community of the ethnically and linguistically minority group *hakka* in colonial Taiwan after the outbreak of the 1937 Sino-Japanese War, and Singapore under Japanese military rule during the Greater East Asian War starting from 1941. The state of emergency was repeatedly invoked by the Japanese empire in order to simultaneously (re) produce and maintain the division of unified notion of Japanese and its others, throughout the course of the empire's expansion. In turn, Japanese imperial literature opens up the sites of the state of emergency as not just the tensions between the oppressor and the oppressed, between the authoritative discourses and the resisting discourses, and the state power and acts of resistance, but also the tensions and uneven dialogized interactions among the oppressed others. In particular, I investigate the failed attempts of resistance by a female Japanese proletarian and a colonized

male intellectual in the first two chapters and the creation of the fantastic ideology of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire in the third chapter.

Chapter 1 looks at the Japanese proletarian writer, Hirabayashi Taiko's texts "In the Woods" (*Mori no naka*) and "At the Charity Ward" (*Seryōshitsu nite*) within the context of the relationship between the state of emergency, gender, and class struggle, and the socialist vision of multi-ethnic cosmopolitanism. Hirabayashi's "In the Woods" is set in Tokyo under martial law after the Great Kanto Earthquake. Martial law serves as a frame of war that distinguishes the unified group of Japanese from the colonized subjects as their enemy, while turning Japanese socialists into ambivalent subjects located between the Japanese and their enemies and thus between worthy lives and worthless lives. At the same time, it also exposes the contradiction inherent in both the metropolitan capitalism and socialist movement at the time, that is, an unequal relationship between the Japanese proletariats and colonized workers in the metropole. Hirabayashi's text also takes part in the reconstruction of a national and racial border by dissociating Japanese workers from Korean subjects who are turned into the killable objects under the martial law. Furthermore, Hirabayashi's narrative aims to conceal and displace an unequal relationship between the Japanese proletariats and colonized subjects inherent in the socialist movement with the idealized vision of the multi-ethnic socialist community.

Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward," in turn, evokes the charity ward in the colonial space of Dalian as a space of others. The female protagonist, who is banished from Tokyo after the Great Kanto earthquake due to her political belief in socialism, is confined to the space of others, which is doubly controlled and oppressed by class and gender inequalities. Hirabayashi's text generates multiple resisting voices against both imperialistic capitalism and the male-centered proletarian movement by opening up the space for dialogized interactions between dissenting

voices and authoritative voices. By invoking multiple resisting voices that aim at disturbing and subverting not only hierarchical relationships of class and gender, but also the hierarchical divisions between mind and body and between language and non-language, Hirabayashi's narrative conjures up the moment of suspension in which a new subjectivity for resistance could be constructed. However, Hirabayashi's narrative eventually resolves the tension and hierarchical relationships by dissolving her struggle for gender and class inequality into the multi-ethnic movement of resistance. In the multi-ethnic proletarian movement, the female proletarian appears to occupy the position of the intellectual equal to that of Japanese male proletarians by displacing violence directed against her onto the colonized others, thereby constituting the hierarchical relationship between Japanese female proletariat and the colonized other. I will argue that the imperialistic socialist vision of cosmopolitan multi-ethnic community is not so different from the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire to the extent that the imperialistic socialist vision of the multi-ethnic community could function as an ideological fantasy concealing and displacing both the racial and gender inequalities inherent in the metropolitan socialist movement.

Chapter 2 examines the uneven and dialogic interaction between metropolitan literature and the literature in the colony by examining the debut of the colonized Taiwanese writer, Long Yingzong, into the Japanese metropolitan literary world in 1937. The first half of the chapter examines the literary discourse of provincial literature (*chihō bungaku*) at the intersection between metropolitan literature and literature in the colony. The literature of the colonized is integrated into the metropolitan discourse of provincial literature in Japanese literature as a marginalized and provincialized literature, which enabled Japanese writers to envision the literature of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire as being centered on Japanese language and

literature. The second half of chapter 2 investigates Long's Japanese language literature "the Huang Family" in relation to the colonial policies of imperialization. Like the 1923 martial law enacted in Tokyo, the imperialization policy, which was implemented after the outbreak of the 1937 Sino-Japanese War, serves as frames of war, which not only serves to turn the colonized male subjects into the imperial subjects but also aims to exterminate the racial ethnic and cultural identities of the Han-Taiwanese subjects. "The Huang Family" is set in a small community of the ethnically and linguistically minority group, Hakka. In order to describe this community foreign to Japanese metropolitan readers, Long invents the ethnographic narrative by internalizing the authoritative discourse of the Japanese empire and thereby establishing a narrating voice of the modern subject of *kokugo*. In turn, the ethnographic narrative serves to conceal and displace the various forms of colonial inequalities, participating in the production of the ideological fantasy of imperialization. At the same time, there is a moment when the ethnographic narrative encounters the social contradiction inherent in that ideology. I underline this moment of suspension as a potential site for the dialogic interactions of a colonized subject with the colonial authority and thus for the emergence of new unnamable subjectivity. But this potential attempt of resistance is frustrated quickly. Long's narrative eventually returns to and participates again in the ideological fantasy of the Japanese empire, in which the colonial subject aims to imaginarily identify with the modern intellectual. Although Long's protagonist knows what he is doing, he still follows the colonial order.

Chapter 3 analyzes an example of Japanese war literature, Ibuse Masuji's "The City of Flowers," as a site to construct the ideological fantasy of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, in which Japanese subjects imagine themselves occupying its center, surrounded by the multi-ethnic colonized subjects. By examining Ibuse's text alongside Japanese military's

imposition of Japanese language on the colonized subjects and the massacre and oppression of the overseas Chinese under Japanese military rule, I argue that Ibuse's text takes part in the construction of a frames of war, which not only distinguish the worthy lives of Japanese subjects from the unworthy lives of dissenters against the Japanese empire, but also make visible the colonial subjects who appear to be subjects in between the unified notion of Japanese and their enemy and between life and death. Ibuse's narrative serves to conceal and displace colonial coercion and the brutal attack against the colonized subjects with the fantastic narrative of friendly and romantic interaction between the colonizer and the colonized by turning the precarious colonized subjects into ideological objects of desire for the colonizers. By displacing violence with the fantastic narrative of friendship and romantic relationship, Ibuse's narrative invokes the ideal image of a peaceful and harmonious multi-ethnic Japanese empire, which helps Japanese colonizers unify their identity as a benevolent and popular leader of the Greater East Asia in their imagination.

By examining the different periods, places, ideological and political contexts together, this study investigates the various sites under the state of emergency not just as a teleological trajectory of the infinite expansion of the empire (the imperialistic ideology of expansion for expansion's sake) but as the site that repeatedly (re)produces the hierarchical relationship and the uneven interactions between the conquer and the conquered, which enables the illusory vision of the unified notion of Japanese ethnos and languages to be (re)constituted and maintained. At the same time I also look at these various sites under the state of emergency together as "one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet,"⁹³ as

⁹³ Benjamin 392.

Walter Benjamin's angel of history perceives. Benjamin's angel turns to the past, which resists the storm of progress, the homogenous empty time of national history, because the angel "would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed."⁹⁴ Benjamin invokes an angel of history in an attempt to rescue various voices and historical experiences, which are silenced and excluded from the unified national and imperial history for the victor, and to make them resonate with each other to challenge the historical narrative of progress.

In my epilogue, I explore the resonances among silenced and distorted voices of the oppressed in the Japanese empire as possible sites to challenge and disturb the ideological fantasy of the Japanese empire, by analyzing Kim Saryang's *The Taebaek Mountains*. Kim Saryang's *The Taebaek Mountains* narrates the history of the colonial Korea in the dialogues between Korean intellectuals and the slash-and-burn farmers, the poorest people who occupy the lowest stratum in colonial Korea. While Hirabayashi's texts and Long's text fail to maintain the dialogues of their own texts (or their protagonists) with the other voices of the oppressed in the colonial history, Kim's text has the potential to invoke the resonances of the multiple oppressed voices beyond the time-space. By pursuing the possibility for the resonances of various voices of the oppressed as cross-textual, cross-spatial and temporal discourses in Japanese imperial literature, I want to think of Japanese imperial literature as a potential site to disrupt and expose the ideological fantasy of the Japanese empire. While this dissertation investigates together the multiple sites of the state of emergency in which the frame of war is repeatedly installed in order to (re)produce and maintain the ideological fantasy of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire, it also explores the traces of resonance and reverberation of the eclipsed voices of the oppressed, which

⁹⁴ Ibid., 257.

exceed the frames of war, as the potential sites of resistance.⁹⁵ Although each literary text I examine takes part in the ideological fantasy of the empire or inevitably is re-integrated into it, through exploring what exceeds the frames of war in each chapter, this study ultimately aims to situate Japanese imperial literature as the site to open up the potential circuits for multi-dimensional dialogic interactions between Japanese literature and literature by the oppressed, between the oppressors and the oppressed, and among the oppressed, in addition to the “dialogic reverberations” between the audible and inaudible and between the visible and invisible, and between the present and the past.

⁹⁵ Butler notes that as the frame of war are repeatedly installed in order to reproduce and re-signify themselves, reproduction of the frames from the first instance to another inevitably involves the possible failure of its reproduction, and this is the site where the normatized frames of war can be called into question. Butler 23-24.

Chapter One:

Claustrophobic Spaces of Empire:

The Multilayered Structure of Others in Hirabayashi Taiko's "In the Woods" (*Mori no naka*, 1929) and "At the Charity Ward" (*Seryōshitsu nite*, 1927)

Introduction

This chapter examines Japanese female proletarian writer Hirabayashi Taiko's "In the Woods" (*Mori no naka* 1929) and "At the Charity Ward" (*Seryōshitsu nite* 1927), to examine Japanese imperial literature as a site of the (re)production of multi-layered structure of others in relation to the authoritative discourses of *kokugo* and the male-dominated metropolitan literary world on the one hand, and various groups of the oppressed on the other. In particular, this chapter investigates the place of others from the perspective of the dually-alienated subject, as represented by the Japanese proletarian female writer. As a woman, she is alienated from the male-dominated socialist movement, which disregards and maintains the existing gender inequality. As a female writer, her works have been often placed in the category of "women's literature," subordinate to the male-dominated literary world of the metropole. As a woman, she was not given the right to vote and to make decisions on her own body, sexuality, and reproduction under the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. Furthermore, as a proletarian, she is a target for state suppression and an object of exploitation in the imperial capitalist order.

In order to situate the status of the other as a Japanese proletarian and woman in the Japanese empire in relation to other oppressed groups, I first turn to Hirabayashi's "In the Woods" (*Mori no naka*, 1929), which captures the massacre of Koreans and the executions of Japanese socialists and anarchists that occurred right after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. The first part

of this chapter examines how the massacre makes visible and functions to reproduce hierarchical relationships between Japanese (female) proletarians and colonized workers and therefore the racially differential distribution of life and death. For the massacre serves as a “frame of war” distinguishing the worthy lives of national subjects that must be protected by the state from the inferior lives of racial others that are exposed to sovereign power, thereby redrawing ethnic and national borders. Korean workers in the metropole were turned into killable objects under martial law, as Japanese men imagined their unified national and ethnic identity through exercising physical violence against them. Meanwhile, as Japanese socialists sought solidarity with the colonized workers, they also became the target for the state violence.

At the same time, however, the reign of terror caused by the massacre turns Japanese socialists into precarious and ambivalent subjects that occupy a liminal site in between “the victims of the earthquake” and “lawless people,” between “the imperial Japanese subjects” and their enemies, and thus between life and death. As martial law functions to reconstruct national and ethnic borders, Hirabayashi’s narrative also takes part in the recreation of national and ethnic divisions, dissociating the Japanese workers, as worthy lives, from the killable objects of the colonized workers, and at the same time displacing the unequal relationship between Japanese proletarians and colonized workers that is inherent in both imperialist capitalism and metropolitan socialist movement with the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic socialist community.

The second half of the chapter explores Hirabayashi’s “At the Charity Ward” to examine the place of the other in a claustrophobic colonial space, in which poor Japanese women are segregated. “At the Charity Ward” is the story about a proletarian woman who is confined to the charity ward in Dalian, a Japanese colony in the Liaodong Peninsula, which was ceded to Japanese empire after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Although it is not clearly told in the

story, it is implied that the protagonist Mitsuyo and her partner were expelled from Tokyo after the 1923 Kanto Earthquake and came to Dalian, as Hirabayashi and her partner were expelled from Tokyo and fled to Dalian due to the martial law implemented right after the 1923 earthquake. In the novel, Hirabayashi's narrative aims at constructing a new form of subjectivity, that of a female Japanese proletarian resisting the dual repressions of male-dominated imperialist capitalism and the male-centric Japanese proletarian movement. A new form of subjectivity emerges through the dialogic tension between two contradictory selves, the proletarian modern subject who belongs to the male-dominated discourse and envisions revolutionary change in the future, and the other of the modern subject, that is, the various voices of women as the others that have remained suppressed or unrecognizable in the male-centered proletarian discourses and capitalist discourses.

Yet the hybridized subjectivity of a proletarian woman is eventually re-integrated into a unified notion of the modern subject, as Hirabayashi's narrative ultimately establishes the "Japanese" female proletarian as a modern intellectual through the displacement of her internal hybridity onto colonial others. In this way, the narrative fails to consider and integrate the issue of racial inequality in the Japanese empire into Mitsuyo's struggle against gender and class inequality. Rather, Hirabayashi's narrative of gender and class struggle invokes colonial and racial others as ideological objects of desire, which serves to conceal and displace the contradictions inherent in the metropolitan socialist movement such as gender and racial inequalities with an imperialist vision of the socialist movement, in which Japanese socialists occupies the top of the racial hierarchy in the Japanese empire.

Hirabayashi's Works on the Colonies and the Empire

Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward" first appeared in the September issue of the proletarian literary journal, *Literary Battlefield (Bungei sensen)* in 1927 and was republished in 1928 in her collection of short stories titled *A Collection of Short Stories by Hirabayashi Taiko: At the Charity Ward*. Hirabayashi wrote "At the Charity Ward" based on her experience of living as a fugitive in Dalian, a Japanese colony at the time. Right after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, Hirabayashi and her anarchist partner Yamamoto Torazō were preemptively arrested by police in Tokyo on September 5th. On October 8th, about a month after their arrest, both Hirabayashi and Yamamoto were released from prison on the condition that they immediately leave Tokyo. First, they moved to Shimonoseki in Yamaguchi Prefecture, the southern edge of the mainland Japan, but they lost their jobs soon after being found out as activists. On January 1924, they fled to Dalian, where Yamamoto's older brother lived, although Yamamoto was again arrested for *lèse-majesté* there. Meanwhile, Hirabayashi gave birth to her daughter at the Seiai Hospital in Dalian, although her baby died soon after the birth due to the malnutrition.

Set in the Japanese colony, Dalian, Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward" depicts the painful hardship that the female protagonist Kitamura Mitsuyo, the wife of a proletarian activist, confronts. The novel begins with Mitsuyo's return to the charity ward from the military police station, where her husband is imprisoned. Her husband and three other leaders of the Chinese laborers are arrested after they failed in their sabotage at the site of the rail construction. Because of her husband's arrest and her pregnancy, Mitsuyo is temporarily detained in the semi-basement of the charity ward, where she stays with other poor Japanese female patients. Suffering from beriberi and poverty, Mitsuyo gives birth to her daughter in the charity ward. However, she has to make the hard decision to nourish the newborn baby with her beriberi-infected milk, which

might kill the baby, because she is too poor to purchase artificial milk and the hospital is too stingy to give appropriate treatment. After the baby's death, she leaves for the Lijiatun (李家屯) branch of the Port Arthur Prison to be imprisoned.

In addition to her "At the Charity Ward," Hirabayashi wrote several works that portray Japanese colonies and colonial subjects. She depicted the violent massacre of Koreans and Japanese socialists that occurred in Tokyo right after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake in her short stories "Cold Smile" (*Tsumetai emi*, 1926) and "In the Woods" (*Mori no naka*, 1929), which I will examine later. In addition to "At the Charity Ward," she also wrote several short novels based on her fugitive experiences in Dalian, including "Throw Away" (*Nagesute yo*, 1927), "A Ghost in the M Hospital" (*M byōin no yūrei*, 1929), "The Legs" (*Ashi*, 1929), "The Train for Forced Labor" (*Fueki ressha*, 1929). She also produced two short stories about a young poor Korean woman living in Korea and China, "A Korean" (*Chōsen-jin*, 1929) and "The City of Swallows" (*Tsubame no miyako*, 1937).

Both "Throw Away" and "At the Charity Ward" describe the female protagonist Mitsuyo's painful fugitive life in Dalian, but in different ways. While both stories narrate Mitsuyo's struggle against class and gender inequalities, each of them highlights different aspects of the female protagonist's experiences in the colony. On the one hand, "Throw Away," which appeared in the journal, *The Liberation* (*Kaihō*) on March 1927, explores the chain of colonial exploitation, focusing on the multi-layered structure of unequal relationships at the construction site in the colony. Mitsuyo's husband's brother, a colonial settler who worked for the railway company, despised Mitsuyo and her husband due to their identities as exiled poor socialists, exploiting them as workers. In turn, her husband, who was provided the position to supervise Chinese coolies by his brother, eventually becomes a colonial exploiter of the colonized, abusing the local

workers. But her husband was arrested by the police for defamation of royalty due to a tip-off from his brother. In the meantime, Mitsuyo, who is pregnant, decides to be apart from her husband, leaving him in prison while she shelters herself at a women home run by the Japanese Salvation Army, in which many poor orphans and women live together. On the other hand, “At the Charity Ward” narrates the female proletarian’s gender and class struggle against imperialist capitalism and patriarchal society, with a focus on Mitsuyo’s miserable experiences of her childbirth and the loss of her baby at the charity ward in Dalian, where the impoverished Japanese women were abandoned. By contrast, Mitsuyo’s childbirth is scarcely explored in “Throw Away.”

The Reception of Hirabayashi’s “At the Charity Ward”

The cover of *The Collection of Short Stories by Hirabayashi Taiko: At the Charity Ward*, which was portrayed by painter Ozaki Saburō (Figure 1), highlights an image of the female body being crucified on spades and picks as if the female body represents the sacrifice of women for the proletarian movement. As found in the cover illustration, Hirabayashi’s “At the Charity Ward” has caught the critics’ attention due to her representations of the female body and the death of Mitsuyo’s child, and her work has been both praised and criticized from the proletarian, formalist, and feminist perspectives.



Figure 1: A Cover Illustration by Ozaki Saburō ⁹⁶

From the proletarian perspective, Kuroshima Denji highly praised Hirabayashi's work as "proletarian realism,"⁹⁶ in his critical review of "At the Charity Ward," which was published two months after the publication of *A Collection of Short Stories by Hirabayashi Taiko: At the Charity Ward*. In particular Kuroshima pays close attention to the mediating role of the female body depicted in her work, as he thinks that Hirabayashi's writing captures the miserable lives of the poor women in the charity ward through physical sensations, including the damp, dark and dirty floor of the hospital, the foul odor of the air, her heavy and cumbersome body due to pregnancy, the palsy of her fingertips caused by the beriberi and so on. Kuroshima sates, "I think

⁹⁶ A cover illustration by Ozaki Saburō, rpt. in Hirabayashi Taiko, *Hirabayashi Taiko. Hirabayashi Taiko Tanpenshū: Seryōshitsu nite* [*The Collection of Short Stories by Hirabayashi Taiko: At the Charity Ward*] (Tokyo: Bungei sensen shuppan bu 1928).

her writing possesses a fat body (*futotta nikutai*) and she writes with this body. In her writing we can find this slightly fat body (*yaya futotta*). If 'a slightly fat body' is not an appropriate word, it can be called the body that stands above any other things. If I can add one more thing, I would say there is a sense of physicality unique to Hirabayashi in her writing.⁹⁷ He insists that unlike the bourgeois woman who has delicate hands and is never exposed to rainfall, Hirabayashi has a perceptive sense for the dirty, muddy, and ugly sides of life, which the impoverished people experience, because her critical mind comes not from her knowledge but from her own body, the physical sensations that she experiences.

While Kuroshiana understands the female body in Hirabayashi's work as the site through which the ugly realities of poor people's lives are mediated from the perspective of proletarian realism, the formalist Yokomitsu Riichi highly values her representation of the female body in his criticism of proletarian literature, which gives priority to content over form. Yokomitsu acclaims Hirabayashi's "Strike" (*Naguru*) written in 1928 as a fine example of formalism that focuses on form rather than content. Hirabayashi's "Strike" depicts the endless displacement of violence over others, as it tells the story of a girl who grew up seeing her father's abusive violence against her mother in a farming village and who is eventually struck by her husband, in spite of her attempt to save her husband from the violence exercised by his boss at his work place. Yokomitsu states that while her proletarian theme of the ill-treatment of a girl from a poor family is an old-fashioned one, Hirabayashi's artistic expression incorporates formalism.⁹⁸

Even though he does not explicitly define the formalistic elements in her work, Yokomitsu

⁹⁷ Kuroshima Denji, "Seryōshitsu nite:Hirabayashi Taiko Tanpenshū[The Collection of Short Stories by Hirabayashi Taiko: At the Charity Ward] ,"*Bungei sensen [Literary Battlefield]*5.11 (November 1924): 61.

⁹⁸ Yokomitsu Riichi, "Bungei jihyō[Literary Review]," *Teihon Yokomitsu Riichi Zenshū* Vol.13[*The Complete Works of Yokomitsu Riichi*] (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsho, 1982) 150.

insists that Hirabayashi's work constitutes a good example of formalism, in which form determines content as opposed to proletarian realism that asserts the primacy of content over form.

However, postwar feminist critic Nakayama Kazuko criticizes Yokomitsu's view of Hirabayashi's work, stating that the content of the novel, violence against a poor woman, is not an outdated proletarian topic, but a new form of expression for women protesting against the multi-layered structure of dominance. Nakayama argues that Hirabayashi's formalistic style can be seen in her depiction of characters, whose verbal communications are replaced with physical action and violence in the novel,⁹⁹ suggesting that through the formalistic construction of speechless characters, Hirabayashi's work aims to portray poor farmers as subalterns whose voices remain unrecognizable in the imperialist capitalist world. Nakayama further notes that the replacement of verbal communication by physical violence also underlines the repeated displacement of the structural violence between oppressors and oppressed onto the hierarchical relationship between men and women within a group of the oppressed. Nakayama's analysis demonstrates that formalism is not just aesthetic expression but is rather closely related to content, contrary to the male modernist writer Yokomitsu's view. Hirabayashi's formalist constructions of bodies as silenced subalterns can be found in her "At the Charity Ward," in which Hirabayashi portrays poor Japanese women who were abandoned in the colony and whose voices remain unintelligible and unrecognizable in the world of male-dominated imperialistic capitalism. But as I will examine later, her work also aims to make the voices of

⁹⁹ Nakayama Kazuko, "Hirabayashi Taiko's 'Yokaze,' 'Naguru': warau onna, onna no gōkyū [Hirabayashi Taiko's 'Night Wind' and 'Strike' A Laughing Woman and The Cry of A Woman]," *Saino kindai: Tōkoku • Takuboku • puroretaria bungaku*[*The Difference of Modernity: Tōkoku, Takuboku and Proletarian Literature*] (Tokyo: Kanrin shobō, 2004) 481-503.

poor women audible and recognizable if not intelligible and understandable.

Unlike Kuroshima, proletarian writer Tsuboi Shigeji criticizes Hirabayashi's representation of the female body in her "At the Charity Ward." He argues that Hirabayashi focuses too much on the personalized experience of physical and physiological sensations, such as the birth and subsequent loss of her baby, without being able to link them to external social realities. He insists that Hirabayashi's heroine is already defeated from the beginning before she strives to fight back, as her story does not end with the heroine's struggle to get milk for her child and thus fight back against imperialist capitalism. Tsuboi further notes that she is engaged in the destructive action of giving her baby beriberi-contaminated milk, thereby displacing self-destructive violence onto her baby, who ends up dying. Therefore, he concludes that Mitsuyo's struggle depicted in the novel is merely sustained by her nihilistic and abstract thought, not by actual actions.¹⁰⁰ Even some other female critics such as Komajaku Kimi and Miyamoto Aki also criticize Hirabayashi's depiction of the heroine from the proletarian perspective, stating that her protagonist is so nihilistic that she gives up milk for her child without fight.¹⁰¹

But recent female critics have reevaluated Hirabayashi's representations of the female body and the death of a baby from the feminist perspective. Like Kuroshima, the postwar critic, Ishikawa Nahoko emphasizes the mediating role of the female body in Hirabayashi's work, arguing that the female body serves as a medium for the uneven relationship between men and women, especially the hierarchical relationship between husband and wife under the patriarchal

¹⁰⁰ Tsuboi Shigeji, "Hirabayashi Taiko ron III[Critiques on Hirabayashi Taiko III]," *Shin nihon bungaku New Japanese Literature* (May 1952). 104-107.

¹⁰¹ Komajaku Kimi, "Seryōshitsu nite: Hirabayashi Taiko [At the Charity Ward: Hirabayashi Taiko]," *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kyōzai[National Literature :Interpretation and Educational Materials]* (April 1968): 53-57. Miyamoto Aki, "Hirabayashi Taiko 'Seryōshitsu nite'[Hirabayashi Taiko 'At the Charity Ward'," *Minshū bungaku [Popular Literature]* (March 1999): 132-139.

system, through which a female proletarian protagonist establishes political subjectivity as a woman.¹⁰² By developing Ishikawa's notion of the body as a site mediating unequal gendered relationships, Linda Flores looks at the body as a dynamic and fluid site that could resist the various forms of uneven divisions between body and mind, between femininity and masculinity, and between private and public, which have been made and maintained under patriarchal capitalism. In particular, Flores views the female body as a site of resistance against the patriarchal and capitalist world, arguing that Hirabayashi describes the death of Mitsuyo's baby as infanticide that reprints Mitsuyo's act of reclaiming her child from the father.¹⁰³ Nakayama Kazuko also contends that by representing the death of Mitsuyo's baby as Mitsuyo's infanticide, the text conveys Hirabayashi's self-destructive anarchistic attitude in her struggle against the patriarchal system.¹⁰⁴

While I agree with the recent feminist readings of Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward," in which the representation of the female body is understood as a mediating site of the struggle to liberate women from the position of others imposed by the patriarchal system, Tsuboi's criticism against her heroine's self-destructive action is also important in examining the gender and class struggles in relation to the struggle against racial inequality. For both the proletarian and feminist critics who have examined Hirabayashi's works often overlook the issue of racial inequalities in

¹⁰² Ishikawa Nahoko, "Hirabayashi Taiko ni okeru 'shintai kankaku' to 'shisōteki ketsui' no kiseki: 'chūbōteki riarizumu' no kakutoku [The Physical Sensations in Hirabayashi Taiko and the Path toward her Ideological Determination]," *Kokugo kokubunkenkyū* [The Study of National Language and Literature (February 1981):56-68.

¹⁰³ Linda Flores, "Reading the Maternal Body in the Works of Hirabayashi Taiko," *Proceedings of the Association of Japanese Literary Studies* 5 (summer 2004): 18-32.

¹⁰⁴ Nakayama Kazuko, "Hirabayashi Taiko: Seryōshitsu nite: Shintai to Hyōgen no 'kūhaku' [Hirabayashi Taiko: At the Charity Ward: An Empty Space in the Expression]," *Sai no kindai—Tōkoku • Takuboku • puroretaria bungaku* [The Difference of Modernity: Tōkoku, Takuboku and Proletarian Literature](Tokyo: Kanrin Shobō, 2004) 457-469.

the Japanese empire in relation to gender and class inequalities in the metropole. In order to examine the multi-layered structure of uneven racial, gender, and class relations in the Japanese empire and the dynamic chain of violence that serves as a driving force for the (re)production and expansion of the Japanese empire, I first critically situate the status of women as the other within the context of the patriarchal and capitalistic society of the metropole in terms of body, language and writing, and then the status of the proletarian as other in the multi-ethnic capitalistic space of Tokyo, within the context of the martial law implemented in 1923.

Body, Writing, and the Category of the Other

While women were integrated into the imperialist and capitalistic system of Japan's imperial state as a worker or a "dutiful wife and devoted mother," they were excluded from the position of the modern (male) subjects. Instead, Women's bodies were confined to the realm of others that must be controlled under the patriarchal authorities of the Japanese empire. On the one hand, women were not given the right to make decisions on their sexuality, body, and reproduction, as their reproductive activities were controlled and exploited by the imperial state. The Meiji government enacted a law in 1882 to make abortion a legally criminal act for the first time. As Fujime Yuki notes, the militaristic view of birth control emerged right after the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), when the Japanese government imposed more strict restrictions on abortion in 1907. Articles 212 to 216 in the Criminal Code determine the crimes of abortion, in which women who commit abortion will be imprisoned for less than a year, while heavier penalties were imposed on those who offer help for abortion. Fujime notes that the criminal code on abortion only forced poor women into more difficult situations financially and

psychologically, as they were ultimately forced to take responsibility for what to do with the coming lives and sometimes they had to risk their own lives by choosing backstreet abortion.¹⁰⁵ In this way, women are bound to their bodies being exclusively controlled and exploited by the state and at the same time being excluded from the right to be protected.

Likewise, women's writing was also included in the male-centered literary discourse in a form of being bound to its materiality instead of its signifying power. As discussed in the introduction, Miyako Inoue insightfully examines how women's speech was constructed as the others of the modern Japanese (male) language, consisting of national standard language (*kokugo*) and unified standardized writing system of *genbun itchi* (the unification of writing and speech). Japanese (male) writers and intellectuals established standardized *kokugo* and the unified writing system of *genbun itchi*, dislocating the imperfections and hybridity of *kokugo* and *genbun itchi* writing onto woman's speech, as woman's speech was cited and constructed as non-signifying noises instead of meaningful speech. Inoue critically points out that while a male narrating voice in *genbun itchi* writing expresses an "omniscient" point of view that is "bound by neither space nor time," woman's speech is presented as non-signifying sounds of "voice, scream, cry, grunt, or noise," that is, as the phonic matter that is associated with "an extension or marker

¹⁰⁵ Fujime Yuki, *Sei no rekishigaku. Kōshōseido • dataizai taisei kara baishun bōshihō • yūseihogohōtaisei e[The History of Sexuality: From the State-Regulated Prostitution, Crimes of Abortion, Anti-Prostitution Act to the Eugenic Protection Act]* (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 1997) 117-143. Fujime underlines the dual repressions and domination of female sexuality by Japan's imperial state in the prewar period. On the one hand, the criminal code on abortion was enacted to control the population and enhance birth rates, by regulating female bodies. On the other hand, Japan's imperial state officially implemented the licensed prostitution system and monopolized the sex industry, by exploiting female bodies. She further argues that most of women who had to go through the backstreet abortion were poor women who were excluded from the category of a dutiful wife and devoted mother." Poor women who worked at the factory or engaged in attendants or prostitutions at Japanese style inns or brothels were constantly exposed to sexualized violence while they remained unprotected by the state.

of the physical proximity of the body.”¹⁰⁶ As I will discuss later in this chapter, woman’s speech is included in the system of *kokugo* and *genbun itchi* writing in a form of exclusion in that their speech is often relegated into the domain of non-language and thus posited as external to *kokugo* and *genbun itchi* writing, although woman’s speech serves as others necessary to define *kokugo* and *genbun itchi* writing.

Joan E. Ericson points out that the categories of “women writers” (*joryū sakka* or *josei sakka*) and “women literature” (*joryū bungaku*) merely associate the author’s sex with her style, as *joryū* means women’s style. Ericson contends that the category of “women literature (*joryū bungaku*)” is defined as a surplus category that has nothing to do with writers’ thoughts or literary trends or literary circles that they belong to, as major literary schools in the male-dominated literary world in the metropole do. For example, the White Birch School (*Shirakaba-ha*) was organized to advocate the humanitarianism of Taishō democracy and published the journal called *the White Birch (Shirakaba)* and the New Sensationalist School (*Shinkankaku-ha*) was created by the modernist writers who attempted to capture the quick transformation of the urban space of Tokyo under imperialistic capitalism and published the journal called *The Epoch of Literary Arts (Bungei Jidai)*.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Inoue 37-107. Inoue explains the construction of women’s speeches as non-sensical sound and thus materialistic body in the male intellectuals’ writings, by drawing on Michel de Certeau. She quotes, “[women’s speech] never leaves the place of its production. In other words, *the signifier cannot be detached from the individual or collective body*. It cannot be exported. Here speech is the body which signifies”. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York & Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 1988) 216, emphasis in original. Quoted in Inoue 51.

¹⁰⁷ The category of “women’s literature” and “women’s writers” first emerged in the Meiji period (1868-1912). As Rebecca L. Copeland argues that women writers who emerged in the 1880s and 1890s were often called “*keishū sakka*” (“talented ladies of the inner chambers”) and their works were called “*keishū shōsetsu* (the novel by talented ladies). As the term “*keishū*” designates their privileged status, many of female writers at the time were from “the affluent and privileged families.” While these female writers strived to establish themselves as writers, they were regarded as non-serious writers and often invoked as the objects of desire in the male-centered literary discourses. According to Copeland the term

The category of women's literature, which is subordinate to Japanese literature, is also reflected in the distinction between the genre of “the I-novel” and the genre of “autobiographical fiction.” Ericson notes points out that while the genre of “the I-novel,” which is often associated with confessional or personalized narrative in a line with naturalism, became popular in the 1910s and 1920s, it is only male writers’ novels that were included in this canonized category. While women writers also wrote confessional or personalized fiction, their novels were excluded from the category of “the I-novel” and were instead placed under the sub-genre of “autobiographical fiction” (*jiden shōsetsu*).¹⁰⁸ In this way, women’s writing is relegated to the domain of others or inferior beings, as the term “autobiographical fiction” suggests that a female writer cannot occupy the position of the subject marked by “I,” unlike male modern subjects who write “I-novel,” and that her narrating voice is bound to her body, as the term “autobiographical” implies. Hirabayashi’s “At the Charity Ward,” which invokes a personalized narrating voice to tell the story written based on the author’s personal experiences, is also categorized as “autobiographical fiction” instead of as an “I-novel” by the female critic Itagaki Naoko, who is contemporary with Hirabayashi.¹⁰⁹

What must be questioned here is the arbitrariness and politics of the literary categorization itself, which was invented and maintained by the male-centric metropolitan literary world. Seiji

“keishū sakka” was replaced by “*joryū sakka*” (women writers) by the end of the Meiji period. Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu:University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000) 1-51, 215-229. In the wartime, women’s writers (*joryū sakka*) were also mobilized towards war effort, as Japanese Women Writers’ Association (*Nihon joryū bungakusha kai*) was established in 1942 under the guidance of the Patriotic Association for a Japanese Literature (*Nihon bungaku hōkoku kai*) . Sakuramoto Tomio *Nihon bungaku hōkokukai [The Japanese Literature Patriotic League]* 287-290.

¹⁰⁸ Ericson 18-38.

¹⁰⁹ Itagaki Naoko, *Hirabayashi Taiko*, (Tokyo: Tokyo raifu sha, 1956) 133-139.

Lippit suggests that the narrative of “I-novel” is organized around a figure of a woman who serves as an object of desire for the male protagonist to complete his identity.¹¹⁰ In other words, the modern subject of “I” in the “I-novel” is constructed in the gendered hierarchical relationship between the narrating male subject and the narrated female object. Meanwhile, Hirabayashi’s “At the Charity Ward” invents multiple narrating voices challenging the existing authoritative (male) narrating voice and thus existing literary categories, while Hirabayashi’s narrating voices are bound to the place of others, that is, the domain of the object for the male subject. At the same time, through this process of resistance, her narrative is also re-integrated into a dynamic chain of displacement of violence, as it participates in the (re)construction of the hierarchical divisions among oppressed others, by internalizing violence directed at her by the (male) authorities and transposing it onto more precarious others such as her premature baby and colonized workers.

Hirabayashi’s “In the Woods” and the Racially Differential Distribution of Life and Death: The 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, Violence, and Writing

The work “At the Charity Ward” depicts the painful experiences that Mitsuyo confronts in the Japanese colony of Dalian after she had fled there with her proletarian partner from Tokyo due to the martial law implemented right after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. In order to understand the status of Mitsuyo as the other of the modern capitalistic world, and the difference between female proletarians and colonized workers in the status of others in the Japanese empire, I first examine Hirabayashi’s “In the Woods” (*Mori no naka* 1929), which captures the space of Tokyo under the state of emergency immediately after the earthquake as a colonial warzone,

¹¹⁰ Seiji M Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) 172-179.

vividly depicting the massacre of Koreans and the execution of Japanese socialists under martial law from the perspective of a female Japanese proletarian, Senko.¹¹¹ The novel begins on the night of the day following the earthquake. At night, Senko listens carefully to the sounds from outside her room while looking at the flame of a candle. She hears battle cries, followed by the footsteps of many people running off to the shrine in the woods. Under the night sky colored red, “A heavy explosive sound, which would be from canon’s roar or the explosion of gunpowder, pushed its way through the dark and flaccid air.”¹¹² After Senko hears the eerie battle cries of people again, she hears a voice screaming; “There he is, there he is. The voice echoes from the foot of the slope.” And then she hears another voice crying, “[p]lease help me. I am not a Korean.’ A hoarse cry of the person who seems to run for long time hit against the plate wall of the factory noisily and rebounds back.”¹¹³

The beginning passages of “In the Woods” capture the warzone-like space of Tokyo under martial law, in which many vigilante groups of men and policemen violently attacked so-called “lawless people.” The massive quake hit the city of Tokyo around noon on September 1, 1923, causing immense damage in the metropolis of Tokyo and its surrounding areas, as more than 99,300 people were killed and more than 103,000 injured. While the number of aftershocks followed the initial quake and its subsequent fires continued to spread in the Tokyo area, the Japanese government imposed martial law on the city of Tokyo on September 2 and applied it to other areas of Tokyo and neighboring Kanagawa Prefecture on September 3. The proclamation of

¹¹¹ The year 1929 witnessed a mass arrest of Japanese communist members in the metropole.

¹¹² Hirabayashi Taiko, “Morinonaka[In the Woods],” *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshu Vol 1 [The Complete Works of Hirabayashi Taiko vol1]*(Tokyo: Ushio Shuppansha, 1979)253.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 258.

martial law meant the proclamation of a state of war, as the first article of martial law defines itself as follows; “the martial law is the law to mobilize the army to guard either one particular region or whole nation when war or violent incident occurs”.¹¹⁴ As for the martial law of 1923, the Japanese imperial army explained its objective in “the instruction by the Kanto martial law commander under item 1(*Kanto kaigenrei shireikan meirei daiichigō*) which was issued on September 3 1923. According to this instruction, martial law was implemented right after the earthquake to “make it easy to save the victims of the earthquake and protect them from *lawless people*.”¹¹⁵ While the instruction does not specify who “lawless people” are, Koreans, socialists, and Chinese became targets for violent attacks and killings under martial law.¹¹⁶ It has been said that over six thousand Koreans, over seven hundred Chinese, and over twelve Japanese socialists and anarchists were killed by the police and the local vigilantes under the state of exception.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Matsuo Shōichi, *Kantōdaishinsai to kaigenrei [The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Martial Law]* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003) 62-66. According to Matsuo, the estimate numbers of Chinese and Koreans who were killed are based on the researches by the victims at the time.

¹¹⁵ *Kantōdaishinsai :Seifu rikukaigun kankei shiryō vol I.[The Great Kanto Earthquake: Archives relating to the Government, Army and Navy volI]*, eds. Matsuo Shōichi, Tasaki Kimitsukasa, and Sakamoto Noboru (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai hyōron sha.1997) 260, emphasis is mine.

¹¹⁶ The official notice by the army issued on September 3 1923 warns the public not to exaggerate the fact of the uprising by lawless people. Referring to this notice, Tasaki Kimitsukasa and Sakamoto Noboru notes that while this notice tells people not to spread irresponsible rumors, it also gives readers an impression that the uprisings actually happened. While the order by the army does not specify who are “lawless people.” Tasaki and Sakamoto suggest that the term “lawless people” should refer to Koreans and socialists. Tasaki Kimitsukasa and Sakamoto Noboru. “Kaidai [Bibliographical Introduction]” in *Kantōdaishinsai :Seifu rikukaigun kankei shiryō vol II[The Great Kanto Earthquake: Archives relating to the Government, Army and Navy volII]*, eds. Matsuo Shōichi, Tasaki Kimitsukasa and Sakamoto Noboru (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai hyōron sha.1997) 25.

¹¹⁷ For the massacre of Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese socialists under the Martial Law, see Matsuo Shōichi. *Kantō daishinsai to kaigenrei [The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Martial Law]*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan. 2003. Yamada Shōji. *Kantō daishinsai ji no chōsenjin gyakusatsu to sonogo: gyakusatsu no kokka sekinin to minshū sekinin[The Massacre of Koreans at the Time of The Great Kanto Earthquake and Its Aftermath:The State Responsibility and People’s Responsibility for the Massacre]*. Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2011.

It could be argued that martial law transformed the space of Tokyo into a colonial space that consists of the “concatenation of biopower, the state of exception, and the state of siege,” as Achille Mbembe puts it. Mbembe defines colonial space as “zones in which war and disorder, internal and external figures of political, stand side by side or alternate with each other. As such, the colonies are the location par excellence where the controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended – the zone where the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of ‘civilization.’”¹¹⁸ He continues to argue that the colony appears to the eyes of the imperial modern subjects as the state of exception, in which the conquered is seen as “savage” or non-human animals close to nature. Therefore, when the conquerers massacre the conquered, their killings are not recognized as “murder.”¹¹⁹ Likewise, the martial law enacted right after the earthquake is exercised as sovereign power which suspends the ordinary juridical order and this allows for the killing of “lawless people,” who are seen as inferior races outside the category of the human and whose life is therefore not recognized as grievable and worthy.

In this sense, the category of “lawless people” who were exposed to state violence under martial law could be closely linked to what Agamben calls “homo sacer,” the inversed figure of

While the massacre of Koreans and the attack against Japanese socialists are often discussed together, the issue of massacre of Chinese is often marginalized. It is important to think about how to situate the violence against different racial and class groups of people who became the targets for violence. For in addition to Koreans and Chinese, the dialect speakers from the countryside also became the targets for the massacre.

¹¹⁸ Achille Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” trans. Libby Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15.1 (Winter 2003): 24.

¹¹⁹ Mbembe 24-25. Agamben also writes, “the sovereign sphere is the sphere in which hit is permitted to kill without committing homicide and without celebrating a sacrifice, and sacred life—that is, life that may be killed but not sacrificed – is the life that has been captured in this sphere.” Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) 83, emphasis in original.

sovereignty. Agamben defines the figure of homo sacer as “the figure whose life is dually excluded from human and divine law, for killing of homo sacer is recognized neither as religious sacrifice in divine law nor as homicide in human jurisdiction, although they are “included in the community in the form of being able to be killed.”¹²⁰ Yet, while the category “lawless people” could roughly include Japanese socialists, Korean and Chinese workers, all of whom became targets of attack, these racially differentiated groups were exposed to different forms of violence and death.¹²¹ In her examination of the massacre of Koreans after the 1923 earthquake, Sonia Ryang insists that while the killing of Japanese socialists and anarchists was acknowledged as homicide and thus their bodies were apprehended as something that must be eliminated by the authority, the killing of Koreans was not seen as a crime and thus their bodies were recognized as something killable.¹²² She argues that the murder of Koreans should be thought as unrecognizable homicide that took place outside of both human and divine order, drawing on Agamben’s notion of “homo sacer.”

In her examination of the massacre of Koreans under martial law, Ryang pays particular attention to the role of speech and *kokugo*, as she notes that speech is invoked under marital law as “a symbolic threshold between life and death in that the mispronunciation of the words was

¹²⁰ Agamben 82.

¹²¹ Judith Butler notes that while precariousness is a basic condition for life, certain lives are exposed to greater violence and destruction than others according to the epistemological frame of war, which serves to distinguish valuable and grievable lives from unworthy and destructible lives. Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2010).

¹²² Sonia Ryang, “The Tongue that Divided Life and Death: The 1923 Tokyo Earthquake and the Massacre of Koreans,” *Japan Focus* 5-9-0 (September 3, 2007) Web. <http://apjjf.org/-Sonia-Ryang/2513/article.html>. Dec 7 2015.

tantamount “to declaring one’s killability.”¹²³ Ryang argues that *kokugo* as well as the imperial rescript on education, the words of the emperor that were recited and memorialized at school, serves as a metaphorical device of a shibboleth distinguishing Japanese subjects from non-Japanese subjects, allies from enemies, and thus life from death. What must be noted here is, as Ryang also suggests, that *kokugo* is invoked as a symbolic marker of Japanese subjects and thus as a metaphorical device, which serves to continuously reproduce racial and ethnic divisions.

Here I want to emphasize the metaphorical and symbolic aspect of *kokugo* as a shibboleth. For it does not mean that the speech of *kokugo* reflects the existing racial divisions of people between Japanese and non-Japanese, but rather that *kokugo* is invoked as a metaphorical device of shibboleth in order to (re) constitute the unified category of the Japanese subject and thus the racially hierarchical divisions in the Japanese empire, turning them into *fait accompli*. (For those who were attacked under the martial law include not only the colonized workers and Japanese socialists but also the dialect speakers.) In other words, just as martial law redraws racial and national borders in the space of Tokyo, which became a racially hybridized space due to an influx of colonized workers, *kokugo* is also employed to imaginarily and retroactively reconstruct the divisions between the unified notion of Japanese and non-Japanese, the domain of language and the domain of non-language, and therefore the domain of humans whose lives are valuable and those of non-human (animal), whose lives are not recognized as lives from the beginning.

Martial law, the exercise of sovereign power, turns the colonized workers into the killable objects which in turn serve for Japanese men to imaginarily reconstruct a unified national

¹²³ Ibid.

identity, as they differentiate themselves from the killable objects of the colonized others through exercising physical violence against them. Meanwhile, Japanese proletarians who sought solidarity with the colonized proletarians in the metropole are transformed into ambivalent and precarious subjects in between Japanese imperial subjects that have the right to be protected by the state and “the lawless people” that must be eliminated to protect imperial subjects. As Senko listens intently to the voice of a man who asks for help and cries, “help, I am not a Korean,” as a proletarian Senko initially identifies herself with those oppressed people who were exposed to the state of emergency. At the same time, however, the reign of terror caused by state violence eventually urges her to dissociate from the groups of the oppressed, as an anonymous voice echoes, “I am not a Korean.” Senko recalls the checkpoint she saw in the afternoon of the day after she listened to the noise of the man falling from the cliff after crying for help: “She was quietly intimidated at the foot of the bridge located about five meters away from the checkpoint, so she made a full effort not to reveal her identity as a socialist. The effort not to reveal her identity as a socialist. Such an effort is something that she has never experienced in her life.”¹²⁴ Accordingly, just like *kokugo* or martial law, Hirabayashi’s text also takes part in the re-demarcation of national and racial borders.

Hirabayashi’s narrative portrays the intervention of violence in the reconstruction of the border between Japanese subjects and homo sacer, between the seer and the seen, and between the listening subject and the cited object in the scene in which Senko and two other her comrades, Kida, and Yamashita witnessed a lynching of a Korean man by a group of Japanese men on their way to the agricultural association to join their comrades.

¹²⁴ Hirabayashi, “Morino naka [In the Woods]” 254.

“He is a Korean.” “Kill him!” They threw various abusive words at the man from outside the circle of people, like mud. Being encouraged by these words five or six men ran after the Korean man, crossing the stone lantern. A circle of people, which initially surrounded the Korean man at a distance, approached him gradually.... “Hey.” Watching the scene from the back, a man with a stand-up collar jacket picked up a stone under his foot, which is a part of the roof of the stone lantern, and threw it at the thigh of the Korean man with all his might. The stone fell as if it hits a rice cake. “Remember it!” The Korean man quickly said in Korean, turning back. He started running but he had a limp. The crowd who seized with fear were now encouraged and rushed to the Korean man like ants. The Korean quickly stood up. “Remember it!” The Korean said, with fury in his eyes. But his words sound to Japanese like they are jumping up and down. He said again, “Remember it” and put himself in a posture of defense. Again, his words are hopping along, making the insect-like sound – *pyon, pyon, pyon, pyon*. One man walked forward shamelessly and hit the body of the Korean with a huge stone. The Korean moved forward, clawing on the ground and stroking his face. Then another man picked up the stone and struck the head of the Korean. “What did I do? You stupid!” His Korean words came out like mosquito-larva, losing its elasticity. “Dammit, he can still speak something.” Someone picked up the stone again and threw it at the Korean lying on the ground.¹²⁵

In the above passage, which depicts the brutal killing of a Korean, the narrative presents the speech uttered by the Korean man through dual voices. The Korean’s speech is turned into the insect-like non-sensical voice on the one hand, and translated into meaningful speech in Japanese on the other. It could be argued that Hirabayashi’s narrative attempts to make the Korean man appear as a human being, while he is attacked like an insect-like being. Yet at the same time, Hirabayashi’s narrative also seems to differentiate and dissociate the Japanese socialists, Senko, Kida and Yamashita, from the Korean man, as they are mingled with those bystanders who witness violence directed against the colonized subject. Unlike the Korean man, the socialists who also are considered as “lawless people” can disguise their identities as “harmless” Japanese imperial subjects to some extent. They even decide to join the local vigilantes who attack

¹²⁵ Ibid., 258.

Koreans and Chinese in order to hide their identity as socialists, even though they might have to be complicit in violence against the colonized workers. In other words, while the Japanese socialists are situated at the ambivalent position between “victims” and “lawless people,” and between the allies and enemies, the fear for violence and death compels them to re-identify themselves with the category of the poor Japanese subjects who are the victims of the earthquake. After witnessing the lynching scene, they went to the refugee camp to get free meals. “Because all of the three were covered by the dust, they were able to take on refugees not just in their appearances but in their minds.”¹²⁶

Hirabayashi’s narrative works to re-integrate Japanese socialists into the category of Japanese subjects, redrawing the national and racial borders and thus distinguishing themselves from the colonized workers. More problematically, her narrative also works to mask the racial inequalities and hierarchies within the category of the working class in the metropole, in order to dissociate the working-class people from the groups of the vigilantes and therefore justify the identification of Japanese proletarians with Japanese working people.

The massacre committed by the state and local vigilantes was partly an aggressive reaction against the increase in the number of Korean and Chinese workers and the rise of proletarian unification among Japanese proletarians, Korean, and Chinese workers at the time.¹²⁷ As independence and anti-colonial movements emerged in Asia during the late 1910s and the early 1920s, the relationship between Korean and Japanese socialists came to be solidified before the earthquake. At their May 4th meeting, the central committee of the Japanese Confederation of

¹²⁶ Hirabayashi, “Morino naka [In the Woods]” 263.

¹²⁷ This is something that I still need to explore, but I have not come across any secondary sources that mention about Taiwanese participations in the proletarian movement in the metropole before the 1923 Earthquake.

Labor Unions decided to uphold the “liberation of colonies” as one of their slogans for the May Day meeting although their proposal was eventually repressed by the police.¹²⁸ In turn, the fear of the rise of the socialist movement that aimed to solidify Japanese socialists and Korean and Chinese workers also came to be expressed in the metropole.

In the novel, Senko laments that what was destroyed by the earthquake is the proletarian organization, while the bourgeois system and organization remains intact even after the

¹²⁸ Right before the May Day meeting, the police prohibited having “liberation of colonies” as a slogan for the May Day meeting and arrested more than three hundred Japanese and Korean socialists and workers before and during the May Day meeting. Yamada Shōji 31-51.

As the independent movements and anti-colonial movements emerged in Asia during the late 1910s and the early 1920s, the socialist movement that aimed to solidify Japanese socialists and Korean and Chinese workers also emerged in the metropole. At the same time, the socialist movement in the metropole became the target for the repression. In the case of Korea, Yamada Shōji states that there are mainly two socio-political and historical backgrounds behind the violent attacks against Korean people and Japanese socialists, right after the earthquake. On the one hand, before the Great Kanto Earthquake, Japanese socialists and Korean socialists, who became active in Tokyo after 1919 March 1st independent movement, came to solidify their relationship, which the police aimed to suppress. For the 4th May Day meeting, which was held three month before the earthquake, the central committee of Japanese Confederation of Labor Union decided to uphold “liberation of colonies” as one of their slogans along with three other slogans including “the enforcement of an eight-hour day” “the thorough prevention of layoff” and “the acquisition of production right.” However, the political authority aimed to crack down on completely the corporation between Korean and Japanese socialists, which emerged around 1923. Imai Seiichi, “Kantō Daishinsaika no Chūgokujingyakusatsu jiken ga akirakani sarerumade [Until the Time When the Massacre of Chinese under The Great Kanto Earthquake is Disclosed],” *Shiryōshū: Kantō Daishinsaika no Chūgokujingyakusatsu jiken*[Archives: *The Massacre of Chinese under The Great Kanto Earthquake*] (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2008) 17-44. Chinese workers also became the target for the massacre. Among them was the Chinese social enterprenuer living in Tokyo Wang Xitian. Wang Xitian tried to make a relationship between Chinese workers and Japanese social enterprenuers until he was murdered right after the 1923 earthquake. In the meanwhile, anti-imeprilism movement became itense right before the earthquake. After Japan thrusted the twenty-one demands to China in 1915, the anti-Japanese movement and independent movement became intense in China or other Asian places, including the May Fourth Movement occurred in 1919, and May First Independent movement in 1919 in Korea. Imai Seiichi notes that in response to Japan’s twenty-one demands, which includes the extension of the lease of Dalian and Port Arthur for ninety nine years, the campaign for the recovery of Dalian and Port Arthur broke out in China around 1922, demanding the end of the lease in 1923. After Japan rejected Chinese government’s requests to abandon the twenty-one demands and give up the Kwantung Leased Territory to China, the boycotts of Japanese goods in China intensified.

earthquake.¹²⁹ Yet, at the same time, she believes that while there is disparity between Korean and Japanese workers in terms of their wages, Japanese workers do not have a sense of hostility toward Koreans: “It is clear that the workers at the factory have different feeling toward Koreans from those by retail dealers. Some Koreans work at their factory at lower wage than theirs. But she has been observing that there is no differential treatment between Japanese and Koreans.”¹³⁰ As Senko notes, the local vigilantes were organized around these retail dealers in addition to landowners and reservists.¹³¹ But contrary to what Senko thought, the inequality of wages between Japanese and Korean workers planted a sense of anxiety and competitive spirit among Japanese unskilled workers and the increase in the number of Korean unskilled low-wage workers in the metropole made Japanese workers develop a sense of aversion toward Korean workers.¹³² Even some Korean people expressed their concerns about racial discrimination of Japanese workers against Korean and Chinese workers at the Congress of the Peoples of the Far East held in 1922.¹³³

In this way, it could be argued that the state violence exercised right after the earthquake also reveals the contradiction inherent in the category of the so-called “working class” in the metropole at the time. While the metropolitan proletarian movement imagines “the working-class”

¹²⁹ Hirabayashi, “Morinonaka [In the Woods]” 255.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹³¹ Yamada 127-139.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 19-30. Yamada points out that during the economic depression caused by the end of World War I, especially after 1923, the number of Korean workers working in Japan dramatically increased. Because factories prefer hiring Korean unskilled workers who earn lower wages than Japanese unskilled workers, a sense of hostility and discrimination against Koreans grew among Japanese workers who feel threatened over their employments.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

as a universal category that could accommodate the working-class population beyond national and ethnic divisions, in reality, the category of the “working class” is also internally divided based on the categories of national and racial identity as the capitalism of the Japanese empire rests on that racially and nationally uneven division of labor.¹³⁴ But Hirabayashi’s narrative dismisses such an unequal relationship between the Japanese proletariats and colonized subjects that is inherent in both metropolitan capitalism and the socialist movement in order to maintain the idealized vision of the multi-ethnic socialist community and therefore reproduce and maintain the asymmetrical relationship between Japanese socialists and colonized workers.

In this way, Hirabayashi’s narrative of the state of emergency does not critically examine the socialists’ ambivalent status and their ambivalent relationship with the colonized workers as well as the Japanese workers. Instead, Hirabayashi’s narrative aims to maintain the universal and idealized vision of the socialist ideology that calls for the solidarity of the working class beyond racial and national boundaries by dismissing the racially uneven division of labor in the empire and therefore the racially uneven distribution of life and death in the same category while, at the same time, overlooking the voices of Japanese workers who were hostile against racial others. Such a problematic vision of the multi-ethnic socialist movement also greatly impacts Hirabayashi’s narrative of a proletarian woman’s struggle against imperialist capitalism and the male-dominated proletarian movement in “At the Charity Ward.”

Claustrophobic Colonial Space and Female Bodies as Hybridized Frontiers

¹³⁴ As for the construction of labor division based on racial inequality and the history of Korean workers in the metropole of the Japanese empire, see Ken C Kawashima, *The Proletarian Gamble. Korean Workers in Interwar Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009).

Unlike Korean and Chinese workers who are beaten to death (in addition to the dialect speakers who were also attacked), the socialists were treated and recognized as human, even though they were also exposed to deadly violence. They were situated at the precarious and ambivalent position between “the earthquake victims” and “lawless people,” between “the allies” and “enemy” and thus between life and death, while they also re-integrated themselves into the unified category of “Japanese” subjects and working people. The Japanese socialists who survived the state of emergency were then treated as impure and unclean people, who would contaminate a newly reconstructed clean space of Tokyo after the destruction caused by the earthquake. “At the Charity Ward” depicts the Japanese socialist woman who came to Dalian after being expelled from the metropolis of Tokyo after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake along with her male partner. While her partner was arrested for his attempt to sabotage a railway construction site in Dalian, due to her pregnancy she is segregated in the charity ward, that is, the room for poor female patients who receive free treatment (the free patient *seyō kanjya*), located at the semi-underground space of the hospital.

Hirabayashi’s narrative invokes the colonial space of the hospital in Dalian as a closed and hybridized space of others. In constructing the voices for the proletarian woman’s struggle against capitalism and the male-dominated proletarian movement, the narrative attempts to make audible not only the voice of a proletarian woman who was banished both from the metropolis and from the male-centered discourse of the proletarian movement, but also the voices of subaltern Japanese women who were abandoned to the desolate colony for various unknown reasons. Her narrative of the proletarian woman’s struggle also aims to conceive the multi-racial colonial space as a site to reconstruct the solidarity of the working class beyond racial divisions. However, as Hirabayashi’s “In the Woods” fails to acknowledge racially hierarchical divisions

inherent not only in imperialist capitalism but also in the Japan centered metropolitan proletarian movement and the category of working-class in the metropole, her “At the Charity Ward” also ends up reproducing the racial inequality and re-inscribing the racially uneven divisions of labor within the universal category of the working-class in the end. As the Japanese multi-ethnic empire consists of racial hierarchies centered around the unified national and racial category of Japanese, the metropolitan proletarian movement in the Japanese empire also inevitably reproduces such racial hierarchies built around Japanese socialists under the universal category of the working-class. In particular, Hirabayashi’s narrative of Mitsuyo’s struggle against class and gender inequalities takes part in the reproduction and re-demarcation of national and racial borders when it aims to establish Mitsuyo as a modern subject by displacing gender inequality with the hierarchical relationship between the Japanese as proletarian intellectuals and the colonized workers as their followers .

Historically, the city of Dalian was closely related to the colonial project of hygiene and health. Dalian became the center of the Kwantung Leased Territory in the early stage of the South Manchurian Railway Company that was founded in 1906 after the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). The first president of the South Manchurian Railway Company, Gotō Shinpei, emphasized the importance of public health administration as a part of his colonial strategies, which he calls “the military readiness in civilian dress” (*bunsōtekibubi*). One of the missions in the policy of “the military readiness in civilian dress” is to make the colonized people dependent on the SMR by providing them with a modernized form of life through education and hygiene.¹³⁵ In Dalian, multiple hospitals were founded, including the

¹³⁵ Kitaoka Shinichi, *Gotō Shinpei: Gaikō to bijyon* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1988) 90-103.

Mantetsu Dairen Hospital that boasted the most advanced medical facility and thus was called the best hospital in East Asia at the time and the hospitals that focused on the treatment for the poor, such as the Seiai Hospital where Hirabayashi Taiko stayed.¹³⁶

The term, *seryōin* (a charity hospital), from which the novel's title, *seryōshitsu* (a charity ward) comes from, means a hospital that provides poor and the sick drifters with medical treatment free of charge. The Seiai Hospital, which was initially founded by a Christian journalist, Shibata Hakuyō, isolated the free patients (*seryō kanjya*) from the patients who pay their medical expenses (*jippi kanjya*) around 1920.¹³⁷ While the Seiai Hospital was initially intended to provide both Japanese and foreigners with medical treatment equally, in reality, the hospital focused much more on treatment for Japanese patients than on treatment for the Chinese patients.¹³⁸ Furthermore, as the work shows, the hospital that represents “the military readiness in civilian dress” (*bunsōtekibubi*), in fact, serves to segregate the “diseased deviant bodies” of the poor drifters from the “healthy,” “clean” national bodies, the poor from the rich, women from

For the history of Dalian, see Christian A Hess, *From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis : Dalian 1895-1955*. Diss. University of California, San Diego.(eScholarship, University of California, 2006).Web. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2zb7n2x9>

Kantō kyoku shisei sanjūnen shi also recorded that Kantō kyoku had focused on the enterprises of medical treatment, care operations, health care, and the relief works. Kantō kyoku. *Kantōkyoku shisei sanjūnen shi*[*The 30-Year Municipal History of Kanto Bureau*] (Hsin-king:Kantō kyoku. 1936) 321-341.

¹³⁶ As the novel invokes metaphorically the charity ward at the edge of the empire, the Seiai Hospital was located at the edge of the Dairen city. In the Dalian city map printed in 1938, we can find the Seiai Hospital at the southern end of the Dalian city. See, *Dairenshi zenzu: saishin shōmitsu: fu ryojyun senseki chizu. Manshu chizu sirizu 4*[*The Entire Map of Dalian: Most Updated and Detailed Version:the Map of the Port Arthur: A Series of The Map of Manchuria 4*] (Tokyo: Kenko sha) 1979.

¹³⁷ Kurahashi Masanao, “Shibata Hakuyō to Dairen Jikei Byōin[Shibata Hakuyō and the Jikei Hospital in Dalian]” In *Shokuminchi shakai jigyōkankei shiryō shū “Manshū • Manshūkoku” hen* vol2 Bessatsu [The Collection of Archives Relating to Colonial Social Welfare: Manchuria and Mancukuo vol2 supplement], ed. Shin Ketsu & Nagaoka Masami (Tokyo: Kingeidai shiryō kankō kai, 2005) 44-63.

¹³⁸ Kurahashi 44-63.

men, and from the local Chinese from Japanese patients, by setting up the boundaries on multiple levels in terms of gender, class, nationality, race, and ideology. The spatial segregation and compartmentalization created by the hospitals under “the military readiness in civilian dress” could be associated with the space of colonization as what Frantz Fanon calls “the compartmentalized world, this world divide in two, is inhabited by different species [of the colonizer and the colonized].”¹³⁹

The charity ward for poor female patients is invoked as a space of the oppressed in “the compartmentalized world” of colonial space. The charity ward is connected to its outside by a narrow corridor which is “quiet, damp and dark like a tunnel in a mine.” The passageway between the outside and the segregated hospital room is filled with nasty smells and dust: “when I strain my ears, a buzzing sound of mosquitoes flying low in the dusty corridor pass my cheeks along with the wind that contains nasty smells.” While the charity ward for poor patients appears as an unclean, foul-smelling isolated room, associating the uncleanliness with the space for the oppressed, the body of Mitsuyo bound to this place also emerges as a “diseased” body in the colony, which is segregated from “clean” and “healthy” bodies and thus from the metropole. Her body is infected with beriberi through the air and foods in the colony.

“My body is too heavy to sit up, as it has a big belly like a mosquito that sucks blood. I feel pity for my body. It is like a heavy log that is pulled upward from the river. When I touch my left hand that is weak like a stem of an annual plant with my right hand, I feel numbness on the surface of my fingers as if I touched the crepe fabric. ...I must get beriberi from the colonial air, which contains great amounts of dusty red sands, and the long-term bad diet, which is very salty and consisted of eighty percent of water and thirty percent of earth nuts.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004) 5.

¹⁴⁰ Hirabayashi Taiko, “Seryōshitsu nite [At the Charity Ward]” *Bungei sensen [Literary Battlefield]* 4. 9 (September 1927): 142.

The female body, which is segregated from the outside world, also appears as a fluid borderline or frontier, which is susceptible to “the colonial air.” In her examination of the discourse of disease around the period of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), Naito Chizuko argues that the discourse of disease aims to (re)generate gender, class, and ethnic boundaries through the metaphors of “blood” and “spirit,” as it aims to segregate the colonized people from Japanese people, women from men, the poor from the rich, the sick from the healthy people, the civilized from the primitive, and the colony from the mainland Japan. On the one hand, often associated with “blood,” disease represents what is uncontrollable and fluid, which easily transgresses gender, class, and racial boundaries, and thus must be controlled and contained. On the other hand, the metaphor of “spirit” represents the knowledge for epidemic prevention, which enables one to avoid infection, serving to construct gender, class, racial boundaries. Naito notes that “the “healthy” and “clean” Japanese male citizens who have the spirit to prevent infection are imagined, only when the discourse of disease invokes women, the poor, and the colonized people (including Ainu, Chinese, Taiwanese and Koreans) as the ones who lack the spirit to prevent the infection. Thus the bodies of others of the civilized modern Japanese men appear as the unclean colonial frontiers that must be controlled, contained, and governed.”¹⁴¹

The charity ward is invoked as a space of others for Japan’s imperialist capitalism. Mitsuyo stays with other female patients, including the old woman who is stricken with paralysis, the old woman with a stiff hand who keeps chanting a prayer to Amida Buddha, a woman who used to work as a licensed prostitute, a middle-aged woman who is paranoid, although who they actually

¹⁴¹ Naitō Chizuko 56-81.

are, where they came from, and why they are here remain unknown. On the one hand, Hirabayashi's narrative highlights these impoverished women's bodies as boundaries in terms of hygiene and class. Mitsuyo's body and other poor female patients' bodies are exposed to filth and foul odors as they are exposed to "the smells of toilets and antiseptic" and "the humidity of the underground floor, which captures these smells." Meanwhile, the guard, the doctors and the nurses who work in the charity ward wear "white uniforms," "white aprons," and "white caps," as if the color "white" represents "the spirit to prevent infection." In this way, the charity ward emerges as a boundary that separates the "unclean" and "diseased" bodies of the poor female patients from the "clean" and "healthy" bodies of the female nurses and the guard who manage and monitor the patients.

In her feminist theorization of body, Elizabeth Grosz also argues that female bodies have been constructed not as a lack but as something like "a leaking, uncontrollable, seeping liquid," which "has enabled men to associate women with infection, with disease, with the idea of festering putrefaction," as opposed to the men who are constructed as knowledge producers in the male-centric philosophical discourses.¹⁴² She notes that under the patriarchal system, bodies are often associated with women and femininity, while mind and reason are often associated with men and masculinity. Such hierarchical dichotomies of men and women and of mind and body have enabled men to occupy a privileged position as mind, a producer of knowledge, while rendering women as body, a surplus, which is posited as exterior to men (mind) but necessary for them to construct a stable identity.¹⁴³ Naito's and Grosz's notion of female body as the other of

¹⁴² Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994) 203-204.

¹⁴³ Elizabeth Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion. Essays on Politics of Bodies* (New York & London: Routledge, 1995) 29-40.

modern (male) subjects is closely related to woman's body not only as a concrete site to control sex, procreation, and population, which Fujime discussed in relation to the criminalization of abortion, but also as a metaphorical site of borderlines and frontiers of sex, class, political ideology, and race, which must be contained and governed.

In the charity ward, Mitsuyo's "diseased" body appears as a porous and fluid border, as her body is not only infected by beriberi through the air of the colony, but also spreads infection to others. Just as the narrator associates the body of Mitsuyo who is pregnant with the mosquito that sucks blood, Mitsuyo eventually transmits beriberi to her baby through her breast milk. But the transmission is very limited to the poor baby, because the "diseased bodies" are strictly separated from the "clean" bodies of the patients who pay for the treatment in the charity ward. As I argued earlier, drawing on the implementation of the crimes of abortion in 1892 and 1907, Japanese female bodies became a site for the state to legally control since the late 1890s and the early 1900s, just like the colony of Dalian that was dominated by the military colonial authority. Michel Foucault also underlines that sex and sexuality became the site of knowledge and the state-regulation upon the construction of the modern-state and the "emergence of 'population' as an economic and political problem, as he writes, "Whence the medical –but also political—project for organizing a state management of marriages, births, and life expectancies; sex and its fertility had to be administered. The medicine of perversions and the programs of eugenics were the two great innovations in the technology of sex of the second half of the nineteenth century."¹⁴⁴ Foucault argues that such a modern institution of controlling sex as

¹⁴⁴Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc. 1990) 118. For the emergence of population as the site of economic and political problem, see 25-26.

bio-power generates new conceptions of the body in relation to the programs of eugenics and hygiene:

“[medical practice] set itself up as the supreme authority in matters of hygienic necessity, taking up the old fears of venereal affliction and combining them with the new themes of asepsis, and the great evolutionist myths with the recent institutions of public health; it claimed to ensure the physical vigor and the moral cleanliness of the social body; it promised to eliminate defective individuals, degenerate and bastardized populations. In the name of a biological and historical urgency, it justified the racisms of the state, which at the time were on the horizon. It grounded them in “truth.”¹⁴⁵

Foucault argues that the institutional modern knowledge of hygiene, public health and eugenics together aims at defining and distinguishing “healthy vigorous” bodies from “unhealthy and defective” bodies and thus “morally clean” bodies from “unmoral and dirty” bodies. At the same time, however, what must be noted in the above passage is that Foucault clearly notes that medical science based on eugenics and hygiene is not just the segregation but the elimination of “defective individuals, degenerate and bastardized populations.” As Foucault specifies the connection between eugenics and racism here, it could be argued that if the colonial war executed under the martial law is part of the process of eliminating degenerate species, and that the segregation of poor Japanese women who drifted to the colony is one step toward the process of elimination of inferior species. While Foucault does not clearly discuss the gendered differential exposure to such a violence of eugenics and hygiene, it must be noted that female bodies have been often seen and treated not just as a metaphorical site of colonial domination, but rather as an actual site to control, conquer, and monitor.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 54.

¹⁴⁶ As for the exploration of female body as the symbolic site of colonial domination in the context of British imperialism and colonialism, see McClintock Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and*

Accordingly, the metaphors of “disease” and “blood” should also be associated with the proletarian ideology in addition to gender and racial boundaries. Mitsuyo and her proletarian husband are both banished to the colonial space of Dalian, being segregated from the “clean” space of the metropolis. In some sense, the proletarian body also emerges as the colonial frontier that aims to bridge or cross racial boundaries. As discussed earlier, at the 1923 May Day meeting right before the earthquake, the Japanese proletarians and the colonized workers strived to forge solidarity beyond national and racial boundaries, upholding the slogan, “liberation of the colonies.” However, the martial law enacted by the government attempted to oppress their dialogic and hybridized interaction and redraw racial and national boundaries, by declaring a state of emergency dividing the population into the worthy lives of the citizens that the state must protect and worthless or killable lives of their enemies, or “lawless people” that the state must eliminate. In other words, proletarians were regarded by the state authorities as fluid and contagious bodies that could transcend the racial and national boundaries that the state continuously constructed and maintained. Therefore, it could be also stated that the socialists were expelled from Tokyo in order for the Japanese government to maintain Tokyo as a politically “clean” city with “socially moral bodies” and to enclose “diseased and deviant” bodies of the proletarian people in the isolated colonial space in the segregated colony. At the same time, however, there are also gender division and hierarchy within the category of (Japanese) socialists. While the proletarian husband and the leaders of the coolies are imprisoned because of the failure of their sabotage at the railroad construction site, Mitsuyo is confined to

Sexuality in the Colonial Context. New York & London, Routledge, 1995. As for Japanese female bodies as actual site to control and monitor, I still need to explore the issues of eugenics, the state-regulated prostitution and female migration to the colony such as Dalian. Fujime Yuki notes that the colonial government in Kwantung region introduced the state-regulated prostitution in Dalian. Fujime 99.

the charity ward, instead of the prison with her husband. In other words, as found in the gendered division of mind and body, those male workers are quarantined by the police to contain their political thoughts and activities, which are potentially dangerous and contagious. By contrast, Mitsuyo was segregated and confined to the charity ward not primarily due to her ideological belief but due to her pregnancy.

The boundary between “healthy bodies” and “diseased bodies” also makes visible the hierarchical dichotomy of mind and body within the gender and class relations that hold between male doctors and female patients. The female patients are afraid of the room for the dead, since there is a rumor that some troublesome patient was taken alive to this room where his body was dissected by male doctors there. The image of the room for the dead shows how the hospital dehumanizes patients, reducing them into mere fragmented body parts that are used for medical research from the perspective of utilitarian capitalism:¹⁴⁷

“The shapes of hip, arm, head, and shoulder are vividly inscribed on the surface of the fake stone autopsy table whose size is about a mat. What is most unbearable for those who are defeated by the long struggle of life and have dragged the chain of life into this underground room is not to think about that they will spend a long time at the charity ward before their death, but to imagine themselves lying on the autopsy table in their last moment. Their arms and legs will be dissected on the cold stone instead of that the fee for the hospitalization being charged. Seeing ourselves as the objects for the dissection, how can we believe in the peaceful ascension to the heaven like a dusty frame over that autopsy table?”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Foucault points out that the biopolitical power is indispensable for the progress of capitalist society, as he observes, “this bio-power was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes.” Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1* 140-141.

¹⁴⁸ Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]” 149.

In the charity ward, the male doctors appear as modern subjects who produce and accumulate knowledge based on the examination of the patients' bodies, while the patients are reduced to objects for medical research. Moreover, the distinctions between mind and body and between male doctors and poor female patients are also closely linked to the eugenic distinction between whose life is valuable and whose life is not, as Foucault's notion of eugenics, meaning to eliminate "degenerate" species, echoes here. The bodies of the poor female patients become "valuable" only when they are dead and used for their anatomy. Conversely, while they are alive, they are treated like wastes or useless things by the hospital. When the hospital director finds out that the nurse used an expensive medicine for Mitsuyo who has a concussion, he angrily scolds the nurse for using an expensive medicine for the poor patient.

In this way, Hirabayashi's narrative conjures up the charity ward as a site of others by associating it with the "diseased body" as opposed to the "healthy" body, a hybridized and dirty colonial space of the oppressed as opposed to a clean and homogenous space of the metropole, the woman as surplus body as opposed to man as knowledge producer, the poor from the rich, the socialists whose political ideology aim to transgress national and racial boundaries as opposed to Japanese imperial subjects in the metropole who should be clean and not exposed to the infectious and transgressive ideology of socialism, and Japanese body as opposed to racially other bodies.

Female Voices as Non-Signifying Sounds outside the Language System of *kokugo*

While the bodies of the poor women at the charity ward are reduced to mere things, their speech is also transformed into nonsensical sounds. When Mitsuyo returns from the prison where

her husband was sent, Mitsuyo is greeted by the hospital guard who has been waiting for: “How was it?” (*dou deshita?*). She replies to him in a feminine manner, using a female speech suffix that is considered to be a non-referential sound; “It was nothing.” (*Doudemo nakatta no*). Mitsuyo uses the female speech with the utterance-ending “no,” which was often heard and cited as a nonsensical and vulgar sound by modern male subjects, as Miyako Inoue notes.¹⁴⁹ Mitsuyo’s speech also sounds like nonsense to her husband and comrades in the context of male-dominated proletarian discourses. When she expresses her fear that their sabotage will fail, her husband and three other comrades derided her claim as the ravings of a cowardly pregnant woman. Even when it turns out that she was right, she still tries to follow her husband, convincing herself that to follow the majority’s idea and thus men’s idea is the way to devote herself to her duty as “an activist” and as “a wife.” At the same time, however, Hirabayashi’s narrative also attempts to create female voices that speak from the place of the other and therefore challenge the male-dominated socialist discourse.

While the colonial space of others appears as a claustrophobic space to which the poor female bodies are bound and in which they are seen as objects for medical research in the male-centric capitalist and colonial discourse, Hirabayashi also invokes the claustrophobic space of others as the site where multiple female voices of others are made audible and intelligible in various ways. In her examination of “At the Charity Ward,” Linda Flores contends that it is a female body that serves as liminal site, in which the narrative resists the patriarchal system and thus defies the binary divisions of masculinity/femininity, matter/form, and mind/body, which are

¹⁴⁹ In her analysis of the emergence of the schoolgirl’s speech that is often associated with the women’s speech, Miyako Inoue points out that it was the modern male intellectuals that constructed the schoolgirl’s speech, as acoustic other of the speaking subjects of *genbunitchi*, who are the modern “male” subjects. Inoue argues that the male intellectuals reduced her speech into mere sounds by focusing on the utterance-endings of her speech and defining them as non-referential and nonsense. Inoue 37-107.

maintained by male-dominated capitalism and socialism. In particular, Flores examines the death of Mitsuyo's baby as an infanticide exercised by Mitsuyo, defining infanticide as the action to take back her child to her body from patriarchal society. But instead of the body, I pay attention to voice as a liminal site that belongs to both body and mind and both the domain of language and that of non-language, looking at voice as a fluid channel for interaction through which the proletarian woman confronts the above binary systems and struggles against both male-centered imperialistic capitalism and socialism.¹⁵⁰ I will examine those female voices that emerge in the closed colonial space, in particular, as dialogic hybridized voices, voices outside the realm of language, and polyphonic voices of the dispossessed respectively, exploring how voices are invoked to challenge both the male-centered proletarian discourses and male-centered imperialist capitalist discourses, going beyond the boundaries of body and mind, self and other, and meaningless noise and meaningful speech.

Dialogic Hybridized Voices

As discussed earlier, Mitsuyo's speech appears feminine and thus as an excess of the masculine and official voice in the realm of male-centric discourses. Therefore, her speech is only heard as nonsensical by her male comrades and her husband. Yet, at the charity ward, that is,

¹⁵⁰ Famously, Jacques Derrida criticizes Western metaphysics as phonocentrism, which gives primacy to voice as an unmediated medium of thought and mind over writing. Drawing on Derrida's conception of voice I consider voice as the illusory trace of self-presence in critically analyzing the *genbun itchi* ideology whose authenticity and authority are built on phonocentric ideology and logocentrism. But I also try to go beyond Derrida's criticism of phonocentrism in order to think of voice as a liminal site between body and mind, between self and other, and between meaningless noise and meaningful speech, while resisting the notion of voice as unmediated medium of self and identity. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, corrected edition, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press) 1997.

at the place of others, Hirabayashi's narrative invokes Mitsuyo's inner voices as dialogic hybridized voices challenging the hierarchical binaries of women and men, wife and husband, and body and mind. At the charity ward, Mitsuyo recalls the meeting with her husband she had at the prison on that day. In this recollection scene, Mitsuyo's internal voice is doubled, mixing the feminine voice with the masculine one, while turning her husband's voice into a "feminine" one and Mitsuyo's one into a "masculine" one. And such double voices attempt to subvert the authoritative male discourses and hierarchical binary of the sexes.

"Mitsuyo, please forgive me. I feel most sorry for our coming baby and you. I was wrong.' A drop of tear falling on his eyeglasses, which face downward, is magnified instantly" --- it is this afternoon's scene in which I met my husband in his chains at the corridor of the military police station. Somehow I feel an urge to cover my face with my hands. What makes him act like a woman who is tied to a string of a lingering affection? What is his bloodshot asking me to do? The existence of wife anchors the mind of the weak-minded husband to a lingering affection. The wife cannot help but receive the end of a long *obi*, which the husband who cannot give up throws to me. How disgusting! I am very scared that I might fall into somewhere. I rather want to see myself breaking into pieces like wooden mosaic work. My love comrade, don't look around. Just look forward. Look forward. I try to talk to his apparition, which I drew on the deep ceiling. I had my throat rounded like a flute and started singing "a flag of people" in a low voice. When I reached the point of high-pitched sounds, I raised my shoulder and pushed my breath out of my lungs, listening to my trembling voice. A tear drop was flowing into my ear, tickling it."¹⁵¹

In Mitsuyo's internal monologue, the masculine and feminine voices coexist and are set against each other. The husband apologizes to his wife for being imprisoned when they expect to have a baby soon. In response to him, the wife criticizes his apologetic attitude and his expression of regret for what he had done. The wife calls her husband's attitude "effeminate" and "weak-willed," as the husband easily gives up his political faith for his family. In her recollection, the gender representations of husband and wife are also inverted in terms of tone, language, and

¹⁵¹ Hirabayashi, "Seryōshitsu nite [At the Charity Ward]" 144-145.

thought. While the husband expresses his regret and apology in a feminine feeble tone, the wife expresses disappointment and speaks to the husband in an imperative tone to inspire him with courage, stating, “My love comrade, don’t look around. Just look forward. Look forward.”¹⁵²

The coexistence of feminine and masculine voices in her monologue can be related to what Mikhail Bakhtin calls “intentional novelistic hybridity.” Bakhtin argues that a novel consists of hybridized and double-voiced discourse, which is “a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factors.”¹⁵³ In particular, he defines intentional semantic hybridity (as opposed to organic hybridity), as internally dialogic discourse of a single utterance, in which “two points of view are not mixed, but set against each other dialogically.”¹⁵⁴ An internally dialogic discourse presents one language “*in the light of another language* [, while the] second language is not, however, actualized and remains outside the utterance.”¹⁵⁵ Bakhtin further argues that the author creates such a collision of two perspectives using the stylization of parody, which enables the writer to appropriate other’s language and destroy its original intentions by replacing it with a different context. In other words, hybridity of language allows one voice to reveal another voice, making a contrast between two points of view represented by double voices in a single utterance.

Mitsuyo’s monologue consists of the dialogues between Mitsuyo and her husband. Yet, at the same time, each utterance by each character consists of internally dialogues of two voices

¹⁵² Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite [At the Charity Ward]” 144-145.

¹⁵³ Mikhail Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981) 259-422.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 360.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 362, emphasis in original.

and languages. While Mitsuyo's masculine voice imitates and re-appropriates the male proletarian authoritative voice to create the voice of the wife who is not subordinate to but independent from the husband, the voice of husband who attempts to tie Mitsuyo to him is turned into feeble and feminine voice. In this way, Hirabayashi's narrative aims to change and redefine the power relationship between the wife and the husband by shaping herself as a "masculine" socialist and her husband as an "effeminate" comrade. While her husband tries to bind Mitsuyo to the role of the wife through "a lingering affection," she resists the role of the wife imposed by her husband, calling him "a comrade." Furthermore, Mitsuyo presents herself as a (male) socialist who will guide the comrade who lose sight of the socialist's goal by mimicking and citing the male socialist's speech, as she says, "[my] love comrade, don't look around. Just look forward. Look forward." In this fashion, Hirabayashi's narrative attempts to subvert the existing hierarchical relationship between men and women and wife and husband by conjuring up the dialogic hybridized voices of the husband and the wife in a monologue.

At the same time, parodying or borrowing another's discourse also can function to alter another's discourse.¹⁵⁶ Borrowing the male socialist discourse can be seen in Hirabayashi Taiko's feminist political thought about women writers. Two years before she published "At the Charity Ward," she wrote an article titled, "To Women Writers and Prostitutes" (*fujin sakka yo shōfu yo*), which criticizes the male-centered literary world in the metropole and female writers who flatter male writers. This article begins with her harsh criticism against women; "the current Japanese women, who devote their entire lives to men's love that conquers women, are terribly

¹⁵⁶ de Certeau, 244-268. Bakhtin also notes that parodic stylization recreates the parodied language. "In order to be authentic and productive, parody must be precisely a parodic stylization, that is, it must re-create the parodied language as an authentic whole, giving it its due as a language possessing its own internal logic and one capable of revealing its own world inextricably bound up with the parodied language." Bakhtin "Discourse in the Novel" 364.

a-social. Therefore, they have neither class consciousness nor consciousness of being subjugated to men as the conqueror. The current women writers emerged out of such a group of women. ‘She is a woman after all, if we take her sex into consideration....’ Upholding these two words as a slogan, the male-centered bourgeois literary world welcomed these women writers with open arms as if they welcome the prostitutes.”¹⁵⁷ While she harshly attacks those women who are not aware of their status of being subjugated to men, she also expresses her lamentation about women’s status as the conquered, stating “it is a still long way from the liberation of women, the conquered class of sex.”¹⁵⁸ By associating sex inequality with class inequality and borrowing the words used for class struggle, Hirabayashi finds vocabularies and expressions to underscore sex inequality and create the feminist struggle. Furthermore, while Hirabayashi specifically denounces the metropolitan literary world that favors female writers who does not have critical thoughts and concerns that the working women have, her particular use of language also associates hierarchical boundary between men and women in the male-dominated literary and intellectual movement with the uneven division between the domain of language and the domain of non-language. Ishikawa Nahoko indicates that it is only through her husband that a female proletarian can acquire her own perspective as a socialist activist and the capacity to confront the

¹⁵⁷ Hirabayashi Taiko, “Fujin sakka yo, shōfu yo [To Women Writers and Prostitutes],” *Bungei sensen*[*Literary Battlefield*] 2.5 (September 1925): 6-7. Referring to this Hirabayashi’s essay, Nakayama Kazuko notes that Hirabayashi’s way of linking the inequality of sexes to the conquer/conquered relationship in the class struggle was very revolutionary at the time, as people still believed in the myth that socialism will also realize the equality of sexes. Nakayama Kazuko, “Hirabayashi Taiko: korosu onna/onna no gōkyū—puroretaria jyosei sakka no Ayumi [Hirabayashi Taiko: A Killing Woman and A Cry of A Woman: The Path of Female Proletarian Writers],” *Kokubungaku:Kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū*[*National Literature: Interpretation and Educational Materials*] 54. 1 (January 2009): 88-96.

¹⁵⁸ Hirabayashi, “Fujin sakka yo, shōfu yo [To Women Writers and Prostitutes] 6-7.

society.¹⁵⁹ It is only by using and borrowing the male socialists' discourses that women can make their speeches intelligible and understandable in the existing male-centric discourses. In other words, it is necessary for a woman to utilize the existing authoritative discourse of class struggle in order to make her voice audible, knowable, and understandable, because she speaks from "the place of the other" where her voice resonates only as meaningless and incomprehensible sounds, being relegated into the domain of non-language. At the same time, while Mitsuyo cites the male-centered socialist discourse on the surface, she also alters the meanings and the contexts of the existing discourses in an attempt to establish the expression of her own struggle.¹⁶⁰

Mitsuyo's struggle differs from the male socialist's one, as her struggle is expressed and mediated through her own corporeal experience of childbirth. She has to endure labor pain and the miserable state of giving birth to a baby alone in a state of poverty at the colony where she is treated as a nuisance, while her husband is imprisoned. Mitsuyo links such a domestic and personal hardship to the broader social struggle against imperialist capitalism by superimposing her labor pain on the scene of the sabotage plotted by her husband and the leaders of coolies:

"I concentrate my energy in my stomach, gathering the facial muscle around the nose. I can see various things appear and disappear in an instant when I close the eyes. I can hear the tremendous sound of the tramcar falling into the ocean. The enormous amount of dust is stirred up like smoke. It makes me turn away. I indifferently heard my own growling

¹⁵⁹ Ishikawa 56-67.

¹⁶⁰ In his analysis of the seventeenth-century discourse of the possession, Michael de Certeau insists that "there is no discourse of the other, only an alteration of the same." He states that the possessed woman's discourse utilizes and cites the existing theological and demonological discourses to make her discourse audible, while it also alters these existing discourses at the same time. de Certeau argues that although the possessed woman's discourse neither produces new discourse nor defeats the existing discourse through such a manipulation of the existing discourse, it still generates a disturbance within the existing discourse. de Certeau 244-268.

voice as of a brutal beast. I must not grieve over my misfortune that I must give birth to my child like a stray dog at the hospital in the colony without having anyone to rely on. I have lived so far keeping watch on a candle flame, which recovers its energy every time it dies down. I will live believing in the future. I can feel a red flame running through in the middle of this struggle. I will keep watching it forever.”¹⁶¹

Her inner voice gains a language to express her adversity (having a child in an isolated and desolate colony) as a “struggle” (*kutō*), by juxtaposing her physically and mentally painful experience of labor pain with the terrible reality of the failed labor dispute. The inner expression of labor pain and the scene of the failed sabotage together convey a similar prospect of the future, as envisioned in these two struggles. The labor dispute at the railway construction site ends in failure, resulting in the arrest of her husband and three other supervisors of coolies. Likewise, her childbirth also cannot envision a bright future, as I will explore in more detail later. At the same time, the female voices that express both individual and social struggles also take in the voice outside the authoritative language system, resisting the male-dominated signifying systems of *kokugo* and *genbun itchi*.

Voices outside the Linguistic System

As found in the above passage, Mitsuyo’s voices of struggle consist not only of the voice that belongs to the domain of language, that is the authoritative proletarian discourse but also of the voice that belongs to the domain of non-language. By invoking the voice that belongs to the domain of non-language, Hirabayashi’s narrative strives to challenge the male-dominated discourses of *kokugo* and *genbun itchi* and at the same time establish a new form of subjectivity or state of becoming, which differs from the subjectivity constructed under the system of *kokugo*

¹⁶¹ Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]” 145-146.

and *genbun itchi*. In the above passage, Hirabayashi associates the voice of a woman who suffers from the pain of childbirth with the voice of an animal, “the voice of growling like the one made by a brutal beast.” (*seisan na yajyūno youna unarigoe*) If we borrow Bakhtin’s notion of “intentional novelistic hybridity,” it could be argued that non-human voices are uncovered by *genbun itchi* language in the domain of language, as they are set against each other without making them into an uneven relationship. The animal-like cry of Mitsuyo, which is heard by herself, is attributed to the gendered personal experience of labor pain. Yet the voice of pain and the voice of animal have a similar function in that both are non-referential signifiers that disrupt the signification system of language. In her examination of the representation of pain, Elaine Scarry argues that since pain is something that cannot be represented in language it resists and subverts the function of signification in language: “Physical pain does not simply *resist language* but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language learns, ...for physical pain — unlike any other state of consciousness — has no referential content. It is precisely because it takes no object that it, more than any other phenomenon, resists objectification in language”¹⁶²

In their exploration of Kafka’s novels, Deleuze and Guattari also note that animality (or the state of becoming animal) threatens the sign system: “To become animal is to participate in movement, to stake out the path of escape in all its positivity to cross a threshold, ...to find a world of pure intensities where all forms come undone, as do all the significations, signifiers, and signifieds, to the benefit of an unformed matter of deterritorialized flux of nonsignifying

¹⁶² Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) 4-5.

signs.”¹⁶³ Both the voice of pain and the voice of the animal confront the signifying system of language and thus seek to suspend the meaning-making process, as Mitsuyo’s struggle of labor pain is associated with her struggle against the male-dominated discourses and thus the domain of language, conveying the experience of a woman as the oppressed, which cannot be expressed in the domain of language.

Both Scarry and Deleuze and Guattari think that certain voices (the voice of pain and the voice of animals) that do not have the ability to signify itself have a power to intervene and disrupt the automatic circulation of signification. In addition to her beastly growl, Mitsuyo makes some other sounds, such as singing or whistling. She sings “A Flag for the People,” listening to herself singing.

“I had my throat rounded like a flute and started singing ‘A Flag for People’ in a low voice. When I reached the point of high-pitched sounds, I raised my shoulder and pushed my breath out of my lungs, listening to my trembling voice. A tear drop was flowing into my ear, tickling it.”¹⁶⁴

She also whistles to respond to her baby thrusting her chest.

“After a while, I whistle with thick lips resisting the movement of fetus kicking her chest. The whistle flows along the dark corridor that curves like a key, making a hoarse sound like a steam locomotive discarding steam. I could hear a tremendous large noise of the trolley train falling into the ocean when we destroyed the railroads of construction sites as it was like echoes.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) 13.

¹⁶⁴ Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]” 144-145.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 144-145.

Both her singing voice and whistle can be considered as language beyond meaning that, like the voice of pain and the voice of the animal, stays outside the symbolic and linguistic orders.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, it is Mitsuyo who listens to her own voice singing and making a whistle. The formula of listening to oneself reminds us of Derrida's famous criticism against the phonocentric view of voice as an unmediated medium of self-presence in the present. However, Dolar also notes that while there is a narcissistic auto-affective dimension of voice, which Derrida uncovers, voice also appears to threaten the signifying system and thus the subject that is constituted through this signifying process. Dolar states, "the auto-affective voice of self-presence and self-mastery was constantly opposed by its reverse side, the intractable voice of the other, the voice one could not control."¹⁶⁷ Here, it could be argued that Mitsuyo listens to not just her own voice but the voice of the other in herself, the immanent otherness that is often reintegrated into the system of *kokugo* and *genbun itchi* as the other of the modern subject and thus a surplus to be fetishized. In other words, Mitsuyo's act of listening to her own singing voice, whistle, and growling creates multiple dialogic tensions of her own immanent multiple senses of self, that is, the tensions between consciousness and unconsciousness, self and other, meaningful voice and meaningless voice, masculinity and femininity, a listening subject and a cited object¹⁶⁸ In this

¹⁶⁶ Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006) 484-485

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 484.

¹⁶⁸ Drawing on Freud's analysis on unconsciousness, Kristiva states that unconsciousness is repressed as other of consciousness and thus of oneself in order for one to construct unified coherent subjectivity in both symbolic and biological terms. Kristiva states, "[with] the Freudian notion of the unconscious the involution of the strange in the psyche loses its pathological aspect and integrates within the assumed unity of human begins an *otherness* that is both biological and symbolic and becomes an integral part of the *same*. Henceforth the foreigner is neither a race nor a nation. The foreigner is neither glorified as a secret *Volkgeist* nor banished as disruptive of rationalist urbanity. Uncanny foreignness is within us. We are our own foreigners, and we are divided." (italics in original) Julia Kristiva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991)181.

fashion, Hirabayashi's narrative strives to construct the hybridized subjectivity of a woman in which two contradictory voices and views of self and other ideally continue to dialogize and hybridize each other.

I also want to take a moment to think of the difference between Mitsuyo's animal-like voice and the Korean's insect-like speech that is depicted in Hirabayashi's "In the Woods," which I examined earlier. While both Mitsuyo's beastly voice and the Korean's insect-like voice belong to the domain of non-language, there is a difference between Mitsuyo's voice and the Korean voice in the identity of the listeners who hear these voices as belonging to others. While Mitsuyo's animal-like voice is heard by herself, the Korean's voice is turned into the unintelligible sound of an insect by the ear of the Japanese men and thereby made into the sign of killability. It is Japanese men who hear the threatening sound in the Korean's voice. It is not just because those colonized workers appeared to them as unbeatable competitors for job but also because those colonized people appear to be a threat to Japanese imperialism and capitalism as they seek for independence. It is also because the voice of the other also echoes the otherness found in themselves. In other words, those who attacked the Koreans attack their own shadow of otherness, which troubles their identification with Japan's nation-state, the unified notion of Japanese people, and *kokugo*.

Étienne Balibar argues that xenophobia and nationalism is a perverted expression of class struggle in that both xenophobia and nationalism express the desire to escape from a condition of exploitation by projecting a sense of "fear, resentment despair and defiance," which is caused by discrimination and contempt received from bourgeois class, onto ethnic and racial others. Balibar states, "[it] is a hatred of themselves, as proletarians, —in so far as they are in danger of being

drawn back into the mill of proletarianization— that they are showing.”¹⁶⁹ The workers see the negative images of themselves in the figures of foreign workers, with which they don’t want to identify themselves. Likewise, Japanese vigilantes’ brutal attack against Koreans is the distorted manifestation of hatred of themselves. The proletarians are often seen as the others of the bourgeois class, the other that must be civilized, within the bourgeois-centered discourse of nation, nationalism, and imperialism, as they are included in this discourse only as an exploited or exploitable class. As I will discuss in the end of this chapter, Hirabayashi’s narrative of Mitsuyo’s struggle fails to apprehend this intricate relationship between racism and classism, as the narrative in “In the Woods” is also oblivious to the antagonistic relationship between Japanese and colonized workers, which was caused by the uneven distribution of labor and wages. Consequently, while Hirabayashi’s narrative aims to construct a new form of subjectivity of woman resisting the male-dominated discourse of socialism and imperialist capitalism, her narrative eventually projects the internal hybrid voices of the Japanese proletarian woman onto the colonized others.

The Polyphonic Space of Others and Its Temporality

As explored above, the narrative in “At the Charity Ward” invokes a new subjectivity of a Japanese female proletarian consisting of the voice that belongs to the domain of language and the voice that belongs to the domain of non-language. Accordingly, Hirabayashi’s narrative invokes two different forms of temporality: the linear time of progress that a revolutionary

¹⁶⁹ Étienne Balibar, “‘Class Racism’,” Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class Ambiguous identities* (London and New York: Verso, 1991) 204-215.

subject experiences and the static state of time that is experienced by the oppressed, who are perpetually exposed to actual violence in the present or possible violence in the future. On the one hand, in her internal dialogues between the meaningful voice of male socialist discourse and the non-sensical voice, one part of Mitsuyo is established as a revolutionary historical subject, as she sees her struggle of childbirth as a path to the future, which she envisions in a red frame that represents revolution.

“I have lived so far keeping watch on a candle flame, which recovers its energy every time it dies down. I will live, believing in the future. I can feel a red flame moving straight forward even in the middle of this struggle. I will keep watching it wherever I go.”¹⁷⁰

Such a voice would be similar to the voice that the male proletarian writer Nakano Shigeharu aims to invent in his practice of writing poetry. In her examination of Nakano’s poetry during the 1920s and 1930s as political practice for Marxist revolution, Miriam Silverberg argues that Nakano’s poetry invokes diverse polyphonic voices ranging from socially dominant ones to marginalized weak ones, envisioning “the workers, peasants, shopkeepers, [factory girls], colonized, special burakumin [the outcaste], soldiers” and so on, all as collective historical actors of “we,” belonging to the exploited class.¹⁷¹

Taking Dostoevsky’s novels as examples, Bakhtin defines polyphonic novelistic space as the site where “A plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices coexist.”¹⁷² The characters represent certain ideologies and

¹⁷⁰ Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]” 145-146.

¹⁷¹ Miriam Silverberg, *Changing Song: The Marxist Manifestos of Nakano Shigeharu* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1990) 53-58.

¹⁷² Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* 6.

socio-political positions and therefore they have their own independent voices and consciousnesses that are set against each other, while these diverse consciousnesses and voices are not presented as the fixed objects or things but illuminated within the dialogues. Silverberg emphasizes that the significance in Nakano's polyphonic voices lies in the fact that they are not unified into one historical subject, but exist as diverse and multiple consciousnesses, which are independent from each other and thus do not dominate others.¹⁷³ In other words, Nakano Shigeharu's multiple voices pursued social change and revolution while remaining independent, un-unified. Accordingly, by conjuring up these different political actors in his poetry, Nakano situates his role as a revolutionary intellectual and writer who confronts non-revolutionary writers and capitalists in the publishing world.¹⁷⁴ By defining the practice of writing as labor, Nakano establishes himself as a historical subject "who creates history through praxis, or revolutionary action that alters his environment," through a practice of writing. Nakano further states, "This change had to be brought about not only by revolution, but also by labor."¹⁷⁵ In this way, Nakano strives to form himself as a historical subject writing and working toward revolution, while evoking the polyphonic voices that strive to make a change independently and at the same time resonate together. In "At the Charity Ward," while some part of Mitsuyo appears as a revolutionary subject that makes action for the future, the polyphonic voices of dispossessed and dehumanized people in the charity ward do not appear as such, in contrast to Nakano's polyphonic voices.

Hirabayashi invokes the charity ward as polyphonic space not only by opposing the voices

¹⁷³ Ibid., 146-147.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 70-100.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 69.

of men (doctors and a laborer) against the voices of women (nurses, female patients and female laborers), the rich (doctors and nurses) against the poor (female patients of the charity ward), but also by contrasting the voices of poor female patients with each other. Yet unlike Nakano's polyphonic voices, Hirabayashi's polyphonic voices do not pursue actions for future revolutionary change. Rather, their voices emerge as insignificant, inconsistent multiple murmurings:

“ We have Shanghai nappa today again and we will have it tomorrow too. Are they going to kill us by drying and shrivel us up.” The midwife stricken with paralysis sat on the futon properly and gave an impulsive cry in her Kyūshū dialect, spitting out something green on the floor after she chewed them. Because the woman's complaint was infectious, everyone in the room giggled with their mouths full of the food, feeling empty. “Hey, if you don't like your miso soup, please exchange it with my pickled radish. The woman who used to be a prostitute came down from her bed and walked to the old woman's bed, dragging her purple rubber sandals. “Hey, you must discuss about killing Komiya again. I won't let you do that.” The forty-year old paranoiac woman suddenly appeared in front of the former prostitute, waving her black chopsticks sternly. Komiya is her husband who passed away ten years ago. Nobody laughed about it anymore as she always did this every day.”¹⁷⁶

Those who had different occupations and different experiences respectively drifted to the charity ward in the Japanese colony of Dalian, without having anyone or anything to rely on. Their murmurings and dialogues might be understood as inconsistent and illogical voices on the surface, as their grumpy murmurings emerge at the border between the domain of language and the domain of non-language.

But they are all together meaningful statements; they all express dissatisfaction towards their miserable conditions as the colonial drifters, anxiety for their fate, and the fear of violence that could be exercised by the hospital in the future. These female patients are treated like useless diseased bodies in the charity ward, and they are always afraid that they might be killed by the

¹⁷⁶ Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]” 147-148.

hospital. They believe the news article, which tells a story that the director of the charity ward took his troublesome patient to the room for the dead and locked the door from the outside, although this patient was still alive. While being exposed to invisible and unpredictable violence that could have been and will be exercised by the hospital, all they can do is not to think about their end. The narrator states, “what is most unbearable for those who are defeated by the long struggle of life and have dragged the chain of life into this underground room is not to think that they will spend a long time at the charity ward before their death, but to imagine themselves lying on the autopsy table in their last moment. Their arms and legs will be dissected on the cold stone in lieu of the fee for the hospitalization being charged. Seeing ourselves as objects for the dissection, how can we believe in the peaceful ascension to heaven like a dusty frame over that autopsy table?”¹⁷⁷

The death of Mitsuyo’s baby epitomizes the helpless state of the female colonial drifters at the charity ward. Mitsuyo faces the problem of milk that is contaminated by beriberi after she gave birth to a female baby. She can neither afford to purchase artificial milk nor ask for artificial nutrition in the charity ward because of the doctors’ stinginess and heartlessness. The struggle for milk reminds Mitsuyo of those female workers at the factory who could not help but give their beriberi-contaminated milk to their children because of poverty, losing some of their children as a consequence. The issue of milk also reminds her of her poor grandfather and poor father who worked hard to feed their children. By associating her fight for milk with the lives of poor female workers and families, Mitsuyo links her individual adversity to the social issues of class and poverty. Yet, at the same time, unlike Nakano’s work—which, as Silverberg suggested, conveys the voices that aimed for change and revolution—Hirabayashi’s narrative does not

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 149.

organize different female voices at the charity ward as one voice to protest. Mitsuyo neither asks the hospital to provide artificial milk for the baby nor organizes the struggle to fight for milk with other women at the charity ward. After she hears the doctor scolding the nurse for using expensive medication to treat Mitsuyo, Mitsuyo decides to give her baby her milk contaminated by beriberi, although she knows that it eventually will kill her baby.

Mitsuyo's decision not to fight back for milk has been criticized by some critics, as mentioned earlier. Marxist critic Tsuboi Shigeji expresses his strong disapproval of Hirabayashi's depiction of Mitsuyo. He states that Mitsuyo gives up the life of the baby from the beginning without making any action for change, and he strongly opposes Mitsuyo's attitude: "I still cannot understand why Mitsuyo takes an action that leads her own child to death and this question remains in my mind.....The protagonist is already defeated from the beginning without making a decision to fight."¹⁷⁸ Another critic, Komajaku Kimi, also criticizes Mitsuyo's attitude as nihilistic, arguing, "It might be too much expected to think that she should have taken an action for the struggle to get milk if she is a fighter. But I still think that her nihilistic sentiment is found in her renunciation of all efforts to fight for milk."¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, Nakayama Kazuko states that the infanticide in the novel represents the protagonist's faith in anarchism that convinces her to sacrifice the baby for her resistance.¹⁸⁰ Linda Flores also sees the infanticide as her resistance against the patriarchal system. Flores asserts that Mitsuyo's infanticide is a way for Mitsuyo to "radically reclaim [her] offspring by symbolically closing them back into the

¹⁷⁸ Tsuboi 104-107.

¹⁷⁹ Komajaku 53-57.

¹⁸⁰ Nakayama, "Hirabayashi Taiko: korosu onna/onna no gōkyū [Hirabayashi Taiko: A Killing Woman and A Cry of A Woman]" 88-96.

maternal body.”¹⁸¹ Flores argues that Mitsuyo kills her child in order to defend the child from the patriarchal system, which would separate the child from the mother when Mitsuyo is sent to prison after childbirth. Therefore, Flores understands this simultaneous act of killing and protecting her child as “a struggle.” Flores’ understanding could be related to the uneven distribution of biopolitical power, which is found in the legal regulation of the crime of abortion, as it defines exclusively a female body as the site to control the population. Yet, it could also be stated that Mitsuyo’s act of letting her baby die might derive neither from her mere expression of nihilism that Tsuboi and Komajaku understood, nor from her anarchist conviction that killing the baby is the way to resist the patriarchal system, contrary to what Flores or Yamanaka apprehend. It could be argued that Hirabayashi’s depiction of Mitsuyo’s inaction and the death of her own baby also come from her faith in proletarian realism on one hand, and her internalization of imperialist and patriarchal violence on the other.

In her essay titled “Regarding the Categorization of Proletarian Literary Works” (*Puroretaria sakuhin no ruikeika ni tsuite*), which was published in 1930, Hirabayashi advocates proletarian realism, defining it as a literary technique to “grasp social significance from the reality that appears, vanishes, and changes in our everyday life and turn it into the theme of our creative work.”¹⁸² At the end of the essay, she laments that there are only few writers who seriously pursue proletarian realism, while many of them focus on the issue of form and consider little about the theme, as she argues, “some writers relate the issue of proletarian realism

¹⁸¹ Flores 18-32.

¹⁸² Hirabayashi Taiko, “Puroretaria sakuhin no ruikeika nit tsuite [Regarding the Categorization of Proletarian Literary Works],” *Hirabayashi taiko zenshū. Vol 10 [Complete Works of Hirabayashi Taiko Vol10]* (Tokyo: Ushio shuppansha, 1979) 356-359.

exclusively to the issue of formalism. Such writers only imitate naturalism only in the aspect of writing style, while their literary themes become further distanced from proletarian realism.¹⁸³ In her another essay titled “Regarding Proletarian Realism” (*Puroretariya riarizumu ni kanshite*), which was published two years before the publication of the former article, she also criticizes some proletarian works that eulogize their struggles and their victory as literary works that fail to capture the reality. She contends that “such literary works merely make those who suffer from unemployment and difficulty of life smile wryly” or even make those people “feel hostile toward them.”¹⁸⁴ For Hirabayashi, proletarian literature is not writing that always lauds class struggle and its future victory, but rather writing that captures the suffering of those people who are deprived of a means to sustain their lives. For this reason, it could be argued that from the perspective of proletarian realism, Hirabayashi depicts the death of her own baby as the realistic depiction of the utterly depressing situation of Japanese female colonial drifters. Like other poor people without any means to get artificial milk, Mitsuyo cannot help but feed her baby the contaminated milk, thus letting her die. Mitsuyo also thinks that even if the baby survives, she will be separated from her after being taken to the prison soon.

At the same time, her inaction could also derive from the internalization of imperialist capitalist and patriarchal violence, to which these female drifters are exposed. Frantz Fanon formulates the trajectory from colonialism to anti-colonial movements through several steps. The first step is the segregation and compartmentalization of the colonial world, which we examined earlier in relation to the spatial configuration of the female body and the colony. The second step

¹⁸³ Ibid., 356-359.

¹⁸⁴ Hirabayashi Taiko, “Puroretariya riarizumu ni kanshite[Regarding the Proletarian realism],” *Hirabayashi taiko zenshū. Vol.10[Complete Works of Hirabayashi Taiko Vol10]* (Tokyo: Ushio shuppansha, 1979)314-316.

is the colonized subject's internalization of that violence. Fanon argues that being exposed to colonial violence and confronting colonial "hostile, oppressive, and aggressive world" in their everyday lives, the colonized subjects internalize colonial violence and direct it not against the colonizers but against other colonized subjects: "[the] colonized subject will first train this aggressiveness sedimented in his muscles against his own people. This is the period when black turns on black."¹⁸⁵ Such a self-destructive action of the colonized subjects could be related to what Tsuboi calls self-destructive action or what Nakayama Kazuko calls anarchism, when they respectively refer to Hirabayashi's depiction of the infanticide. Flores and Nakayama both interpret Mitsuyo's infanticide as a form of resistance and struggle against the patriarchal society. But it could be also stated that Mitsuyo's anarchistic self-destruction is the displacement of patriarchal and imperialist violence, which she internalizes and inflicts on the lives of others more fragile and vulnerable to harm, such as an infant. As colonialism generates a chain of displacements of violence, the colonizer's patriarchal domination also produces a series of displacements of violence.

Regardless of whether we interpret Mitsuyo's exercise of violence against her baby as an expression of resistance or a manifestation of internalized violence, Mitsuyo eventually cannot envision herself as a historical subject who takes action to change the future, although she tries to find hope for the future in her childbirth and thus in her feminist socialist struggle, which is represented in the red flame of the candle that she observes. Without being able to provide artificial milk to her sick baby, she ponders the situation that she is put in as a state like "a flat sheet of paper that cuts off the past and the future."¹⁸⁶ The temporality of the place of others,

¹⁸⁵ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* 15.

¹⁸⁶ Hirabayashi, "Seryōshitsu nite [At the Charity Ward]" 152.

which is indicated by the word, “like a flat sheet of paper that cuts off the past and the future,” differs from the linear progression of past, present, and future that the historical subject experiences. Derrida argues that the category of the subject cannot be conceived without reference to the temporality of the living present, as the subject can only manifest itself as the being living in the present. At the same time, the notion of the present cannot be constituted without notions of the past and the future.¹⁸⁷ Conversely, if we think about temporalities from the perspective of the oppressed, the linear conception of time, which is crucial for Marxist revolution, is not self-evident. Being constantly exposed to the state of emergency, and being excluded from the position of the historical subject, the oppressed is trapped in a present desperate condition and they cannot envision a way out from there, as the poor women in the charity ward can only mutter to express their fear and anxiety.¹⁸⁸ Mitsuyo can only think about the present not within the linear trajectory of past, present and future, but as something floating between dream and reality, between the domain of language and the domain of non-language, consciousness and unconsciousness, and life and death: “When I close my eyes, I feel like moving back and forth between dream and reality. I only feel like I see a piece of cloth fluttering like a flag in the darkness. I feel dead. Am I unhappy?”¹⁸⁹

Hirabayashi’s narrative of Mitsuyo’s struggle aims to construct a new form of subjectivity of a female proletarian that serves as a channel for the dialogues between self and the other, and

¹⁸⁷ Jacques Derrida, “Différance,” *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982) 3-27.

¹⁸⁸ Benjamin’s “history of angel” invokes the non-linear multiple temporal experiences of the oppressed as opposed to the linear progressive historical experiences of the modern historical subjects.

¹⁸⁹ Hirabayashi, “Seryōshitsu nite [At the Charity Ward]” 155.

between the domain of language (the meaningful authoritative discourse) and the domain of non-language (non-sensical discourse of others) in order to disturb and challenge the male-dominated discourses of imperialist capitalism and socialism and at the same time to make the voices of others in the charity ward audible and recognizable. As we have explored, Hirabayashi's narrative evokes different kinds of voices of others in the charity ward, dialogic hybridized voices, the voices outside language systems, the polyphonic voices of the marginalized colonial drifters, as opposed to the authoritative male-centered discourses of imperialist capitalism and socialism. By conjuring up different kinds of voices, Hirabayashi's narrative constitutes and contrasts two opposing voices of Mitsuyo in the charity ward – Mitsuyo as a feminist proletarian subject who takes action for the future and Mitsuyo as a member of the poor Japanese female drifters whose voices are unintelligible and unrecognizable in the male-centered discourses of imperialist capitalism and socialism. In other words, Hirabayashi's narrative aims to establish Mitsuyo as a historical subject like a male socialist on one hand, and at the same time another form of subjectivity as the other of the historical modern subject (the other of the socialist subject) on the other. Accordingly, Hirabayashi's narrative also evokes two different modes of temporalities at the charity ward. On the one hand, Mitsuyo constructs herself as a revolutionary historical subject, who is constituted within the linear conception of time moving toward the future revolution. At the same time, like other female patients in the charity ward, Mitsuyo, who suffers from beriberi and childbirth, cannot take any real action to confront the existing patriarchal capitalist world. The second part of Mitsuyo cannot conceive herself as a historical subject. Instead, she only conceives a non-linear, floating time as opposed to the linear trajectory of past-present-future and thus cannot envision hope for the future that the proletarian subjects seek in their struggle. In this way, the charity ward appears as the site of a new

subjectivity in which Mitsuyo undergoes dialogic tensions between two contradictory selves.

Others' Relationship to their Others

Hirabayashi highlights the charity ward as the site of dialogic tensions between a revolutionary historical subject, which emerges out of her feminist proletarian struggle, and the other of the modern subject, which resists and at the same time is subjugated to imperialist capitalism and the male-dominated socialist movement. However, her narrative eventually fails to maintain the coexistence of two different forms of subjectivity in Mitsuyo, as the death of Mitsuyo's daughter metaphorically represents the death of others within Mitsuyo. Rather, Hirabayashi's narrative displaces the voices of others within oneself onto the colonized others as a means to conceal and displace the actual failure in the feminist revolution. To put it another way, Hirabayashi's narrative displaces otherness in oneself on the colonized others by invoking the colonized others as an ideological object of desire which serves to conceal gender inequality and racial inequality in the socialist movement. By doing so, the narrative lets Mitsuyo assume the position of a modern intellectual like a Japanese male socialist, although gender inequality continues to persist.

While the charity ward is segregated from the external colonial world of Dalian, Hirabayashi also attempts to depict the colonial others, Chinese laborers in Dalian. The novel in fact begins with Mitsuyo's interaction with a Chinese rickshaw driver upon her arrival in the charity ward and ends with a scene in which Mitsuyo and a Chinese rickshaw driver head toward the prison in Port Author. However, Hirabayashi's narrative fails not only to incorporate racial inequality in her struggle against gender and class inequalities, but even to acknowledge that the

otherness that Chinese laborers represent is the otherness that Mitsuyo embraces in herself. Instead, Mitsuyo's struggle ends up reconfiguring the hierarchical binary of mind and body, which is closely related to the hierarchical binaries of sex and class, by displacing her internal otherness on the colonial ethnic hierarchies.

Like the Korean man in Tokyo right after the Great Kanto Earthquake in "In the Woods" and Mitsuyo in the charity ward, the otherness of Chinese workers is manifested in their utterances. In the opening scene, in which Mitsuyo pays the fare to the Chinese rickshaw driver, his otherness is made visible through the citation of his speech. First, his utterance is cited in Chinese characters: 「哀乎小錢没有一」, whose meaning can be understood through the Chinese script: "I'm afraid that I don't have coins." After Mitsuyo changes the bills to coins and hands them to the driver, he tells her "Thank you" in Chinese, which is cited as "シエーシエー (xie xie)" in the Japanese phonetic script, *katakana*, which is used mainly for foreign words. On the one hand, the Chinese utterance cited in Chinese script appears as a script without sounds, as it is not accompanied by the phonetic annotation system called *rubi* that indicates the pronunciations in Japanese.¹⁹⁰

In his analysis of sixteenth-century colonial travelogues, Michel de Certeau argues that European ethnographic writing functions to appropriate and assimilate the speech of indigenous peoples into the European discourses of knowledge by reducing their speech to non-signifying sounds. By doing so, the practice of citation suppresses the strangeness of the native people by

¹⁹⁰ In the original version of "Seryōshitsu nite," which was published in 1927 and republished in 1928, the phonetic annotation, *rubi*, is not added to the Chinese speech, "哀乎小錢没有一." However, in the version republished in *Hirabayashi Taiko Zenshū* in 1979, the Chinese speech is accompanied by the phonetic annotation, "アイフ シヤオチエンメイヨウ." Hirabayashi, "Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]," 93-108.

replacing its exterior reality by a voice.¹⁹¹ Like the native people in the colonial travelogue, the Chinese rickshaw driver in Hirabayashi's story is made visible through the Chinese utterance. Yet, the Chinese people's strangeness and otherness are suppressed by replacing its exterior reality not just by voice but by script, by the Chinese characters. The Chinese script appears as fluid, porous, and hybridized, with the ability to transgress the linguistic and racial boundaries between Japanese and Chinese and between the domain of language and the domain of non-language, even while remaining within the system of *kokugo* and *geunbun itchi*. On the one hand, the Chinese speech cited in the text could point to sounds and meanings within the Chinese language system, as the visible Chinese script designates its foreignness and strangeness within the context of *kokugo* and *geunbun itchi*. But at the same time, the Chinese script also suppresses the strangeness of the Chinese laborer and his utterances within the system of *kokugo* and *geunbun itchi* by reducing him into an inaudible being, as the Chinese script appears as visible ideographic signs that signify the meanings and do not refer to Chinese sounds within the context of Japanese language.

The problem is not just that such a citation practice creates the hierarchical relationship between the citing and the cited, between the Japanese language system and the Chinese language system, but also that Hirabayashi presents the otherness of Chinese workers as something external to Mitsuyo instead of the alterity that is shared by her.¹⁹² In Hirabayashi's narrative of Mitsuyo's struggle, Mitsuyo negatively views Chinese workers as passive and servile people. At the charity ward, Mitsuyo recalls the attitudes of the Chinese workers at the

¹⁹¹ de Certeau, 226-237.

¹⁹² Miyako Inoue explores such a hierarchical relationship between citing is an integral part in the formation of modern (male) subject in Meiji Japan. Inoue Miyako, *Vicarious Language*

failed strike that her husband and the leaders of the Chinese workers plotted. She remembers that these Chinese workers who joined the strike quickly changed their minds after its failure and escaped Dalian to enlist in the army organized by Zhang Zuolin who was supported by the Japanese army. Mitsuyo is critical of the Chinese workers' passive opportunistic attitude, calling it "servile" despicably. While she views servility in Chinese workers as something contemptible and exterior to herself, Mitsuyo herself yields to the hospital without demanding the need to have artificial milk for her baby, and thus she might appear to the hospital as a servile patient. In other words, like Japanese vigilantes under martial law, she displaces her internal otherness, which she refuses to identify herself with, onto the colonized others.

As the death of Mitsuyo is metaphorically associated with the death of another part of Mitsuyo and thus a defeat in her struggle against gender and class inequality, at the end of the story, the colonized other is invoked as an ideological object of desire to conceal and displace gender and class inequality, which Mitsuyo cannot overcome through her struggle. In the end of the story, Mitsuyo encounters the Chinese driver again, but this time he is no longer a hybridized other that makes visible the otherness of the colonized others. Rather, he is silenced:

"I rode on the rickshaw with the help of the Chinese rickshaw man. My destination is the Lijiadun Branch of the Port Arthur Prison. When we reached the slope around the suburban area, the car was staggered by the strong opposing wind that blinds us, while moving against it. As the car moves forward, I can see the reflection of the red light flashing into the distance on the celluloid window of the car roof. That's the gate of the prison."¹⁹³

On the one hand, it could be argued that the above scene represents the reconstruction of solidarity between Japanese and Chinese workers after they failed in their strike. It could be stated that Mitsuyo and the Chinese rickshaw driver emerge as comrades who confront adversity

¹⁹³ Hirabayashi, "Seryōshitsu nite[At the Charity Ward]" 155.

together, as they move forward together against the strong opposing wind, heading toward the prison that represents the power of the colonial authorities. At the same time, their relationship also emerges as an asymmetrical one in that the Chinese rickshaw driver is associated with the body, while Mitsuyo is associated with the mind, an intellectual activist who will be imprisoned because of her political beliefs. In other words, Mitsuyo establishes herself as a modern subject of the struggle like Japanese male proletarians by displacing her physical excess on the Chinese man's body, as a man establishes himself as a producer of knowledge by displacing his physical excess on the female body in the male-centered discourse of modern knowledge. Hirabayashi's narrative does not even question the racialized division of labor, that is, why the rickshaw driver has to be a Chinese in the colony, although she harshly criticizes the hospital's ignorance about the poor woman who doesn't have money to purchase artificial nutrition for her baby. Without being able to explore Mitsuyo's relationship with the Chinese coolies self-reflexively, Hirabayashi's narrative fails to create a dialogic relationship between the Japanese female proletarian and a Chinese worker, silencing the Chinese laborer in the end¹⁹⁴ In this way, because Hirabayashi's narrative cannot subvert the existing uneven gender relationship in reality in both imperialist capitalist society and the Japanese metropolitan socialist movement, it ends up conjuring up the colonized other as an ideological object to displace gender and class inequalities that Mitsuyo confronts with the multi-ethnic Japanese proletarian movement in which Japanese woman displaces her excess or her gendered marker on the colonized subject, identifying herself with the category of "Japanese (male) proletarians."

¹⁹⁴ Hirabayashi's another work, titled "The Train for Forced Labor (*fueki ressha* 1929)," which depicts the labor disputes by Chinese and Japanese workers at the railway construction site of the South Manchuria Railway Company, also fails to acknowledge racial hierarchy and unevenness in the Japanese empire.

Japanese Metropolitan Socialism and the Multi-Ethnic Japanese Empire

Such an asymmetrical relationship between the female Japanese proletarian and a Chinese colonized worker reflect gender and racial hierarchical divisions that existed in the prewar Japanese proletarian movement. Some recent critics in Japanese and English express different views on the racial inequality in the prewar proletarian movement. Kawamura Minato points out that those Japanese proletarian writers during the colonial period lacked decisive views of ethnic issues in Japanese colonialism and therefore were unwittingly complicit in reproducing the racial hierarchy in their proletarian movement. He argues that even Nakano Shigeharu, who sought solidarity with Korean workers, still viewed the Korean Proletarian movement as something beneficial for the Japanese proletarian movement, taking as an example Nakano's famous poem, "The rainy Shinagawa station," in which the Japanese poet calls Koreans as both the vanguard and the backbone of Japanese proletarian movement.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, Samuel Perry contradicts Kawamura's criticism of the Japanese proletarian movement. While Perry underlines the fact that there was discriminatory treatment of Korean activists in the Japanese proletarian movement, he also insists that such racial inequality emerges out of the contradiction inherent in the cosmopolitan proletarian movement in Japan, which resulted from "the process of translating class analysis into a much more inclusive and less xenophobic community of the communists"

¹⁹⁵ Kawamura Minato, "Puroretaria bungaku no naka no minzoku mondai[Ethnic Issues in Proletarian Literature]," *Kokubungaku:Kaishaku to kanshō [National Literature Interpretation and Appreciation]* 75.4 (April 2010):58-65.

within the multi-ethnic Japanese empire centered around Japanese ethnos and language.¹⁹⁶ Perry contends that although the Japanese proletarian movement embraces racial hierarchy inherent in the Japanese empire, we must value its inclusiveness in their movement, because it allowed diverse groups of people to join the movement and raise their own particular concerns, such as racial, gender and class inequalities.¹⁹⁷

I certainly agree with Perry that the communists' cosmopolitan outlook enabled different interest groups to express their own socio-political concerns. Hirabayashi also made her feminist voice audible and understandable by utilizing the existing male-dominant proletarian discourse. At the same time, it is necessary to further critically examine the contradictory practices inherent in the metropolitan proletarian movement in relation to gender and racial inequalities. Like the expansion of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire, the Japanese proletarian movement developed its cosmopolitan tendency in its attempt to integrate colonized proletarian movement in the Japanese empire into Japanese proletarian movement while maintaining the racial and gender inequalities inherent in the Japanese empire. Such a contradiction was also manifested in the different degrees of burden between Japanese and Korean proletarians' political conversions in the 1930s, as Kawamura Minato points out. On the one hand, the political conversion not only made Japanese proletarians abandon their political faith while allowing them to identify themselves with the Japanese ethnos and at the same time the ideal vision of Japanese empire as the

¹⁹⁶ Samuel Perry, *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan*, (Honolulu. University of Hawai'i Press, 2014) 143.

¹⁹⁷ Perry states, "For proletarian thinkers, class consciousness was precisely the means by which different interest groups could raise their own particular concerns, so that proletarian institutions might be self-created in such a way that took to heart the particular needs of each group within the coalition. The proletarian assertion of the centrality of class thus did not translate into a subordination of nation or ethnicity; instead, it enabled a cultural process whereby proletarian institutions became increasingly inclusive." *Ibid.*, 144.

universal world of the Greater East Asia centered around the Japanese ethnos, Japanese language, and Japan as nation-state. On the other hand, the political conversion not only made the colonized proletarians such as Koreans give up their political faith but also forced them to abandon their national and ethnic identity.¹⁹⁸ Likewise, as explored in this chapter, as women who did not have political rights were located in the subordinate position to men under the patriarchal system of imperialist capitalism and socialism in the Japanese empire, the female Japanese proletarian attempts to construct herself as a modern subject by displacing gender inequality with racial inequality and thereby invoking racial inequality as hierarchical relationship between intellectuals and their followers in the metropolitan socialist movement. Therefore, it could be argued that the Japanese socialist movement invokes its multi-ethnic socialist movement by concealing and displacing gender and racial inequality inherent in both the Japanese empire and the metropolitan socialist movement to some extent.

The contradiction inherent in the metropolitan proletarian movement in the Japanese empire can be seen as one of the factors that was developed into and at the same time supported the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Japanese empire of Greater East Asia, which

¹⁹⁸ Here I do not have a space to closely explore the issues related to the political conversion of the colonized. For the ambivalence inherent in Korean proletarian's political conversion in the Japanese empire, see Hong Jong-wook, *Senjiki chosen no tenkōsha tachi: teikoku/shokuminchi no tōgō to kiretsu* [The Political Conversion in Korea during the Wartime: Unification and Crack in the Empire and the Colony] (Tokyo: Yushisha, 2011). Hong Jong-wook's work on the Korean political conversion in the late 30s incisively illuminates a gap and asymmetrical relationship between Japanese proletarian conversions and Korean ones in many ways. He points out that while Japanese converted proletarians pursued their engagement in the mass and thus consolidated their identification with a nation, Korean proletarians were forced to renounce not only their political faith in communism and socialism but also their national and ethnic identity to become "Japanese and thus support the imperial ideology of "the unification of Japanese and Korean (*naisen ittai*)". At the same time, he also highlights that some Korean converted intellectuals and former socialists also viewed the political discourses of the unification of Japanese and Koreans and "the vision of new order of East Asia (*tōa shin chitsujokōsō*)" as a means to preserve their own ethnic and national identity.

emerged in the early 1940s. For the contradiction serves as a driving force for the expansion of the Japanese empire in that the contradiction consists of the domain of the multi-layered, hierarchical relationships of others in terms of class, gender, race, language and nationality, in which the contradiction (violence) is perpetually displaced onto more vulnerable and precarious others. As a final exploration of this chapter, I look at two different discourses as sites that manifest the contradiction inherent in the Japanese socialist movement; the first one is Japanese proletarian writers' discussion about the category of the Japanese working-class, which took place in 1937 and the second one is the dialogues on "colonial literature" between Japanese writers and Han-Taiwanese writers, which appeared in 1935.

On the one hand, the contradiction inherent in the proletarian movement in the Japanese empire is partly manifested in the ambivalent and indeterminate category of the working class. As examined earlier, Balibar notes that the working class identity emerges as a response to bourgeois society's exploitation of and contempt toward the working class. Their response against the exploitation by the bourgeois class appears in the form of struggle against bourgeois society on one hand, and in the form of xenophobic nationalism on the other. In any case, the working class's response expresses "the desire to escape from the condition of exploitation and the rejection of the contempt to which it is subject."¹⁹⁹ While Japanese cosmopolitan proletarians resisted directly against imperialist capitalist bourgeois society in order to escape from exploitation and contempt, the nationalistic workers directed the fear of exploitation and the resentment against contempt not against imperialistic capitalist bourgeois society but against foreigners and colonized workers. In this sense, cosmopolitan proletarians and nationalistic

¹⁹⁹ Balibar, 204-215.

proletarians are like two sides of the same coin. Yet, the cosmopolitan proletarians excluded or dismissed nationalistic proletarians from the category of working class as its exterior others, as Senko in “In the Woods” overlooked Japanese workers’ hostility against colonized workers. Japanese proletarian intellectuals eventually came to recognize that the nationalistic and ethnocentric proletarians are a part of working class when the second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. It was also the time when some converted former proletarians such as Hayashi Fusao and Asano Akira started to advocate the imperialist and nationalist ideology called “neo-Japanism” (*shin-Nihonshugi*). In the round table discussion by the proletarian writers titled “The Issue regarding Popularization of Literature,” which took place in 1937, Kubokawa Tsurujiro points out the ambivalence inherent in the category of the working class.²⁰⁰ Kubokawa emphasizes the importance of critically examining the objective of the popularization of literature at the time, considering the emergence of the new category of literature for the masses called “nationalistic popular literature” (*kokumin taishū bungaku*), along with the discourse of national literature or “neo-Japanism” (*shin-nihonshugi*) at the time. Looking at the contemporary discussion on the nationalistic mass and working class at the time, he underlines the diversity and the fluidity of the category of the mass. He further insists that one person can embody and represent proletarian definition of the mass and Fascistic notion of the mass at the same time, stating that such diverse and fluid concept of the mass includes both at the same time.

The masses, that is, the working-class people who could belong to the proletariat and to fascism at the same time, were eventually developed into the ethnocentric imperialist subjects in

²⁰⁰ “Bungaku no taishū ka no mondai (zadankai)[The Issue Regarding the Popularization of Literature :Round Table Discussion],” *Shinchō* [*New Current*] 34. 7 (July 1937): 136-157. This round table discussion was attended by the following writers: Hirutsu Kazuo, Takeda Rintaro, Abe Tomoji, Nakajyo Yuriko, Kataoka Tepei, Tokunaga Sunao, Kubokawa Tsurujiro, Shimaki Kensaku, and Nakamura Murao.

the discourse of Greater East Asia in the early 1940s. However, ethnocentric proletarians did not sprout all of sudden at the time when many proletarians were converted in the late 1930s, as they potentially existed within the metropolitan proletarian movement in the Japanese empire. For Japanese proletarian intellectuals, to slide their position from the side of the cosmopolitan proletarian to the side of fascistic and imperialistic proletarian was a way to belong to the category of the imperial subjects whose lives must be protected by the state, as Senko in Hirabayashi's "In the Woods" disguises herself as a Japanese refugee. In other words, the proletarian intellectuals and the fascistic and nationalistic proletarians respectively aimed to escape from not only exploitation and contempt imposed from bourgeois society but also violence exercised by the colonial authorities. In other words, it could be argued that Japanese cosmopolitan proletarians and fascistic and nationalistic proletarians respectively displaced their fears and angers on the colonized workers or colonized writers in different ways. Yet, at the same time, what must be also noted is that while Japanese converters displaced their fears on the colonial others, political conversion in the empire oppressed the colonized converters dually, alienating them from national and socialist identities and thereby integrated them into the category of Japanese imperial subjects.

On the other hand, the contradiction is also manifested in the seemingly dialogic interaction and collaboration between Japanese proletarian writers and colonized Taiwanese writers. In 1935, a Taiwanese proletarian writer Yang Kui founded the Japanese and Chinese bilingual literary journal, *the Taiwan New Literature* (*Taiwan shin bungaku*). Yang Kui had constructed the relationship with Japanese proletarian writers in the late 1920s when he was in Tokyo, and his novel written in Japanese, "The Paper Boy (*shibun haitatsufu*)," was published as one of the forerunners of Taiwanese writer's Japanese-language work in the metropolitan proletarian

journal, *the Literary Critique (Bungaku hyōron)*, which was established after the severe repression of socialists and communists in the metropole and the dissolution of NALP (Japanese proletarian writers' association, *nihonpuroretaria sakkadōmei*) in 1934.²⁰¹

Kawahara Isao notes that Yang Kui's *the Taiwan New Literature* attempted to facilitate the cooperation with Japanese proletarian writers, as the journal was greatly influenced by the proletarian movement in Taiwan that emerged in the late 1920s and 1930.²⁰² The first issue of *the Taiwan New Literature* published the answers from 17 Japanese writers who were affiliated with the metropolitan proletarian movement, including Tokunaga Sunao, Nii Itaru, Hayama Yoshiki, Ishikawa Tatsuzō, Hirabayashi Taiko, Korean writer, Chang Hyok-chu, and so on, to two questions; "what kinds of paths should colonial literature (*shokuminchi bungaku*) take?" and "Are there any instructions for the editors, writers and readers in Taiwan?"²⁰³ While I cannot examine all of Japanese writers' comments to these two questions in detail, what I want to underline here is the fact that no Japanese writers point out the unequal distribution of language based on which the relationship between Japanese proletarian writers and Han-Taiwanese writers is founded and thus the category of "colonial literature" emerges, just as Hirabayashi's text "In the Woods" dismisses the uneven distribution of wage and labor between Japanese workers and

²⁰¹ For the relationship between *the Taiwan New Literature* and Japanese proletarian writers in the late 1930s, see, Kawahara Isao, "Taiwan shinbungaku undō no tenkai [The Development of the Movement of New Literature in Taiwan]," *Taiwan shinbungaku undōno tenkai: nihonbungaku tonō setten* [The Development of the Movement of New Literature in Taiwan in relation to Japanese Literature] (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1997) 222-235.

²⁰² Kawahara, "Taiwan shinbungaku undō no tenkai [The Development of the Movement of New Literature in Taiwan]" 225.

²⁰³ "Taiwan no shinbungaku ni shomou surukoto [What We Want to Ask for Taiwanese Literature]" *Taiwan shin bungaku* [Taiwan New Literature] 1. (December 1935): 29-40, rpt. in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku bungei hyōron shū vol2* [The Collection of Literary Critiques in Colonial Taiwan], eds. Nakajima Toshiwo, Kawahara Isao, & Shimomura Sakujiro (Tokyo: Ryokuinshobō, 2001) 210-221.

the colonized workers.

In her examination of Japanese writers' views of "colonial literature," Hashimoto Kyōko argues that while Han-Taiwanese writers and Japanese writers together emphasize that the role of colonial literature is to convey the colonial reality of Taiwan, there is no consensus about the definition of "colonial literature" among Japanese writers. Some writers understood it as realistic depiction of colonial reality from the perspective of the colonized people and other writers regarded it as the literature that is set in the colony written by either Japanese writers or colonized writers. Even some Japanese writers hesitated to use the term "colonial literature" in their answers.²⁰⁴ In any case, while Japanese writers probably intended to express their solidarity with the colonized writers by sending comments to *Taiwan New Literature*, none of them points out that "colonial literature" written in *kokugo* is the epitome of Japanese colonialism. While the colonized writers have to use the colonizer's language and the colonizer's discourse to participate in the metropolitan proletarian movement and literary discourses, none of the Japanese writers raise questions about the language issue in the Japanese empire. Instead, Hirabayashi Taiko, for example, encourages colonized writers to publish more novels in the metropole, saying that the colonized writers' activity is not sufficient yet in the metropole. She further states, "of course, [the insufficiency] in the colonized writers' activity comes from the inconveniences that they have to write in Japanese. But I think more colonized writers should

²⁰⁴ Hashimoto, "Kareitō bungakushi" to sonojidai [*The Literary Historiography of Formosa and Its Time*] 146-153. It could be argued that Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward" could belong to the category of "colonial literature." But I still need to examine the discourse of "colonial literature" in the 1920s and 1930s in order to determine if the categorization of "colonial literature" could provide new insight into Japanese proletarian literature and Imperial literature.

appear in the metropole.”²⁰⁵ She further adds a request that colonial literature should not be like a translation of Japanese literature. In this way, many Japanese proletarian writers and thinkers disregard a gap or hierarchical relationship between Japanese writers and Han-Taiwanese writers which is partly created and maintained by the imposition of Japanese language on the colonized writers.

At the same time, Hashimoto Kyoko notes that the category of “colonial literature” also provided a room for the Han-Taiwanese writers to construct the colonized subjectivity to critically examine their colonial reality and unevenness. But such an attempt by the colonized writers ended in failure due to the folding of *Taiwan New Literature* in 1937.²⁰⁶ As I will examine in the next chapter, the colonized writers came to be more tightly integrated into the authoritative discourse of *kokugo*, as the colonized writers were forced to abandon their own language and to become “Japanese imperial subjects” under the imperialization policies imposed on colonial Taiwan and Korea around 1937. Accordingly, the colonized writers’ literature in Japanese came to be more strictly assimilated into metropolitan literature under the category of “provincial literature” (*chihō bungaku*) around the late 1930s.

Conclusion

By exploring Hirabayashi’s works, “In the Woods” and “At the Charity Ward,” this chapter has explored Japanese imperial literature as the site of multi-layered structures of others and the

²⁰⁵ “Taiwan no shinbungaku ni shomou surukoto[What We Want to Ask for Taiwanese Literature]” 210-221.

²⁰⁶ Hashimoto, “*Kareitō bungakushi*” to *sonojidai* [*The Literary Historiography of Formosa and Its Time*]” 146-153.

uneven distribution of life and death in terms of gender, race, and, class. The first part of the chapter examines Hirabayashi's "In the Woods," which was set in Tokyo under martial law right after the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake. Martial law serves to reconstruct racial and national borders, in which the oppressed people called "lawless people" are exposed to different forms of violence and death. Just as the martial law redraws the racial and national border, Hirabayashi's narrative also aims to reconstruct national and racial divisions that dissociate Japanese workers as worthy lives from Korean subjects who are turned into killable objects under martial law, while invoking the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic socialist community to conceal and displace such unequal relationships between the Japanese proletariat and colonized subjects in the Japanese empire. The second part of this chapter explored Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward," with a focus on the colonial space of the charity ward in Dalian as a space of others. The female protagonist, who is banished from Tokyo after the Great Kanto earthquake due to her ideological belief in socialism, is confined to the charity ward in Dalian, a space of others which is doubly oppressed by class and gender inequalities. By invoking multiple resisting voices that aim at disturbing and subverting class and gender inequalities, Hirabayashi's narrative evokes the moment of suspension in which a new subjectivity for resistance could be constructed. However, it eventually resolves the tension and hierarchical relationships by dissolving her struggle against gender and class inequality into the multi-ethnic proletarian movement. In the multi-ethnic proletarian movement, the female proletarian appears to occupy the position of the intellectual equal to that of Japanese male proletarians by displacing gender inequality with racial hierarchy thereby constituting the hierarchical relationship between Japanese female proletariat and the colonized other. I argue that the imperialistic socialist vision of cosmopolitan multi-ethnic community is not so different from the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire to the

extent that the imperialistic socialist vision of the multi-ethnic community could serve as an ideological fantasy that conceals and displaces both racial and gender inequalities inherent in both the metropolitan socialist movement and Japanese empire.

Chapter Two:

The Uneven Dialogism of Imperial Literature:

Long Yingzong's "The Huang Family" (*Ōke* 1940) as Provincial and Imperialization Literature

Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the multi-layered structure of dialogic but uneven relationships through an examination of Taiwanese writer Long Yingzong's "The Town with Papayas" (*Papaia no aru machi* 1937) and "The Huang Family" (*Ōke* 1940). In the first part of this chapter, I analyze the coeval but uneven dialogic relationship between metropolitan and colonial literature, with a focus on the emergence of literary works written in Japanese by colonized writers in "the literary world in the metropolis of Tokyo" (*chūō bundan*) around the 1930s. The type of the interaction I investigate in this chapter differs from the interaction between Japanese proletarian writers and Han-Taiwanese writers I examined at the end of Chapter 1. The latter at least aimed to create solidarity between Japanese proletarian writers and Han-Taiwanese writers, even though Japanese writers participated in the imperial enterprise to spread *kokugo* in the empire by encouraging Taiwanese writers to write in Japanese without noticing the uneven distribution of language based on which the relationship between Japanese writers and colonized writers are founded.

As I will argue in this chapter, while the metropolitan discourses on colonized writers aim to appropriate and assimilate the colonized writers' literature, including Long Yingzong's novels, into the metropolitan literary world of Japanese literature, they also differentiate and exclude the literature by colonized writers from the metropolitan literary world of Tokyo (*chūō bundan*), the

central literary institution in the empire, by relegating literature by colonized writers both spatially and temporally into the category of “provincial literature” (*chihō bungaku*). By establishing a hierarchical relationship between the metropolitan literary world and literature by colonized writers, Japanese literature of the metropolitan literary world continuously (re)constituted its authority and authenticity as the center of the literary world in the Japanese empire. The hierarchical relationship between the metropolitan and colonial literary worlds was emphasized in the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences, as discussed in the introduction. At the same time, by being integrated into the metropolitan literary world, literature by colonized writers was removed from its socio-historical context. Therefore, it was invoked as an ideological object for the metropolitan audience, which serves to conceal and displace colonial and militaristic violence, including the war in China and the imperialization movement (*kōminka undō*) in colonial Taiwan with the ideological vision of the expansion of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural literary world of the Japanese empire.

In the second part of this chapter, I place Long’s “The Huang Family” back into the historical and socio-political context of Colonial Taiwan, in particular that of the imperialization policies implemented in 1937 at the time of the second Sino-Japanese War. By doing so, I aim to highlight the structure of uneven dialogic relationships not only between the metropolitan literary institution and the colonized writers’ literature but also between colonizers and colonized and between colonized elites and colonized subalterns in order to make the mechanism of continuous displacements of racial, gender, and class inequalities recognizable. The metropolitan writers’ denial of a dialogic relationship with the colonized writers’ literature is internalized by the colonized writers, and internalized discrimination and violence is directed against more precarious colonized subjects among the groups of the oppressed. Moreover, when we place back

Long's "The Huang Family" into its historical and sociopolitical context of the colony, we can recognize that it also conjures up the fantastic objects that serve to replace colonial discrimination and violence with the ideological vision of imperialization. But while Long's narrative participates in the imperialization that aims to turn colonial subjects into subjects of the Japanese empire and thus distinguish them from enemies, Long's "The Huang Family" also seeks to demystify the ideological vision of imperialization by exposing brute force behind the colonial order organized around performative act of imperialization policies. But as the ending of Long's "The Huang Family" demonstrates, even though the colonized people understand they participate in the production of the ideology, they still have to continue doing it through performative acts.

The Historical Background: The Appearance of the Colonized Writer Long Yingzong in the Metropolitan Literary World

The year 1937 marked the acceleration of imperialization policies in Taiwan. The outbreak of the war in China (which was initially called the incident in Northern China and later the incident in China, as the Japanese government did not acknowledge it as war) gave rise to anxieties and tensions among the colonized people in Taiwan to the degree that the colonial government had to regulate rumors about the war.²⁰⁷ In response to the outbreak of war, the colonial-governor of Taiwan, Kobayashi Seizō, advanced three colonial policies

²⁰⁷ Mukōyama Hiroo, *Nihon tōchika ni okeru taiwan minzoku undōshi [Ethnic Movements in Taiwan Under the Rule of Japan]* (Tokyo: Chūō keizaikenkyūjyo, 1987) 1215-1216. Mukōyama noted that the rumors about the war (for example, the speculation about the possibility of China's victory in the war) were so widely spread that the commissioner-general gave the local officers the instructions on the enforcement of the regulations of the rumors about the incident.

—imperialization (*kōminka*), industrialization (*kōgyōka*), and the fortification of Taiwan for southward advance (*nanshin kichika*)—which had been initially announced by him in 1936.²⁰⁸ Kobayashi explained imperialization policy as an attempt to cultivate the ground for colonized subjects to become loyal imperial subjects by making the imperial spirit widespread in Taiwan, promoting common education, and correcting their language and customs.²⁰⁹ In other words, imperialization (*kōminka*) is a policy that aims to turn colonized (male) subjects into loyal imperial subjects who serve and fight for the Japanese empire. Imperialization policies were materialized through various kinds of social reforms, including the promotion of *kokugo*, the nomination of *kokugo* speaking homes (*kokugo jōyō katei*), the campaign to change original names into Japanese names (*kaiseimei undō*), the reorganization of local temples (*jibyō seiri*), and the enforcement of the native Japanese religion, Shintō.²¹⁰ Moreover, prior to the outbreak of the war, the Governor-General of Taiwan began regulating and limiting the use of the Chinese language in both public and private spaces. In 1937, Chinese sections were abolished from newspapers and journals including the *Taiwan News*, the *Tainan News*, the *Taiwan Daily news*,

²⁰⁸ Gotō Kenichi, “Taiwan to nanyō: ‘Nanshin’ mondai to no kanren de[Taiwan and the South in Relation to the Issues of Southern Advancement],” *Iwanamikōza Kindai Nihon shokuminchi, vol 2: Teikoku tōchi no kōzō*[*Iwanami Lecture: Modern Japanese Colonialism vol2:The Structure of Imperial Domination*], ed. Ōe Shinobu et al (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992) 147-175. Ihara Kichinosuke, “Taiwan no kōminka undo: Shōwa jūnendai no taiwan (II)[The Imperialization Movement in Taiwan: Taiwan during the late 1930s and the early 1940s],” *Nihon no nanpō kanyō to Taiwan*[*Japan’s Involvement in South and Taiwan*], ed. Nakamura Takashi (Tenri-shi: Tenrikyōdōyūsha, 1988) 271-386.

²⁰⁹ Quoted in Washisu Atsuya, “Kōminka no shomondai [Various Issues Regarding Imperialization],” *Taiwan jihō* [Taiwan Reports] (December 1939):16-22.

²¹⁰ Mukōyama 1219-1228. In this paper, I only focus on the imperialization policies imposed on *hontō jin*, while I want to add that the Governor-General of Taiwan also implemented the different and more deadly forms of imperialization policies imposed on the indigenous people in Taiwan. For the detail, see Kondo Masami, “Senjūmin ni taisuru ‘kōminka’ seisaku[The Imperialization Policies on the Indigenous People],” *Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminch ihōkai no kenkyū*[*Total War and Taiwan:The Study of Dissolution of Japanese Colony*] (Tokyo: Tōsui shoten, 1996) 261-350.

and the *Taiwan Shinminpō*, in addition to *New Taiwanese Literature*, the major literary journal in Taiwan at the time. Chinese language courses were also completely removed from the curriculum of public schools (*kōgakkō*, elementary schools exclusively for Han-Taiwanese students) and *kokugo* became a compulsory language at home and workplace, at least officially.²¹¹ In this way, imperialization policies were enforced to eliminate the cultural heritages of *hontōjin* (Han-Taiwanese people) in order to turn them into loyal imperial subjects (*chūryōnaru teikoku shinmin*) and mobilize them for war. At the same time, Kawahara Isao notes that while there were a few journals that were allowed to publish Chinese language articles and novels, the regulation of Chinese language sections in the newspapers and journals created the condition for the growth of Japanese language literature in Taiwan during the wartime.²¹²

In this crucial year of 1937, Long Yingzong's name suddenly appeared in the metropolitan literary scene. His first novel written in Japanese, "The Town with Papayas" (*Papaiya no aru machi*), received an honorable mention (*kasaku suisen*) in the 9th *Kaizō* literary prize. Unlike contemporary Taiwanese writers who wrote novels in Japanese such as Yang Kui, Lu Haruo, Zhang Wenhuan, and Wen Nao, he had never studied abroad in Japan, as he received colonial education and acquired Japanese language skills in colonial Taiwan. The novel "The Town with Papayas" narrates the struggle and despair of the young colonial elite who received the colonial education in Taiwan like Long. When he made his debut in the literary world in the metropole with his first novel "The Town with Papayas," he was still an amateur writer working at the

²¹¹ Lin Jingming, *Nihon Tōchika Taiwa no "Kōminka" Kyōiku: Watakushi wa 15 sai de "Gakutohei" to natta* [Imperialization Education in Taiwan under the Rule of Japan: I became "a Student Soldier" when I was 15 year old] (Tokyo: Kōbunken 1997).

²¹² Kawahara Isao, "The State of Taiwanese Culture and Taiwanese New Literature in 1937: Issues on Banning Chinese Newspaper Sections and Abolishing Chinese Writings," *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, eds. Liao Ping-Hui and David Der-Wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) 122-140.

Taiwan Bank and having no connection with the literary world in Taiwan. I also want to add that Long Yingzong also belongs to Hakka, a Chinese ethnic minority group whose language and culture differs from the majority Chinese group of the Min Nan (or Fujianese) in Taiwan, although Min Nan people and Hakka people were categorized together as “*hontō-jin*” (people in the island), as opposed to Japanese people from Japan proper (*naichijin*) under the Japanese colonial administrative order.

After his debut in the literary circle in the metropole (*chūō bundan*) by his first novel, Long published essays and short novels in major metropolitan journals such as *Bungei* (the Literary Art), *Kaizō*, (the Reform), and *Bungei shuto* (the Literary Capital). Three years after he made his debut in the metropole, his short novel, “The Huang Family” (*Ōke* 1940) was published in *Bungei* (Literary Art), one of the major literary journals in the metropole. His debut in the literary world coincided with an increase in attention to literary works depicting the colonies and external territories (*gaichi*) in the Japanese empire. In particular, the metropolitan literary world used the literary prize system to introduce and integrate these literary works written by colonized writers or obscure Japanese writers into metropolitan Japanese literature. It was also a time when the Japanese empire established Taiwan as a stepping stone for expansion into Southeast Asia.

Long became one of the most prolific writers in Taiwan during the war, especially after he became a member of *Bungei Taiwan* (Taiwan Literary Art), a journal established by Nishikawa Mitsuru, one of the most influential Japanese writers living in Taiwan, in 1941 and after quitting his job at the Taiwan Bank in 1942. After his first novel was selected for the 9th *Kaizō* literary prize, he traveled to Japan for the first time at the journal’s invitation. At the time, he made acquaintance with metropolitan writers and the publishers, such as members of the journal *Bungei shuto* (the Literary Capital), organized by Yasutaka Tokuzō, through whom Long got to

know a colonized writer from Korea, Kim Saryang.²¹³ He visited Japan again during the war to participate in the first conference of the Greater East Asia Literature, which was held in Tokyo in 1942 as a representative of Taiwan writers, together with other writers in Taiwan including Nishikawa Mitsuru, Hamada Hayao, and Zhang Wenhuan.²¹⁴ At this conference, he made a speech on the first topic, “the establishment of the spirit of Greater East Asia,” along with other participants who represented Japan, Korea, China, and Manchūkuo. The aspiring colonized young man who dreamed of becoming a professional writer fulfilled his dream, ironically only when he was mobilized as an imperialized writer to advocate the Greater East Asia War and the ideology of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere.

The Reception of Long Yingzong’s Works as Imperialization Literature (*kōmin bungaku*)

Among Long’s works written in Japanese during the colonial period, his first novel, “The Town with Papayas,” has been exclusively commented on and analyzed both during the colonial period and during postwar period. “The Town with Papayas” narrates the struggle and despair of a colonized elite, Chen Yu-shen, who graduates from middle school (*chūgakkō*) in Taiwan. In order to take a position of assistant accountant at the town office, Chen comes to the town, which was originally the aborigines’ land colonized by Han-Taiwanese settlers a long time ago and is

²¹³ Shimomura Sakujirō, *Bungaku de yomu Taiwan: Shihaiha • Laguage • Sakkatachi* [Reading Taiwan Through Literature: Colonialism, Language, and Writers] (Tokyo: Tabata shoten, 1994) 20-27. Nayoung Aimee Kwon translated the letter that Long sent to Kim Saryang around 1941 in her book. Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration & Colonial Modernity in Korea & Japan*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015)

²¹⁴ Wang Huei-Chen, *Long Yingzong kenkyū: Taiwan jin Nihongo sakka no kiseki* [The Study of Long Yingzong: The Path of the Taiwanese Japanese-Language Wrier], Ph.D Dissertation, Kansai University, 2005. 68.

now developed around the sugar factory, a symbol of colonial industrialization. Disillusioned by his work and salary, Chen makes a firm determination to become a lawyer within ten years. But his ambition is gradually discouraged by the influence of his coworkers, who either live in poverty or seek only self-indulgence. He eventually abandons his dream when his marriage proposal is rejected because of his economic instability.

“The Huang Family” also narrates the struggle and despair of the colonized young men whose high ambitions are discouraged by the colonial reality and inequality. In “The Huang Family,” the brothers Ruoli and Ruozhang initially have ambition to become artists, but they have to give up their dream for economic reasons. But while Ruozhang comes to wonder if high art helps poor people’s lives, the older brother Ruoli continues to have a blind faith in Western thought and culture, even though they do not improve his everyday life. Meanwhile, his mother has a blind faith in folk religion, although it is useless for the recovery of his grandson who gets seriously ill and dies in spite of all care and wishes. In the end, Ruoli himself loses his own health due to his self-abusive intemperance.

Many prewar Japanese critics and writers paid attention to the exotic landscape of Taiwan and the theme of the hardship of the colonial elite in Long’s works. At the same time, his writing technique and style in “The Town with Papayas” and “The Huang Family” were also criticized as unskilled and imperfect by metropolitan writers. For example, one editor criticized his writing in “The Huang Family” as awkward, although he also praised Long’s delicate depiction of the “local color” of Taiwan.²¹⁵ Meanwhile, scholars in the postwar period have analyzed Long’s “The Town with Papayas” as part of imperialization literature (*kōminka bungaku*). The term

²¹⁵ “Bungei’ to ‘Shinchō’ sakuhin hyō [Literary Review on ‘Literary Art’ and ‘New Current’],” *Bungei[Literary Art]* 8.12 (December 1940): 217.

imperialization literature (*kōminka bungaku*) emerged around 1943 when Chen Huoquan published *The Road (Michi)*,²¹⁶ which was received as a model of imperialization literature in Taiwan during the war. Chen's *The Road* narrates the internal conflict of the male *hontōjin* (Han-Taiwanese) elite who suffers from racial discrimination at the hands of Japanese and eventually decides to enlist as an imperial soldier in order to overcome discrimination and racial hierarchy between *naichijin* (Japanese) and *hontōjin* by becoming a Japanese imperial soldier who possesses a Japanese spirit.

The postwar literary critic Ozaki Hotsuki situates Long's "The Town with Papayas" as a literature of "submission (*kutsujū*)."²¹⁷ In his examination of literary works written in Japanese by three Taiwanese writers and published in the metropole, Yang Kui's "Newspaper Boy" (*Shinbun haitatsufu* 1934), Lu Haruo's "The Oxcart" (*Gyūsha* 1935), and Long's "The Town with Papayas" (1937), Ozaki argues that reading these three texts in chronological order helps understand the transition of Taiwanese consciousness toward Japanese colonialism from resistance (*teikō*), resignation (*akirame*) to submission (*kutsujū*).²¹⁷ Following Ozaki, Leo Ching defines Long's "The Town with Papayas" as a forerunner of imperialization literature (*kōmin bungaku*) in his historical examination of colonial identity formations of Taiwan. Ching insists that Long's work marks the critical shift in literary motifs of Taiwanese literature (written in Japanese) from the representations of racial and class antagonism in the colony to the internalization of such social antagonism into a struggle over personal identity. Ching further argues that the narrative of personal identity struggle, which is characteristic of imperialization literature, functions to

²¹⁶ Ide Isamu, "'Kōminbungaku' to iu kotoba no imi ni tsuite [Regarding the Meaning of 'Imperialization' Literature]," *Tenri innta karucha kenkyūjyo kenkyūronsō [Tenri Inter-Culture Research Center Article]* (March 2000) 27-41.

²¹⁷ Ozaki 196-209.

conceal and displace the contradiction inherent in colonial assimilation policies that compelled colonized subjects to become Japanese and at the same time excludes them from the category of Japanese. But he also notes that Long's work describes such a desire not as an ontological struggle of identity but as the pragmatic pursuit unlike imperialization literature that focuses on the issue of the imperial draft system applied to Han-Taiwanese men during wartime.

Naoki Sakai defines imperialization literature in Taiwan as an ideological staging based on an uneven collaboration of colonizers and colonized. In his reading of Chen Huoquan's *The Road (Michi)*, Sakai argues that imperialization literature serves as a technology of *poiesis* of the subject. Sakai insists that while the colonial policy generates contradiction by encouraging the colonized subjects to become Japanese and at the same time excluding them from the category of Japanese, imperialization literature serves to evoke an ideological fantasy in which such a contradiction is mediated as a driving force for propelling the colonized subjects toward an insatiable desire for Japanese identity. Like Ching, Sakai contends that the narrative of imperialization as ideological fantasy functions to conceal and displace the contradiction inherent in the colonial policy. At the same time, Sakai also emphasizes that the ideological fantasy of imperialization literature operates within a theatrical staging involving the uneven division of labor between colonizers and the colonized. For in this ideological fantasy, the colonized subject acts as a performer expressing a desire to become Japanese, while the colonizers act as an audience viewing the performance of the colonized subjects.²¹⁸ In other words, the performance by the colonized, that is, imperialization literature, is the theatrical reproduction of uneven and hierarchical relationship between colonizers and colonized, which

²¹⁸ Naoki Sakai, "Two Negations: Fear of Being Excluded and the Logic of Self-Esteem." *Novel* 37(3) (Summer 2004): 229-257.

helps (re)construct the unified identity of the Japanese.

Drawing on this scholarship on Long's works and imperialization literature,²¹⁹ I explore Long's works within two opposing but interrelated contexts, the metropolitan literary context in which literature by colonized writers was assimilated into the world of Japanese literature as "provincial literature," and the colonial literary context in which literature by colonized writers is assimilated into the colonial policies of imperialization in colonial Taiwan. On the one hand, I investigate the emergence of "provincial literature" within the coeval but uneven interaction between the metropolitan literary world and the literary world in colonial Taiwan. While as Sakai points out, it could be argued that imperialization literature was intended for metropolitan readers, the metropolitan literary world received these literary works not as "imperialization" literature

²¹⁹ The other recent scholars also explore Long's "The Town with Papayas" in relation to the interaction between the metropolitan literary world and the colonized writers, colonial histories of Taiwan etc. Wu Rwei-ren defines the identity struggle as the representations of belated arrival of the modern self by situating the emergence of Taiwanese modern literature within double marginalities: Taiwan was marginalized by Japan, which was marginalized by the West. Wu argues that the modern self in Taiwan was constituted within the language of the other, being deprived of their languages and cultures by the Japanese empire. Lee Yuhei also examines the colonial spaces in relation to the complex multi-layered histories and structures of the colonization beyond the one-dimensional colonial relationship between "Japanese" and "Taiwanese," but from the different perspective (the colonization of aborigines by Han-Taiwanese settlers and the colonization of the aborigines and Han-Taiwanese population by the Japanese empire). Yamada Keizo examines Long's works in relation to the imperialization and the war mobilization. Wu Rwei-ren, "Mouhitotsuno 'heisokujidai' no seishinshi: Long Yingzong • taiwansenzen shōsetsu nimirareru koroniaruna shutai no keisei [Another Intellectual History of Exclusive Period: Long Yingzong the Formation of Colonial Subject Found in Literature in Prewar Taiwan] ," *Nihon kindai bungaku [Modern Japanese Literature]* vol75. (November 2006):167-178. Lee Yuhui, "Shokuminchi no seijigakuto 'ba' no hyōshō : Long Yingzong "Papaya no aru machi [The Politics of the Colony: the Representations of Places: Long Yingzong "The Town with Papayas]," *Hikakubungaku [Comparative Literature]* 42. (1999) :62-75. Wang Huei-Chen, *Long Yingzong kenkyū: Taiwan jin Nihongo sakka no kiseki [The Study of Long Yingzong: The Path of Taiwanese Japanese-Language Writer]*, Ph.D Dissertation, Kansai University, 2005. Izumi Tsukasa, *Nihontōchiki Taiwan to teikoku no "bundan": "Bungaku kenshō" ga tsukuru 'nihongo bungaku [Taiwan Under the Rule of Japan and Metropolitan Literary Circle in the Empire: Japanese Language Literature Created by "Literary Prizes"]* (Tokyo: Hitsuji shobō, 2012) Yamada Keizō, "Kanashiki romanshugisha: nihontōchi jidai no Long Yingzong [A Sad Romanticist: Long Yingzong during the Period of the Japanese Empire]," *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: nihon tōchiki no sakka to sakuin [Revived Taiwanese Literature: Writers and Literary Works under Japanese Rule]*, eds. Shimomura sakujirō, Nakajima Toshio, Fujii shōzō, and Huang, ying-che (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1995) 345-369.

but as “provincial literature,” by removing these literary works from their socio-historical contexts in the colony and appropriating them into the metropolitan literary world as a part of the multi-cultural world of Japanese literature.

On the other hand, by placing the literary text back into the socio-political context of colonial Taiwan, I will analyze “The Huang Family” as a narrative both advocating and at the same time demystifying the ideological narrative of imperialization. Long’s narrative invokes two different ideological objects of desire produced within imperialization policies, the folk religion that represents tradition and the metropolitan culture of the Japanese empire, which represents colonial modernity by depicting the generational, gender and class-based antagonistic relationship between the son and the mother. While colonized writers’ literature serves as an ideological object for metropolitan readers, tradition and metropolitan culture serve as two different objects of desire for the colonized subjects, as they respectively function to displace economic and social inequalities created by the colonial condition and the ongoing violence of the imperialization policies.

The Literary Prize System and the Assimilation of Colonized Writers into the Metropolitan Literary World

Colonial writers started making their debuts in the metropolitan literary world in the early 1930s as, those who received colonial education attempted to participate in the metropolitan literary world for different reasons, including overcoming racial inequality, forging solidarity among proletarian writers in Japan and Taiwan, or advancing their own careers. Kawamura Minato once pointed out that literary works depicting the external territories (*gaichi*) became popular in the metropolitan literary world in the late 1930s and the 1940s, stating that Japanese

literature in the early Shōwa period (1925-1989) sought for a foreign land (*ikyō*) to revitalize Japanese literature after the severe repression of proletarian literature in the early 1930s. Kawamura argues that the Akutagawa literary prize system, which was established in 1935, in particular played a significant role in the rise of the literature that deals with the external territories of the Japanese empire.²²⁰

Meanwhile, in her examination of the Akutagawa prize system in relation to the hierarchical relationship between Japanese metropolitan writers and a colonized Korean writer, Nayoung Aimee Kwon argues that Kawamura's examination of the role of the Akutagawa prize narrowly focuses on the representations of the colonies by Japanese writers. She rightly emphasizes the importance of investigating the roles of colonized writers in the establishment of the metropolitan literary world and the uneven interaction between the metropolitan and colonial literary worlds behind the Akutagawa Prize system.²²¹ By following Kwon's incisive analysis on the construction of the hierarchical relationship between Japanese literature and literature by colonized writers, I aim to examine the uneven dialogic interaction and communication between metropolitan Japanese writers and colonized writers, and thus between the metropolitan literary world and the literary world in colonial Taiwan. At the same time, I also highlight the significance of the literary prizes for the colonized writers and the connection between the appearance of the colonized writers' works in the metropolitan literary world and the expansion of the Japanese empire through the brutal military advancement from the 1931 Manchurian incident to the war in China beginning in 1937.

²²⁰ Kawamura Minato, *Ikyō no shōwa bungaku: "Manshū" to kindai nihon. [Showa Literature in Foreign Lands: "Manchuria" and Modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990) 26-28, 140-146.

²²¹ Kwon 47-57.

Izumi Tsukasa points out that the literary prizes offered by multiple literary journals in the metropole at the time played a significant role in the colonized writers' debuts in the metropolitan literary world during the 1930s.²²² The literary prizes were not necessarily highly regarded as a means to enter the literary world by Japanese writers at the time, as those who hope to become writers usually studied under a prominent writer or organized and published an amateur literary journal with other amateur writers with shared interests before they made their debut in the literary world.²²³ But unlike Japanese writers in the metropole who could establish relationships with other writers in many ways, the literary prizes were almost the only means for colonized writers to make their debuts as writers in the metropolitan literary world. Prior to the establishment of the Akutagawa Prize, literary journals such as *Kaizō* already paid attention to literary works depicting the external territories and the colonized writers' works.²²⁴ The Korean writer Chang Hyōkchu made his debut with his "The Way of Hungry Ghosts (*Gakidō*)," when he received the second prize of the 5th *Kaizō* literary prize in 1932. In 1934, Yang Kui a Taiwanese proletarian writer, won second place for his short novel "The Paperboy" (*Shinbun haitatsufu*) from the Literary Critique (*Bungaku hyōron*), a Japanese proletarian journal. Three years after Long Yingzong received the literary prize, Kim Saryang, a Korean writer, was nominated for the 10th Akutagawa Prize in 1940 for his "Into the Light" (*Hikari no naka ni*).

Although we should not forget that modern Taiwanese literature was formed in its relationship with dual centers —the Sinophone literary world and the world of *kokugo*, as Izumi

²²² Izumi 16-108.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 56-108. In addition to Chang Hyokchu and Long Yingzong, Yuasa Katsuei a Japanese writer who grew up in colonial Korea also received the second literary Kaizo prize with his "the Record of Flames" (*Homura no kiroku*) in 1935.

suggests, —some of the colonized writers who were exposed to colonial education aspired to enter the metropolitan literary world. Especially after the anti-colonization movements were brutally suppressed by Japanese military authorities by 1915, the colonized subjects came to see colonial education and *kokugo* education not only as a means for lower-class colonial subjects to elevate their social status in the bureaucratic system in Taiwan, but also as a means for intellectuals to absorb the universal European knowledge of civilization and thus to overcome racial discrimination against colonized Taiwanese by Japanese colonizers.²²⁵ As *kokugo* education established the status of *kokugo* as a hegemonic language in Taiwan, the traditional education institutions that existed prior to Japanese colonization, were dramatically decreased and the number of students who studied abroad in Japan was also increased.²²⁶ In the meantime, some of the colonized writers also started to submit their works to metropolitan literary journals in order to avoid censorship in the colony, which was much stricter than that in the metropole. As Kawahara Isao notes in his examination of Yang Kui’s “A Paperboy,” Yang Kui submitted his novel to *Literary Critique* (*bungaku hyōron*) after half of his work was banned in Taiwan, because the novel severely criticizes Japanese imperialist capitalism and colonization by portraying the land expropriation by a sugar factory, the colonial authorities’ torture of the colonized people, and the memory of the violent uprisings against Japanese colonialism.²²⁷

²²⁵ Chen Peifeng. “*Dōka*” no *dōshōimu*: *Nihon tōchika Taiwan no kokugo kyōikushi saikō*, *Shinsōban* [Sharing but Having Different Objectives of “Assimilation”: The Reconsideration of the History of Kokugo Education in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule] (Tokyo: Sangen sha, 2010)

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 107-108 & 144-146.

²²⁷ Kawahara Isao, “Yang Kui ‘Shinbun haitatsufu’ no seiritu haikai [Yang Kui, The Background to the Creation of ‘Paper Boy],” *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: nihon tōchiki no sakka to sakuhin* [Revived Taiwanese Literature: Writers and Literary Works Under the Japanese Rule, eds. Shimomura sakujirō, Nakajima Toshio, Fujii shōzō, and Huang ying-che (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1995) 287-311.

Furthermore, Izumi Tsukasa also notes that the literary world in Taiwan also viewed the entry of Taiwanese writers into the metropolitan literary world as a passage for the consolidation and advancement of literature in Taiwan, because the metropolitan literary world had a larger amount of capital and market compared to the colonial literary world. In particular, the prohibition of Chinese language journals and newspapers right after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 resulted in an increase in the production of literary works written in Japanese in colonial Taiwan.

The Denial of Coevalness: The Assimilation of Literature by Colonized Writers into Japanese Literature as “Provincial Culture” (*chihō bunka*)

The emergence of colonized writers in the journal *Kaizō* paralleled the expansion of the Japanese empire.²²⁸ Chang Hyōkchu received the second prize of the *Kaizō* literary prize in 1932, a year after Japanese military’s invasion of Manchuria, which was followed by the establishment of Manchukuo. It was a time when the Japanese empire aimed to establish colonial Korea as a stepping stone for military’s advancement towards the north (*hokushin*) including Manchuria and Chinese continent. Likewise, Long Yingzong received honorable mention for the *Kaizō* literary prize in 1937, the year that Taiwan was established as a base for southward advancement as the Japanese empire prepared for its expansion into Southeast Asia including Singapore, which I will examine in the next chapter.

²²⁸ Unlike those writers who received the *Kaizō* literary prize, it could be argued that Yang Kui’s reception of the literary prize from the *Literary Critique* was also closely connected to Yang’s interaction with Japanese proletarian writers during his stay in Japan from 1924 to 1927. Kawahara Isao notes that Yang got to know some Japanese proletarian writers including Tokugawa Sunao in the late 1920s. Kawahara Isao, “Yang Kui ‘Shinbun haitatsufu’ no seiritsu haikai [Yang Kui, The Background to the Creation of ‘Paper Boy]” 287-311.

In 1940, the literary institution in the metropole started participating in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*Taisei Yokusankai*) organized by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro and promoted the reconstruction of provincial cultures (*chihō bunka*) in consolidating a fascistic system in Japan proper. It was also the year when the idea of “The New Order of the Greater East Asia” (*daitōa no shinchitsujo*) or “the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” (*daitōa kyōeiken*)” was introduced by the second Konoe cabinet to promote the coalition of China, Manchukuo, and Japan under the guidance of the Japanese empire. (This vision was eventually visualized in the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences.) While the Japanese empire aimed to dominate not only China and Manchukuo but also Southeast Asia under the ideological vision of “the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere (*daitōa kyōeiken*)” through the second Sino-Japanese War starting from 1937 and the Greater East Asian War starting from 1941, colonial Taiwan and colonial Korea respectively were more tightly assimilated into and subjugated to the Japanese empire. Unlike China, Manchukuo and the occupied territories in Southeast Asia, the subjects in these colonies were assimilated into the Japanese empire as Japanese even though they were denied rights as Japanese citizens. Under these political circumstances, literature written in Japanese by colonized writers came to be appropriated and integrated into the institution of Japanese literature in the metropole as a part of “provincial literature” (*chihō bungaku*) in the Japanese empire.

When we examine the literary interaction between the metropole and the colonies by looking at the discourse of “provincial literature” (*chihō bungaku*) in the metropole and the discourse of imperialization in Taiwan at the same time, we can find some peculiar discrepancies between the literary discourse in the metropole and that in the colony. On the one hand, imperialization policies in Taiwan primarily aimed to eradicate any cultural heritage of the

Han-Taiwanese population in order to establish the colonized (male) subjects as loyal imperial subjects who fight for the Japanese empire. On the other hand, Japanese metropolitan writers and critics appreciated landscape, customs and people's lives unique to the colonies, which are depicted in the colonized writers' novels, as a part of "provincial culture." By discovering and examining many of the comments on Long's "The Town with Papayas" which were made by his Japanese contemporaries, Wang Huei-Chen notes that one of the characteristics of the comments made by Japanese writers in Tokyo is their close attention to the cultural uniqueness of Taiwan.²²⁹ A critic in the journal *Bungei* comments about "The Town with Papayas," stating, "what people like to read in this novel is the landscapes and people's general manners and customs in Taiwan. In this sense, the writer has a great talent in sketching these things."²³⁰ The contemporary writer Abe Tomoji also highly values Long's novel as "reportage" that concisely portrays "nature, customs and people of the southern part of Taiwan."²³¹ A month after the publication of "the Huang family," the editor of *Bungei* partially praises his work, stating that the author "straightforwardly depicts the pathos, which is characteristic of its region (*chihō shoku*) with delicate touch."²³²

In her examination of the "Korea boom" in the metropole during the late 1930s and the 1940s, Nayoung Aimee Kwon astutely investigates how Chōsen (Korean) literature became "the

²²⁹ Wang Huei-Chen, "Long Yingzong "Papaiya no aru machi" ni taisuru nihon bundan no hyōka [Long Yingzong: The Reviews on "The Town with Papayas" by the Metropolitan Literary World] ," *Yasō [Wildflowers]* vol 71 (February 2003): 67-83.

²³⁰ Asashimon, "Shōsetsu saiten bo [The Literary Review]" *Bungei [Literary Art]* (May 1937) :92-93.

²³¹ Quoted in Wang , Long Yingzong "Papaiya no aru machi" ni taisuru nihon bundan no hyōka [Long Yingzong: The Reviews on "The Town with Papayas" by the Metropolitan Literary World] ,"67-83.

²³² "'Bungei' to 'Shinchō' sakuhin hyō [Literary Review on the Works from 'Literary Art' and 'New Current' ," 217.

object of imperial desires for ‘colonial kitsch’” in the literary discourses in the metropole, insisting that not just Chōsen literature, culture and tradition but the colony as a whole were turned into exoticized objects of the immediate and indiscriminate consumption in the metropole.²³³ Kwon also notes a discrepancy between the metropolitan discourse of the “Korea boom” and the imperialization policy in colonial Korea at the time as found in the case of colonial Taiwan. Kwon contends that this discrepancy between the consumption of the colonial exoticized objects in the metropole and the repression of the colonized language, culture, and tradition in the colony is closely linked to the contradictory scheme of imperialism, that is, a simultaneous process of inclusion and exclusion of the colonized subjects under the category of “imperial Japanese subjects.” Kwon further argues that while the discourses of the “Korea boom” serve to assimilate the colony into the category of Asia in which the metropole of Japan and the colonies share the same traditions of Asia, as opposed to West, the metropolitan discourses of the “Korea boom” also differentiate metropolitan literature from literature in the colonies by reifying the colonies as “primordial past,” following the logic of Western Orientalism while simultaneously reducing the West into Other.²³⁴ In this way, Kwon incisively situates the metropolitan discourses that reify the colony and literature by the colonized writers as imperial objects of the desire within Japanese empire’s conceptualization of the hierarchical triangle between the Japanese empire, its colonies, and the West. Building on Kwon’s analysis, I pay closer attention to the complex coeval relationship between the metropole and the colony in order to highlight how the discourses of “provincial literature” in the metropole function to cover

²³³ Kwon 47-57.

²³⁴ Ibid., 108-109.

and dislocate various forms of ongoing violence exercised by the Japanese empire at the time, drawing on Johannes Fabian's theory of "the denial of coevalness."

In his *Time & the Other*, Fabian problematizes the imperialist discourses that disavow coevalness, that is, the shared time and space between colonizers and colonized in order to constitute the hierarchical division between them. In particular, he contends that as knowledge producers, modern subjects differentiate and dissociate themselves from indigenous people, the object of their study by spatially and temporarily relegating the others into the domain of the past and backwardness and thus denying their coeval presence with the objects of their study.²³⁵ The denial of coevalness is exercised by the metropolitan literary writers as dual forms of oppression, as found in the metropolitan editor's review on Long's "Huang Family." While the editor of *Bungei* praises Long's depiction of local color and pathos, he criticizes Long's writing style, stating that "although the author portrays the Taiwanese family living in the remote place in a serious manner, his depictions of the characters are clumsy....His novel does not go beyond the level of the novels written by amateur writers as it lacks structural unification as a whole."²³⁶

On the one hand, by spatially relegating literature by the colonized writers into the domain of the marginalized province (*chihō*) in the Japanese empire, as opposed to the central literary world of the metropole (*chūō bundan*), the metropolitan literary world denies its coeval relations with the colonized writers' literature in establishing the authenticity and authority of Japanese literature that seeks to accommodate multi-ethnic cultures in the Japanese empire. In other words, local cultures, landscapes, customs and people in the colonies depicted by the colonized writers

²³⁵ Fabian 31.

²³⁶ "'Bungei' to 'Shinchō' sakuhin hyō [Literary Review on Literary Works from 'Literary Art' and 'New Current,'" 217.

are assimilated into the literary context of Japanese literature as fantastic objects of desire and the marker of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural space of the empire by being stripped from its socio-political and historical contexts of brutal colonial policies of imperialization imposed on the colonies at the time.²³⁷ On the other hand, by temporarily and spatially relegating colonized writers' literature into the immature or underdeveloped writing, which stands between the domain of language and the domain of non-language, the metropolitan discourse of Japanese literature establishes the hierarchical relation between colonizer writers and colonized writers. In other words, colonizers criticize and denigrate colonized writers' *kokugo* writings, because the colonizers can envision their illusory identification with their language, *kokugo*, and thus establish themselves as unified subjects of the Japanese ethnos only when they violently and repeatedly impose *kokugo* on the colonized subjects as their own.

At the same time, it is through the denial of coevalness exercised by the metropolitan Japanese writers that the colonized writers are constructed as the hybridized and ambivalent subjects who stand between colonizers and colonized. Being called into (interpellated into) the authoritative discourse of Japanese literature in the metropole, the colonized writer Long internalizes the imperial practices of denial of coevalness and participates in it by engaging in the self-ethnographic practices. Naoki Sakai explicates imperialization literature as a theoretical creation of the ideological fantasy based on the uneven division of labor between colonizers and colonized: a colonized writer self-fashions himself into a colonial ethnographer in portraying colonial objects, landscapes, customs, and people that attract the readers in the metropole and

²³⁷ The violence of the imperialization policies was acknowledged in the metropole, as the editor of the *Nihon Gakugei Shinbun* criticizes the prohibition of the use of Chinese in Taiwan. "Taiwan wa tokusyu kenetsu: Sōbō ni arashi." *Nihon Gakugei Shinbun*. June 1, 1937: 6.

translating local cultures and languages into the Japanese context. For example, in the novel “The Town with Papayas,” Long showcases the colonial landscape ranging from the very modern scenery of a huge castle-like white sugar factory surrounded by the vast sugarcane field and orange field to the exotic tropical scenery of colonial streets with the papaya trees and the market with grotesquely depicted foods and consumers, and the red-lantern street with the women from Taiwan, Japan and Korea.²³⁸ In the novel “the Huang Family” Long also describes the old local Chinese temple, along with the exoticized colonized people including an aborigine, beggars, and a fortuneteller coming to and living in a remote village surrounded by the mountains. Long also aims to introduce and translate local customs, architectures and foods, which are unique to Taiwan, into Japanese cultural and linguistic contexts, by adding explanatory comments. He explains about “Taiwanese pavilions (亭子脚),” adding to say that it is “a unique architectural style found in the cities of Taiwan which looks like a corridor gallery.” He also makes a comment on the custom of dowry (聘金 *heikin*) by stating “it is like a betrothal money for *naichiji*. But *Hontōjin*’s marriage is like a trade marriage.”

Yet, in participating in the denial of coevalness, a colonized writer seeks to phantasmatically identify not with the colonized people in the colony but with the colonizer in the metropole. Later, in his conversation with Yang Kui, which was published in the *Nihon gakugei shinbun*

²³⁸ Although I cannot explore in detail the appropriation of the metropolitan literary technique by the colonized writers here, I want to briefly mention that it seems that some of Long’s depiction of the desolate and grotesque colonial scenery and the objectification of people as things in “The Town with Papayas” and “the Huang Family” are similar to the literary techniques found in the works by the New Sensationalist writers such as Yokomitsu Riichi’s *Shanghai*.

For the influence of the New Sensationalist literature in the metropole on the colonized writers in Taiwan, see Xie Hui zhen, *Nihon Tōchiki Taiwan bunkajin ni yoru shinkankauha no jyuuyō: Yokomitsu Riichi to Yang Kui, Wu, Young-fu, Weng NaoLiu Na-ou*, [The Reception of New Sensualist School in Taiwanese Literature under the Rule of Japan : Yokomitsu Riichi, Yang Kui, Wu, Young-fu, and Weng NaoLiu Na-ou], Ph.D dissertation, Tokyo University, 2012.

(Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper) in 1937, Long confesses that he depicts with exaggeration the scene in which the protagonist's friend gives the dowry to his bride's father, in order to call the readers' attention to the vileness and the miserliness of human nature. He adds that he was scolded by other Han-Taiwanese critics due to his exaggerated depiction of the dowry custom.²³⁹ It could be argued that Long was criticized by other Han-Taiwanese critics, because they understood Long to write the novel in Japanese not for the colonized people but to entertain a metropolitan audience. At the same time, it could be said that Long does not fully belong to either the metropolitan literary world or the Taiwanese literary world: he is an ethnically and linguistically minority writer, an amateur who initially has no ties to the Taiwanese literary world, and a colonial intellectual who did not study abroad in Japan, unlike other major Taiwanese writers who wrote in Japanese. He calls himself self-deprecatingly “a low-ranking salaried worker” as if implying that he does not belong to the category of “writers.”

In this theatrical staging of imperialization performed by a colonized writer in a metropolitan journal, the dialogue between the colonized writers is also appropriated into the authoritative discourse of Japanese literature and *kokugo* and stripped from the colonial context. As I stated earlier, the conversation between Long and Yang Kui was introduced in Japanese under the title “A Feature on Taiwanese Culture: Discussing about Taiwanese Literature: “The Town with Papayas” et al.” (*Tokushū Taiwan bunka: Taiwan bungaku wo kataru: ‘papaiya no aru machi’ sonota*)” in *Nihon gakugei shinbun* (Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper) in July

²³⁹ “Tokushū taiwan bunka: Taiwan bungaku wo kataru, papaiya no arumachi sonota [Special Issue Taiwan Culture: Discussing About Taiwanese Culture: ‘The Town with Papayas’ et al],” *Nihon gakugei shinbun* [the Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper]. (July 10, 1937) 6, rpt. *Nihon Gakugei Shinbun Fukkubun. vol3* (Tokyo: Fujishuppan, 1986) 184.

10th, 1937.²⁴⁰ *Nihon gakugei shinbun* spares one page to feature Taiwan culture as the first article that features provincial culture (*chihō bunka*) and its editor calls for the readers' collaboration to create pages introducing literature in Manchuria and Korea. In this page, Long and Yang discuss Long's work "The Town with Papayas" and the future prospects of Taiwanese literature. The second half of the article especially covers Long and Yang's discussion about the uncertain future of Taiwanese literature. While Long laments, saying that Taiwan has no literary tradition and the writers in Taiwan need to study more, Yang encourages Long to carry Taiwanese literature on his back.

Because their conversations are written in Japanese and are removed from the historical context of imperialization policies, it could give the readers in the metropole an impression that *kokugo* has penetrated into colonial Taiwan and that they aspire to create "Taiwanese literature" (*taiwan bungaku*) modeled on Japanese literature or provincial literature under the sphere of Japanese literature. (The readers would not know if they had their conversation in Chinese or in Japanese.) In other words, it could be said that the conversation on "Taiwanese Literature" between the colonized writers becomes inevitably an imperial staging, in which the colonized writers express their struggle to develop Taiwan literature as a part of Japanese literature, in the eyes of the metropolitan audience.

Accordingly, the colonized writers, Long and Yang, as well as the "Taiwanese Literature" they discuss, are all integrated into authoritative imperial discourse as fantastic objects of desire that serve to replace various destructive colonial policies—including imperialization policies that force colonized subjects to abandon their own languages and the colonial *kokugo* education

²⁴⁰ "Tokushū taiwan bunka: Taiwan bungaku wo kataru, papaiya no arumachi sonota [Special Issue Taiwan Culture: Discussing About Taiwanese Culture: 'The Town with Papayas' et al]" 6.

through which colonized literature in *kokugo* emerges—with the ideological vision of the metropolitan literary world as the center of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural literary world of the Japanese empire. The theatrical production of the colonial discourse can sustain such an ideological vision because it is not being interrupted and disturbed by counter-narratives that hint to the various forms of colonial conditions, through which literature by the colonized writers emerged.

The integration of the colonies and external territories into the ideological fantasy of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Japanese literature also serves to displace the ongoing violent war in China with the expansion of the Japanese empire, and, therefore, the expansion of the market for Japanese-language publication. A month after the publication of Long's "The Huang Family," the journal *Bungei* features the opinion poll titled "what do the readers want? (*dokusha wa nani wo motometeiru ka*)." The opinion poll shows the numbers of the readers, which are organized according to the regions and the occupations based on the data that was collected through the questionnaire forms inserted in the last month's issue of the journal. In the section of region-wise statistics of the readers, the number of the readers is organized according to the regions, which cover all the prefectures in Japan proper including Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and Okinawa, the official colonies including Taiwan and Korea, and the external territories including Manchuria and China in addition to the soldiers sent to China (*Shina hakengun*). The editor states with excitement that they were thrilled when they received the questionnaire forms together with the dusts at the battlefield, which were sent back from the soldiers in China.²⁴¹ The journal also includes the picture of a soldier reading the journal *Bungei* at the battlefield beside the editor's comment. In

²⁴¹ "Dokusha wa nani wo motometeiru ka (yoronchōsa), [What Do the Readers Want? (The Opinion Poll)]," *Bungei* [*Literary Art*] 8.12. (December 1940): 176-178.

this way, the metropolitan journal visualized not just the expansion of the Japanese empire, but also the expansion of the literary and linguistic market of Japanese-language journals to the newly acquired territory in China, displacing the brutal military invasion into China with the image of an intelligent soldier who is reading the journal and appreciating it on the battlefield.

The Ideological Fantasies for the Colonized Subjects in Long's "The Huang Family (1940)"

Long's "Huang Family" was published in 1940 in the metropolitan journal, *Bungei* (Literary Art). Set in a remote and isolated village of the Han-ethnic minority group, *hakka*, in Taiwan, the story narrates the miserable colonial lives of the Huang family. The two sons of the Huang Family, Ruoli and Ruozhang, admire cosmopolitan bourgeois culture and high art in Tokyo, dreaming of studying abroad in Tokyo, as Ruoli appreciates music and Ruozhang is fond of painting. While Ruozhang comes to terms with the colonial reality in which he cannot pursue his dream of becoming an artist, Ruoli, a colonial elite who graduated from middle school, cannot give up his dream of studying music in Tokyo and falls into the self-destructive habit of drinking. Meanwhile, the mother worships traditional customs and folk religion, hoping that local gods can save her grandson's illness. In addition to the sons and the mother of the Huang family there is Ruoli's wife who is uneducated, meek and obedient and Ruoli's son who gets sick and dies without being able to get proper treatment. In Long's narrative about the miserable lives of the colonized family living in a closed space of the colony, cosmopolitan bourgeois culture and folk religion are respectively invoked as two different ideological fantasies of imperialization, colonial modernity and tradition, in which the colonized elite seeks to identify with a bourgeois colonizer on one hand, and the uneducated colonized subject conceives folk religion as a source

for help. For these two different objects respectively serve to prevent the colonized subjects from facing up colonial domination, exploitation, and racial inequalities.

The imperialization policies from 1937 to 1940 was a violent monologic policies that force colonized subjects to abandon their ethnic identities and cultural heritages, demanding them to discard their customs, religions, and languages and thereby turning the colonized subjects into “loyal imperial subjects” (*chūryōnaru teikoku shinmin*) to fight and serve for the Japanese empire. Before the volunteer system started in 1942, which made 15,000 Han-Taiwanese and aborigines enter the military services and many of them were sent to the battle front in Southeast Asia, Han-Taiwanese men were already recruited as translators and military porters to work at the battlefield in China since 1937. In this sense, the imperialization policies serve as what Judith Butler calls “frames of the war,” for the policies facilitate the persistent racialization process of turning the colonized subjects into “loyal imperial subjects and thus distinguishing collaborators from enemies. But through the racialization process of imperialization policies, the colonized subjects were forced to stay in a gray zone of subjectivity between Japanese imperial subjects and their enemies, insiders and outsiders, and between life and death.

For this reason, Long’s “The Huang Family” is an ambivalent and hybridized literary text on multiple levels. It belongs both to provincial literature within the metropolitan literary context of Japanese literature and to imperialization literature within the socio-political and historical context of colonial Taiwan. Furthermore, it also belongs to imperialization literature and counter-imperialization literature at the same time, in that while Long’s narrative assimilates itself into the authoritative discourse of imperialization and *kokugo*, replacing the brutal colonial policies of imperialization with two different ideological objects of desire for colonized people, it also aims to expose the kernel of the colonial social order, which is organized around and at the

same time concealed by imperialization policies —militaristic police power of colonial authorities. It is at this moment of suspension that Ruoli recognizes the brutal force of police around which the colonial order of imperialization policies and *kokugo* is constituted and sustained. This could be a potential site for the emergence of new unnamable subjectivity resisting against the colonial order. But this potential moment of resistance is immediately retrieved into the ideological narrative of imperialization in the end. While the editor of *the Literary Art* criticizes “The Huang Family” as the literary work that “lacks structural unification as a whole,” it could be argued that the lack of the structural unification derives from this ambivalent position of the text itself.

The multiple conflicting statuses of the text are reflected in the ambivalent and uncertain status of the proper names written in the Chinese scripts. As discussed in chapter 1, Chinese characters used in Japanese writing are ambiguous and hybridized signs. While the ideographic Chinese signs indicate meanings, they could be read with Japanese pronunciations within the Japanese language system and, at the same time, in Chinese pronunciations within the Chinese language system, when they are cited without phonetic auxiliaries, called *rubi*. In Long’s text, many of the proper names including the characters’ names, the name of the village, and the name of the old Chinese temple that is located in the center of the village, are cited in Chinese script without phonetic auxiliaries. For example, the title of the novel, “The Huang Family” is written as 黄家、the Huang brothers’ names are cited as 若麗、若彰, the village name and the name of the old temple are transcribed as 枇杷庄, 慈雲宮 respectively. Each of the proper names can be read both in Japanese and Chinese sounds. 黄家 can be read as Ōke in Japanese and Huang Jia in Chinese, 若麗、若彰 could be read in Japanese in several ways such as Wakarei and Wakashō, and Ruoli, Ruozhang in Chinese, and 枇杷庄, 慈雲宮 can be read as Biwa-shō,

Jiun-kyū in Japanese and Pipa Zhuang, TszWan-Gong in Chinese. The conflicting status of the proper names in the colonized writer's literature can be also applied to the writer's name, Long Yingzong, as his name 龍瑛宗 can be also read as Ryū Eisō in the Japanese language system.

On the one hand, when we read these proper names within the metropolitan literary context of provincial literature, these Chinese characters can be appropriated into the Japanese language system. At the same time, these proper names written in Chinese characters generate a sense of foreignness and unfamiliarity within the context of *kokugo* and thus could be consumed as exotic colonial objects by metropolitan readers. On the other hand, these Chinese scripts can be read in the Chinese language system, when his literary work is read within the context of colonial Taiwan by Taiwanese readers who can read Japanese. Moreover, when the literary text is read within the context of imperialization policies, these Chinese characters might emerge as troubling hybridized sites that could belong to both Japanese and Chinese language systems and therefore that must be assimilated into *kokugo*, as imperialization policies encouraged colonized subjects to change their Chinese names into Japanese ones and to speak *kokugo*.

Accordingly, Long's narrative of imperialization invokes the precarious and hybridized colonial subjects who are forced to stand at the liminal position between victimizers and victims, between collaborators and enemies, and between colonized educated idlers and colonized revolutionaries. As Long's story is set in a small community of the Han-ethnic minority group, *hakka*, his narrative sheds light on the linguistically and ethnically marginalized people who historically occupy the uncertain and conflicting position between victimizers and victims, and between colonizers and colonized. Hakka people were originally colonial settlers who colonized the lands of aborigines together with Han-Taiwanese ethnic majority of Min Nan people in the 17th century. At the same time, they were also victims of the Japanese empire, as Taiwan was

invaded by the Japanese army and ruled by the Japanese empire from 1895 and 1945. Furthermore, although the Hakka language and culture differ from those of Min Nan people, they were integrated under the category of “*hontōjin*” together with *Min-nan* people in the multi-ethnic Japanese empire. The imperialization policies also drove the Han-Taiwanese subjects to a liminal position between collaborators and enemies, as the policies aimed to divide the colonized population into loyal imperial subjects of the collaborators and their enemies. Furthermore, Long’s story also introduces a colonial intellectual who occupies an ambivalent position between colonized educated idlers and colonized revolutionaries. Receiving a colonial education in middle school (*chūgakkō*), Ruoli is a colonial elite who dreams of studying music in the metropolis of Tokyo. At the same time he is a colonized, educated idler who is not given an opportunity to get a job, being subject to unfair discriminatory treatment under the colonial educational and bureaucratic system, which gives priority to Japanese colonizers over colonized subjects.

The Self-Ethnographic Portrayal of Colonial Space

The story begins with a vivid portrayal of a remote village in colonial Taiwan.

Pipa Village is a desolate village, where one can see the greenish central mountains. In the middle of the village there was an old temple called “TszWan-Gong” whose door is stained with soot, whose columns are filled with dust, whose roofs are covered with moss, and whose garden is overgrown with weeds. There is a garden paved with stones in front of this old temple. In this garden, a huge Chinese banyan tree spreads its dirty branches as if it is creeping on the ground. In the summer the old banyan tree provides a pleasant green shadow. Under this shadow, a man sells a slice of pineapple for one cent and another man sells a cup of Chinese mesona (which is like agar) for one cent. In addition to them, a beggar falls into a deep sleep like a corpse, throwing out his decaying bare feet that look like recovering from leprosy. A stray dog comes from somewhere and is licking them with his tongue. All of a sudden, a gust of hot wind blows grainy sands, a sense of feebleness, and sleepiness to the faces of the villagers who are like plants. The blazing sun is melting everything. This is the scenery of

profound silence encompassing a village that is enveloped with white flame. But the sky becomes clear and the village quietly starts breathing in in early autumn of November.
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On the one hand, it could be argued that in the above passage, Long invents an imperialist ethnographic narrative, invoking the remote village in Taiwan as a timeless and static colonial space of “*chihō*” and exoticizing the colonial landscape through the portrayal of some specific objects that are unique to Taiwan, including an old Chinese temple, an old Chinese banyan tree, and Chinese mesona. Such an imperialist ethnographic eye internalized by the colonized writer also reduces the colonized people to static objects, turning them into “plant-like villagers.”

On the other hand, it could be also discussed that the image of plant-like villagers, who are exposed to “a sense of tiredness and sleepiness” brought by the wind of the colony, also hint at the status of the colonized subjects who are excluded from being historical subjects, included in the Japanese empire as colonized others. Within the context of French colonialism, Albert Memmi argues that one of the most painful colonial experiences for colonized people is the fact that they are deprived of their histories and communities, as he states, “the most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and from the community.... [The colonized] is in no way subject of history any more. Of course, he carries its burden, often more cruelly than others, but always as an object. He has forgotten how to participate actively in history and no longer even asks to do so.”²⁴³ Accordingly, by juxtaposing the colonized subjects as static plants with the landscape of timeless colonial space, Long’s ethnographic narrative also presents the colonial space as the place of the other in which the colonized subjects are doubly alienated from history.

²⁴² Long Yingzong, “Ōke [the Huang Family],” *Bungei [Literary Art]* 8. 11 (1940): 53.

²⁴³ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, expanded edition (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991) 91-92

The colonized subjects were alienated from the history of the Japanese empire, as they were denied access to ruling power and citizens' rights under the rule of Japanese colonial authorities. At the same time, they also became alienated from their own communal histories under the colonial condition, in particular, the imperialization policies. Moreover, the community of Hakka, the Han-ethnic minority group that Long's novel portrays, was further marginalized and eclipsed linguistically and ethnically under Japanese rule, as they were placed under the category of "the islanders" (*hontō-jin*) together with the Han-ethnic majority group Min-nan people, as opposed to "Japanese people from Japan proper" (*naichi-jin*).

Another Colonial History and the 1907 Beipu Uprising

Long's ethnographic narrative also introduces the villagers one by one, including the fortuneteller, the palanquin carrier, the man who runs the business of rice milling and the barber, providing detailed accounts of each character. But the narrative quickly changes its tone when it traces back to the communal past through its depiction of the late father of the Huang Family. By implying the communal history of Han-Taiwanese colonization of the aborigines, the narrative also suggests another colonial history and another colonial relationship that existed prior to Japan's colonization of Taiwan.

"The aborigines (*banjin*, savage people) sometimes came down from the aboriginal land (*banchi*, savage land) in those days and two of them shopped together sharing a cup to drink liquor. They usually bought dry fishes, salt, sugar, matches, cotton cloths with vivid colors, and so on. Taking advantage of their state of being intoxicated, my father often manipulated the amount of the goods they bought, quivering his fingers....After they left, the father always laughed nervously, and says to himself to console his conscience, 'a man who doesn't

earn dishonest profits cannot get rich, as the horse that does not eat grass in the midnight does get fat,' consoling his conscience."²⁴⁴

Although the novel does not specify the place clearly, the colonial landscape depicted by Long tells us that the story is set in Beipu Town of Hsinchu County in Taiwan, the community of Hakka where Long grew up.²⁴⁵ The Town of Beipu was originally land occupied by aborigines and became one of the colonial border zones during the period of the Ching empire when Hakka and Min-nan settlers colonized and developed this area, driving aborigines out.²⁴⁶ The Hakka people occupied the intermediate position in this colonial zone as they settled and lived in the hilly zones, which are the border zones between the aboriginal communities that were driven away to the interior of the mountains and Min-nan settlers' communities that were built on flat areas.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Long, "Ōke [The Huang Family]" 55-56.

²⁴⁵ Wang Huei-Chen notes that "The Huang Family" is the one of his works set in the hakka community of Beipu. For the descriptions of the Hakka community in Long Yingzong's works, see Wang Huei-Chen, "Long Yingzong no "Hakka hakken":Karen taiken ni yori egaita hakka jin[Long Yingzong's 'Discovery of Hakka':Hakka people depicted in his Karen experience]," *Kansai daigaku chūgoku bungakukai kiyō*[*Kansai University Chinese Literary Society Article*] (March 2004): 53-72.

²⁴⁶ Chou Wan-yao, *Zusetsu Taiwan no rekishi. Zōho-ban*[*Illustrated Exposition History of Taiwan, expanded edition*], trans. Hamajima Atsutoshi, Ishikawa Gō, Nakanishi Miki, and Nakamura Taira (Tokyo: Heibonsha. 2013)79-92.

Wang Huei-Chen, Long Yingzong no "Genjūminzoku hakken:Karen taiken ga motarashita imi[The Discovery of Aborigines: The Significance Brought by Long's Experience in Karen Port]," *Nogusa* [*Wildflowers*], 74 (August 2004): 95-114. Wang Huei-Chen notes that Long is one of two Taiwanese writers who depicted the aborigines in Taiwan during the colonial period although there are many accounts and literary works on the aborigines written by Japanese colonizers and writers.

²⁴⁷ During the period of Japanese rule, there were multi-ethnic groups in Taiwan: the aboriginal population, the Min-nan people from Fujian Province and the Hakka from the Fujian and Guandong provinces, many of whom migrated to Taiwan under the rule of A Dutch East India Company from 1624 to 1662. The Dutch rule ended when Cheng Ch'eng-kung expelled the Dutch and established a government in Tainan modeled upon Ming Dynasty.

Ronald G Knapp, "The Shaping Taiwan's Landscapes," *Taiwan:A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk, N.Y : M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1999) 3-26.

It could be argued that Long's portrayal of aborigines and their silent interaction with a Han-Taiwanese man invokes and participates in the ideological discourse of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Japanese empire, as aborigines in Taiwan attracted attention from Japanese writers as one of the exoticized literary motifs and were introduced in Japanese literature and the colonial travelogues during the colonial period and even after the dissolution of the Japanese empire.²⁴⁸ At the same time, it could be also stated that by implicitly juxtaposing the colonization history of Han-Taiwanese settlement with the colonization history of the Japanese empire, the narrative suggests the continuation and repetition of colonial violence within the multi-layered histories of colonialism. In the passage above, the father hesitantly manipulates the amounts of goods in an attempt to squeeze more money out of the aborigines, "quivering his fingers." But immediately after that he feels the pricks of conscience, which he tries to soothe by quoting the Chinese saying, "a man who doesn't earn dishonest profits cannot get rich, as the

Denny Roy, *Taiwan. Political History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002) 1-31.

Chou Wan-yao, *Zusetsu Taiwan no rekishi. Zōho-ban*[*Illustrated Exposition History of Taiwan, expanded edition*], trans. Hamajima Atsutoshi, Ishikawa Gō, Nakanishi Miki, and Nakamura Taira (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2013)

For the descriptions of the Hakka community in Long Yingzong's works, see Wang Huei-Chen, Long Yingzong no "Hakka hakken":Karen taiken ni yori egaita hakka jin[Long Yingzong's 'Discovery of Hakka':Hakka people depicted in his Karen experience]"53-72.

²⁴⁸ I don't have a space to discuss about the exoticized literary motifs of aborigines here. But I want to mention that as Kawahara Isao's list of Japanese literary works on aborigines shows, there are not a few number of the literary works on the aborigines in colonial Taiwan have been written by Japanese writers both during the period of Japanese empire and during the post war period. As Kawahara, Leo Ching and Robert Tierney respectively explore, some of them were written within the context of the 1930 Musha incident, the famous uprising by the aborigines in Taiwan against Japanese colonial authorities. It must also be noted that there are few literary works in Japanese written by Han-Taiwanese, which portrays the aborigines.

Kawahara Isao, "Nihon bungaku ni arawareta musha hōki jiken [The Musha Uprising Represented in Japanese Literature]," *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undō no tenkai: Nihonbungaku tonno setten* [*The Development of the Movement of New Literature in Taiwan in Relation to Japanese Literature*] (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan 1997) 69-105. Leo Ching, 133-173. Robert Thomas Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: the Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2010) 38-109.

horse that does not eat grass in the midnight does get fat.”

The dilemma that the father expresses comes from the ambivalent status of the colonized subjects who are the victimizers and at the same time the victimized. The Han-Taiwanese settlers, including hakka people, were originally colonizers who deprived the lands of the aborigines and expelled them. But such a colonial deprivation had been continued under Japanese colonial rule, as Yanaihara Tadao, the scholar on economics during the period of the Japanese empire, notes that Japanese colonial authorities also forced the *hontōjin* (Han-Taiwanese colonized subjects) to abandon their lands, using police power in its early stage of colonization.²⁴⁹ Even though it implies the continuation and difference between the colonization of aborigines by Han-Taiwanese and the colonization of Taiwan by the Japanese empire, the narrative of communal histories of colonization cannot avoid an exoticized representation of the colonial landscape after all, because the narrative excludes the history of the resistance movement, in which the Han-Taiwanese and aboriginal people came together to resist Japanese colonization. In this way, the narrative takes part in the imperialization that forces the colonized subjects to discard and replace their language, cultures and histories with the colonizers' ones.

The Town of Beipu has been known as a place where violent resistance against Japanese colonialism took place in 1907. Ōe Shinobu rightly points out that the colonization of Taiwan was achieved through a series of wars. The first phase of colonial war was the war from 1895 to the demolition of Taiwanese democratic State in 1896, which was often considered as an extension of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The second phase of the colonial war was the war between Japanese military and Han-Taiwanese dissenters from 1896 to 1902, and the third

²⁴⁹ Yanaihara Tadao, *Teikokusyugi ka no Taiwan [Taiwan Under Imperialism]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1929) 29-35.

phase of the colonial war was Japanese military repression of the aborigines living in the mountains until 1915.²⁵⁰ Yet, even after the colonial government put down the militant resistance movement, they still confronted a series of local-centered uprisings.²⁵¹

The Beipu incident occurred 5 years after the colonial government suppressed the major colonial resistance movements in Taiwan. The city of Beipu ordered colonized men who served as *aiyū* (the military guards to fight against the aborigines) to join the military excursion to colonize and suppress aborigines. Because some of the Han-Taiwanese military guard members not only hesitated to join the military excursion but also had antipathy toward Japanese colonial authorities, a man named Tsai Ching-lin organized the resistance movement on November 14 1907 with support not only from Hakka military guards and local population but also from the aborigines. According to the imperial archive, the rioters killed Japanese police officers, their family members, and ordinary Japanese people. As retaliation, the colonial government dispatched 1 military unit and 120 policemen to the Town of Beipu and Daping district. They suppressed the insurgence within 3 days by killing and arresting the rioters. Because local people also engaged in looting, instead of reporting the uprising to the colonial authorities, the commissioner of police ordered local people to join the suppression of the rioters and pay the fine in payment of their disobedience and treacherous acts.²⁵² The imperial archive provides the

²⁵⁰ Ōe Shinobu, “Shokuminchi sensō to sōtokufu no seiritsu[Colonial Wars and Construction of The Office of the governor-general],” Iwanami kōza:Kindai nihon to shokuminchi: 2 Teikokutōchi no kōzō[*Iwanami Lecture: Modern Japanese Colonialism vol2:The Structure of Imperial Domination*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992) 3-33.

²⁵¹ Several uprisings occurred in different multiple regions after the colonial authority clashed down major resistance movements. They include the Beipu uprising in the northern Taiwan, the Linyipu(林圯埔) uprising in the central Taiwan, the Miaoli uprising in northern Taiwan. Those local centered uprising culminated into the 1915 biggest armed uprising known as Tapani uprising in the southern Taiwan.

²⁵² As for the police archive on the 1907 Beipu uprising, see

detailed account on the damages and victims on the Japanese side, although it does not on the side of the colonized people.

A traumatic communal history of Japanese military domination and the local resistance movement highlights the multi-layered structure of colonial others, in which aborigines and Han-Taiwanese colonized subjects are differentially exposed to colonial violence and exploitation. On the one hand, the aborigines who originally inhabited in Taiwan were violently expelled from their lands by Han-Taiwanese settlers first and then later brutally suppressed and exploited by Japanese colonization. Japanese colonial authorities made use of the existing colonial relationship between aborigines and Han-Taiwanese in order not only to colonize the aborigines but also to maintain the existing divide between the aborigines and the Han-Taiwanese population to govern the colony. In this way, colonial deprivation and violence were repeated and refracted within the multi-layered structure of colonial histories and the aborigines as the subaltern colonized were exposed to colonial deprivation and brutal suppression dually.

Long's narrative of imperialization does not mention this communal experience of Japanese military suppression and the resistance movement. Rather, in assimilating the narrating voice to the authoritative voice of *kokugo*, Long's narrative silences not only the traumatic communal history of suppression and resistance, but also the voices of aborigines who are

Taiwan sōtokugu homubu hensan, *Taiwan hiran shōshi* [*Minor History of Rebellions in Taiwan*], (Taipei: Tainan shinpō shikyoku insatsubu, 1920)31-38.

Washisu Atsuya, *Washisu Atsuya chosaku shū vol. 2: Taiwan kensatsu yonjūnen shi wa*[*The Collection of Washizu Atsuya Works vol2: the 40- Year History of Taiwan Police*], eds.Nakajima toshiwo and Yoshihara Jyōji (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō.2000)37-41.

The recent scholarship that includes the 1907 Beipu uprising, see Mukōyama 395-397

While the police archive describes the brutality and savagery of the rioters in detail, portraying a vivid image of destruction and killing, it does not provide the detail account of Japanese police attack against rioters and villagers.

segregated from another colonized group of Han-Taiwanese under Japanese colonial governance based on the tactics of making discrimination among the different ethnic groups. For through assimilation process, the narrative of imperialization inevitably internalizes and takes part in a dynamic chain of colonial violence that are perpetually redirected at more vulnerable others within a multi-layered hierarchical structure of others, as the father modestly expresses this with a Chinese saying, “a man who doesn’t earn dishonest profits cannot get rich, as the horse that does not eat grass in the midnight does get fat.”

Two Opposing Ideological Fantasies in the Colonial Discourses

Long’s narrative invokes two different kinds of ideological beliefs as fantastic objects of desire, cosmopolitan Tokyo culture (colonial modernity) and folk religion, which serve to conceal and displace the coercive, destructive, and discriminatory nature of imperialization policies. On the one hand, the older brother Ruoli identifies himself with an imperial bourgeois intellectual. As a colonial elite, he is fond of Western classical music and he aspires to study abroad in Tokyo to learn more about Western music and become an artistic musician. Boasting about that he is only a musician in the village, he organizes the brass band consisted of the villagers, and whenever there is a festival in the village, all of the brass band members wore a black bow tie and played Japanese military music and popular music in the metropole. But he is a useless colonized educated idler who doesn’t work, falling into a self-destructive habit of drinking.

On the other hand, Ruoli and Ruozhang’s mother has a strong faith in folk religion. When Ruoli’s little son Zhenwei gets seriously ill, Ruoli takes his son to the only doctor of Western

medicine in the village. The doctor diagnoses the boy's illness as nephritis, telling Ruoli to put the boy in the hospital in the neighboring town for better treatment and not to let him consume meat and salt. When Ruoli talks to his mother about what the doctor of Western medicine said, her mother quickly dismisses the doctor's advice, saying that they don't afford to have the boy admitted to the hospital. She adds to say that hospital does not help, as the only man who was hospitalized in the village immediately died. Rather, the mother relies on traditional religion, fortune telling, and folk medicine that the neighbor told in order to cure the boy's sickness. But despite all her effort and wishes, the boy's illness gets worse and eventually he dies.

By juxtaposing Ruoli's desire to become a modern, cosmopolitan, intellectual and his mother's attachment to traditional folk religion and customs, the narrative highlights the ideological collision between colonial modernity and tradition in the era of modernization and industrialization of colonial Taiwan. These two opposing ideological beliefs in colonial modernity and tradition are associated with the gender, class, and generational binary of an elite son and uneducated mother. Just as Hirabayashi's narrative of Mitsuyo's struggle set Mitsuyo's voice against her husband's voice to challenge the male-dominated authoritative discourse and open up a potential moment for the emergence of a new subjectivity of resistance, Long's narrative evokes two opposing ideological thoughts, akin to what Bakhtin calls dialogic hybridization in which "two points of view are not mixed, but set against each other dialogically."²⁵³ But unlike Hirabayashi's narrative of struggle, Long's narrative sets a voice of the colonized elite son against a voice of the colonized uneducated mother to demystify two ideological fantasies of colonial modernity and tradition in the colonized society, while his

²⁵³ Ibid., 360.

narrative continues to maintain the authoritative discourse of *kokugo*, under which these two ideological thoughts emerge, without defying it. Without being able to envision a new form of subjectivity in the tension between these two ideological fantasies, Long's narrative is retrieved into the ideological fantasies of imperialization. In the end, even though the colonized subjects understand they take part in the production of imperialization ideology through the performative act, they still continue doing this.

The Impotence of Ideological Fantasy

The old Chinese temples became one of the targets for elimination as the cultural heritage of colonial subjects during the early period of imperialization policies from 1937 to 1940, when "The Huang Family" was published. Colonial authorities promoted a campaign for reorganizing local temples (*jibyō seiri*), which in fact aimed at destroying the temples in order to remove local cultural identities. The old and decayed temple TszWan-Gong stands at the center of the village, and it is a symbol of the timeless village that is alienated from the modern history and culture of the Japanese empire. In Long's narrative, the imperialization campaign for reorganizing local temples is represented in dialogues between Ruoli and his mother. While Ruoli's mother relies on folk religion to cure her grandson's sickness, Ruoli criticizes his mother's belief, stating, "you devote yourself to fortunetelling or gods making a fuss about them, because you are a fool. Such things would not cure [the boy's sickness]." ²⁵⁴ Long's self-ethnographic narrative presents folk beliefs and customs as something uncivilized, exotic, and backward from the colonial elite Ruoli's perspective by associating it with the old uneducated mother who belongs to the older

²⁵⁴ Long, "Ōke [The Huang Family]" 55-56.

generation and uneducated class, as opposed to her son who belongs to the younger generation and educated class. It could be argued that just as the voices of oppressed women in Hirabayashi's "At the Charity Ward" are dismissed as nonsensical sounds in the domain of male-centered discourse, Ruoli's mother's voice is disregarded as meaningless noise in the domain of the male-centered colonial discourse. For it could be argued that by despising his mother's faith in local gods and relegating it into the domain of the past as well as the domain of non-language, Ruoli displaces his internal otherness, his Han-Taiwanese identity, on his mother, in order to establish himself as a modern imperial subject of Japanese, whom he attempts to identify with. Yet at the same time, when we examine Long's self-ethnographic narrative of imperialization in relation to the change to the imperialization policies, which was made in 1941, we can also understand that Long's narrative does not just dismiss the mother's voice from the perspective of the male colonial intellectual. It also aims to demystify folk religion as the fantastical object on which the colonized people project everyday hardships caused by colonial conditions.

The colonial authorities changed the imperialization policies in 1941, when the policies started incorporating a new imperial vision of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere as the multi-ethnic empire. Hasegawa Kiyoshi, who was appointed in 1940 as the Governor-General of Taiwan in succession to Kobayashi, stopped the campaign for reorganizing the local temples in 1941 not just because many Japanese intellectuals, Taiwanese intellectuals, and the local Han-Taiwanese people opposed the campaign but because Japanese government decided to respect for local religions in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere in order to accommodate various racial and ethnic groups in Southeast Asia as the subjects of the multi-ethnic and

multi-cultural Empire of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.²⁵⁵ I also want to underline that the discourses of *chihō* also came to emerge and flourish in the literary world in colonial Taiwan around this time as a means to reconstruct Han-Taiwanese ethnic and cultural identities by appropriating the metropolitan discourse of *chihō* into the context of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire.²⁵⁶

Published in 1943, Zhou Jinbo's story about the man's conversion to folk religion represents the shift in the imperialization policies, as its perspective of folk religion greatly contrasts that found in Long's story. Zhou Jinbo who became famous for his imperialization literature (*kōmin bungaku*) "Volunteer (1941)," revalues traditional folk religion in his novel "The Climate, the Faith and the Chronic Disease" (*Kikōto Shinkōto Jibyōto* 1943). Set in the era of imperialization policies, the novel narrates about the old established man who suffers from chronic neuralgia. He worships Japanese native religion, *shintō*, and places the *shintō* alter (*kamidana*) in the Japanese-style room in his house. As opposed to the man, his wife continues to believe in folk religion, prays to the ancestors for her husband's recovery and consults with fortunetellers about her husband's sickness. She also makes their son to offer up prayers to the ancestors in Taiwanese, although the son is skeptical about his faith in the traditional practices. One day the man received a fortunetelling that says "There is a noble man coming from the East." Next day a puppet master who has massage skill and the knowledge of medicine suddenly came to his home

²⁵⁵ Tsai Chin-tang, *Nihon teikoku shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku* [The Colonial Policies on Religions in Colonial Taiwan under Japanese Rule], (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1994) 230-309.

Tsai Chin-tang underlines that another important reason for the suspension of the campaign for reorganizing the local temples is the necessity to appease local people, especially farmers, in order to make them supply rice to the metropole. Tsai argues that Taiwan became the important supplier of foods including rice especially around after 1939 when Korea and Kansai area in mainland Japan suffered from a drought.

²⁵⁶ Liu Shu-chin, 109-130.

and gave him treatment. After the treatments cured the man's sickness miraculously, the man starts worshipping the folk religion that he once abandoned.²⁵⁷

In his examination of Zhou's novel, Hoshina Hironobu argues that the attachment to Taiwanese culture expressed in Zhou's story does not contradict Zhou's faith in imperialization, the ideology that makes colonized subjects into loyal imperial subjects, because the Han-Taiwanese writers like Zhou see the imperialization as a means to remove the colonial discrimination against Taiwanese and thus to reconstruct Taiwan for Taiwanese at the time.²⁵⁸ In other words, it could be stated that unlike Long's narrative, Zhou's story expresses *hontōjin* intellectuals' attempt to reestablish Taiwanese culture and history by reevaluating them in order to reconstruct "Taiwanese" identity under the category of "province (*chihō*)" culture of the Japanese empire. But they could only do so by remaining silent about the histories of Japanese colonization and resistance movements against it and subsuming "Taiwanese" culture under the category of "provincial culture" in the Japanese empire, a marginalized component constituting the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire.²⁵⁹

Memmi notes that religion is a "refuge value" for the colonized people: "for the individual,

²⁵⁷ Zhou Jinbo, "Kikō to Shinkōto Jibyōto [The Climate, the Faith and the Chronic Disease]," *Taiwan jihō* [*Taiwan Daily Reports*] (January 1943): 108-120.

²⁵⁸ Hoshina Hironobu, "Kikōto Shinkōto Jibyōto ron [The Discussion about *The Climate, the Faith and the Chronic Disease*]," *Yomigaeru Taiwan bungaku: nihon tōchiki no sakka to sakuhin* [*Revived Taiwan Literature: Writers and Literary Works under Japanese Rule*], eds. Shimomura sakujiro, Nakajima Toshio, Fujii shōzō, and Huang Ying-che (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1995) 433-450. Drawing on Hoshina, Leo Ching also argues that Zhou's faith in imperialization and his attachment to Taiwanese culture complement each other. Leo Ching, 119-120.

²⁵⁹ For example, the *hontōjin* writer Huang Deshi published two articles about the history of Taiwanese literature in the journal *Taiwan bungaku* in 1943. In these articles Huang traced back the literary history of Taiwan to the era of Zheng Chenggong's domination of Taiwan in the 17th century prior to Japanese colonization. He just briefly mentions about the literary movements under Japanese rule.

it is one of the rare paths of retreat; for the group, it is one of the rare manifestations which can protect its original existence.”²⁶⁰ Since the colonial society is deprived of their own languages and histories to constitute its own historical and political subjectivities, the religious practice is one of a few means to constitute and protect the collective consciousness of the colonized society as a community. It is not surprising that colonized intellectuals, who formally considered folk religions and customs as non-sensical superstition, disagreed with the colonial campaign for reorganizing the local temples and came to view folk religions as a source for the reconstruction of their ethnic identity, like the protagonist in Zhou’s story who converts to traditional folk religion from *Shintō* Japanese religion, after he experiences its miraculous power.

At the same time, what must be also noted here is that unlike the colonized intellectuals, uneducated and lower-class colonized people who believed in folk religion had their own form of dialogic interaction with their local gods. For folk religion was also closely associated with moral values and the order of everyday life for those colonized subjects. It is precisely for this reason that Nakamura Akira, a Professor of politics at Taipei Imperial University, criticized the campaign for reorganizing the local temple, emphasizing the importance of understanding the impact of cultural policies on the psychology of the colonized subjects. Nakamura argues:

“if the colonial government abolishes the old temples, they must investigate religious psychology that *hontōjin* seeks in the existing local temples and provide something that fulfill this religious psychology as a substitute. ...The local temples are not only related to marriage and funeral ceremonies but also closely connected to good and bad lucks, fortunes and misfortunes in their lives as well as to the healing of illness. If such everyday matters are resolved by something other than local temples, people might not need the existing local temples any more. Therefore, we must provide an object that can take a role of a substitute for the local temples in their everyday lives.”²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Memmi 101.

²⁶¹ Nakamura Akira, “Bunkaseisaku toshiteno kōminka mondai [The Issues of Imperialization as Cultural

The campaign for reorganizing the local temples greatly impacted the poor colonized people who had strong faith in local religion, as they feared the curse as a consequence of the destruction of local temples. The campaign also caused moral confusion among colonized people as some of them were disillusioned by the fact that nothing happened after the destruction of the local temples. The police report underlines their concern for the disappearance of conscience among the colonized people, stating that they became more individualistic and selfish after the campaign.²⁶²

While folk religion and customs serve as “refuge value” for poor colonized people, they also serve as objects of desire onto which, like Ruoli’s mother, the colonized people project their “everyday problems” which are in fact caused by racial, class and gender inequalities under the colonial condition. In other words, folk religion and customs serve to prevent the colonized subjects from directing their anger and stress or what Nakamura calls religious psychology against the source of their hardship, the colonial system and order. In this way, folk religion serves as an ideological object that conceals and displaces not just the violence of imperialization policies, but also various forms of colonial violence, exploitation, and discrimination. Therefore, Long’s narrative of imperialization not only displaces the violent practices of imperialization including the campaign for reorganizing local temples but also exposes the impotency of folk religion and beliefs.

The Colonial Elite between a Revolutionary and an Educated Idler

Policies], *Taiwan jihō*[*Taiwan Daily Reports*] (January 1941): 6-12.

²⁶² Tsai Chin-tang 290-299.

Likewise, Long's narrative also aims at demystifying the colonized subject's imaginary identification with colonizers, by juxtaposing the powerlessness of folk religion and the uselessness of Western knowledge that Ruoli admires. When Ruoli criticizes his mother having recourse to folk religion, his mother refutes him, saying "if you are fond of your son, you should stop drinking and live seriously." Just as his mother's faith in traditional religion does not cure Ruoli's son's illness, the education Ruoli received does not help heal his son's sickness, as the poor boy after all dies without being able to receive proper treatment. Instead of using his knowledge and education for better life, Ruoli gives himself over to drink, ending up becoming an educated idler.

The status of the colonial intellectual is very ambiguous and precarious in that they must compete not only against Japanese colonizers but also against cosmopolitan colonial intellectuals. As Lee Yuhui and Wang Huei-Chen point out, the middle-school graduates like Ruoli were considered as the elites in the colony at the time.²⁶³ But unlike Long Yingzong or Ruoli who received a colonial education, many of the leading writers and intellectuals in colonial Taiwan at the time received education in the metropolis of Tokyo, such as Yang Qui, Weng Nao, Wu Yung-fu and Zhang Wenhuan. The colonial elites are different from the cosmopolitan intellectuals in that the cosmopolitan intellectuals have access to modern knowledge more freely in Tokyo than colonial intellectuals who were bound to the colony in which colonial authorities imposed censorship on the publication, which was much stricter than the one imposed in the

²⁶³ Lee Yuhui 62-75. Wang Huei-Chen, *Long Yingzong kenkyū: Taiwan jin Nihongo kenkyū no kiseki*, Ph.D Dissertation, Kansai University, 2005.

mainland Japan.²⁶⁴ Moreover, colonial intellectuals also confronted unjust discriminatory treatment in the colonial education system.

The colonial education system in Taiwan was constituted based on racial segregation among Japanese, Han-Taiwanese, and aborigines under the rule of Japanese empire. In 1919, the colonial government finally enacted the first educational order in Taiwan and established an educational system for Han-Taiwanese students. But it was a racially segregated system in that Han-Taiwanese students were forced to study at the public schools (*kōgakkō*) while Japanese students study at the elementary schools (*shōgakkō*). Three years after the establishment of the first educational order in Taiwan, the colonial government enforced the second educational order in Taiwan to abolish racial segregation on the surface. The second educational order defined elementary schools as schools for “those who always use national language (*kokugo wo jyōyōsurumono*) and distinguished from the public schools which was defined as the school for “those who don’t always use national language (*kokugo wo jyōyōsesarumono*). In addition, schools such as middle schools and above became co-education of *hontōjin* (the Islanders, which indicates Han-Taiwanese people) and *naichijin* (the mainlanders, which indicates Japanese people from Japan proper).²⁶⁵ In this way, the second educational order seemingly abolished the racial discrimination and unevenness between *hontōjin* and *naichijin* from the school system, as the governor-general of Taiwan publicized the co-education of *hontōjin* and *naichijin* as an

²⁶⁴ For the censorship on the publication in Taiwan, see Kawahara Isao, “Sanseidō to taiwan: senzenki ni okeru nihonshoseki no ryūtsū.” in *Taiwan shinbungaku undō no tenkai: nihonbungaku tono setten*. Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1997, 249-297.

²⁶⁵ Tsai Mao-Feng 92-94.

example of *isshi dojin* (equal favors under the gaze of the emperor).²⁶⁶

However, educational reform did not eradicate unfair treatment against *hontōjin* in education. While the middle-schools became racially co-education for *hontōjin* and *naichijin*, the entrance exams for the middle schools were disadvantageous to *hontōjin* students who studied at the public schools, because they had to take the exam in *kokugo* and the exams also included the subjects that were not included in the public school curriculum such as history.²⁶⁷ Yanaihara critically points out that the reform of colonial education in Taiwan, which was enacted in 1922 under the name of equality, was in fact the reconstruction of the higher education system centering on Japanese students in an attempt to further consolidate the dominant position of *naichijin* and at the same time to assimilate *hontōjin* into national language (*kokugo*) under the colonial education.²⁶⁸ He also indicates that many *hontōjin* who confronted obstacles in getting a job become “educated idlers” (*kōtōyūmin*), although some of them became leaders for the ethnic movement “who promote the ethnic awareness using their education and language they acquired.”²⁶⁹ It could be assumed that Ruoli is included in the colonial education as an imperial

²⁶⁶ It must be noted that the education for aborigines were still segregated from the education for *hontōjin*. The school for the aborigines was 4-year public school as opposed to 6 -year public school for *hontōjin*.

²⁶⁷ Yanaihara 202-204. Chen Peifang 184-185.

²⁶⁸ Yanaihara 210.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 210. Yanaihara states, “Until 1922, the colonial education system ensure the positions of leaders and dominants for *naichijin* by lowering the educational level of *hontōjin*. But the new education system (implemented by the 1922 educational order) ensured further the dominant position for *naichijin* by establishing the equal opportunity of higher education for the islanders and thereby limiting greatly the islanders’ participation in the higher education. Beside even though there are few, there are *hontōjin* who acquire an opportunity for the higher education, There the obstacles in their path to get a job at public service or the private company and therefore such obstacles force those *hontōjin* to become educated idlers (*kōtōyūmin*)..Among them those who have intellectual insights are determined not to become educated idlers but to become the leaders who promote the ethnic awareness using their education and language they acquired.”

subject under the banner of racially co-education while being excluded and discriminated from Japanese students. Furthermore, he ends up becoming an educated idler under the colonial policy of imperialization, instead of becoming “a leaders for the ethnic movement who promote the ethnic awareness.”

In addition to Ruoli in “The Huang Family” Long also depicts the colonial elite as a protagonist for his “The Town with Papayas.” The protagonist in “The Town with Papayas” desires to become a Japanese man, wearing Japanese clothing, speaking *kokugo* and hoping to have a Japanese wife. He despises his own people as miser, ignorant and vulgar people. Long’s depiction of the colonial elite was criticized by *hontōjin* critics at the time when his “The Town with Papayas” was published. In his discussion with Yang Kui, which I discuss earlier, Long explains, “People criticized me that I look down on people in Taiwan. But I also despise [the protagonist in “The Town with Papayas”]. [The protagonist] is initially an honest man but he is turned into such a [despicable] person because of the education and other matters. I think there are many people like him in reality.”²⁷⁰ As found in Long’s remark, through depicting the figure of a colonial elite, he intends to criticize “education system” that turns a colonial intellectual into a despicable person who looks down other colonized subjects, instead of promoting the imperialization.

Like the protagonist in “The Town with Papayas,” Ruoli also becomes a despicable person who looks down his own people by internalizing racial discrimination and inequalities. Instead of directing his anger against the colonizer, he displaces and transfers his anger against his own people. Frantz Fanon states that there are several phases in terms of the impact of colonial

²⁷⁰ “Tokushū taiwan bunka: Taiwan bungaku wo kataru, papaiya no arumachi sonota,” *Nihon gakugei shinbun [the Japanese Arts and Sciences Newspaper]* (July 10, 1937): 6.

violence on the colonized population. The first phase is the colonizer's exercise of violence on the colonized people to govern the colonial world and divide the colonial space into the colonizer's space and the space of the colonized; the second phase is the colonized subject's execution of violence against their own people, which is done through their internalization of colonial violence.²⁷¹ The second phase of the impact of colonial violence on the colonized people can explain Ruoli's self-destructive habit of drinking and his contempt for other colonized people.

Like his mother's faith in folk religion, Ruoli's faith in Western knowledge is also useless to save his son's life. To avoid confronting his own powerlessness and disillusion with himself, Ruoli harms himself, giving himself over to drink even when his son is dying without appropriate aid. He confesses at the deathbed of his son: "I'm sorry Zhenwei. Your father is a weak, a very weak man. He is the man who cannot accomplish anything that he wants to do..... I drink myself into oblivion to forget the me I hate...." ²⁷² After his confession, he tries to caress his son, but his son dies at once as if he rejects his father's caresses. Since his self-destructive habit not only let his son die but also destroys his health, he decides to leave the village to go to a Western style hospital in the end.

Ruoli also dislocates his internalized discrimination against other colonized people, thereby dissociating himself from his own people and maintaining his imaginary identification with an imperial subject and cosmopolitan intellectual. He expresses his contempt for his neighbor's son who lives frugally, calling him "a greedy miser who does not understand art." He also looks

²⁷¹ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* 1-16.

²⁷² Long, "Ōke [The Huang Family]" 76-77.

down on his uneducated and illiterate wife, Qiuying. He complains to his mother about her, saying to his mother that he didn't want to have an illiterate and uneducated wife who is like "a timid fool (*ozuozushiteiru dekunobō*)" from the beginning and he cannot bear the idea that he has to live together with the ignorant wife for his entire life. Listening to Ruoli's hateful words against her, the wife gave a glass of water as requested by Ruoli and "withdrew to the corner of the room and sit in silence like a useless thing. The dim light of the lamp does not reach the corner of the room where she sits, creates a dark shadow as if suggesting the image of her entire life."²⁷³ What must be noted here is that while he despises his mother's and his wife's superstitious minds, his mother is not a target for the contempt unlike Qiuying. It is not just because Ruoli is a traditional pious child who respects his parent but also because the mother figure is included in the colonial discourse of imperialization and the reconstruction of Taiwanese culture as "provincial culture." As discussed earlier, both in Long's novel and Zhou's novel, the colonized mother is associated with folk customs and religion, which came to be seen as a source of ethnic identity in the second half of imperialization policies period. But the young illiterate wife is completely removed from the colonial discourse of imperialization, as I will discuss in the end of this chapter.

Bracing Oneself against Unknown Violence: The Potential Moment for the Emergence of New Subjectivity

The death of Ruoli's son exposes not only the impotency of folk religion and customs the mother believes in, but also the uselessness of Western knowledge and cosmopolitan culture,

²⁷³ Ibid., 75.

which Ruoli admires. After the death of Ruoli's son, Ruozhang decides to be apprenticed to the professional portrait painter. Ruoli is dissatisfied with his younger brother's decision thinking that he just wastes his talent. But Ruozhang responds to him, saying that he wants to come to terms with the reality instead of pursuing impossible dream to become an artist though it sounds like utilitarian idea. When Ruoli hears Ruozhang's idea this time, he became less confident about his admiration for cosmopolitan culture and Western knowledge.

After Ruoli's son's death, the mother also acknowledges the powerlessness of folk religion and her ignorance as an uneducated woman. The mother decides to purchase a sewing machine to earn at least a small amount of money. However, she is tricked by the broker and a dressmaker in the village and pays high prices for an imitation of the imported sewing machine. She asks Ruoli to talk to the dressmaker on her behalf, angrily telling that she was tricked because she is uneducated. Driven by a strong sense of justice, he goes to the dressmaker to accuse him of his dishonest act. But when he meets the dressmaker, he cannot express the words of protest properly and therefore is treated with contempt by the dressmaker. Thinking that talking to the dressmaker will not do any good, Ruoli decides to go to the police station to get the support. But when he gets closer to the police station, he feels very nervous, as another kind of confusion overwhelms him, washing away his rage.

“But as he approached the police station, the flame of his rage was put out as if water was poured over it. Right after that he was overwhelmed by different kind of confusion, feeling that his heart pounded faster.

A police station appeared to Ruoli as a somewhat solemn place, and the idea that he must go there to talk to a police officer made him feel uneasy. He even started to thinking that he would not be able to transmit his intentions successfully because he was a poor speaker and he would become confused in his speech. Then he suddenly felt empty, losing the strength from his stomach.

Wait a minute. I am going to meet a police officer, not because I did something wrong. I am going there to ask him to judge the matter rightly. I should keep my head high. There is nothing to fear.

Soon after the dove-colored roof of the police box came in sight, followed by the red bricks, a clump of chinaberry trees, and the old stone walls, his heartbeat surged in his ears like angry waves. When he came to the stone steps and looked up to go up the stairs, he found in the front gate one police officer leaning against the wall and looking at the beautiful sky colored with pale green in fascination. Being confused, he thought that the police officer casted a suspicious gaze at him. Ruoli was startled and squirmed with embarrassment, noticing his face getting red. He walked away from there quickly, wearing clam expression outwardly.²⁷⁴

Feeling ashamed, Ruoli decides to return to the police station again. But when he sees the police officer looking at him in surprise, he loses the courage to speak to the police officer and quickly walks away again, turning red with embarrassment.

Under the confusion, Ruoli sees double images of the colonial authority –the symbolic order of the colonial state and sheer violence of colonialism. On the one hand, the policeman represents the non-violent ideological order of the colonial state. On the surface, the police officer appears to Ruoli as an innocent colonizer who appreciates the beauty of sky just like a bourgeois intellectual who appreciates art and with whom Ruoli identifies. But Ruoli also notices “the suspicious gaze” of surveillance in the same figure of a policeman, as he thought that the same policeman looked at him suspiciously. It could be argued that the gaze of a policeman represents the surveilling gaze of colonial governance and therefore is closely related to what Foucault calls panopticon, that is, modern mechanism of power, — “the instrument of permanent, exhaustive, omnipresent surveillance, capable of making all visible, as long as it

²⁷⁴ Long , “Ōke [The Huang Family]” 81-82.

could itself remain invisible.”²⁷⁵ Foucault argues that the omnipresence and invisibility of the surveilling gaze make the subjects respond to the panoptic gaze, which, in turn, bounds the subjects to the technologies of discipline. Therefore the subject internalizes the gaze and becomes “the principle of his own subjugation,” voluntarily disciplining himself. ²⁷⁶

Such omnipresent policing surveillance was created through the “hokō system” (*hokō seido*) in colonial Taiwan. As Japanese colonial domination of Taiwan came to be known as “police politics” (*keisatsu seiji*),²⁷⁷ the police force played a significant role in dominating colonial Taiwan. While Japanese settlers were secured by the state power, the Han-Taiwanese subjects and aborigines were first suppressed by military violence (as I stated earlier) and then later severely monitored, controlled, and suppressed by the police force. In particular, the police force monitored each local administration and interfered with their activities, by utilizing and changing the existing local administrative system called “*hokō seido*,” which was originally established as the network of the local population during the Qing empire and transformed into “the supporting force to the police system” under the rule of the Japanese empire. Under the “*hokō seido*,” the colonized subjects were forced to take responsibility to report any suspicious activities by other members in their community. ²⁷⁸

At the same time, however, it must be noted that while Foucault argues that “panopticism is the general principle of a new 'political anatomy' whose object and end are not the relations of

²⁷⁵ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan. 2nd ed (New York: Vintage Books A Division of Random House Inc. ,1995) 214.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 201-202.

²⁷⁷ Yanaihara 223.

²⁷⁸ Caroline Ts'ai Hui-Yu, “Shaping Administration in Colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945,” *Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, eds. Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press.2006) 97-121. Yanaihara 217-232.

sovereignty but the relations of discipline,”²⁷⁹ such a policing surveillance was accompanied with sovereign power in the form of violent punishments that were applied to local people (Han-Taiwanese subjects) in colonial Taiwan, including the Bandit Punishment Ordinance (*hitokeibatsu rei*), which was enacted in 1898 and the Ordinance to Control the Vagabonds in Taiwan (*Taiwan furōsha torishimari kisoku*), which was implemented in 1906 in addition to the *Hokō* Ordinance (*hokō jōrei*), the neighbor-monitoring system, which was enforced in 1898, respectively, in an attempt to control and monitor the population of *hontōjin* and repress potential resistance. In other words, “the suspicious gaze” of the police, which Ruoli encounters, refers not only to the internalized disciplinary power but also to naked violence or sovereign power exercised over the colonized population by police.

To be more precise, in the colony, violence is always set in motion behind the exercise of disciplinary power. In his formula of the production of ideological fantasy, Žižek also indicates the simultaneous coexistence of the symbolic order and the unsymbolizable and unsignifiable void of violence.²⁸⁰ In the Foucauldian concept of panopticism, individual subjects are turned into self-regulatory disciplinary subjects as a result of their internalization of the surveilling gaze. Likewise, the imperialization policies were produced and at the same time maintained by such self-regulatory disciplinary subjects who perform the policies in front of the surveilling eyes. The policies, such as the nomination of national language speaking homes (*kokugo jyōyō katei*) or the campaign to change their original names into Japanese name, (*kaiseimei undō*), were the attempt

²⁷⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* 208.

²⁸⁰ Žižek 138-139. Fanon concisely summarizes the colonized subject’s entry into the symbolic order of the colonial state, saying “To speak a language is to take on a world and culture.”(38) Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967) 38.

to make visible in the public the colonized subjects' acts of discarding their original languages and names, speaking Japanese, and thus becoming "obedient imperial subjects of Japanese." The families nominated for national language speaking homes had to put up the plate that says "national language speaking home" (*kokugo katei*) on the front door of their houses, although the family members did not speak Japanese at home in reality.²⁸¹ What must be noted here is that the colonized subjects were compelled to perform the role of imperial subjects, being aware of colonial force that is always set in motion behind the operation of disciplinary power.

But this can also be the potential moment in which a new subjectivity is formed, as this is the moment when the colonized subject notices violence internalized within himself and attempts to defy the surveilling eyes. In the above quoted passage, when Ruoli recognizes violence behind the internalized gaze of the colonizer, it appears as a physical symptom. Ruoli's heart beats fast and he feels confused and empty, losing the strength from his stomach, when he gets closer to the police station. When he recognizes "the suspicious gaze" in the gaze of the policeman, he "squirmed with embarrassment" and his face became red. Such physical symptoms can be associated with the physical state of what Frantz Fanon calls "being on his guard."

Fanon analyzes that the colonized subject eventually forms resistant subjectivity after being exposed to colonial violence: "The colonized subject is constantly on his guard. Confused by the myriad signs of the colonial world he never knows whether he is out of line. Confronted with a world configured by the colonizer, the colonized subject is always presumed guilty. The colonized does not accept his guilt, but rather considers it a kind of curse, a sword of Damocles.

²⁸¹ In his account of his own experience of imperialization movement in Taiwan as the colonized child, Lin Jingming remembers that even after his family was accepted as national language speaking homes, they still spoke in Taiwanese at home because their relatives lived in the houses next door and many of them could not speak in Japanese. Lin Jingming 23-27.

But deep down the colonized subject acknowledges no authority. He is dominated but not domesticated. He is made to feel inferior, but by no means convinced of his inferiority. He patiently waits for the colonist to let his guard down and then jumps on him. The muscles of the colonized are always tensed.”²⁸² Fanon explains that after colonized subjects identify with colonizers internalizing colonial violence exercised against them, the colonized subjects first redirect internalized violence onto other colonized people. But there is a moment when the colonized subjects decide to displace colonial violence not against their own people but against colonizers.

Drawing on Fanon’s analysis of the emergence of resistant subjectivity, Tomiyama Ichirō considers the act of “being on one’s guard” (*migamaeru*) as a crucial historical moment, in which a new resisting subject would potentially emerge. Tomiyama argues that the act of “being on one’s guard” is closely related to the moment of awareness in which the colonized subjects recognize not only ongoing oppression but also unknown violence against themselves, which has not yet been exercised but is already set in motion. By associating the act of “being on his guard” with the act of “having a presentiment of unknown violence (*bōryoku no yokan*),” Tomiyama contends that such an action and premonition can generate a moment of suspension, in which the existing linear trajectory of history, to which the colonized subject does not belong, can be questioned and a new subjectivity of history can be conceived along with possible alternative

²⁸² Fanon 16. He further states that the colonized subjects exercise violence against their own people to create a myth that colonialism does not exist. He writes, “Whereas the colonist or police officer can beat the colonized subject day in and day out, insult him and shove him to his knees, it is not uncommon to see the colonized subject draw his knife at the slightest hostile or aggressive look from another colonized subject. For the colonized subject’s last resort is to defend his personality against his fellow countryman. Internecine feuds merely perpetuate age-old grudges entrenched in memory. By throwing himself muscle and soul into his blood feuds, the colonized subject endeavors to convince himself that colonialism has never existed, that everything is as it used to be and history matches on.” (17)

future.²⁸³ In other words, by recognizing future violence that is already set in motion in the present in their defensive action, the colonized subjects open up temporal void, in which they potentially construct a new historical subject in preempting and appropriating future violence within the suspended moment of the present.

In Long's narrative, Ruoli recognizes unknown violence behind the gaze of surveillance, just as the poor Japanese women in the charity ward in Hirabayashi's novel did. But the act of "being on one's guard" and the subsequent recognition of violence does not prompt Ruoli to conceive a new form of resisting subjectivity in the end. Instead, Ruoli cannot gather the courage to face the policeman and this merely makes him loathe himself. After he runs away from the police station without being able to talk to the policeman, he diverts himself from miserable reality and despair by drinking alcohol. While Tomiyama insightfully develops the moment of suspension in which a new form of subjectivity emerges when one recognizes violence that one is exposed to through the act of "being on one's guard," there should be another key element necessary for suspending a dynamic chain of displacement of violence. I will argue in the epilogue that the continuous displacement of violence is disrupted only when one recognizes violence to which one is exposed and at the same time, instead of being called into the authoritative discourses, listens to the voices of others who are exposed to more vulnerable and precarious conditions under violence and responds to them.

Following the advice by the only doctor of Western medicine in the village, Ruoli decides to leave the village to get better treatment at the hospital in S town. Since the rain shuts down all the transportations connecting his village to the neighboring villages, he has to walk to the next

²⁸³ Tomiyama Ichirō, *Bōryoku no yokan: Iha Fuyū ni okeru kiki no mondai* [The Premonition of Violence: The Issues of Crises for Iha Fuyū] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002) 3-78.

village. His mother finds an old and broken Western parasol (*yōgasa*) covered by the dust and full of holes and gives it to him just in case the rain falls again. It could be argued that the old and broken western parasol represents here a residue of the ideological fantasy. Žižek states that the ideological fantasy is conceived not in the acknowledgement of the ideology but in the performative act, as he says, “[they] know very well how things really are, but still they are doing it as if they did not know.”²⁸⁴ If we follow Žižek’s concept of ideological fantasy, it could be argued that even after the colonized subjects realize that their efforts to become a Japanese imperial subject and appreciate modern knowledge and cosmopolitan culture do not help remove social, racial, and economic inequalities and discrimination, they can only continue to perform the role of good imperial subjects under the total mobilization for war, as Long continues to write the literary works in Japanese. In this way, the colonized subjects, like Ruoli’s family and Long continue to participate in the ideological fantasy, without being able to disrupt the gaze of the policeman, which represents both the imperial order and colonial violence.

Conclusion: The Subaltern Colonized Women Who Are Outside the Ideologies of Imperialization

This chapter explored the multi-layered structure of dialogic but uneven interaction between the metropolitan literary world and the colonial literary world, between metropolitan writers and colonized writers, between colonizers and colonized, and between oppressor and oppressed. The first part of the chapter analyzed the dialogic but uneven interaction between the metropolitan literary world and the colonized writers with a focus on the debut of Taiwanese writer Long Yingzong in the metropolitan literary world in 1937. While the colonized writers’ literature

²⁸⁴ Žižek 30.

contributed to the establishment of the metropolitan literary world as a literary center of the Japanese empire, the metropolitan literary world denied its coeval and dialogic interaction with the colonized writers' literature by temporarily and specially relegating them into the margin of the empire under the category of "provincial culture (*chihō bunka*).” By doing so, the metropolitan literary discourse integrates the colonized writers' literature into the metropolitan literary world as an ideological object of desire, which serves to displace not only the ongoing war in China but also brutal colonial policies of imperialization imposed on colonial Taiwan with the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural metropolitan literature of the Japanese empire, that accommodates the colonized writers' literature as a marginal culture of the empire.

The second part of this chapter investigated Long's "The Huang Family" both as imperialization literature and as counter-imperialization literature, exploring the multi-layered structure of the ambivalent and precarious subject in between on multiple levels, in relation to the history of Hakka community, imperialization policies, and colonial education system as well as the displacement of violence on multiple levels. I argued that while Long's seemingly self-ethnographic narrative about the family in an isolated village in the colony participates in imperialization policies, assimilating its narrative into the authoritative discourse of *kokugo* and invoking two opposing ideological objects of imperialization, cosmopolitan culture and tradition, which respectively serve to conceal and dislocate brutal aspects of imperialization. At the same time, Long's narrative also aims to demystify the ideological visions of imperialization by exposing brute force which is concealed by the two opposing ideological objects of imperialization, that is, the performative act of imperialization policies. Furthermore, there is a moment when the ethnographic narrative encounters the social contradiction inherent in imperialization ideology. I underline this moment of suspension as a potential site for the

dialogic interactions of a colonized subject with the colonial authority and thus for the emergence of new unnamable subjectivity resisting against the colonial authority. But this potential attempt of resistance is frustrated quickly. Long's narrative eventually returns to and participates again in the ideological fantasy of the Japanese empire. As the ending of the novel shows, even though the colonized people acknowledge that they take part in the production of the ideology through their performative acts, they have to continue doing it under the surveillance of colonial authorities. Looking back on the movement of imperialization literature in his brief memoir published in 1981, Long likens the performative aspect of imperialization with a clown in Chinese traditional opera: “[A]gainst] the backdrop of loud voices advocating war and imperialization, the writers in Taiwan paint their noses with white and dance in a comical manner with gestures. But deep down in their hearts, they may be crying.”²⁸⁵

Finally, I would like to emphasize that Long's narrative also reproduces and maintains the ideological narrative of the imperialization by excluding the colonized subaltern women. Colonized subaltern women are not just a target for domestic violence, which is exercised by colonial elites who internalized colonial violence. But at the same time, imperialization policies also turn the subaltern colonized younger women into shadowy and insignificant figures who have no role to play in the ideological fantasy of imperialization. It is Japanese women that occupy the position of the wife in the idealized image of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural colonial family in imperialization discourses. Interracial marriage became one of the motifs of imperialization literature, as Shōji Sōichi's *Mrs. Chen (Chin fujin)* received the first Greater East

²⁸⁵ Long Yingzong, “‘Bungei taiwan’ to ‘Taiwan bungei’ [‘The Literary Art of Taiwan’ and ‘Taiwan Literary Art’],” *Long Yingzong Zenshū Vol 5. Shi, Gekihon, Zūhitsu shū* [*Complete Works of Long Yingzong (Japanese) vol 5: Poems, Plays Literary Ramblings*], eds. Chen Wanyi and et al (Taiwan: National Museum of Taiwan Literature, 2008) 204.

Asia literary prize (*daitōa bungaku shō*) in 1943.²⁸⁶ The novels about interracial marriage, which emerged in the 1940s, envision a new form of the family in the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire, in which, instead of a Taiwanese subaltern woman, an educated Japanese woman plays the role of the wife to provide guidance to the colonized husband and to educate children as Japanese imperial subjects. In this way, like Ruoli's wife, the subaltern, uneducated, colonized young women are removed from the vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire. Just as Qiuying is engulfed by "dark shadow," the subaltern colonized women's voices are also eclipsed and silenced by the two opposing ideologies of imperialization policies.

²⁸⁶ In addition to Shōji's *Mrs. Chen*, Sakaguchi Reiko also wrote about interracial marriage set in colonial Taiwan in her novels. Her *Zheng Family* (*Tei Ikka* 1941) portrays interracial family with a focus on a Han-Taiwanese family, while *Passionflower* (*Tokeisō* 1943) depicts interracial family with a focus on the relationship between the son of the aboriginal mother and the Japanese father and a Japanese young woman.

For the ideological notion of interracial blood in relation to the opposing imperialistic discourses of imperialization and eugenics in the Japanese empire, see

Oguma Eiji, *Tanitsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: "nihonjin" no jigazō* [The Origin of the Myth of Ethnic Homogeneity: The *Genealogy* of "Japanese" Self-Images] (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1998) 235-270.

For the ideological discourses of blood and interracial marriages in imperialization literature of colonial Taiwan, see Hoshina Hironobu, "'Ketsueki' no seijigaku: Taiwan 'kōminka bungaku' wo yomu [The Politics of 'Blood: Reading Imperialization Literature in Taiwan]'" *Nihon tōyōbunka ronshū* 7 [The *Collection of Essays on Culture of East in Japan* 7] (March 2001): 5-54.

<http://ir.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/handle/123456789/2383>. Web. Sep 8, 2015.

Chapter Three:

Writing, Violence, and the Fantasy of Multi-Ethnic Empire: Ibuse Masuji's "The City of Flowers" (*Hana no machi*, 1942)

Introduction

By constructing Taiwan as a military base for southward advancement, the Japanese empire expanded its territories to Southeast Asia to construct the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Japanese empire of Greater East Asia in the 1940s, especially after the outbreak of the war in 1941. This chapter explores Ibuse Masuji's "The City of Flowers" (*Hana no machi*, 1942), which is set during the Japanese military occupation of Singapore, in order to examine the role of literature in the empire in relation to multiple forms of violence. In particular, this chapter aims to investigate the literary narrative as a "frame of war" that serves to divide the colonial population into two groups; invisible and inaudible colonial others whose lives are not recognized from the beginning and visible and audible colonial others who occupy an ambivalent and intermediary position between collaborators and enemies and therefore between life and death. Ibuse's narrative invokes those visible colonial others as ideological objects of desire through the narrative of the Japanese language campaign and the narrative of one-sided love, thereby replacing the destruction of war and violence exercised by the Japanese army with an ideological vision of a peaceful, multilingual community of the Greater East Asia.

Historical Background

Ibuse Masuji's "The City of Flowers" is one among Ibuse's many writings about his experiences in Singapore during his military service.²⁸⁷ Right before the beginning of what was called the Greater East Asian War in 1941, Ibuse Masuji and other cultural figures including writers, professors, and painters were drafted for the Japanese military propaganda unit (*gun senden butai*) and sent to the south front of the Japanese empire, including Singapore.²⁸⁸ Ibuse was one of twenty six members of the first Japanese military propaganda unit.²⁸⁹ The mission of the Japanese unit was fourfold; to conduct propaganda campaigns in the colonies with a focus on the spread of the Japanese language (*Nihongo*); to boost the morale of Japanese soldiers and inculcate in Japanese soldiers the ideology of Japanese military activities as holy war; to disseminate propaganda aimed against Japan's enemies; to disseminate Japanese military activities and their success in the colonies outside of the Japanese archipelago (*gaichi*) to the masses in the mainland (*naichi*).²⁹⁰ The Greater East Asian War was promoted as a war against the Allied forces to liberate Asia from European empires. But while the Japanese empire initially

²⁸⁷ According to Maeda Sadaaki, Ibuse published in the inter-war period more than thirty pieces of the literary works about his experiences during military service. His literary works include a short essays, novels and journals. In addition, after the end of the war, he also serialized essays under the title *Chōyō chū no koto (Under Arms)*, in the journal, "Umi (The Ocean)," from 1977 to 1980.

Maeda Sadaaki, "Ibuse Masuji: Sensō wo kyozeitsu suru buntai [Ibuse masuji: the Literary Style that Rejects War]," *Nanpō chōyō sakka: Sensō to bungaku [The Writers Recruited for South: War and Literature]*, eds. Kamiya Tadataka and Kimura Kazunobu (Kyoto: Sekai shisōsha, 1996) 118-136.

²⁸⁸ Sakuramoto Tomio, *Bunka jin tachi no Daitōa sensō: PK butai ga iku [The Greater East Asian War for Intellectuals: The Marching PK Unit]* (Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1993).

Sakuramoto notes the difference between the *Pen butai* (the groups of literary and cultural figures, which was organized before 1941 and the *gun senden butai* (the military propaganda unit in that while the *Pen butai* were the members selected among the candidates, the *gun senden butai* was a compulsory service based on the National General Mobilization Act issued in 1938.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 43-48.

²⁹⁰ Kamiya Tadataka, "Introduction," *Nanpō chōyō sakka: Sensō to bungaku [The Writers Recruited for South: War and Literature]*, eds. Kamiya Tadataka and Kimura Kazunobu (Kyoto: Sekai shisōsha, 1996) 1-14.

rendered independence only to the Philippines and Burma (in reality these two countries became severe battle fields), it defined British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies as the territories of Japanese empire.

The Japanese army invaded British Malaya in December 1941. It conquered the city of Johor Bahru on January 11 and Singapore on February 15, 1942. Right after the fall of Singapore, the Japanese army renamed Singapore *Shōnan-tō* (*Shōnan* island 昭南島) in Japanese, set standard time to Tokyo time, and implemented Japanese language (*Nihongo*) education for colonized subjects in an attempt to reconstruct Singapore as the southern front of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. At the same time, however, the Japanese occupation of Singapore was accompanied by physical and sexual violence. After the conquest of the British colony in February 1942, the Japanese army began a systematic purge of the Chinese male population, which is known as *Daikenshō* (the great inspection) or *Kakyō shukusei* (the purge of oversea Chinese population) in Japanese and as Sook Ching in Chinese.²⁹¹ The massacre was followed by sexual violence against women, including the unsystematized sexual assault against local women and the institutionalized sexual violence of comfort women.²⁹²

²⁹¹ Hayashi Hirofumi, “The Battle of Singapore, the Massacre of Chinese and Understanding of the Issue in Postwar Japan,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 28-4-09 (July 13, 2009). Web.

<http://apjif.org/-Hayashi-Hirofumi/3187/article.html>

Hayashi argues that while it is estimated over 5000 Chinese men were killed, based on the archives in Japan, Singapore and the UK, the number of the victim that is widely believed in Singapore amounts to 50000.

²⁹² Ibuse Masuji, *Chōyō chū no koto [Under Arms]* (Tokyo: Chūkō bunko, 2005)

In his memoir on his military service, *Chōyō chū no koto (Under Arms)*, which was serialized in the journal *Umi (The Ocean)* from 1977 to 1980, Ibuse mentions that he witnessed the massacre of Chinese people and Japanese army’s violence against local people and describes the incident he witnessed in detail. In contrast, he casually narrates one anecdote of a local woman who was sexually harassed by the Japanese soldier.

Ibuse entered the city of Singapore a day after the fall of Singapore.²⁹³ During his nine-month stay in *Shōnan* island from February 16th until his return to Japan in November 1942, Ibuse first served as the president of a newspaper company, *The Straits Times*, which Japanese army confiscated from the British and renamed it *Shōnan Times*, and later worked as a Japanese history teacher at the *Shōnan Nihon gakuen* (*Shōnan* Japanese School), a Japanese language school in Singapore. Ibuse also received an order to write a novel from the Headquarters of Japanese Imperial Military, and wrote “The City of Flowers” during his stay in *Shōnan* island. It was serialized from August 17 to October 7, 1942 with fifty installments in both the Tokyo Daily Newspaper (*Tokyo Nichinichi shinbun*) and the Ōsaka Daily Newspaper (*Ōsaka Mainichi shinbun*) to propagate the success of Japanese military occupation.

The Reception of Ibuse’s “The City of Flowers”

Ibuse’s “The City of Flowers” had been acclaimed as an example of war literature that contains no account of physical violence and battle scenes by postwar Japanese literary scholars. Critics from the late 1940s to the 1990s highly valued Ibuse’s work as one that is critical of the war, if not overtly anti-war, as they mainly focus on Ibuse’s attitude toward war as a writer.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ John Whittier Treat, *Pools of Water, Pillars of Fire: The Literature of Ibuse Masuji*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988) 125.

²⁹⁴ Terada Tōru, “Ibuse Masuji ron [The Discussion on Ibuse Masuji],” *Hihyō*[*Critiques*] (March 1948): 111-121.

Tōgō Katsumi. “Sensōka no Ibuse Masuji: Ryūri to teikō [Ibuse Masuji during the Wartime: Displacement and Resistance],” *Kokubungaku nōto*[*The Notebook on National Literature*] 12. (March 1972): 1-26.

Kawamoto Akira. “Taiheiyō sensō to bungakusha: Gunseika ni okeru Hino ashihei • Ibuse Masuji nit suite [The Pacific War and Writers: Hino Ashihei, Ibuse Masuji Under the Rule of the Army],” *Meijigakuin ronsō* [The Meijigakuin Article Collection] 291. (March 1980): 1-46.

Drawing on postwar literary critic Takami Jun, Kamiya Tadataka points out that Ibuse's work's high reputation is due to his depiction of the ordinary lives of people with "calmness" despite the extraordinary condition of war.²⁹⁵ Accordingly, there were only a few scholars who critically considered Ibuse's work as war propaganda.²⁹⁶

Recent scholars have paid attention to the structure of Ibuse's text in relation to the Japanese army's colonization of Singapore and its colonial language policies, instead of Ibuse's own attitude toward war. In particular, those recent scholars focus on the conflicts or tensions behind Ibuse's representation of the ordinary and peaceful community of the newly-built colony, such as the fluid linguistic borders of the multilingual colonial society or the unequal relationship and power dynamics between colonizer and colonized.²⁹⁷

Maeda Sadaaki, "Ibuse Masuji no senjika teikō no katachi: 'Hana no machi' wo jiku nishite [Ibuse Masuji's Resistance during the Wartime : With a Focus on "The City of Flowers'],"

Kindai bungaku shiron [Essay on Modern Literature], 20. (June 1983). 91-98. Web, 13 Nov, 2010. http://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/metadb/up/kiyo/AN00065309/kbs_20_91.pdf.

Noyori Tsutomu, "Ibuse Masuji 'Hana no machi' ron: Gunsei ka no enryo to kuttaku [Article on Ibuse Masuji's 'The City of Flowers' : Hesitation and Carefreeness Under the Army's Rule] ,"

Geijyutsu shijō shugi [Art for Art's Sake] 21. (December 1995): 43-53.

²⁹⁵ Kamiya Tadataka, "Rikugun hōdōhanin • Ibuse Masuji [A Member of the Propaganda Unit of the Japanese Army: Ibuse Masuji]," *Geijyutsu shijō shugi [Art for Art's Sake]* 21. (December 1995):16-22.

²⁹⁶ One of few critics who view Ibuse's work as a propaganda literature is Ttsuzuki Hisayoshi. He notes that Ibuse's work is the propaganda literature that promotes the success of the Japanese army's occupation of Singapore. Tsuzuki Hisayoshi, "Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]." *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō Interpretation and Appreciation of National Literature* (April 1985): 64-67.

²⁹⁷ Shiono Kaori examines Ibuse's depiction of the ordinariness of the colony as the fluid borders of multi-lingual society of the colonized Singapore where the linguistic norms are challenged and changed. Miyazaki Yasushi explores the power relationship between the male Japanese colonizer and the female colonized constructed by the structure of the narrative. Takiguchi Akihiro investigates the fictive notions of the unified language and ethnic identity that are represented in the novel in relation to the colonial language policies and the unequal relationship between the Japanese colonizer and the colonized. Kuramoto Tomoaki also emphasizes the political dimension of language represented by Ibuse's text in relation to the construction of national language and the colonial language policies in Singapore.

Building on this recent scholarship, I analyze the issues of colonial language policies and power dynamics between colonizers and colonized in “The City of Flowers” in relation to various forms of violence and the production and manipulation of both visible and invisible colonial others. In particular, against the historical backdrop of the massacre of the male Chinese population and sexual violence against women committed by the Japanese army in Singapore, I examine the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic colonial space represented in Ibuse’s text as the ongoing state of war disguised as a peaceful community of Greater East Asia. In particular, I

Shiono Kaori, “Towareru ‘nichijō’ no chiheisen: Ibuse Masuji ‘Hana no machi’[The Tested Horizon of Everyday Life: Ibuse Masuji’s ‘The City of Flowers’].” *Nihonbungaku.[Japanese Literature]* 59.9. (September 2010): 42-53.

Miyazaki Yasushi, “Ibuse masuji ‘Hana no machi’ ni okeru senryōchi no hyōshō wo megutte:1930-1940 nendai no gengo shiyō ni kakawaru hikintōtekina chikara kankei to sono hyōshō womegruru shosō [Representations of the Occupied Space in Ibuse Masuji ‘Hana no machi’:Uneven Power Relationship in the Use of Language and Its Representations during the Periods between 1930 and1940], ” *Nihon kindai bungakukai hokkaidō shibukai Modern Japanese Literature Hokkaido Branch* 9 (May 2006): 57-93.

Takiguchi Akihiro. “Senryōka no “heiwa,” kōsakusuru shisen.—Ibuse Masuji ‘Hana no machi’[Peace under the Rule of Japan:The Crossing of Sight Lines:Ibuse Masuji’s ‘The City of Flowers’], *Kokubungaku kenkyū [The Study of National Literature]*164. (June 2011): 15-27.

Kuramoto Tomoaki. “Can Japanese Language Education free itself from the shackles of the nation? Language images of Ibuse Masuji during the war time.” *Taidai Nihongobun kenkyū.* 27. (June 2014) :78-107.

Further references to the recent studies on Ibuse’s text and the colonization of Singapore by Japanese army are as below. Kawamura Minato and Kurokawa Sō respectively examine Ibuse’s “The City of Flowers” in relation to Japanese military’s colonial language policies imposed on Singapore. On the other hand, Akashi Yōji and Miyawaki Hiroyuki respectively explore the colonial language policies and imperialization policies imposed on Singapore. Matsuoka Masakazu investigates the colonial music education imposed on Singapore by Japanese army.

Kawamura Minato, *Umi wo watatta nihongo: Shokuminchi no kokugo no jikan [Japanese Language That Crossed the Oceans : The Time of Japanese Language in the Colonies,* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1994).

Kurokawa sō, *Kokkyō: Kanzen ban. [National Borders: Completed edition]* (Tokyo: Kawade shobo shinsha. 2013).

Akashi Yōji and Miyawaki Hiroyuki, eds. *Nihongo kyōkasho —Nihon no eirhō Maraya Singapōru senryōki (1941-1945)* Japanese Language Textbook: The British Malaya under the Rule of Japan: The Occupation of Singapore (1941-1945) 6 vols (Tokyo: Ryūkei syosha. 2002).

Matsuoka Masakazu, “Goraku ka nihonka kyōiku ka—Nihon senryōka singapōru ni okeru ongaku—[For Past Time, for Japanization and for Education :Music Education in Singapore Under the Rule of Japan], ” *Shokumichi kyōikushi kenkyū nenpō* Yearly Report on the History of Education in Colonies (2014). 98-123.

argue that Ibuse's narrative participates in colonial violence by making the distinction between the colonial others that must be silent and invisible and those that must be visible and audible, as the violence of war aimed to constantly distinguish unified imperial Japanese subjects from their others, and collaborators from enemies. By doing so, Ibuse's narrative conjures up the colonial others who survived war as the ideological objects of desire in order to conceal and replace the ongoing brutal aggression exercised by the Japanese military with a new vision of the harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-lingual community of Greater East Asia.

The Discourse of Peaceful Wartime

While the occupation of Singapore was accompanied by the massive destruction of the city and its population, the story was aimed to promote the reconstruction of the city, focusing on friendly interactions between Japanese soldiers and local people on the surface. The story revolves around the relationship between Kiyama Kiyozō, the protagonist and a member of a Japanese military propaganda unit, who seems to be modeled upon Ibuse Masuji, and local people including a Malay man and a Chinese family. Kiyama meets Ben Liyon, an excellent Chinese student at the Japanese language school. Kiyama found that Ben's family has been harassed by a Malay man Usen ben Hassan, because Ben's family is a fatherless family and Usen tries to get marry Ben's younger sister. At Ben's house, Kiyama meets not only Usen but also a Japanese soldier, Kawano, whom Usen cunningly tries to bring together with Ben's widowed mother, Achan. Noticing Usen's trick, Kawano scolds Usen and saves Ben's family from Usen's harassment temporarily. However, while Kawano shows no interest in Achan, she falls in love with him in the end. The novel ends with Achan's lamentation over her one-sided love. Such a

story can be read as a typical propagandist story that praises a Japanese soldier as a paternalistic figure who secures the peace and safety of the colony for local residents.

Recent scholars such as Shiono Kaori and Takiguchi Akihiro note that Ibuse's novel intends to emphasize the peacefulness and ordinariness of the city under the Japanese army's occupation.²⁹⁸ Before Ibuse's novel was serialized in the newspaper, both the Tokyo Daily Newspaper (*Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*) and the Ōsaka Daily Newspaper (*Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*) introduced Ibuse's comment about his new novel: "the city of *Shōnan* is very peaceful now. It is well governed. It is unbelievably peaceful. (It would be too good to have such a peaceful life.)"²⁹⁹ The peaceful state of the city is also highlighted by Noma Hitone's humorous illustrations made of light strokes, which were first inserted in the newspaper serializations and then reprinted when the story was republished as a book along with his diary-like essay "General Records of voyage to the South" (*Nankō taigaiki*) in 1943. (Figure 2) Furthermore, when the first installment of Ibuse's novel was published in the Tokyo Daily Newspaper on August 17, 1942, the article titled "The Look of the Reborn Shōnan. When you ask in Malayan, people reply to you in Japanese (*umare kawatta Shōnan:Mareigo de toeba nihongo de kotaeru*)" was also published in the same newspaper.³⁰⁰ The article propagates the widespread use of Japanese language in a newly acquired colony and emphasizes that there is no trace of the destruction brought by war in the city, as the article aims to promote the peaceful construction of the Greater

²⁹⁸ Shiono Kaori 42-53. Takiguchi Akihiro 15-27.

²⁹⁹ Ibuse Masuji, "Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]," *Hana no machi • Gunka "Senyū [The City of Flowers and The Military Song 'Fellow Soldiers']"* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996) 8.

³⁰⁰ "Umare kawatta Shōnan:Marei go de toeba nihongo de kotaeru [The Look of the Reborn Shōnan. When you ask in Malayan, people reply to you in Japanese] *Tokyo nichinichi Shinbun [Tokyo Daily Newspaper]* (August 17, 1942):2.

East Asian community.³⁰¹ Likewise, on the surface, Ibuse's novel also describes the peaceful construction of the Greater East Asia community through the accounts of the Japanese language (*Nihongo*) campaign and the interaction between colonizers and colonized. Such a discourse of the peaceful construction of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual community during wartime emerged out of the shift in the objective of war literature after the outbreak of the Greater East Asian War in 1941 in the metropolitan intellectuals and writers at the time.



(Figure2) Illustration by Noma Hitone ³⁰²

The Shift in the Objective of War Literature from the War in China Starting in 1937 to the Greater East Asian War starting from 1941

³⁰¹ Ibid., 2.

³⁰² An Illustration by Noma Hitone, rpt. Ibuse Masuji. *Hana no machi* [*The City of Flowers*] (Tokyo: Bungei shunjyū sha, 1943) 19.

As Shiono Kaori points out, because of its lack of battle scenes and its emphasis on the ordinary and peaceful everyday life in the colony, Ibuse's "The City of Flowers" had been acclaimed as a new type of war literature during the wartime and as anti-war literature in the post-war period.³⁰³ The objective of war literature was changed from the depiction of war itself to the depiction of construction (*kensetsu*) after the outbreak of "the Greater East Asian War (*daitōa sensō*)," which was ideologically advocated as the imperial war fighting against the Allied forces for the liberation of the Asian colonies from European empires. The change in the objective of war literature should be closely related to the change in the understanding of war itself, as the outbreak of "the Greater East Asian War" serves to provide the meaning to the war against China, which started in 1937, retroactively. Horng-Luen Wang points out that the outbreak of "the Great East Asia War" provided a new framework of war itself, through which the contemporary intellectuals recognized what was happening and through which the war can be discussed, while Japanese intellectuals had faced the difficulty to find a meaning in the war against China prior to the outbreak of the Greater East Asia.³⁰⁴ Likewise, Koyasu Nobukuni also notes that the outbreak of "the Greater East Asian War" appeared to the Kyoto-school intellectuals as the beginning of the "real" war for the liberation of Asia from European imperialism. Such a historical orientation of the Greater East Asian War, in fact, allowed the Kyoto-school intellectuals to recognize the significance of war against China as a pursuit of the ideal for the Greater East Asian War retroactively, while they could not find the meaningfulness

³⁰³ Shiono Kaori 42-53.

³⁰⁴ Wang Horng-Luen, "Higashi Ajia no kindai no rironka no tameni:Nihon to Chūgoku ni okeru 'sensō no furēmu'[For the Theorization of Modernity in East Asia: Frames of War in Japan and China]" *Shisō [Thought]*. 1078 (Feb 2014) : 26-55.

of the war in China prior to it.³⁰⁵

The new objective of war literature was discussed in a roundtable discussion published in the Tokyo Daily Newspaper (*Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*) on September 29, 1942 under the title “War, Literature and Moral Principle” (*Sensō to bungaku to dōgi*). In this article that appears on the same page where Ibuse’s novel is published, Sakakiyama Jun, a member of the Army News Service who joined the battle of Burma, Hibino Shirō and Muneta Hiroshi, both of whom earned literary fame for their literary works on the war in China, discuss the future of war literature. Like the Kyoto-school intellectuals that Koyasu mentions, Muneta states that the Greater East Asian War affected his view of war itself, insisting that now he can see the war in China beginning from 1937 as a part of the Greater East Asian War while he believes that nobody correctly apprehended the war in China before the outbreak of the Great East Asia War; Muneta states, “after all, we didn’t understand the incident in China at all, even though we had engaged in what is calls war literature up to now.....I want to say we have continued fighting in a pursuit of the essence of the Greater East Asian War since July 7, in 1937. We can say that since we received the imperial edict in December 8 [1942], our feelings [about the war] have undergone a change. Because of this change, I cannot be satisfied with war literature up to now.”³⁰⁶ A change of viewpoint on war greatly affects the role of literature during the wartime. Prior to Muneta’s statement, Sakakiyama discusses about the new objective of war literature, stating, “I think we

³⁰⁵ Koyasu Nobukuni, “*Kindai no Chōkoku*” *towa nanika* [What is ‘Overcoming of Modernity’?] (Seido sha, 2008) 119-137. When we think about war literature written during the war in China (the military invasion to China), we might also have to pay attention to the vague status of the war itself. As Koyasu notes that the war in China was not recognized as the war at the time. It is through the frame of the Greater East Asian war that the military invasion into China was recognized as the war retrospectively.

³⁰⁶ “*Sensō to bungaku to dōgi (jō)*” [War, Literature and Moral Principle (part 1)]. *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* [*Tokyo Daily Newspaper*](September 29, 1942):4.

already have enough war literature. Most parts of battle scenes are very similar. I believe that what we need to write most from now is, instead, about various kinds of interactions between us and local people over there before and after the war.”³⁰⁷ The editor of the Tokyo Daily Newspaper also underlines that the new objective of war literature is not to depict the battlefield but to write about the construction (*kensetsu*) through the portrayals of various lives of people.

As Shiono astutely points out, drawing on this roundtable discussion highlights the shift in the focus of war literature from the depiction of destruction to the depiction of construction.³⁰⁸ After the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, war literature was expected to portray the interaction between the Japanese army and local people, something that, as the famous war literature writer Hino Ashihei recalls after the end of the World War II, was prohibited by military censorship during the war in China.³⁰⁹ However, what must be noted here is that as seen in Ibuse’s novel, the discourse of construction (*kensetsu*) aims to promote the construction of the harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-lingual community of the Great East Asia by concealing and

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 4.

³⁰⁸ Shiono Kaori 42-53.

³⁰⁹ Hino mentions about the censorship he faced during the war in China as follows.

“1) It is not allowed to write about Japanese army losing in the war. 2) It is not allowed to write about the dark side of the war, including robbery, rape, plunder, arson, and assault (committed by Japanese army) 3) the enemy must be depicted as very hateful, and despicable figures. In other words, while all Japanese soldiers should be depicted as righteous figures, all enemy must be portrayed as demonic figures. 4) It is not allowed to write about the details of military operations. 5) It is not allowed to write about a formation of troops and the name of the troops. 6) It is not allowed to depict a soldier as human. We can portray some personal aspects of soldiers if their ranks are below the division officer. But if their ranks are above a section commander, we must depict them all as righteous, calm and brave soldiers. 7) It is not allowed to write about a woman. Although the issue of war and sexual desire should be a main theme for literary works, the imperial soldiers are not allowed to feel their heart beating when they see women. It goes without saying that having an affair with a local woman is unthinkable.”

Hino Ashihei, “Kaisetsu [Explanatory Notes],” *Hino Ashihei Senshu* {Selected Works by Hino Ashihei} vol 2 (Tokyo Sogensha, 1958) 399-442.

displacing the ongoing state of warfare.

Frame of War

While the perspective of war and thus the objective of war literature changed among metropolitan intellectuals after the outbreak of the Greater East Asian War, the war in Singapore was partly the continuation of the war in China starting from 1937. Akashi Yōji and Hayashi Hirofumi point out that the systematic killing of the Chinese (male) population and the severe treatment of the Chinese community in Singapore was the continuation of the war in China. As the Japanese army had brutally suppressed anti-Japanese guerrillas and supporters in China, in which the anti-Japanese campaign strongly persisted,³¹⁰ the Japanese army's inhumane and brutal treatment against the Chinese population during the war in China was reflected in the policy over the overseas Chinese population in Singapore.

“The Implementation Guidance for Political Maneuver of Overseas Chinese Population” was made around December 1941, prior to Japan's invasion of Singapore. The Guideline was initiated by Colonel Watanabe Wataru, who worked on the occupation of North China and played

³¹⁰Akashi Yoji, “Watanabe Gunsei: Sono tetsuri to tenkai from December 1941 to march 1943 [The Military Government by the General Watanabe: Its Theory and Development from December 1941 to March 1943],” *Nihonsenryōka no eiryō maraya •singapōru [The British Malaya Under the Rule of Japan: Singapore]*(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2001) 25-89.

Hayashi Hirofumi, “The Battle of Singapore, the Massacre of Chinese and Understanding of the Issue in Postwar Japan.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 28-4-09 (July 13, 2009) Web. Mar 8, 2015. <http://apjjf.org/-Hayashi-Hirofumi/3187/article.html>.

Hayashi Hirofumi points out that the killing of the suspicious colonized people without trial by Japanese army became a lawful act, after the Japanese government urged Manchukuo to “enact a law in September 1932 that granted authority to army officers, both Japanese and Manchurian, as well as police officers, to execute anti-Japanese activists on the spot without trial.” Hayashi argues that under this method of execution without trial, which was called *genjū shobun* (severe punishment), the Japanese military and military police killed not only guerrillas but also civilians throughout the War in China.

a significant role in making policy in the early military government of Singapore.³¹¹ The guideline writes that “the Japanese army will not deprive of their business those who obey and willingly cooperate with the Japanese military government and allow them to maintain their rights and interests. But, those who fail to obey and cooperate with the Japanese military government will never be allowed to have the right to live.”³¹² This guideline functions as what Butler calls a “frame of war,” which aims to distinguish the worthy and grievable lives of allies from the unworthy and ungrievable lives of enemies. The guideline divides the Chinese population in Singapore into two groups under Japanese military rule—those who resist the Japanese army are defined as enemies whose lives are unworthy and ungrievable on the one hand, while on the other hand, those who are willing to cooperate with the Japanese army are given the right to live, invoked as lives that stand at the liminal site between worthy lives of collaborators and unworthy lives of enemies. In this sense, the massacre of the Chinese male population executed by the Japanese army in Singapore is an extension of the war. Furthermore, by enforcing this guideline, the Japanese military government also imposed the rule of terror over the Chinese community in Singapore, suppressing their resistance against the Japanese army and making them promise cooperation with the army. As a result, it successfully made the most of the economic resources that the Chinese community had, making the Chinese community

³¹¹ Akashi Yoji. “Watanabe Gunsei [The Military Government by the General Watanabe]” 25-89.

³¹² “Kakyō Kōsaku Jisshi Yōryō [Implementation Guidance for Manipulating Overseas Chinese],” *Shiryō shū: Nanpō no gunsei [Archives: The Military Government in South*, eds. Bōeichō Bōei kenkyūjo senshi bu (Asagumo shinbun sha, 1985) 287-288. According to Hayashi, the preemptive action of killing Chinese people was closely linked to the revision of public order law in 1941 in the mainland Japan, which allowed communists and others who considered holding dangerous thoughts to be arrested and held in custody even if they committed no crime. Hayashi Hirofumi, “The Battle of Singapore”

“voluntarily” offer up fifty million dollars.³¹³

Ibuse’s “The City of Flowers” depicts neither the massacre of Chinese people nor sexual assault against women. Just as the guideline aims to differentiate collaborators from enemies and the Japanese army purged the Chinese male population as the enemy, the novel also participates in the violence of a “frame of war,” not only by making invisible those Chinese men who were deprived of the right to live, but also by making visible colonized subjects who are granted the right to live by the colonial authority. Furthermore, Ibuse’s narrative also makes visible the colonial others whose lives were forcefully situated at the liminal site between worthless and valuable lives through the narrative of the colonial language campaign and his narrative of a colonized woman’s one-sided love. These visible colonial others, including the Chinese Japanese language student Ben Liyon, Ben’s young mother, Achan, and the cunning Malay man Usen Ben Hassem, are exposed to the different forms and degrees of colonial violence according to gender and race. At the same time, Ibuse’s narrative also integrates them as ideological objects of desire, which serves to conceal and displace the ongoing war with the discourse of the peaceful construction of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire centered around the Japanese army.

The Japanese Language Campaign: The Construction of a Border between *Kokugo* and *Nihongo*

Ibuse’s novel begins with the encounter of Kiyama Kiyozo, a member of the Japanese army’s propaganda unit, with the local people discussing how to inscribe Japanese words. When Kiyama stops by an antique shop, the old Chinese shop owner argues with the painter over how

³¹³ Hayashi Hirofumi, *Singapōru Kakyō shukusei [The Massacres of Overseas Chinese People in Singapore]* (Tokyo: Kōbunken. 2007).

to write “Greater East Asian antiques (*daitōa kottō*)” in *katakana* (the Japanese phonetic alphabet for foreign words) for his store sign. Although Kiyama does not understand their conversations in Chinese, noticing that they debate over how to write the words in *katakana*, he intervenes in their conversation in his “poor English.” While the painter wrote “*daitoua kottou*” (ダイトウア、コツトウ) in *katakana*, the shop owner insists that “*daitōa kottō hanbai gyō*” (ダイトア、コツトアハンバイギョー) is the right way to inscribe. He shows Kiyama the paper, which writes “*daitōa kottō hanbai gyō*” (ダイトア、コツトアハンバイギョー), saying that Ben Liyon, an excellent Chinese student at the Shōnan Japanese language school, told him to write this way.³¹⁴ Afterwards, Kiyama gets involved in the debate with Ben about which is the right way to inscribe the word, “the antiques of Greater East Asia,” in *katakana*; *daitoua kottou* (ダイトウアコツトウ) or *daitōa kottō* (ダイトアコツトア). Kiyama tells Ben that *kottō* (antique) should be written as *kottou* (コツトウ) in *katakana*, explaining that the word of “antique” is a common noun. But Ben insists that *kottō* (antique) should be written as “*kottō*” (コツトア) in *katakana*, because he learns that the local fruit “rambutan” must be written as “*ranbūtan*” (ランブータン), instead of “*ranbuutan*” (ランブウタン). Ben further argues that since the antique goods sold at the shop is things that are not from Japan but either from Java or southern part of China, “the antique” should be written as “*kottō*” (コツトア)” instead of “*kottou*” (コツトウ).³¹⁵ In the system of *katakana* alphabet, the sign for the long vowel in *katakana* (ー) is used for the things and languages that are foreign to the system of Japanese national culture and language, while the sound of a vowel, “u” (ウ), is used for the things native to Japan. Although Kiyama explains to

³¹⁴ Ibuse Masuji, “Hana no machi [The City of Flowers],” *Ibuse Masuji Zenshū [Completed Works of Ibuse Masuji]* vol 10 (Tokyo : Chikuma Shobo 1997) 32-33.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

Ben that rambutan is the name of fruits that are not from Japan, unlike “antique,” Ben asserts that antiques that are not originally from Japan should be written as “*kottō*” (コッ トー).

On the one hand, it could be argued that the comical debate on how to write in Japanese is intended not only to promote the image of friendly relations between colonizers and colonized, and thus the harmonious multi-ethnic community of Greater East Asia, but also to displace the ongoing physical destruction and aggression of war with the ideological discourse of linguistic warfare. During the Greater East Asia War, the Japanese language campaign was considered as a part of warfare against the European empires. Japanese linguists, bureaucrats, and intellectuals in the metropole promoted Japanese language campaign to spread Japanese language in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere as “ideological warfare” (*shisō-sen*) that aims to replace the European imperial languages, which were dominant in Southeast Asia at the time, with the Japanese language as a common language for Greater East Asia.³¹⁶ Accordingly, the colonial language campaign played a significant role in envisioning the ideal vision of Greater East Asia centered around Japanese language, as it is invoked as an ideological language war against European linguistic hegemonies. For example, Nishio Minoru, a scholar of *kokugo* and Japanese literature, defines the Greater East Asian War as ideological warfare centered on language, stating, “the reality of the Greater East Asia War is ideological warfare. The front line of

³¹⁶ Lee Yeounsuk points out that the spread of Japanese language was also viewed as “language war” during the wartime by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The department of cultural affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a brochure called “Japanese language Spreading Around the World” in 1939, which states that the objective of spreading Japanese language is to make people understand Japanese culture and national spirit. They believed that international cultural affair is a part of cultural and ideological warfare.

Lee Yeounsuk. *Kokugo* ” *toiu shisō*: [The Ideology of Kokugo] 288-291.

Daitōa Kensetsu Shingikai Siryōkankei :Nanpō Gunsei Kankei Shuiryō 23 [Sources of The Council for the Construction of the Greater East Asia: Source of Military Government in South 23], vol.1 (Tokyo: Ryūkei syosha, 1995)

ideological warfare is language and its rear line is also language. The objective of the Greater East Asia War must be to promote and spread Japanese language throughout the Greater East Asia Sphere.”³¹⁷ In the ideological war of language, Japanese language was conceived as a spearhead to eradicate the hegemonic power of the European empires by expelling European languages from Southeast Asia and replacing them with the Japanese language as a common language.

“The Reports on The Cultural and Educational Policies For The Construction of Great East Asia,” which was submitted to the Council for the Construction of Greater East Asia, also specifies the objective of the Japanese language campaign as follows: “Concrete guidelines must be established to respect local languages as much as possible and at the same time implement Japanese language as a common language of the Greater East Asia, while it is required to take measures to abolish European languages as soon as possible.”³¹⁸ As stated earlier, the Japanese language campaign aims to overthrow the hegemonies of European languages and construct Japanese language as a hegemonic language that bridges multiple languages spoken by ethnically and racially different groups of people in the Great East Asia.

On the one hand, as Ibuse’s text shows, the Japanese language campaign promoted by the Japanese army failed to replace English with Japanese as a common language in Shōnan island, because Japanese colonizers and colonized local people must use English for their communication most of the time. The use of English not only weakens the authority of the

³¹⁷ Nishio Minoru, "Nihongo sōryokusen taisei no juritsu [The Establishment of Total War of Japanese Language]," *Nihongo [Japanese Language]* 3.1. (January 1943):20, rpt. in *Nihongo [Japanese Language]* Vol3-1 (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985).

³¹⁸ *Daitōa Kensetsu Shingikai Siryōkankei [Sources of The Council for the Construction of the Greater East Asia]*.

Japanese army as ruler but could even overturn the hierarchical relationship between ruler and ruled to some extent. Ibuse constantly compares the English speech of Japanese colonizers with those of the colonized people. The narrator explains that Kiyama has to use “English which he is not really good at,” while Ben “speaks English slowly” to help Kiyama understand what Ben says. The metalinguistic comments shape the linguistic hierarchy between Japanese soldiers and the colonized people by showing that Japanese people are inferior to their colonized subjects in terms of English communication, as the conversation between Kiyama and Ben in English also presents the failure of the ideological language war in Singapore.

On the other hand, as Kurokawa Sō points out, it could also be argued that the debate between Kiyama and Ben reflects both the discrepancy in Japanese orthography as well as the changeability of colonial language policies.³¹⁹ Ben tells Kiyama that he first learned in school to write Kuala Lumpur as “koo-ran-pou” and later he was told to change it to “kō-ran-pō.” Tani Yasuyo and Kawamura Minato note that the Japanese colonial language policy, in particular, the policy on the Japanese kana orthography (*kanazukai*), was not unified when the Japanese army implemented Japanese language education in Singapore. Japanese language teachers in Singapore first taught to the colonized people the classical kana orthography (*rekishiteki kanazukai*), and later decided to teach the phonetic kana orthography (*hyōonshiki kanazukai*), along with the historical kana orthography, upon request of Japanese military.³²⁰

³¹⁹ Kurokawa sō 358-372.

³²⁰ Kawamura Minato, *Umi wo watatta Nihongo* [Japanese Language That Crossed Oceans] 79-98. Tani Yasuyo, *Daitōa kyōeiken to Nihongo* [The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity and Japanese Language] (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 2000) 130-151. The poet Jinbo Kōtarō and the scholar on French literature Nakajima Kenzō who also served as the members of the propaganda unit in Singapore with Ibuse mentioned that they had hard time to decide whether to use classical kana orthography or phonetic kana orthography when they taught Japanese language in Singapore. “Tokushū: Maraya no Nihongo: Nakajima kenzo Jinbo Kōtarō taidan The Special

Furthermore, Lee Yeounsuk also notes that when the Japanese language was promoted as a common language in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, linguists and bureaucrats had to face the long-held debate on “national language and script problems (*kokugokokuji mondai*) that had been discussed since the late 19th century. Lee argues that during the Greater East Asian War, Hoshina Kōichi, *kokugo* reformer and linguist, advocated the urgent need to solve problems inherent in “national language and script problems,” including inconsistency in Japanese orthography, the heavy use of Chinese influenced words (*kango*), the discrepancy between written words and spoken language.

The awareness of the urgent need to reform *kokugo* generated two opposing movements. On the one hand, the radical linguistic reformers promoted the simplified form of language and phonetic kana orthography.³²¹ The urgent need of *kokugo* reform was also discussed among metropolitan writers and linguists. The metropolitan writer Yamamoto Yūzō advocated the abolishment of *rubi*, the auxiliary system of phonetic annotation that indicates pronunciations of Chinese characters, in 1937, the year that the war in China broke out.³²² On the other hand,

Topic: Japanese Language in Malaya: The Conversation between Nakajima Kenzo and Jinbo Kōtarō]” *Nihongo [Japanese Language]*3.5. (May 1943): 27-47, rpt. in *Nihongo [Japanese Language]* Vol3-1 (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985).

³²¹ Lee Yeounsuk, *Kokugo” toiu shisō [The Ideology of Kokugo]* 301-308.

³²² In 1937 Yamamoto, who became famous for his bildungsromans, *The Pebble on the Roadside (Robō no ishi)*, published his novel titled “The War and Two Ladies (Sensō to futari no fujin),” which narrates about two American women during the American Civil War Clara Barton and Harriet Beecher Stowe. In the afterward of this novel, Yamamoto states he limited his use of Chinese characters to less than 1300 characters without using ruby system, promoting the simplified Japanese language that can be understood by the ordinary Japanese citizens. His proposal to abolish ruby system generates the discussion about *kokugo* reform among Japanese writers and linguists in the metropole.

Yamamoto Yūzō, *Sensō to futari no fujin [War and Two Women]*(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1937)
Furigana Haishiron to sono hihan [The Discussion on the Abolishment of Furigana and The Critiques]
ed. Hakusuisha. (Tokyo: Hakusuisha. 1937)

conservative linguists such as Yamada Yoshio opposed language reform and insisted on keeping the purity and tradition of *kokugo* by associating it with both the state spirit and national spirit, which he defines as something that is inviolable and unchangeable over time.³²³

It could be argued that the debates about how to transcribe the Japanese language both represent the seemingly failed ideological warfare of Japanese language campaign as well as the discrepancy inherent in *kokugo*. Takiguchi Akihiro insists that while Ibuse's text reveals that the notion of a unified Japanese language is a fiction through his depiction of the colonial language campaign, and that such a revelation underscores the inauthenticity of the Japanese language and thus the lack of Japan's authoritative power in the Japanese empire. Takiguchi further argues that the atrocious purge of the Chinese population is one of the ways for the Japanese army to conceal and fill in the lack in Japan's authoritative power in Singapore.³²⁴

At the same time, the debates over the reform of *kokugo* and abolishment of Chinese characters in the late 1930s and 1940s remind us of Ueda Kazutoshi's 1895 speech that appeals the necessity of *kokugo* reform right before the enactment of mixed residence. Just as Ueda aims to displace the hybridity inherent in *kokugo* to something outside of it in order to conceive the imaginary vision of a unified ethnos and language, the debates over *kokugo* reform in the late 1930s also viewed internal hybridity, symbolized by "Chinese influenced words," "rubi" from *kokugo* or discrepancy in kana orthography, as excess that must be removed from *kokugo* in order to (re)imagine a unified vision of Japanese ethnos and language at a time when the Japanese empire expanded its borders to linguistically and ethnically hybridized former colonies of the European empires. But while the 19th century discourse on the issues of *zakkyo* attempted

³²³ Lee Yeounsuk, *Kokugo" toiu shisō* [*The Ideology of Kokugo*] 194-208, 301-308.

³²⁴ Takiguchi Akihiro 15-27.

to dislocate hybridity in the national body and language onto colonized others, the discourse of *kokugo/Nihongo* during the Greater East Asian War aimed to displace hybridity internal to the national body and language onto the *Nihongo* spoken by the colonized others by distinguishing *kokugo* from *Nihongo*. For while *kokugo* is imagined as the unified and coherent language of national identity that must be protected, *Nihongo* is perceived as a spearhead of ideological warfare, which can be a changed and imperfect being exposed to and interacting with other languages at the linguistic and racial borders of the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic empire.

In the formal colonies such as Taiwan and Korea, the colonial authorities demanded that the colonized subjects assimilate themselves to *kokugo* by forcing them to abandon their languages, as discussed in Chapter 2. At the same time, *kokugo* spoken and written by the colonized subjects in the formal colonies was often criticized as imperfect *kokugo* and excluded from the domain of *kokugo*, just as the colonized subjects in Korea and Taiwan were excluded as imperfect imperial subjects from the category of “Japanese.” But as the empire expanded its territories in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia, it was required to establish *Nihongo* not only as “a common language” that serves to bridge the linguistic differences in Greater East Asia but also as *Nihongo*, which should be taught as a foreign language to learners in order to protect an imaginary unification of *kokugo*.³²⁵

³²⁵ Lee Yeounsuk notes that Japanese colonial linguists in the early 1940s came to distinguish the “national language” (*kokugo* 国語) from the Japanese language (*Nihongo* 日本語) during the early 1940s. While Japanese was taught as national language (*kokugo*) in Japan proper and the colonies such as Korea, Taiwan, and the South seas islands as well as to foreign students in Japan and Japanese people of second generation living abroad. On the other hand, Japanese was taught as Japanese language (*nihongo*) in the Kwantung Leased Territory, Manchukuo, China, Mengjiang (蒙疆), and The Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Lee Yeounsuk “*Kotoba*” *toiu genei: Kindai nihon no ideorogī* [“*Language*” as an *Illusion: Linguistic Ideology in Modern Japan*] 191-195.

Yasuda Toshiaki also examines the various vision of Japanese language (*Nihongo*) as a common language of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Accordingly, the imperialist discourses on *kokugo* and *Nihongo* during the 1940s aim to further differentiate *Nihongo* from *kokugo*, by associating *Nihongo* with spoken language and *kokugo* with written language. In his article, “*Kokugo* education and *Nihongo* education,” which was published in the journal *Nihongo (Japanese language)* in 1941, Hisamatsu Senichi, a contemporary Japanese classical scholar, discusses the difference between *kokugo* education and *Nihongo* education. He states that while both *kokugo* and *Nihongo* refer to the same system of the Japanese language, *kokugo* is the national language for Japanese citizens, while *Nihongo* is the language for foreigners. Accordingly, Hisamatsu insists that because *kokugo* education is the education to teach one’s national language and thus the education based on written language (*moji kyōiku*), it inculcates literary spirit (*bungaku seishin*) and national spirit (*kokumin seishin*) into national citizens through *kokugo*. While *kokugo* education is the education based on written language (*moji kyōiku*), Hisamatsu defines *Nihongo* education as an education that focuses on the spoken language.³²⁶ Such a distinction between *kokugo* education as an education based on written language and *Nihongo* education as the education based on spoken language is developed into another distinction of the Japanese language; the language for everyday life (*seikatsu-go*) and the language for culture (*bunka-go*).

The July 1942 issue of *Nihongo* features discussions on language for everyday life

Yasuda Toshiaki *Teikoku nihon no gengo hensei [The Formations of Languages in the Japanese Empire]*

³²⁶ Hisamatsu Senichi, “*Kokugo kyōiku and nihongo kyōiku [Kokugo Education and Nihongo Education]*,” *Nihongo [Japanese Language]* 1.3. (June 1941):4-5, rpt. *Nihongo [Japanese Language] Vol1* (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985). The journal “*Nihongo*” was published from 1941 to 1945 as a journal for the Japanese language teachers in the external territories in the Japanese empire.

Kawamura Minato, “*Fukuda Tsuneari no nihongo • tokieda motoki no kokugo [Japanese Language and Fukuda Tsuneari:Tokieda Motoki and Kokugo]*,” *Umi wo watatta Nihongo: shokuminchi no “kokugo” no jikan [Japanese Language that Crossed Oceans: The Time of Japanese Language in Colonies]* (Shinsōban. Tokyo: Seidosha) 223-257.

(*seikatsu-go*) and the language for culture (*bunka-go*), including articles by the critic Hasegawa Nyozeikan, the linguist Sakuma Kanae, and the classical Japanese scholar Nishio Minoru. Overall, their discussions attempt to differentiate spoken language as the language for everyday life from written language as the language for culture by associating the difference between *kokugo* education and *Nihongo* education with the difference between the cultured, written language of *kokugo* and the everyday spoken language of *Nihongo*. Accordingly, they attempt to (re)imagine the authenticity and authority of *kokugo* by differentiating it from *Nihongo* that could be simplified and changed through its interaction with other languages of colonized subjects in the multi-lingual empire, in which “local languages should be respected as much as possible.”³²⁷

The ideological warfare fails in its ideal mission to replace English, which is spoken among the colonized subjects. Yet with the Japanese language serving as the newly common language of Greater East Asia in reality, the ideological warfare is imagined in the imperialist discourses of the *Nihongo* campaign in the Greater East Asia, in which *Nihongo* is made audible through the colonized subjects’ speech, just as the metropolitan intellectuals emphasize the orality of *Nihongo* as the language for everyday life as opposed to *kokugo* as the written and cultured

³²⁷ Hasegawa Nyozeikan, “Bunka-go to seikatsu-go [Language for Culture and Language for Everyday Life],” *Nihongo [Japanese Language]*1.4 (July 1941):4-14, rpt. *Nihongo [Japanese Language] Vol1* (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985).

Sakuma Kanae, “Seikatsu-go to shitenō nihongo [Japanese Language as Language for Everyday Life],” *Nihongo [Japanese Language]*1.4 (July 1941):15-21, rpt. *Nihongo [Japanese Language] Vol1* (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985).

Nishio Minoru, “Kokugokyōiku no tachiba kara mita ‘Seikatsu-go to bunka-go’ [Language for Everyday Life and Language for Culture]” *Nihongo [Japanese Language]*1.4 (July 1941):22-25, rpt. *Nihongo [Japanese Language] Vol1* (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985).

Although this is not the central topic here, it is interesting to note that, as Lee Yeounuk points out, while the linguist reformers such as Ueda Kazutoshi and Hoshina Koichi from the late 19th century until the end of WWII, aimed to construct standardized national language with a focus on speech, the imperialist discourses on Japanese language as the language for the Greater East Asia eventually went against the linguistic modernization of national language, which were advocated by linguistic reformers.

Lee Yeounuk, “*Kokugo*” *toiu shisō* [*The Ideology of Kokugo*]

language.

The Japanese Language Campaign and the Colonized Subjects' Speeches as Ideological Objects of Desire

The Japanese imperial authorities often insisted that *Nihongo* education in the Greater East Asia was a means to inculcate Japanese spirit in the colonized subjects.³²⁸ However, the Japanese language campaign that was promoted under that slogan, “Learn, Use, Japanese (*Manabe, Tsukae Nihongo*)” in Singapore is not just a means to inculcate Japanese language and Japanese spirit into the colonized subjects. It is Japanese colonizers who are interpellated by the *Nihongo* spoken by the colonized subjects, as they repeatedly establish themselves as the unified imperial subjects of *kokugo* through the act of listening to utterances by the colonial others and citing and making a comment on the colonial others' speeches.

Ibuse's narrative of the Japanese language campaign not only makes audible *Nihongo*, which is uttered by the colonized subjects and heard by the colonizers, but also reduces *Nihongo* speech into mere sounds through the colonizer's meta-comments on the colonized subject's speech. When Kiyama meets Ben for the first time, Ben speaks in Japanese and stands completely still as he learns at school. Ben talks to Kiyama in Japanese, “Yes, Can I help you? I am Ben Liyon, a student at the Shōnan Japanese language school. My nationality is a Chinese.” (“*hai, sorewa nanno yōji desuka. Watashi wa shōnan nihongakuen seito Ben Liyon to mōshimasu. Kokuseki wa shinajin de arimasu.*”)³²⁹ Ben's speech sounds very automatic, because he speaks in the

³²⁸ Yasuda Toshiaki 295-298.

³²⁹ Ibuse Masuji, “Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]” 34.

Japanese language he has learned from a textbook. Listening to Ben's seemingly mechanical speech, Kiyama pays attention to the sound of Ben's utterance instead of what Ben says, as he observes: "His Japanese intonation is much closer to that of Japanese than I thought." (*"sono nihongo no hatsuon wa wariiai ni nihonjin-fū no yokuyō wo toriireteita"*)³³⁰ Furthermore, when Kiyama realizes that Ben does not understand what Kiyama says, he even dismisses Ben's speech as a mere imitation of what he learns from the textbook:

"No I don't understand. What can I help you? What do you want? I can't speak Japanese language well. Yes, I can speak Cantonese, Hokkien, English, and Malayan. Yes, what do you want? You must say it now."

These Japanese words are all written in a mimeographed textbook used at the Shōnan Japanese language school. In a word, he speaks in Japanese, skillfully putting together the Japanese words he learned at school. But it would be too sinful to think that we cannot expect much from even an excellent student. Rather, his passion for Japanese language pleases Mr. Marusen."³³¹

Kiyama is pleased by the fact that Ben puts in the effort to speak, instead of what Ben tries to say. In other words, Kiyama cares not about the content of Ben's speech, but rather about Ben's efforts to speak and therefore his passion to become a subject of the Japanese empire. For Kiyama considers Ben's speech as mere sound, focusing on the acoustic aspect of the speech, instead of its signifying, symbolic aspect, while he ignores any traces of the subjectivity of the colonized speaker. It is through the act of listening and making meta-comments on the colonized speeches that the colonizer aims to establish the hierarchical relationship between listening

³³⁰ Ibid., 34.

³³¹ Ibid., 34.

colonizer and the listened objects of the colonized. Accordingly, it is though such a hierarchical relationship between listening subjects and the listened objects that the vision of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire based on the hierarchical relationship between the Japanese colonizer and the colonized is conceived.³³²

At the same time, the voice of the colonized subject also echoes inconsistency, imperfection, and hybridity of Japanese people's speeches. Asked by Ben Liyon, Kiyama comes to visit his house to meet a Malayan man Usen Ben Hassem, who, according to Ben, has harassed his family. Kiyama finds Usen dressing like a member of Japanese army and speaking Japanese fluently. Usen introduces himself to Kiyama speaking in accented and casual Japanese:

“I used to live with Mr. Inoha, who owns the store called Inoha shōkai. During the war, Mr. Inoha was taken to India and there is nobody at Inoha shōkai now. Afterwards, I thought that I want to do something for Japan. That is why I frequently visited Ben Liyon's house to teach him Japanese. Ben Liyon could improve his Japanese language skill quickly. You know, we have to know Japanese language to understand Japanese spirit. Since I can already speak Japanese fluently, I understand well about what is Japanese spirit.”³³³

In response to Usen, Kiyama bluntly answers, “you shouldn't speak such a nonsense.” Usen appears to Kiyama as a mischievous and insincere man, because he was told that Usen has pestered Ben's family in an attempt to marry Ben's younger sister. At the same time, it seems that Kiyama also judges Usen to be arrogant because of Usen's accented speech. Usen speaks

³³² Drawing on Michel de Certeau, Miyako Inoue insightfully examines quotation as the textural strategy creating the intertextual hierarchy between the quoting and the quoted and thus between a listening subject and a subject uttering. She states, “Recognizing quotation as textual strategy of containment and as the only means by which alterity – otherwise suppressed and excluded – can return to the text, de Certeau further argues that the intertextual hierarchy between the quoting and the quoted has to do with the way the latter is reduced to mere phonic matter—voice, scream, cry, grunt, or noise—that is not capable of signifying by itself. This sense of sound is precisely what Saussure's (1959) concept of “sound” (phoneme) precludes. The phoneme is part of a system of language.” Miyako Inoue 51.

³³³ Ibid.,65-66.

Japanese with an accent because, as Usen tells Kiyama, he learned Japanese language from a Japanese merchant called Mr. Inoha who lived in Singapore before the Japanese invasion.

On the one hand, it could be argued that Usen's accent is a reminder of the Japanese community in British Singapore, which had existed prior to the Japanese military invasion. While the accented Japanese language or dialects were spoken by Japanese settlers in British Singapore, that is, in the sphere of English, the accented Japanese languages of those Japanese immigrants became irrelevant after Singapore became a part of the Japanese empire, that is, the sphere of *Nihongo*. On the other hand, Usen's accented speech is also invoked as what Miyako Inoue calls the "auditory double" of Japanese modern subjects. In her examination of the discourse of schoolgirl's speech in Japanese modernity, Inoue notes that schoolgirl's speech, which Japanese male intellectuals considered to be unpleasant to the ear, is in fact "a (distorted) double of [the voice of a Japanese male modern subject]," an object that returned from the prelinguistic stage (the real), when it was constitutive of the harmonious unity of the subject."³³⁴ Inoue states that schoolgirl's speech is "a horrifying reminder that the subject is inherently split and insufficient and that the wholeness of the subject ... is an impossible ideal."³³⁵ Likewise, it could be argued that Usen's accented Japanese language is a double auditory image of *kokugo*, which echoes the voice of insufficient and split colonizers who can neither possess nor master perfectly the unified national language of *kokugo*.

Such an "auditory double" of the colonizers in fact echoes the dialects or accented Japanese speech of the colonizers themselves. Ibuse's narrative reveals that many Japanese colonizers who

³³⁴ Ibid., 69.

³³⁵ Ibid., 69.

participated in the Japanese language campaign speak Japanese with accents or dialects, rather than "standard Japanese." Kanda Kōtarō, who is the principal of the Japanese language school that Ben attends, speaks with a Yamagata accent. So he has to speak loudly in order to conceal his accent. Ibuse's narrator also introduces Hanazono Yōzō, another member of the Japanese military propaganda unit, as a dialect speaker coming from Fukuoka. The need to correct the dialects came to be recognized especially after Japanese language education was implemented in China during the late 1930s, as the educators and linguistic reformers called for the need to spread *kokugo* in the mainland's peripheries. While the immediate need to correct dialects and teach the standard language (*hyōjungo*) in the regional peripheries was acknowledged during the 1940s, linguist reformers also claimed that the teachers of Japanese language in the colonies had to have the ability to speak standardized *kokugo* correctly.³³⁶ In other words, it is after the Japanese language as *Nihongo* was exported to and imposed on the newly acquired colonies in Greater East Asia, the absence of a unified Japanese language and the need for its unification were conceived only retrospectively.

Because the "auditory double" of the colonized subjects could disturb the unified identity of the colonizers, they become a target for punishment by the colonial authorities, as Usen who harasses Ben's family is eventually scolded and punished by the Japanese soldier Kawano, who is also tricked by Usen. In the imperialist discourse of the Japanese language campaign in the Japanese empire, the "auditory double" of the colonizer becomes an object that has to be handled cautiously. Nakajima Kenzō, who served as a member of the propaganda unit in Singapore, alerts Japanese language teachers in the external territories how to treat the "auditory double" in the colony. Nakajima states that while the Japanese language rapidly spread, some of the local

³³⁶ Yasuda Toshiaki 51-57.

people started talking about the “Japanese spirit:”

He uses the borrowed tongues of Japanese before he fully understands Japanese language. In that situation, it could happen that a local person who superficially swallows the complex meanings [of the Japanese spirit] tries to explain the Japanese spirit to the original Japanese people [who initially taught them the Japanese spirit]. We should not deny local people who express their quick understanding. Even if Japanese spirit is hastily understood [by the colonized] it does not mean to denigrate our dignity. There is no reason to assert that the colonized who promptly understand are more unreliable than the colonized who are skeptical [about the Japanese spirit]. Nevertheless, in many of such cases I feel there is something that requires suspending judgement towards this matter.”³³⁷

Nakajima’s remarks let us glimpse the fact that colonized subjects also attempted to challenge Japanese colonization, represented by the domination of Japanese language, by citing and re-appropriating the word “Japanese spirit,” which had initially been imposed on colonial subjects as a symbol of Japanese civilization to be appreciated and acquired by the new imperial subjects of the Japanese empire. But at the same time, Nakajima’s warning also makes it clear that it is the colonizers who have the power to decide who masters the Japanese spirit or not, for such a power is endorsed and maintained by the military and sovereign power exercised by the Japanese army over the colonized population.

At the same time, what must be noted here is that it is not the colonized subject but the colonizer who is hailed by *Nihongo* and interpellated (called into) as subject within the ideology produced by *Nihongo*, like the man who is hailed by a policeman.³³⁸ The fetishization of the

³³⁷ Nakajima Kenzo, “Gaichi no nihongo nit tsuite [Regarding Japanese Language in External Territories],” *Nihongo [Japanese Language]* 3. 10. (October 1943): 4-9, rpt. *Nihongo [Japanese Language] vol.III*, (Tokyo: Tōji Shobōshinsha 1985).

³³⁸ Louise Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (London and New York: Verso, 2014) 264-265.

sound of Japanese enunciated by the colonized is closely related to the idea of the sound of Japanese as a voice of the national body (*kokutai*). The emergence of the listening subject who focuses on the non-referential sound of the Japanese language instead of the signifying function of language is linked to what Tsuboi Hideto calls “festivity of voice” (*koe no shukusai*). In his exploration of the poetry reading movement in the interwar period, Tsuboi argues that the phonocentric view of language inherent in the poetry reading movement at the time aimed at reducing writing as symbolic aspect of language into voice as unmediated speech. Yet in their pursuit of the unification of signifier and signified, writing and speech, and *parole* and observed objects, the poets ended up generating “a perfectly bleached and transparent signifier,” a voice of the national body encompassing voices of imperial subjects in Greater East Asia.³³⁹ The unified notion of Japanese subjects are invoked and conjured up within the act of listening to such non-signifying voices that resonates in Greater East Asia, as the sound echoing in the empire itself serves as ideological objects of desire, which conceal and displace not only the hybridity inherent in *kokugo* and a unified notion of the Japanese people, but also the destructive violence of war in the ideological narrative of the construction of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Japanese empire.

This is why the sound of *Nihongo* uttered by Usen attracts the Japanese soldier Kawano, inducing nostalgia in his mind. When Kawano explains to Kiyama why he has come to Ben’s house guided by Usen, Kawano says:

“I was standing alone beside the swing at this square. Then this Malayan man came to me and spoke to me in Japanese fluently. Since I don’t understand other languages, Japanese language spoken by the local people filled me with nostalgia. I wandered into this house

³³⁹ Tsuboi Hideto, *Koe no shukusai: Nihon no kindai shi to senso [Festivities of Voices: The History of Modern Japan and War]* (Nagoya: Nagoyadaigaku shuppan kai. 1997) 205.

being navigated by Japanese language, so to speak.”³⁴⁰

For Japanese colonizers, listening to the sound of the Japanese language enunciated by colonized subjects is a moment to experience the fantastic community of Great Easter Asia as one unified voice. In his memoir on his experiences in Singapore, which was written after the war, Ibuse also recalls Japanese soldiers who started shedding tears when they listened to the songs performed by local girls, although they were not moved by the song sung by Japanese singers from the metropole:

“The soldiers do not shed tears when they listen to the songs sung by the real singers from the mainland Japan. However, when they hear the songs, such as ‘Oh a Brave Transport Ship’ or ‘Even If We Conquer Singapore...,’ sung by the impromptu local singers, many of them drop tears. I wonder if this is because Nagaya Misao, the director of the music division in the propaganda unit provides local singers excellent instruction. Or even if local singers cannot understand the meanings of the songs, can they convey the sentiment? When I talked to Mr. Nagaya about this, Mr. Nagaya said that probably because local Malayan or Eurasian singers sing like girls in the mainland Japan, they are moved to tears by their songs. But I continued to ask him, ‘But can we think that it is their accents that generate some sentiments?’ He replied to me, saying ‘As for the accent I am sure that Japanese singers sing with more correct accents. Therefore, they should convey sentiments.’ ‘But can we think their songs move the soldiers, because the accents of the local singers do not lose sense of modesty?’ Then he answered to me, telling that ‘accent and morality are completely different matters.’”³⁴¹

What must be underlined is that such listening subjects are constituted only when they deny and suppress both the subjectivity of colonized subjects who speak and sing and the signifying power of their speech, by integrating them into voice of national body (*kokutai*) and at the same time relegating them into the liminal site between the domain of language and the domain of non-language. In other words, it could be argued that Japanese soldiers were moved by the singing voice of the colonized girls with imperfect accents, precisely because their singing voice

³⁴⁰ Ibuse Masuji, “Hana no machi [The City of Flowers] 77.

³⁴¹ Ibuse Masuji, *Chōyōchū no koro no koto* [Under Arms] 132.

consists of the voice dissociated from and removed from the historical and sociopolitical contexts to which the actual voices of the colonized subjects belong. Therefore, the colonized girls' singing voice is invoked as a fantastic object of desire, which serves to displace the traumatic experiences of brutal war that Japanese soldiers engaged in and witnessed with a voice of the fantastic community of Greater East Asia in which Japanese soldiers imagine themselves to have a harmonious and friendly relationship with racially different groups of colonized people.

Linguistic activities and Military Violence

The Japanese language campaign that constructs this unequal, one-sided linguistic relationship is in fact ensured by the sovereign power exercised by the Japanese military. Kiyama's denial of Usen's idea that the colonized subject can acquire Japanese spirit suggests that, as we have seen previously, the Japanese spirit is something that can be acquired only by Japanese subjects who mindlessly listen to the sounds of *Nihongo* enunciated by the colonized. At the same time, as Kuramoto Tomoaki notes, Usen's unwelcome intrusion into the Chinese family represents the unwelcome intrusion of Japanese language into the Chinese community, while such intrusions are in fact ensured by the army represented by Kiyama and Kawano who appear to protect Chinese family from Usen on the surface.³⁴² In this sense, Usen represents not just a trickster but also the violence of Japanese language campaign that invades the private space of the colonized subjects.³⁴³ Furthermore, Usen's attempt to set up the Japanese soldier

³⁴² Kuramoto Tomoaki 78-107.

³⁴³ During the Japanese occupation period, Japanese military employed Malayan people as police or officers to oversee Chinese community and it created the ethnic conflict between Malayan and Chinese which were persist even after Japanese occupation period

Kawano with Achan also implies the propagandistic vision of the Japanese army as a paternal authority to the Chinese community and thus subjugates the Chinese community to the Japanese army. The Japanese soldier Kawano serves to fulfill the absence of the Chinese father, which might be associated with the massacre of the Chinese male people by the army. Likewise, it is military power and violence that control and monitor linguistic activities in both the public and private space of Singapore, regardless of whether such linguistic activities are engaged in Japanese, English, or Chinese, as the Japanese army's linguistic dominance over the linguistic sphere of English and its violent suppression of the colonized subjects can be seen in the relationship between Usen, Achan, Kawano, and Kiyama.

The Narrative of Romantic Love and Colonial Violence

The second half of "The City of Flowers" narrates a strange four-sided relationship between Kiyama Kiyozo, a protagonist and a member of the Japanese propaganda military unit, Kawano, a Japanese sergeant, Usen Ben Hassam, a local Malay man who speaks Japanese fluently and dresses like a Japanese soldier, and Achan Liyon, who is Ben Liyon's young mother. A Malay man, Usen initially started to harass the fatherless Chinese family to satisfy his desire to marry the daughter of this family. To achieve his goal, Usen threatens the mother Achan, telling her that the Japanese soldier Kawano wants to take her as a local wife and she has no option but to obey his request. Later, Achan asks Kawano about the truth of his request through Kiyama as

Hayashi Hirofumi, *Singaporu kakyō Shukusei [The Massacres of Chinese People in Singapore]* 33
Chua Ser Koon, "Nihon gunsei no inpakuto to kyokun: singaporu kara no shiten [The Impact and Lesson of Japanese Military Government From the Perspective of Singapore]," *Tōnan ajia shi no nakano nihon senryō Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1997) 478-503.

an interpreter and finds out that Kawano never makes such a request. At the same time, because of Kiyama's intentional misinterpretation, she comes to believe that Kawano will punish Usen on her behalf. Furthermore, because Usen's insistent verbal harassment manipulates Achan's mind, she eventually falls in love with Kawano. But it is Kiyama, an interpreter, who serves to mediate the conversation between Achan and Kawano, that fixes the imperialist gaze and hearing on the colonized woman Achan, turning her into an object of desire.

Sakai Naoki argues that national or racial power relations are often represented through an allegorical narrative of mutual love between a dominant man and a dominated woman. This narrative of romantic love serves to conceal the violent process of colonial domination and justify the rule of colonial authorities. Sakai argues that "it is usually presumed by colonizing men that the description of a romantic love affair is already a testimony to the absence of rape... [In] what is at stake in the depiction of romantic love in colonial situations, it is primarily violence exerted by men against women that inversely structures romantic love in heterosexual tropics."³⁴⁴ The colonial allegory of romantic love emphasizes the power of the dominant "male" on the one hand, and the de-masculinization of the dominated men on the other, as it represents a dual domination: that of the domination of the woman by the male colonizer, and the domination of the colonized men through that of the colonized women.³⁴⁵ In this way, the woman often appears as a material and metaphorical site of colonial domination.

³⁴⁴ Sakai Naoki, "On Romantic Love and Military Violence: Transpacific Imperialism and U.S.–Japan Complicit," *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, eds. Setsu Shigematsu, Keith L Camacho (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) 205-222.

Naoki Sakai, "Eizō · jendā · renai no seikenryoku [*Images, Gender, Power in Sexuality and Romantic Love*]," *Nihon · Eizō · Beikoku. Kyōkan no kyōdōtai to teikokuteki kokuminshugi. [Japan, Images, and U.S.: A Community of Sympathy and Imperial Nationalism]* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2007) 23-65.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 205-222.

At the same time, however, the allegorical narrative of romantic love conceals and displaces not just colonial violence but also the precarious status of the subjects under colonial rule with the image of a colonized woman who expresses her love for the colonial authority. As I stated earlier, like “The Implementation Guidance for Political Maneuver of Overseas Chinese Population,” which differentiates the collaborators who are granted the right to live and enemies who has no right to live, Ibuse’s narrative also functions as a “frame of war” by making invisible and inaudible the enemy who must die and making visible and audible those who survive and are allowed to live. But the colonized subjects who are made visible in the novel are constantly exposed to the sovereign power exercised by Japanese army, being relegated to the ambiguous and ambivalent position between collaborators and enemies and therefore between life and death. Accordingly, they are exposed to violence in different degrees and forms not only according to race and ethnicity, but also according to gender.

The Narrative of One-Sided Love and the Colonized Woman as an Ideological Object

In Ibuse’s novel, romantic love appears not as a mutual love relationship between the male colonizer and the female colonized, but as the colonized woman’s one-sided love for a Japanese soldier. On the surface, like a narrative of mutual love, the narrative of one-sided love justifies the Japanese army’s domination. It suggests that even if the Japanese soldier has no desire to dominate the colonized, the control of the Japanese colonial authority is desired by the subjugated people, as seen in Achan feelings of love for Kawano. At the same time, the narrative of one-sided love also invokes the colonial woman who occupies an ambivalent and precarious position as the ideological object of desire, which conceals and replaces the physical violence

and destruction exercised by the Japanese army – the massacre of Chinese male population and violence against women– with the idealized vision of Japanese empire in which Japanese authority is desired by colonial subjects. By doing so, the narrative of one-sided love makes normative and natural the precarious condition of the subjects under Japanese rule. The colonial woman asks a Japanese soldier for love and therefore protection, although in fact what is needed is protection from the very Japanese army that she petitions for help. But she cannot gain love and protection from the colonial authority. In other words, the colonized woman is deprived of the right of protection by the colonial authority from which they need to protect themselves and therefore remains exposed to violence. In this way, Ibuse’s narrative replaces the colonized women’s petition for protection from the Japanese army with her expression of unrequited love for a Japanese soldier.

The violence against colonized women exercised by the Japanese military and by Ibuse’s literary text has been neglected by Japanese critics. Even some postwar Japanese critics praise Ibuse’s narrative of the colonized women’s one-sided love. For example, in 1948, Terada Tōru effusively praised Ibuse’s “The City of Flowers,” writing that Ibuse depicts a Chinese woman’s unrequited love in a morally untarnished manner.³⁴⁶ In 1972, Tōgō Katsumi also contended that Ibuse’s work is an extraordinary one that is not influenced by corruption caused by war. Drawing on Terada, Tōgō insists that Ibuse manages to portray a Chinese woman’s unrequited love in a sincere way, because Ibuse controls himself well and thus keeps him away from the spiritual decadence caused by war.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Terada Toru, “Ibuse Masuji[Ibuse Masuji]” *Hihyō*[*Critiques*] March 1948. 111-121.

³⁴⁷ Tōgō Katsumi 1- 26.

The Colonized Woman as an Injurable Object

While the colonized woman's one-sided love depicted in "The City of Flowers" seems to deny the violent aspect of Japanese military domination, it paradoxically reveals the violent process of colonization. On the surface, the narrative of one-sided love suggests that even if the Japanese soldier has no desire to dominate the colonized, it is the latter that desires the control of the Japanese colonial authority. Kawano appears as an ideal Japanese soldier who has no sexual interest in local women and does not direct violence against colonized subjects. When Achan comes after Kiyama and Kawano to ask about the truth of Kawano's request to acquire her as a local wife, they find her strange without knowing why she follows them. Kiyama tells Kawano that he should not hesitate, if he is interested in Achan, but Kawano quickly rejects his offer. In the end, Kawano leaves without telling Kiyama and Achan his full name and the military section he belongs to. It could be argued that the description of Kawano as a soldier of high integrity comes from the military censorship at the time, which prohibited depicting Japanese soldier's affair with local women, as Hino Ashihei recalls the censorship of the wartime after the war: "The imperial army is not allowed to get excited when they see women at the battlefield. It goes without saying that having an affair with a local woman is unthinkable."³⁴⁸

However, while Kawano might represent an ideal Japanese soldier, Kawano's indifference to the colonized subjects also represents racialized violence that distinguishes the race that must live from the race that must die. When Kiyama tells Achan that Kawano has no interest in

³⁴⁸ Hino Ashihei, "Kaisetsu [Explanatory Notes]" 399-442.

visiting her again in the end of the story, Achan cries, saying “Oh, it must be because I am a Chinese.”³⁴⁹ Her cry could be understood that she cannot receive love and therefore protection from the Japanese authority, because she is a Chinese who occupies the indeterminate position between collaborators and enemies. In other words, Kawano’s indifference to the colonized woman represents racialized violence that distinguishes the lives of the race that must be protected from the lives of the races that should be left unprotected. Furthermore, what makes Achan’s character complicated is the fact that she is a Chinese and at the same time a speaker of English, a common language in the British Empire, to which Singapore belonged prior to Japan’s conquest. Therefore, she appears not only as the metaphorical and physical site of domination of the Chinese people but also as a metaphorical site of the conquest of the British empire. In this way, the narrative of one-sided love represents the colonized woman dually as an injurable object that is not regarded as a life that must be protected and thus remains subjected to racialized and sexualized violence.

Usen’s verbal violence & the Reign of Terror

Because Achan cannot receive the colonial authority’s protection, she ends up being exposed to various forms of violence, which is exercised by Usen and Kiyama on behalf of the colonial authorities. Unlike the narrative of romantic love, which implies the mutual agreement between the male colonizer and the female colonized, the narrative of one-sided love begins with a threat against a colonized woman, as it is Usen who initially threatens Achan to marry Kawano. Achan eventually become attracted to Kawano, because Usen’s continuous verbal harassment

³⁴⁹ Ibuse Masuji, “Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]” 104.

manipulates her mind. When Kiyama tells her that Kawano has no interest in her, she says to him: “The Malay man Usen uses his glib tongue to manipulate my mind and make me feel attracted to that Japanese soldier. Even though it is caused by Usen’s evil design, after all it becomes difficult for me to give up on that Japanese soldier.”³⁵⁰

Usen’s verbal violence against Achan can be closely associated with the reign of terror that the Japanese military government imposed on the Chinese community during and after the purge of Chinese people. Like Usen, who uses the threatening words to control Achan, the Japanese military government also used verbal violence to threaten the Chinese community and subdue it. Nakano Satoshi points out that the purge of Chinese people was not secretly conducted but rather publicized in Singapore in order to terrorize the local Chinese community and compel them to submit to Japanese rule.³⁵¹ Right after the first purge, the Japanese army published the announcement in Chinese in the Chinese Newspaper, *Shōnan Daily News* (*Shōnan nippō*), which was under the control of the Japanese military government. It states that the army will “investigate an enemy or rebellious Chinese to restore the security of the Shōnan port immediately.”³⁵² This announcement also encouraged Chinese readers to report enemies or rebellious people to the Japanese army, telling them that those who are willing to cooperate with the army will be treated as subjects under the emperor’s universal benevolence, “*isshi dōjin*,”

³⁵⁰ Ibuse Masuji, “Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]” 103.

³⁵¹ Nakano Satoshi 126-138.

³⁵² “Shōnankeibi shireikan seimei,” *Shōnan nippō*, 24 February. 1942. Reprinted in *Shōnan shinbun (1942-1945)* Ed. Yokohori Yōichi. Tokyo: Satsuki Shobō, 1993.

For Japanese translation of the article, see Shui Yunchao and Chua Sukun eds. *Nihongun senryōka no Shingapōru : Kajin gyakusatsu jiken no shōmei*. Trans. Tanaka Hiroshi and Fukunaga Heiwa. Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1986.42-43. Nakano Satoshi 126-138.

while those who resist against the Japanese army will be treated as rebels against East Asia.³⁵³ It could be argued that Usen's violence against Achan is a gendered representation of colonial violence against the Chinese community at the time.

Colonial Domination, Violence, and Language

Colonial verbal violence also appears in the form of translation. Even after the Japanese army occupied Singapore and attempted to implement the Japanese language as the common tongue, English, which was a common language in the British empire, was used to communicate between the Japanese and local subjects. However, even though the Japanese language campaign failed to replace English with Japanese as a common language in Greater East Asia, the Japanese army aimed to appropriate and control the English language sphere through the act of translation, as we can see in the conversation between Achan, Kawano and Kiyama. When Achan asks about Kawano's request to have her as a local wife, she has to ask Kawano about this through Kiyama who serves as an interpreter between English and Japanese. Kawano gets angry when he hears that Usen tells Achan that Kawano wants her as a local wife thorough Kiyama's translation. Kawano asks Kiyama to translate from Japanese to English the following words for Achan; "next time I meet that hustler, I must question him and make him apologize to her."³⁵⁴ But Kiyama translates Kawano's remark to Achan, "adding his subjective interpretation of what he said with

³⁵³ The military government made use of Chinese population as monetary resource, as they planned prior to the occupation.

"Kakyō Kōsaku Jisshi Yōryō [Implementation Guidance for Manipulating Overseas Chinese.] *Shiryō shū: Nanpō no gunsei*, edited by Bōeichō Bōei kenkyūjo senshi bu. Asagumo shinbun sha, 1985. 287-288. Hayashi Hirofumi, *Singapōru kakyō shukusai [The Purge of Chinese People in Singapore]*.

³⁵⁴ Ibuse Masuji, "Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]" 83.

flattering remarks as follows” and translating Kawano’s words for Achan in English, “Usen must be punished by me severely anywhere at anytime.”³⁵⁵

Here the translator is not a transparent, faithful mediator from one linguistic realm to another, but an unreliable mediator who abuses his power to dominate the linguistic sphere in the colony. Moreover, Ibuse’s narrative of translation also highlights the case of translation from the language of the ruler to a third language that is shared by both the colonizer and the colonized. In such a case, the colonized is further alienated from the power of knowledge being deprived of any means to access to it, because they cannot understand the language of the ruler. Thus as a linguistic minority, she has no means to access to the actual meanings of what political authority says, and this might endanger her own safety. In the end, while she begins to doubt Kiyama’s translation, what she can only do is to accept his words, as she says: “ Now I understand I must trust your words.”³⁵⁶

Sexualized Violence and the Fantastic Voice of the Colonized Woman

In the end, such verbal violence is closely associated with sexualized violence, as it is Kiyama who turns Achan into an object of sexual desire. He describes her appearance using the words such as “very charming (*enrei*)” and “a very elegant beautiful posture (*senken na sugata*)” and tells Achan that her voice is like “lady’s attractive whispering voice “(*takan wo sosoru shukujo no sasayaki*). He even fixes his eyes on “her well-turned earlobe with jade earrings”

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 83-84.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 103.

(*kanojo no hisui wo tsuketa kakō noii mimitabu*).³⁵⁷ While the male gaze and ear reduce the colonized woman into an object of desire in colonial conquest, it is due to her precarious condition that the colonized woman is left unprotected and thus subjected to such sexualized violence, which is also related to racialized violence.

Going back to the discussion of the colonial allegory of romantic love, while the narrative of a mutual love relationship aims to conceal the violent process of colonial domination, the narrative of one-sided love invokes a colonized woman as an ideological object of desire, which serves to conceal and displace the physical violence of war with the fantastic discourse of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Japanese empire, characterized by the fantasy of colonized subjects expressing their love for the colonial authorities. The cry of the colonial woman, “Oh, it must be because I am a Chinese” implies the racial and gender vulnerability of the colonized subject both as a Chinese who occupies the indeterminate position between collaborators and enemies and as a woman who is exposed to sexualized violence. However, her cry is appropriated in the end as an expression of pure love by Kiyama, who says: “I know. I believe your pure love has already reached [the Japanese soldier].”³⁵⁸

Although it is colonial violence that makes the colonized woman’s status vulnerable, the narrative of one-sided love displaces the cry of the colonized woman, which expresses her precarious condition, with the fantastic voice of others, through which the Japanese readers can envision a unified national and ethnic identity of the Japanese and identify the image of the

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 82-104. Miyazaki Yasushi analyzes the representation of the Chinese female character, Achan, as an object of colonial desire in relation to the tension between the colonizers and the colonized. Miyazaki Yasushi 57-93.

³⁵⁸ Ibuse Masuji, “Hana no machi [The City of Flowers]” 104. This part is cut off in the paper book edition of “City of Flowers.” Ibuse replaces the above passage with the following sentence: “But here is the battlefield.” (*shikashi koko wa senchi de aru*) Ibuse Masuji, *Hana no machi • gunka* “*Senyū* [The City of Flowers, Military Song ‘Fellow Soldiers’ 108.

Japanese who is desired by the colonized subjects. In other words, Ibuse's novel helps Japanese readers in the metropole hear the fantastic voice of colonial others that seek love from them, even though this fantastic voice is in fact their own displaced voice. In this way, Ibuse's novel invokes a fantastic vision of the harmonious Japanese empire, in which both the Japanese army's destructiveness and the pain of colonized others become unthinkable, while the Japanese army's leadership appears to be righteous. Therefore, the narrative of one-sided love serves to reconcile the contradiction inherent in the Japanese empire. Although the empire promoted a harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Great East Asia community, it is violence that created the linguistically and ethnically hybridized colonial space, which consists of the hierarchical relationship between the Japanese colonizers who listen to the colonized speech in *Nihongo*, the colonized subjects who utter *Nihongo*, and the colonized subjects who speak other languages.

Violence in the Literary Text and Historical Violence

Finally, I want to discuss how violence in the literary text corresponds to actual colonial violence exercised by the Japanese army at the time. While postwar Japanese scholars have discussed and acknowledged the massacre of the Chinese male population in their examination of Ibuse's "The City of Flowers," the violence against women has been mostly neglected. But once we call into question the frames of war that operate in the novel, we should be able to apprehend the violence against the colonized others who are not allowed to have the right to live. Chinese men who are seen as a threat to the order of the Japanese empire were killed by the Japanese army at the time, but the novel erases the evidence of their existence as if they had never existed. At the same time, we should also be able to recognize the violence against the

visible colonized others who are allowed to have the right to live but at the same time are deprived the right of protection. During the Japanese occupation of Singapore, Japanese army and soldiers committed sexual violence not only against Chinese women but also against women of diverse ethnicities and nationalities, such as local women who were sexually abused and the women who were taken from Korea, Japan, Malaya and Indonesia and exploited as comfort women, as the institution of comfort women was set up by Japanese army twelve days after the Japanese army occupied Singapore.³⁵⁹ Like Achan, they are seen as an injurable object, which is regarded as an injurable object that has no need to protect from violence.³⁶⁰

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the relationship between literature and violence through my examination of Ibuse Masuji's "The City of Flowers." While Ibuse's text has been often praised as a work of war literature, which has no account of brutal battle scenes and focuses on humanistic interaction, I argue that Ibuse's text serves as a form of colonial violence, being complicit in reproducing and maintaining a "frame of war," which not only divides the colonized population into the valuable lives of the unified subjects of Japanese and the worthless lives of enemies but also invoked the colonized survivors and collaborators as the

³⁵⁹ Hayashi Hirofumi, "Singapōru no nihongun ianjo [the Places of Comfort Women in Singapore]" *Kikansensōsekinin kenkyū* [*The Study of War Responsivity*] 4 (1994) 34-43.

³⁶⁰ As for the issues regarding the state and military involvement in the comfort woman system, see, Hayashi, Hirofumi, *The Government, the Military and Business in Japan's Wartime Comfort Woman System*, *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 5-1-0. (January 2, 2007) .Web . Mar 8, 2015. <http://apjjf.org/-Hayashi-Hirofumi/2332/article.html>
For the historical survey on the comfort women stations in Singapore, see, Hayashi Hirofumi, "Singapōru no nihongun ianjo [the Places of Comfort Women in Singapore]" 34-43. ---, *Singapōru Kakyō shukusei* [*The Purge of Chinese People in Singapore*]

subjects between the valuable and grievable lives of collaborators and the worthless and thus killable lives of enemies. Ibuse's narrative of Japanese language campaign and his narrative of one-sided love respectively invoke the precarious colonized subjects as an ideological object of desire. On the one hand, the narrative of Japanese language campaign invokes the colonized subjects' speeches as fantastic voices, which serves to dislocate hybridity in *kokugo* and Japanese body onto the hybridized speeches of *Nihongo* by the colonized subjects. Furthermore, a sound of *Nihongo* uttered by the colonized subjects also functions to displace the traumatic experiences of destructive war with a fantastic voice of the Greater East Asia and thus the ideological vision of the peaceful construction of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire. It is through the act of listening to non-signifying *Nihongo* voice of the colonized subjects, that the colonizers can continuously produce and maintain an imaginary identification with the unified notion of Japanese language and ethnos.

On the other hand, the narrative of one-sided love invokes as a precarious colonized woman as an ideological subject of desire, which displaces the physical violence of war and the massacre of Chinese men with the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Japanese empire, in which the Japanese colonizers are desired by the colonized subjects contrary to the reality. At the same time, the narrative of one-sided love makes violence against women something that cannot be recognized, as it presents the precarious and vulnerable condition of the colonized women as normative, by turning her into not only an injurable object that remains unprotected and thus being exposed to violence, but also a fantastic voice. In the narrative of one-sided love, the colonized woman expresses her love for the colonizer, although such a fantastic voice merely echoes the displaced voice of the colonizer's own voice. In this way, the narrative of one-sided love creates and promotes an illusory vision of Greater East

Asia as a racially and linguistically harmonious community. Finally, Ibuse's text also serves as a site where we can recognize violence that is exercised on both material and epistemological levels. Therefore when we critically examine the frames of war that literature generates, we can find the possibility to think of the connection between writing as a form of violence and historical violence exercised by the colonizers at the time. And this possibility should serve as a counter-practice against violence exerted by "frames of war."

As we have explored, the Japanese empire continuously conjures up its idealistic vision of the harmonious Greater East Asian community by making audible *Nihongo* uttered by the colonized subjects as a fantastic voice of the Japanese empire. It is through being called by the colonized subjects' *Nihongo* that Japanese imperial subjects can imagine and maintain a unified notion of Japanese identity, since the fantastic voice of the colonized subjects functions to replace various forms of colonial violence with the ideal image of the Japanese as the authority and center of the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual community of Greater East Asia. In my epilogue, I explore the questions of how we can resist such an imperialist interpellation and can listen to the actual voices of the oppressed others who occupy the precarious position in the lowest stratum of the Japanese empire.

Epilogue:
The Resonance of the Multiple Voices of the Others

In the year 1943, the military volunteer system for the imperial navy was inaugurated in Korea, following the implementation of the military volunteer system for the imperial army in 1938. The military draft system was subsequently enacted in Korea in 1944.³⁶¹ At the same time, 1943 was also the year in which a discrepancy and rupture in the ideological fantasy of the multi-ethnic Japanese empire became much more conspicuous than before. Kawanishi Kōsuke points out that the Japanese Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki's 1943 declaration of the independence of Burma and the Philippines as a part of the mission of the Japanese empire in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere caused a turmoil in the empire. As a response to this declaration, the Japanese embassy in Manchuria noted the voices of Koreans in Manchuria, which expressed objection against the unequal distribution of independence within Greater East Asia. The declaration of the independence of Burma and the Philippines inevitably exposes the contradiction in the ideal vision of the multi-ethnic, harmonious sphere of Greater East Asia.³⁶²

In 1943, the Korean writer Kim Saryang wrote, in Japanese, a long historical novel titled *The Taebaek Mountains*, which is set in the late Chosŏn dynasty, during the period of internal

³⁶¹ In colonial Taiwan, the military volunteer system for the imperial navy was implemented in 1943, following to the implementation of the military volunteer system for the imperial army in 1942. The military draft system was also enacted in 1944.

³⁶² Kawanishi Kousuke, *Teikoku nihon no kakuchō to hōkai: "Daitōa kyōeiken" e no rekishiteki tenkai. [Expansion and Decline: Imperial Japan's Southward Advance, 1911-1945: Historical Development toward "The Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere."]* (Tokyo: Hōseidaigaku shuppan kai, 2012) 171-174.

Kawanishi note that the turmoil caused by Tōjō hideki's declaration within the Greater East Asia compelled Japanese government to grant the independence to Indonesia and political rights to Korea in 1945. The political rights were granted to colonial Taiwan and Korea in 1945, the year in which the Japanese empire collapses.

and external political turmoil before and during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Through narrating the complicated historical turning point not only for the Chosŏn Dynasty or for the Japanese empire but for East Asia as a whole, his novel invokes multiple historical perspectives and subjectivities at the same time, including the colonial and imperial subjectivity of the Greater East Asia centered on *kokugo* and Japanese empire, the national and ethnic subjectivity of Korea resisting against and being independent from the Japanese empire, and the dialogical subjectivities of “the oppressed people” who occupy the lowest stratum of colonial society. By examining Kim’s complicated and contradictory narratives of history, in which these multiple forms of subjectivity are set against each other and at the same time mixed up together, this epilogue explores the potentiality of imperial Japanese literature, focusing on the resonance of the voices of oppressed others, which float out from Kim Saryang’s *The Taebaek Mountains*. The literary texts examined in the previous chapters respectively take part in a dynamic chain of displacement of violence, being assimilated into the imperialist order of *kokugo*. By contrast, Kim’s text provides us some hints on suspending a continuous process of displacement of violence and opening the circuits for new forms of dialogic communications.

Kim’s *The Taebaek Mountains* was published in *National Literature (Kokumin bungaku)*, a literary journal based in the city of Keijō (Seoul), in eight installments from February to October 1943. Kim Saryang was renowned in metropolitan literary circles as a colonial writer who writes in Japanese, along with Yi Kwangsu and Chang Hyökchu. In the postwar period, Kim’s works have been discussed and explored in relation to *zainichi* literature, the literature written in Japanese by the ethnically and socially minority group known as *zainichi*, Koreans living in Japan after World War II. Kim was nominated for the Akutagawa Literary Prize in 1940 for his short story “Into the Light” (*Hikari no naka ni*), which explores issues surrounding the identities

of poor Korean residents of the metropole, by depicting the relationship between the Korean teacher and the child of a Korean mother and a presumably Japanese father in a poor Korean community in Japan proper.³⁶³ Although Kim's works attracted a great attention from metropolitan critics and writers,³⁶⁴ he did not participate in the Greater East Asian Writers Conferences, unlike other Korean writers such as Yi Kwangsu, Chang Hyökchu, and Yu Chino.³⁶⁵ He eventually joined the Korean independence movement based in Northern China after he was dispatched by the colonial authority to China as a member of a service organization to encourage the Korean student imperial army that was organized there.³⁶⁶

Like imperialization literature in Taiwan at the time, national literature in Korea was established in order to turn colonized subjects into imperial subjects who seek to identify with the imperial authority. As in Taiwan, many of the Korean language publications were abolished

³⁶³ For the critical analysis on Kim's nomination for the 1940 Akutagawa Prize, see Edward Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010) 202-206. Nayoung Aimee Kwon 49-58.

³⁶⁴ In her book, *Literature under the Incidents* (1941), which outlines the various genres that appeared in the metropolitan literature from 1937 to 1940, Itagaki Naoko assesses the literary works written by colonized Writers from Korea and Manchuria in the chapter, titled "Colonial Literature (*shokuminchi bungaku*)". In this chapter, she praises Kim Saryang as an intellectual writer who has a unique, distinctive and new perspective unlike other writers from Korea whose works stick to the realistic depiction of Korean people and thus lack a unique and new perspective. What it must be also noted that Itagaki does not include the works by the Taiwanese writers in the category of "colonial literature." Itagaki Naoko, *Jihenka no bungaku. Kindai: bungei hyōron sōsho vol.22[Literature under the Incidents: A Series of Modern Japanese Critiques Vol.22]* (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā 1992) 124-130.

³⁶⁵ Yi Kwangsu attended the first and third Greater East Asian Writers Conferences', while other Korean writers such as Yi Kwangsu, Chang Hyökchu, and Yu Chino did conferences as a reprehensive of Korean writers under his Japanese name, Kayama Mitsuo. In the meanwhile, Chang Hyökchu attended the second conference as a representative Japanese writer. Sakuramoto Tomio *Nihon bungaku hōkokukai [The Japanese Literature Patriotic League]* 139-285.

³⁶⁶ An Ushik, "Nenpu [The Chronological Order of the Biography], Kim Saryang. *Hikari no naka ni: Kim Saryang Sakuhin shū [Into the Light :The Collection of Kim Saryang's works]*(Tokyo, Kōdansha bunko, 1999) 307-318.

and transformed into journals written in kokugo in the late 1930s and 40s under the instruction of the colonial authority. The two major literary journals in Korean, *Composition* (*Munjang* 文章) and *Humanities Critique* (*Inmun p'yoŋgnon* 人文評論), were abolished and unified into a new literary journal in Japanese, *National Literature* (*Kokumin bungaku* 国民文学) in 1941.³⁶⁷

National Literature, in which Kim's work was published, was edited by the Korean literary critic and scholar of English literature, Ch'oe Chaesŏ. In his book, *Korean Literature in a Time of Transition*, which is a collection of his critical essays on "national literature" (*kokumin bungaku*) published in 1943, Ch'oe Chaesŏ mentions that national literature was established to promote a national consciousness, the unification of Korea and Japan (*naisen ittai*), and cooperation with national policy (meaning collaboration with the Japanese empire).³⁶⁸ Ch'oe defines "national literature" as literature that should be written with a national consciousness from the nation's standpoint.³⁶⁹ On the surface, Ch'oe's notion of "national literature" seems to be linked to the idea of national literature that serves as "the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community," in which the subject identifies with the nation.³⁷⁰ But Ch'oe's conception of "national literature" is constituted by leaving out the readers and writers in Korea who do not understand Japanese language at the time. Like imperialization literature (*kōmin bungaku*) in

³⁶⁷ Jung Beak Soo 188-191. The journal was originally planned to publish in both Japanese and Korean, as it was planned to publish the journal in Japanese four times and that in Korean eight times in a year. But it completely became a journal in *kokugo* from the combined issue for May and June 1942.

³⁶⁸ Ch'oe Chaesŏ, *Tenkanki no chōsen bungaku* [Korean Literature at a time of Transition] Keijō: Jinbunsha, 1943, rpt. *Kindai Chōsen bungaku Nihongo sakuhin shū 1939-1945. Hyōron zuihitsu hen 2* [The Anthology of Modern Korean Literature Written in Japanese 1939-1945 Literary Criticisms and Essays 2], eds. Ōmura Masuo & Hotei Toshihiro (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2002) 81-86.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 120-122.

³⁷⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition (London & New York: Verso, 2006) 1-25, emphasis in the original.

colonial Taiwan, “national literature” is aimed at transforming Korean writers into imperial subjects through the mediation of *kokugo*, which is promoted by Japanese authorities as a linguistic medium that embodies national polity and national identity. While he does not clearly refer to a mediating role of *kokugo* in the inculcation of national consciousness and identity in Korean writers, he formulates the role of “national literature,” the practice of writing in *kokugo*, as the site in which Korean writers attain national consciousness through their recognition that individuals are given their values only when they identify themselves with the state.³⁷¹

Ch’oe also defines “national literature” as literature that is written in *kokugo* by both Japanese writers and Korean writers and “the readers [of “national literature”] are not twenty million readers in Korean peninsula (*hontō*) but ideally a hundred million people of the nation (*kokumin*) and a billion people in the Greater East Asia.”³⁷² In his critical analysis of Ch’oe’s Korean Literature at a time of Transition, Serk-Bae Suh argues that Ch’oe aimed to situate the journal National Literature as a temporal site of transition in the process of language replacement from Korean to Japanese, as only a few Korean writers were fluent in Japanese at the time.³⁷³ Accordingly, Ch’oe urges the need to redefine the category of Korean literature, which originally refers to the literature written in Korean by Koreans for Koreans, in order to turn Korean literature into a part of “national literature” and therefore to avoid the extinction of Korean literature. In this way, Ch’oe develops the notion of “national literature” in order to envision a new form of Korean literature in a new literary and national community monopolized by *kokugo* under the Japanese empire by excluding Korean language readers in Korea from the category of

³⁷¹ Ch’oe *Chaesŏ* 55-57, 121-150.

³⁷² Ibid., 86-87.

³⁷³ Serk-Bae Suh 92-93.

“national people” (*kokumin*).

While Ch’oe defines “national literature” as the site in which Korean writers are turned into writers for “a hundred million people of the nation (*kokumin*) and a billion people in Greater East Asia,” Ch’oe does not think that Korean literature is unilaterally appropriated and dominated by the *kokugo* regime. Rather, he attempts to construct Korean literature as a literature that can change and influence Japanese literature under the *kokugo* regime. As Serk-Bae Suh demonstrates, Ch’oe’s conception of “national literature” is constructed around his contradictory and ambiguous uses of the categories of “Japan” and “Korea.” Suh argues that in Ch’oe’s argument on “national literature,” it is not clear whether Japan refers to an ethnic community or a political community mediated by the state and *kokugo* in that while Ch’oe subsumes Korean literature under Japanese literature as “national literature,” he also strives to distinguish Korean literature from Japanese literature under the higher order of “national literature” in an attempt to protect an autonomous space in which Korean culture and tradition can be discussed and preserved as a part of “national literature.”³⁷⁴

Ch’oe rejects the political representation of Korean cultures and traditions from the perspectives of ethnocentrism, individualism and socialist and bourgeois cosmopolitanism, which respectively would function as a threat to a dissolution of the totalitarian unity of the subjects to the state.³⁷⁵ At the same time, however, he also calls for the redefinition of “national literature,” insisting that the category of “national literature” should widen its scope and have a higher ideal to accommodate different ethnic cultures and traditions inherent not only in Korean

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 71-103.

³⁷⁵ Ch’oe Chaesŏ 115-150.

literature but also in Taiwanese literature and literature in Manchuria. Accordingly, he asks Japanese metropolitan critics to accept the existence of Korea as an ethnic and cultural entity and to understand the difference between Korean literature and provincial literature (*chihō bungaku*) in Japan proper. In calling for the redefinition of Japanese metropolitan critics' categorization of Korean literature as a provincial literature, he argues that Korean literature along with Taiwanese literature differs from the provincial literature that is produced in the marginalized regions of the metropole, such as Kyūshū literature or Tōhoku literature.³⁷⁶ Korean literature, he writes, has distinctive literary traditions and a different mindset rooted in the Korean climate, temperament, and thinking patterns. He further insists that if Korean literature is defined as provincial literature, the category of provincial literature must be also reconsidered, drawing on Kim Jang-han's argument that Tokyo should be also considered as a provincial region (*chihō*). In this way, Ch'oe aims to situate Korean literature as a literary category that is higher than the category of "provincial literature" (*chihō bungaku*), one that is equivalent to and lower than the category of Japanese literature at the same time. Therefore, Ch'oe contends that Korean literature with its uniqueness and creativity serves not to enrich the content of Japanese literature without disturbing the symbolic order of Japanese literature.

Here, Ch'oe attempts not only to preserve Korean literature within "national literature," but also to envisage "national literature" as the hybridized interaction between Japanese literature and Korean literature: Korean literature is not unilaterally dominated, but rather also exercises an influence on Japanese literature. In other words, his conception of Korean literature points to the contradiction inherent in Japanese imperial expansion, which inevitably exposes the unified

³⁷⁶ Kyūshū is the southern island of Japanese archipelago and Tōhoku is northern part of Japan's mainland.

notion of Japanese language, culture, and ethno to a threat of hybridization. But he obscures his notion of “national literature” stating only that the question of “how to maintain a pure and homogenous core of Japanese literature is an issue that should be addressed in the future.”³⁷⁷ For this reason, Suh underscores that Ch’oe’s attempt to preserve Korean tradition under the category of “national literature” inevitably ends up supporting the colonial domination of the Japanese empire, because Ch’oe did not aim to resolve the contradiction “politically” but strived to deal with “aesthetically by calling for the establishment of national literature.”³⁷⁸

As I will explore, like Ch’oe’s definition of “national literature,” Kim’s narrative in *The Taebaek Mountains* embraces the contradictions and incongruities, in terms of the definitions of and the relations between Korea, Japan, and Greater East Asia. Just as Ch’oe assumed that “national literature” will be read in the *kokugo* community of Greater East Asia, which was never realized, Kim Saryang wrote the novels in *kokugo* to be directed to Japanese people in the metropole as his readers. At the same time, unlike Ch’oe, Kim explicitly states that his literature written in *kokugo* is descended from the tradition of Korean literature and has nothing to do with the tradition of Japanese literature. In his short essay titled “Literature Written in the Metropolitan Language” (*naichigo no bungaku*), which was published in the Yomiuri newspaper in 1941, Kim states, “For better or worse, it seems to me that I started writing literature written in the language of the metropole (*naichigo*), without having any blood tie to the tradition of so-called Japanese literature. Probably it is not only because my blood and literary tradition differs from those [of Japanese literature] and but also because I did not have any intentions of

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 81-98.

³⁷⁸ Serk-Bae Suh, 87-103.

striving to learn Japanese literature with patience. But even if I were to make an effort to master Japanese literature, what I could acquire would be an essential element of literature in general. I don't think that I could master the elements unique to Japanese literature as my blood and my flesh."³⁷⁹ Kim further insists that his literary works written in the language of the *naichigo* are intended to be read by readers in the metropole, because he strives to call upon them to pay attention to "the life, the emotions, and the reality of Korean people." In his essay, Kim calls *kokugo* the language of the metropole (*naichigo*), implying that *kokugo* is not and will not become his own language but will remain the language of the other. But he has a strong conviction in using the language of the other to write a novel, because he believes that his writing will help facilitate a new channel for communication and dialogue between Japanese and Koreans and between the oppressor and the oppressed, which differ from the existing uneven interactions between them under the Japanese empire. Kim says, "I want to believe in human beings to the end. I hope to have an admiration for a greater world, without distorting my respect for the nobility of love. Furthermore, I will never give up all hope for better heart-to-heart communications between Japanese and Koreans."³⁸⁰ By examining Kim's complicated and ambivalent narratives, I seek what Kim calls "better heart-to-heart communication," the communication channel or modality that he intends to create.

Often defined as "a historical novel," Kim's *The Taebaek Mountains* is set in a period of social, economic and political upheaval not only for the Chosŏn Dynasty of Korea but also for

³⁷⁹ Kim Saryang, "Naichigo no bungaku [Literature Written in the Language of the Metropole]," *Yomiuri Shinbun Tokyo ban* [*The Yomiuri Newspaper, Tokyo Version*]. (Feb 14 1941):3, rpt. *Kindai Chōsen bungaku Nihongo sakuhin shū 1908-1945. Selekushon 3* [*The Anthology of Modern Korean Literature Written in Japanese 1908-1045 Serection 3*], eds. Ōmura Masuo & Hotei Toshihiro (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2002) 160.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 160.

East Asia, focusing on, the Kapsin Coup in Korea in 1884. This failed coup d'état occurred about 26 years before Korea was officially integrated into the Japanese empire. Historically, the failed coup d'état eventually led Korea to another chain of socio-political upheavals, the Tonghak Peasant Revolution followed by the Sino-Japanese War and Japan's subsequent colonial domination of Korea. In the late 19th century, the Chosŏn Dynasty faced a period of internal and external political turmoil caused by multi-dimensional political and economic pressures from the European empires, the Qing empire, and the Japanese empire. Under pressure from the multiple empires, the Korean government, which was under the control of Min clan, placed n importance on its relationship with the Qing empire as the relationship between the suzerain state and the subject state in order to resist the encroachment of the Western and Japanese imperial states. By contrast, a group of progressive political reformers, who visited Europe and Japan and were influenced by the thought of the European Enlightenment, sought drastic political reforms and modernization in order to defy the multiple imperial powers in West and East. Marginalized in the government, a group of progressive political reformers, including Kim Ok-kyun and Bak Yeong-hyo eventually plotted a coup d'état to overturn the existing Chosŏn government. With support from Japanese politicians and army, including the renowned Japanese enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Korean reformers initiated the coup attempt on December 4, 1884, but the coup was eventually suppressed by the army of the Qing empire. After the defeat, the survivors of the progressive party, including Kim Ok-kyun, fled to Japan.³⁸¹ Cho Kyong-Dal

³⁸¹ As for the historical issues around the period of the Kapsin Coup, I refer to Cho Kyong-Dal, *Kindai Chōsen to nihon [Modern Korea and Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 2012). Okamoto Takashi, *Sekai no nakano Nichi shin kan kankeishi: Kōrin to zokkoku, jishu to dokuritsu [The Relationships between Japan, the Qing Empire and Korea: The Diplomatic Relationship with the Neighboring States, and the Subject States, Autonomy and Independence]* (Kōdansha sensho mechie. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2013).

notes that the failure of the coup in Korea impacted not only the political reform of the Chosŏn government but also Japan's view of its relationship with Asia.³⁸²

Set during a political and historical turning point in Korea, Japan, and East Asia, Kim's story is centered on the protagonist Yun Tenichi (Yun Ch'ŏnil), a fictive political reformer who supported Kim Ok-kyun's political coup, his two sons Nichidō (Ildong) and Tsukidō (Taldong), and the slash-and-burn farmers, the impoverished people who were at the bottom colonial society. After the failed coup, the Yun family escapes to the Taebaek Mountains to flee pursuers sent by the government, although Yun's wife is killed during the escape. In the interior of the mountain, the Yun family finds a small community of slash-and-burn farmers, which the narrator names "Penamukoru." Yun Tenichi (Ch'ŏnil) and his two sons join this community to disguise themselves as slash-and-burn farmers. Like the Yun family, the slash-and-burn farmers also live like fugitives. As landless peasants, they enter the mountains and burn the forests to cultivate the land, moving from one place to another to look for new lands for slash-and-burn farming.

One day, heavy rains cause flooding that washes away a family of landless people. At the moment, Yun Tenichi (Ch'ŏnil) receives words of revelation from a mountain god, which angrily tells that the natural disaster is a punishment from heaven to those people who burn the forests. This revelation makes him decide to look for a new place where those landless people can live

³⁸² Cho Kyong-Dal also states that the failed coup impacted on both the Freedom and People's Rights Movement in Japan and Fukuzawa's view of Asia. He argues that the group of people's right made use of the failed coup in Korea in order to advocate a hardline policy against the Qing empire, thereby replacing the theory of people's right with the theory of the right of the nation. Meanwhile, the failure of the coup also made Fukuzawa reconsider his vision of Asia, turning him to the theory of "Leaving Asia, which he published after the coup. In this article "On Leaving Asia," he urges Japan to leave Asia and follow the civilized empires of the West, insisting that Korea and China had no ability to civilize their nations. Andrew Gordon also notes that the political incidents in Korea from 1881 to 1885 established Japanese imperialistic vision of Asia and shaped Fukuzawa's ideological theory of "Leaving Asia." Cho Kyong-Dal 82-84. Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present. Third Edition.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 113-116.

without soiling the god's will. Tenichi (Ch'önil) orders his two sons to set out on a journey to find a place for the poor people. The story narrates in parallel the journey of the two sons and the struggle of the landless peasants who were left in the community. During their journey, Yun brothers discover a Buddhist temple in the midst of the mountains where they meet a monk who eventually gives them the direction to the utopia. Meanwhile, because there is no sign of the brothers' coming back, many of the landless people who entrusted their hope to them become disillusioned with Tenichi (Ch'önil)'s plan. Tenichi (Ch'önil) himself also feels guilty for worsening their plight, since he dissuades them from continuing the slash-and-burn farming. Furthermore, some of the landless peasants became the prey of the religious group that ensnares poor people into submission. In the end, the Yun brothers return to the community, "Penamukoru," and take the landless people to utopia, which the poor people have seen in their dream.

The ambivalence and indeterminacy of the location of what Ch'oe and Kim Saryang call "Korean literature" within "national literature" can be found in the proper names. As discussed in the previous chapters, Chinese characters used in Japanese writing are uncertain and unfixed signs in that they could be read in both Japanese pronunciation and Chinese or Korean pronunciations without the phonetic auxiliaries, called rubi or furigana. Some of the names of the landless people, things, and the places are written in Chinese characters with the phonetic auxiliaries.

While the Chinese characters imply meanings, the phonetic auxiliaries indicate Japanized Korean sounds. For example, the tentative name of the landless people's community is described as "梨木洞" (ペナムコル) in Chinese characters with the phonetic auxiliaries. While the Chinese characters indicate the meaning "the village of the pear tree," the phonetic auxiliaries designate the Japanized Korean sounds, "Penamukoru," for Paenam-kol in Korean. Some of the names of

the girls in the community of “Penamukoru” are also written in the combination of Chinese characters with the phonetic auxiliaries, including 鳳伊 (ボングイ)、七星女(チルソンネ)、吉女 (キルネ) . The phonetic auxiliaries indicate the Japanized Korean sounds of their names, Bongui, Chilusonne, Kirune, respectively. Some of the things that are parts of people’s lives in Korea are also described in the combination of Chinese characters with the phonetic auxiliaries, such as, 手鋤 (ホミ)、濁酒 (マツカリ)、器 (サバタ)、上衣 (チョゴリ)、裳(チマ), which respectively indicate a hoe (homi), an unfiltered wine, (makkari), a bowl (sabata) a Korean traditional gown (chogori), a Korean traditional skirt (chima).

Some of the names of the characters are written in katakana notations, which are Japanese phonetic notations exclusively used for the foreign words. But the names of actual Korean political reformers and Japanese politicians who were involved in the coup and those of the fictional political reformers in the text as well as the name of the actual mountain, the Taebaek Mountains, are transcribed only in Chinese characters. The fictional reformers in the novel, Yun Tenichi and his two sons are respectively written as 尹天一, 日童, 月童 along with the historical figures, Korean reformers 金玉均、朴泳孝 and the Japanese ambassador who was involved in the coup 竹添大使 and so on. While the pronunciation of the Japanese ambassador’s name can be identified as the Ambassador Takezoe without phonetic auxiliaries in the Japanese literary and linguistic context, Korean historical figures, 金玉均 and 朴泳孝, can be read as Kimu Gyokukin in Japanese and as Kim Ok-kyun in Korean, and as Boku Eikō in Japanese and as Pak Yōng-hyo in Korean, respectively. Likewise, the fictional reformer 尹天一 can be read in Yun Tenichi in Japanese and Yun Ch’ōnil in Korean, and his sons 日童、月童 can be read in Nichidō/ Ildong and Tsukidō/Taldong, respectively. (This can be applied to the writer’s name, Kim Saryang, as his name can be also read in Japanese as Kin Shiryō.)

On the one hand, the combined use of Chinese characters and phonetic auxiliaries to indicate things that are used in people's lives in Korea can be understood as a way to make alive Korean cultures in the regime of *kokugo*, as Ch'oe intends to do so. The combined signs of ideographs and phonographs indicate the meanings and Japanized Korean sounds at the same time. Accordingly, the words imply some foreignness and strangeness within the homogenous writing of *kokugo*. Yet, at the same time, as argued in the previous chapters, the foreignness of the colonial objects could be also read and consumed as exotic objects by metropolitan readers. Therefore, while Kim's writing aims to resist the unified and homogenous language system of Japanese literature by introducing Korean culture and objects through the hybridized use of linguistic signs, such hybridized signs and objects could be in turn consumed by metropolitan readers as colonial object of desire, serving to facilitate the ideological fantasy of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Japanese empire to displace the unequal relation between Korean literature and Japanese literature.

While the combined signs of Chinese characters and phonetic auxiliaries are visible hybridity, the use of Chinese characters without phonetic auxiliaries could be understood as invisible hybridity. It could be argued that the proper names that are designated only by Chinese characters invoke the liminal space of histories, in which two different national historical contexts of Japan and Korea are dialogized and interact with one another to some extent, although the dialogues and the interactions between two different historical contexts are based on the uneven relationship between Japan and Korea maintained by the *kokugo* regime and colonial domination.

On the one hand, the direct identification of the Japanese ambassador's name with its sound rests on the unified national, literary, linguistic and historical context, which is directly

associated with both Japanese literature and “national literature.” On the other hand, the indeterminacy in the Korean reformers’ names derives from the agony of not being able to decide whether their names should be read in Japanese historical and linguistic contexts or Korean ones.³⁸³ The indeterminacy of these names can be associated with the ambivalent political positions and subjectivities of Kin Gyokukin/ Kim Ok-kyun and Boku Eikō/ Pak Yōng-hyo as the enlightened nationalist reformers and at the same time as the pro-Japanese reformers.

At the same time, however, like the visible hybridized signs, these hybridized and ambivalent subjects, including the fictive characters of the Yun family, could be invoked as ideological objects of desire, which serve to facilitate the ideological vision of Greater East Asia centered on the Japanese empire. In other words, it could be argued that the historical incident of the failed coup attempt, which was supported by the Japanese government, narrates Japan’s leadership in East Asia and its support for Korean independence from the Qing empire within the context of national literature, just as the Japanese empire declared the Philippines’ and Burma’s independence in 1943 in its attempt to perform and display Japan’s leadership in Greater East Asia.

In this way, the narrative of Kim’s text conjures up the specific historical incident of the Kapsin Coup as a site of interactions between two different national historical contexts. At the

³⁸³ But it could be also argued that from the perspective of the readers and writers who understand both Japanese and Korean languages, they can identify the proper names of the Korean reformers written in Chinese characters with Korean pronunciations, instead of Japanized sounds of their names, and Japanese ambassador’s name with Koreanized pronunciation.

Jung Beak Soo examines the relationship between the proper names, the identifications between the pronunciations and the ideographs of Chinese Characters, and the notion of unified ethnic and linguistic group in his analysis of Kim Saryang’s short story, “Into the Light” in which the Korean protagonist, “南” is called as “Minami” in Japanese, although his name should be pronounced as “Nam” originally in Korean.

Jung Beak Soo, *Koroniariizumu no Chōkoku: kankokukindai bunka ni okeru datsu shokuminchi ka eno dōtei* [Overcoming of Colonialism. The Path toward the Decolonialization in Modern Korean Culture] (Urayasu: Sōfūkan, 2007) 188-191.

same time, Kim's narrative also invokes another kind of dialogue and interaction between two different subjects and thus two different kinds of time. On the one hand, the story is narrated from the perspective of the male reformers, Yun Tenichi /Ch'ŏnil and his sons, Nichidō/Ildong and Tsukidō/Taldong, who aim to save both the state of Korea and the landless people's community. From their perspectives, the narrative develops in linear progression, as they strive to look for a utopian space and eventually take the landless people to the utopia. On the other hand, Kim's narrative also narrates the histories from the perspective of the slash-and-burn farmers who occupy the bottom of colonial society. In the eyes of those oppressed people, a series of catastrophes that happened throughout the period of imperial encroachment and domination from the late Chosŏn Dynasty to the period of Japanese rule appear as a single compressed time or what Walter Benjamin calls "one single catastrophe that keeps piling wreckage on wreckage."³⁸⁴

The narrative not only mentions a series of political disturbances in the late 1880s from the Imo incident to the Kapsin Coup and natural disasters, but also alludes to other historical events, including the Tonghank Peasant Revolution, which is followed by the Sino-Japanese War, and the sensationalized incident of the Hakuwaku Religious Group (the Incident of Paekpaek-kyo, the mass murders by the cult group in Korea, which was publicized in the metropole and colonial Korea in 1937), and the Greater East Asian War, in addition to the various forms of colonial exploitation and violence. By conjuring up a series of catastrophes --the multiple wars, (colonial) violence, the exploitation, and the natural disasters--as "one single catastrophe" beyond time-space, Kim's text attempts to narrate the colonial histories not only from the perspective of

³⁸⁴ Walter Benjamin 392.

the intellectuals but also from the perspective of the landless slash-and-burn farmers, the group of oppressed people who are always exposed to the state of emergency.³⁸⁵ For the oppressed, a series of catastrophes cannot be recognized within the linear narrative of progression, but rather only in the non-linear narrative of repetition. Accordingly, the narrative generates dialogical tensions and interactions between these two different sets of narratives and times in the story. On the surface, a single compressed time of catastrophes is integrated into the narrative of linear progression of time from the perspective of the political reformers, as the Yun family strives to save the community of the oppressed, finds a utopia for the impoverished people, and takes them there in the end. At the same time, the narrative also aims to convey the voices of the oppressed people, which are silenced, suppressed or manipulated within the context of both “national literature” and Japanese literature, transcending time and space.

The slash-and-burn farmers were the lowest stratum of colonial society, which was produced and exploited by Japanese colonialism. Although the practice of the slash-and-burn farming existed during the period of the Chosŏn Dynasty, the number of the landless farmers rapidly increased under the rule of the Japanese empire. Through the land survey and the forest survey, the colonial authority confiscated and grabbed the vast lands from the great numbers of the farmers in Korea. The seized lands were redistributed to Japanese agricultural emigrants and the Japanese companies. Those farmers who were deprived of their lands had no choice but leaving their homeland and wandering around to look for other means to sustain their lives. They became physical workers in industrial areas or construction sites in the colony or the metropole, or migrated to China and Manchuria to become tenant farmers, or moved to the interior of the mountains in Korea and became slash-and-burn farmers. While slash-and-burn agriculture was

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 392.

prohibited by the colonial government, the colonial authority overlooked those peasants who continued its practice. For it exploited the landless farmers as the logging workers while it took the lands cleared by the landless peasants as the property belonging to the colonial state.³⁸⁶

Kim's narrative depicts the slash-and-burn farmers as victims of oppression and at the same time as victimizers. In the beginning of the story, the landless farmers are portrayed as follows:

“The dark shadow of the valleys confronting each other as if menacing, the ruined huts like the nests of birds, the black ridges of the fields filled with the rocks, these scenes tell us the miserable condition of their lives at the barren land. Why did they chose to live here and when did they create a village? Like many other villages in the mountains, it does not have a name now as it was in the past. No, the village is not just big enough to have a name. But in order to continue our story, the writer decides to name this village Penamukoru after the big wild tree of the pear (*penamu*) spreading its branches at the entrance of the village. While the mountains, the rivers, and forests have been growing and nurturing the lives since the ancient era, the village has never been developed. It is because the people who live in the village are the impoverished people who were exiled being unable to bear heavy taxation and oppression or were displaced by the natural disasters. They lead wandering lives, moving into the further interior of the mountains. How many communities where those people hiding themselves can be found in the Taebaek Mountains? These huts serve merely as the tentative shelters for the vagrant people who come and leave, after all. Once they escaped to the mountains and became the slash-and-burn farmers, wandering, firing, and exploiting lands violently, these are their unescapable fates.”³⁸⁷

Their violent practice of burning the forest eventually causes the flood, which washed away not only the village of the landless people but also the poor people in the city. In the midst of the flood, Tenichi /Ch'ōnil receives the words of revelation from the god and it compels him to notice that the practice of the slash-and-burn farming not only has ruined the mountains but also

³⁸⁶ Ko Pyōng-un, *Chōsen hiden min (Yakihata) no rekishi [The History of Slash-and-Burn Farmers in Korea]* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 2001) 2-64.

³⁸⁷ Kim Saryang, “Tebekku sanmyaku [The Taebaek Mountains], *Kokumin bungaku [National Literature]* Keijyō February 1943) :107, rpt. *Nihon shokuminchi bunga undō shiryō11: Jinbunsha hen Kokumin bungaku Vol5[The Archives of Literary Movement in Japanese Colonialism XI:National Literature ed.Jibunsha Vol5].*] (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobo, 1998).

has destroyed the lives of the impoverished people in the city. The muddy stream rushed into the city and washed away the poor people and their houses in the city, while those political authority is not affected by it at all. Tenichi/ Ch'ōnil ponders, “Has the fearful flood ever made those arrogant people in the city suffer from the flood? The seeds the exiled mountain people sowed have been always reaped by the same class of the people in the city.”³⁸⁸ In this way, the slash-and-burn farmers appear as the violent exploiters of nature and the victimizers against the same class of the poor people in the city. At the same time, the landless people are also depicted as the victims. They suffer from the poverty. Some of them are subjected to the religious group, which makes the poor people fall for its delusive idea that the believers can join the privileged class when the utopia arrives under the power of that religion. After looking at these tragedies that the landless people face, including “the oppression by the political authority,” “the revenge by nature,” “famine,” and the severe exploitation by “the demonic religious group,” Tenichi/ Ch'ōnil decided to find a new place for the landless people in order to stop a chain of violence.

Kim's narrative of migration to a utopia rests on two ambivalent but closely interrelated ideologies, imperialism and nationalism. The narrative of migration inevitably serves to reproduce the imperialistic vision of colonial migration and the expansion of the Japanese empire. As mentioned earlier, the number of the slash-and-burn farmers dramatically increased under Japanese colonization. But they were not just expelled from their lands but were also re-integrated into colonial capitalism and therefore into the expansion of the empire as physical labor at the industrial areas or as migrant labor for the newly occupied territories of the empire. As Hyun Ok Park's in-depth examination of capitalism, nationalism, migration, and the expansion of the Japanese empire with a focus on Manchuria underscores that Korean

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 122.

agricultural migration and their repetitive displacement function as a driving force for the expansion of the Japanese empire. Park argues that while Korean migrants were integrated into and exploited within the hierarchical relationship based on the national division (Japanese, Korean, and Chinese) in Manchuria, they also actively participated in the project of the imperial expansion, through “[envisioning] a better life in a new place and invested their labor in wasteland to transform it into productive rice fields.”³⁸⁹

While Kim’s narrative mixes together various catastrophic events beyond time-space from the late 19th century to the 1940s, it does not clearly refer to the colonial domination and exploitation by the Japanese empire. Rather, Kim’s narrative invokes an imperialistic vision of utopia not only by concealing and displacing the colonial control and violence exercised by the Japanese empire with the oppression of the Chosŏn authority and the control by the religious group that was derived from the Tonghak sect, but also by distorting and displacing the historical context and significance of the Tonghak Peasant Rebellion (the second rebellion occurred in 1894) and the Sino-Japanese War (1895-1895). The Tonghak Peasant Rebellions were the peasants’ military movements led by the religious group called the Tonghak. A series of the peasants’ riots broke out in the late 19th century to resist against the Chosŏn government’s oppression, its imposition on heavy taxes on the peasants, and the encroachment of the foreign imperial states including Japan. The Sino-Japanese War occurred when the Chosŏn government requested the Qing empire to suppress the riots and Japanese empire intervened in it under the pretense of protecting the Japanese people living in Korean peninsula.

What must be remembered is that the Japanese army brutally oppressed the peasants’ riots

³⁸⁹ Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham: Duke University, 2005) 24-63.

during the Sino-Japanese War, as the Japanese military ordered to annihilate the farmers' army³⁹⁰

While Kim's narrative refers to the Tonghak Peasant Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese war, it replaces these two simultaneous wars with the narrative of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, narrating that these militaristic tensions between the peasants, the Chosŏn government, the Qing empire, and the Japanese empire were propelled into the coalition of the Greater East Asia to challenge against the encroachment of the Western empires. Nichidō/Ildong and Tsukidō/Taldong encounter the Buddhist monk in the mountain in their course of a journey. This Buddhist monk provides them not only the detailed direction to the utopian place, where the landless people can settle down peacefully, but also the detailed advice on how to lead the state

³⁹⁰ While the Japanese army demanded the Korean imperial army to put down the farmers' army, it also initiated the suppression and the massacre, as the chief of the imperial army Kawakami Souroku ordered the Japanese army to annihilate the farmer's army, stating "kill them all (*kotogotoku satsuriku subeshi.*)" Drawing on Cho Kyong-Dal's study on the Tonghak Rebellions and Harada Keiichi's investigation on the Sino-Japanese War, Inoue Katsuo concludes that the number of Korean victims in the Sino-Japanese war surpasses those of Chinese and Japanese. Inoue also underlines that the brutal war in the Korean peninsula also greatly affected Japanese soldiers economically and psychologically.

For the Sino-Japanese war and *the Tonghak rebellions*, I refer to:

Cho Kyong-Dal, *Kindai Chōsen to nihon [Modern Korea and Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 2012)

Inoue Katsuo, *Meiji nihon no Shokuminchi shihai. Hokkaidō kara chōsen e [The Colonization by Meiji Japan: From Hokkaidō to Korea]* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2013).

Nakatsuka Akira, Inoue Katsuo, & Pak Maeng-su. *Tōgaku nōminsensō to nihon: mouhitotsu no nisshin sensō [the Tonghak Peasants War and Japan: The Other Side of the Sino-Japanese War]* (Tokyo: Kōbunken, 2013).

Pak Chong-gūn, *Nisshin sensō to chōsen [The Sino-Japanese War and Korea]* (Tokyo: Aoki shoten. 1992).

In his analysis on Kim's representations of the Tonghak Rebellions and the Hakuwaku incident, the mass murders by the cult religious group in *The Taebaek Mountains*, Nam Bujin argues that Kim's representation of the Tonghak group is contradictory. Kim mainly depicts the Tonghak group as the demonic religious group that exploits the poor people, drawing on the actual incident of Hakuwaku, the mass murders by the religious group, which occurred in 1937. At the same time, he also inserts the positive evaluation of the Tonghak in his narrative. In the end of the novel, the Tonghak movement is also portrayed as the one that challenges the corruption of the Joseon political authority, through the words by the Buddhist monk.

Nam Bujin, *Kindai bungaku no "Chōsen" taiken [The Experiences of Modern Literature in Korea]* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppansha, 2001) 97-130.

for a better future, telling the Yun brothers that they should unify the East by collaborating with Japan and the Tonghak group and enlightening China that had been defeated in the Sino-Japanese War.³⁹¹

While Kim's narrative of migration is closely related to the imperialistic ideology of the expansion of the Japanese empire, the same narrative also conjures up the nationalistic vision of the community consisting of "a deep, horizontal comradeship" to some extent. The political reformers Yun and his sons and the landless people together form a unified community, sharing a dream of finding and settling in their own land. At the same time, their comradeship is also based on an uneven relationship. Just as Hirabayashi's narrative turns Mitsuyo, the other of the male modern subjects, into a modern subject in her uneven relationship to the colonial other, Kim's narrative also establishes the male political reformers as the active historical subjects through their hierarchical relationship to the landless people. On the one hand, while the Yun family is banished from the capital, the center of the political sphere due to the failure of the coup, they come to act as active historical subjects in the narrative of migration. Tenichi/ Ch'ōnil serves as a leader in the community convincing and directing the landless people to abandon their practice of slash-and-burn farming and wait for the return of Nichidō/Ildong and Tsukidō/Taldong who launched the journey to look for a utopian place for them. The Yun brothers also appear as the active historical subjects who have high spirits to reform the nation and find a new land, being entrusted hope not only by the landless people but also the eminent Buddhist monk. In this way, the nationalistic historical subject is constituted in his hierarchical relationship with his other. Yet,

³⁹¹ Kim Saryang, "Tebekku sanmyaku [The Taebaek Mountains]" *Kokumin bungaku [National Literature]* Keijyō (August 1943): 81-82, rpt. *Nihon shokuminchi bunga undō shiryōII: Jinbunsha hen Kokumin bungaku vol7[The Archives of Literary Movement in Japanese Colonialism XI:National Literature ed.Jibunsha Vol7]* (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobo, 1998).

unlike other previous chapters, Kim's narrative sets the narrative of the reformers with the narrative of the oppressed, the landless people, creating the tensions and dialogues between the narrative of progression and the narrative of repetition, in which multiple catastrophes are evoked as one single catastrophe beyond time-space.

The narrative of repetition as that of one single catastrophe is manifested in the scene in which the girls of the Penamukoru community sing the song of "Arirang" together. As Tayler Atkins and Piao Yinji respectively point out, "Arirang" song is an old folk song in Korea that had been passed over generations, and it has multiple narratives on the origin of the song and the place of the Arirang hills that appear in the song. There are many versions of the song according to regions and periods. Because of its dialogical and parodic qualities, many different lyrics and tunes of "Arirang" songs have been created and sung by people in the different places and at the different periods. In particular, Tayler Atkins discusses that while "Arirang" songs were sung by people in Korea to express their hardship and resistance against Japanese colonization and domination under Japanese rule, "Arirang" songs were also sung, heard and consumed as popular songs by Japanese people in the metropole.³⁹² Atkins contends that "Arirang" songs attracted Japanese famous composers and poets at the time and the various versions of "Arirang" were sung, performed, and broadcasted in the metropole during the 1930s and 1940s.³⁹³ The metropolitan version of "Arirang" was created by displacing its socio-historical and political contexts in which it were sung by Korean people under the rule of the Japanese empire. The

³⁹² Tayler E Atkins, "The Dual Career of 'Arirang': The Korean Resistance Anthem That Became a Japanese Pop Hit," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66-03 (August 2007):645-687.

Piao Yinji, "'Arirang' no shōchōsei: Kim Saryang's 'The Taebaeck sanmyaku' wo megutte.[The Symbolism of 'Arirang' :'Taebaek Mountains']" *Chiba daigaku jinbun shakaikagaku kenkyū* 22 (March 2011): 101-119.

³⁹³ Atkins :645-687.

Korean Poet Kim Soeun criticizes the lyrics written by the Japanese poet Saijō Yaso for the metropolitan version of “Arirang,” complaining that Japanese poets should pay respect for tradition and sensibility that the original song has, when they borrow a folk song representing Korean people.³⁹⁴ Being displaced from its socio-historical contexts, the “Arirang” song was consumed by Japanese people in the metropole as a colonial object of desire, which served to conceal and displace the brutal domination and exploitation of Korean people by the Japanese empire, like Japanese songs sung by the colonized people, which attracted the ears of the Japanese colonizers in Singapore. While the “Arirang” songs that are cited in Kim’s text could be consumed and read by Japanese readers at the time as the colonial objects of desire, Kim’s text also aims to reappropriate the socio-historical contexts in which the songs had been sung in colonial Korea. In the process of reappropriation, “Arirang” song is not just retrieved into the nationalistic discourse of Korea. Rather, the song of “Arirang” invokes multiple voices of the oppressed, linking one voice to another dialogically, intertextually, and cross-textually through its form of interactive repetition.

In *The Taebaek Mountains*, the girls in the community get together and start singing a song one by one to wish the safe return of the Yun brothers and to bear grief and despair, because no news from them makes them distressed and disappointed. The girl named Chirusonne, starts singing first:

“The hill of Arirang is the bill-collecting hill
Those who have no money cannot cross the hill

³⁹⁴ Kim Seoun, “Ariran Tōge [The Hill of Arirang]” *Tōkyō asahi shinbu*. [The Tokyo Asahi Daily] (July 23 1931), rpt. *Kindai Chōsen bungaku Nihongo sakuhin shū 1908-1945*. Selekushon 5 [Modern Korean Literature written in Japanese 1908-1945. Selection V.], eds. Ōmura Masuo & Hotei Toshihiro. (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2008) 11.

Ariran Ariran Arariyo
Let's cross the hill quickly, before the moon falls.”³⁹⁵

After she sings a song, Chirusonne starts telling about the tragic events she witnessed and experienced in her village, speaking to the god of the town (Sŏnghwangsin) who serves as a protective god for the hill beside the village where she comes from:

“Why do only sad things and horrible things come to our community, crossing that hill? Our neighbor's wife has been ill in bed for a month. Our neighbor's child, poor Kumusuni, died after all. The man living in the house where the peach blossoms are blooming was taken to the city being tied up with rope. The god of the town, he did nothing wrong. His house has been in a turmoil afterwards, as his family has been crying and wailing. Please bring him back home to us. Besides, the god of town....Haven't you ever heard the song of Arirang that people sing reproachfully. The god of the town, you should be a benevolent god for the hill of Arirang. Everyone has crossed this hill with great sorrow, moving to another place.....”³⁹⁶

In Chirusonne's song, the hill of Arirang appears as a liminal site between life and death, between the rich and the poor, between the foreign place and the home. The hill is imagined as a gate to move to another place for the survival. People cross the hill crying, because they have to leave their home, their community, and people who could not survive to cross the hill. Those who cannot have money, a means for survival, they cannot cross the hill and thus cannot survive. Chirusonne's song can be associated with the experiences of the slash-and-burn farmers who were expelled from their land by the Japanese colonial authority and wander from one place to another to look for a means to survive.

³⁹⁵ Kim Saryang, “Tebekku sanmyaku [The Taebaek Mountains]” *Kokumin bungaku [National Literature]*Keijyō. (June 1943): 6-7, rpt. *Nihon shokuminchi bunga undō shiryō11: Jinbunsha hen Kokumin bungaku. Vol7[The Archives of Literary Movement in Japanese Colonialism XI:National Literature ed.Jibunsha Vol7]*. (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobo, 1998)

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

The act of singing establishes her as a singing subject, which differs from a modern subject. As Bakhtin states, “[t]he word in language is half someone else’s” the singing subject shares the words in song with another singing subject, unlike the modern subject that disavows the internal other in oneself. In other words, the song is created with and creates the dialogues between two different singing subjects. Accordingly the song has elements of parodies and hybridization. Within Kim’s text, Chirusonne’s song is responded by another girl, Kobushiri. Kobushiri introduces “Arirang” song that is sung in the region where she comes from:

“Aji yukari the Holly trees, please don’t bear the fruits
The country girls are taken to be sold
Ariran Ariran, Arariyo
The hill of Arirang is the hill of sorrow

The high cedar trees are taken for the columns of the castle
The men who work in the field are taken for the labor in the City of Soul
Ariran Ariran, Arariyo
The hill of Arirang is the hill of Sigh”³⁹⁷

Kobushiri bursts into tears, just before she ends the last phrase of the song. She cries, “the stupid hill of Arirang! My brother has not yet returned home after he was taken to the city of Seoul for forced labor. When my father went to Seoul to look for him, he heard the rumor that the men who were forced to engage in labor services caused a commotion in front of the army and many of them were killed. My brother could be one of them. If my brother who works like that buffalo is still alive, my family doesn’t have to live like a mountain cat.”³⁹⁸

In Kobushiri’s song, the hill of Arirang is conjured up not just as a border between life and death but also between the worthy lives and the unworthy lives and between the oppressor and

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 9.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 9.

the oppressed. People in the village are forced to pass the hill to enter the capitalistic and imperialistic space in which they are treated as what Aghamben calls homo sacer who is included in political sphere of sovereign, the state law, by being excluded from the state law. Homo sacer is the figure whose life remains unprotected and killed without not being recognized and apprehended as life from the beginning, like Korean men in Tokyo after the Great Kanto Earthquake in Hirabayashi's novel or the Han-Taiwanese and aborigines in the Beipu incident who were put down by Japanese army, or the overseas Chinese men in Singapore under the rule of Japanese army. Those who are left behind in the other side of the Arirang hill, the place of the other, cry and sing to express sorrow, grief, anger, and despair, the states of mind that cannot be put into the words. As examined in Chapter One, the singing voice occupies the liminal site between language and non-language, as it appears as "the surplus-meaning."³⁹⁹ Dolar argues that the singing voice gives primacy to expression over meaning, as it functions to obscure the word and its expression goes beyond language.⁴⁰⁰ "The surplus-meaning" of the singing voice could be turned into a fetishized object, being displaced from its context like the song of "Arirang" which was consumed by the metropole. At the same time, the voice singing "Arirang" song also serves to open up a channel for the dialogues between the oppressed who is condemned to die and the oppressed who survives.

The song of "Arirang" as the dialogue among the oppressed people or between the dead and the survivor can be intertextually linked to the song of "Arirang" described by Kim San, the Korean revolutionary who was active during the Japanese colonial period. In his autobiography, which was recorded and compiled by an American journalist, Helen Foster Snow (also known as

³⁹⁹ Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge: The Mit Press, 2006) 29-32.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-32.

Nym Wales) in the late 1930s, Kim San vividly conveys the significance of the song of “Arirang” throughout the history of the oppressed in Korea, by associating the song sung by the oppressed people under Japanese domination with the song sung by the oppressed people under the rule of the Chosŏn dynasty. Kim San states:

“Near Seoul is a hill called the Hill of Ariran. During the oppressive Li dynasty there was a giant solitary pine at the top of this hill, and this was the official place of execution for several hundred years. Tens of thousands of prisoners were hanged on a gnarled branch of that ancient tree, their bodies suspended over a cliff at the site. Some were bandits. Some were common criminals. Some were dissident scholars. Some were political and family enemies of the emperor. Many were poor farmers who had raised their hands against oppression. Many were rebel youths who had struggled against tyranny and injustice. The story is that one of those young men composed a song during his imprisonment, and as he trudged slowly up the Hill of Ariran, he sang this song. The people learned it and after that whenever a man was condemned to die he sang this in farewell to his joys or sorrows. Every Korean prison echoes with these haunting notes, and no one dares deny a man’s death-right to sing it at the end. The “Song of Ariran” has come to symbolize the tragedy of Korea. Its meaning is symbolic of constantly climbing over obstacles only to find death at the end. It is a song of death and not of life. But death is not defeat. Out of many deaths, victory may be born.”⁴⁰¹

In his graphic portrayal of the historical context, in which the song had been sung, Kim San invokes the hills of Arirang as the threshold of the symbolic order (the border between the subject and the other, between the language and non-language and thus between human and non-human), or what Agamben calls the sovereign sphere, the border of the law, “in which [the sovereign power] is permitted by the law to kill without committing homicide and without celebrating a sacrifice, and sacred life—that is, life that may be killed but not sacrificed – is the life that has been captured in this sphere.”⁴⁰² As Agamben describes, the sovereign sphere is

⁴⁰¹ Nym Wales (Helen Foster Snow) and Kim San, *Song of Ariran: A Korean Communist in the Chinese Revolution* (San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1941) 58-59.

⁴⁰² Giorgio Agamben 83.

the state of exception, in which the oppressed people are repeatedly exposed to violence. Kim Sun states, “I have seen Korea climb several hills of Ariran already in my short life, only to find death at the summit. I was born at the time she was trampled by foreign armies during the Russo-Japanese War. I saw the Korean Army of seventy thousand men demobilized and forced to retreat across the borders after their country became a Japanese protectorate in 1907. I saw the country become a colony in 1910, and year after year I saw over a million exiles driven across the Yalu River into Manchuria and Siberia and China.”⁴⁰³ In this way, the song of “Arirang” resonates in the every sites of the state of emergency.

Kim San’s narrative implies that in the sphere of the state of exception, the prisoners who were condemned to die sing a song, taking the act of singing as the only right that is left to them after being stripped of every right. Although Kim San claims that the song of “Arirang” is “a song of death, not of life,” it could be argued that this is a song of life. For the singing voice makes audible and visible the figure of homo sacer as a living being with dignity to the other oppressed people, although the figure of homo sacer is excluded from the site of human and therefore his speech is excluded from the sphere of language by the sovereign power of the colonial state. But their singing voices make audible and visible their protest against violence, although their voices might sound like illogical noises. Accordingly, as Kim San notes, many versions of “Arirang” songs were banned in colonial Korea as a dangerous thought to silence the voices of the oppressed, because their hybridized voices, the resonances of the protesting voices serve to disturb the order of the colonial state organized and maintained by the power of *kokugo* and colonial law. In other words, the singing voices resist against and attempt to destroy the

⁴⁰³ Nym Wales & Kim San 60.

power of *kokugo*, which imposes discipline and subjection on the colonized, unlike the singing voice of the colonized subjects which is heard and fetishized by the Japanese colonizers. ⁴⁰⁴

The act of singing the song of “Arirang” creates the endless dialogues with another singer. The song sung by the prisoner is heard by people who remain at the border between life and death, at the threshold of the sovereign. Then, they start to sing the song that they learn from the prisoner in different tunes and contexts, responding to the prisoner’s song, sharing their painful experiences, striving to overcome the hardship and crossing the hills. Because it is the dialogical act, the song awaits to be cited, rewritten, and added. Kim San says, “there are those of us who would write another verse for this ancient ‘song of Ariran.’” That last verse is not yet written. We are many dead, and many more have ‘crossed the Yale River’ into exile, But our return will not be long in the future.” ⁴⁰⁵ Kim San’s account of the history of the song of “Arirang” suggests that the dialogical act of singing forms a new kind of subjectivity, which embraces and shares the hardship caused by the colonial exploitation and domination and thereby aims to dismantle the law that exercises the sovereign power bounding them to the sphere of the other. Kim San tells us, “[we] can still hope that the last sacrifice will finish in victory. Korea still has strength to climb

⁴⁰⁴ Kim San’s version of the song of “Arirang” is as follows:

Ariran, Ariran, Arari O!/Crossing the hills of Ariran. /There are twelve hills of Ariran
And now I am crossing the last hill./Many stars in the deep sky ---/Many crimes in the life of man. /Ariran,
Ariran, Arari O!/Crossing the hills of Ariran.
Ariran is the mountain of sorrow/And the path to Ariran has no returning./Ariran, Ariran, Arari
O!/Crossing the hills of Ariran. /Oh, twenty million countrymen ---/where are you now?/Alive are only
three thousand / Of mountains and rivers. /Ariran Ariran Arari O/Crossing the hills of Ariran
Now I am an exile crossing the Yalu River/And the mountains and rivers of three thousand / Are also lost.
/Ariran, Ariran, Arari O!/Crossing the hills of Ariran
Ibid., 56.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 59.

the last of the hills of Ariran and tear down her old gallows of death.”⁴⁰⁶ In this way, Kim San vividly envisions the hills of Arirang as a threshold of the symbolic order of the colonial state (organized around law and *kokugo*) where the sovereign power “is permitted to kill without committing homicide and without celebrating a sacrifice.” At the same time, his account also suggests that the act of singing as a dialogical relay serves to liberate the bodies and minds of the oppressed from disciplines and subjection that are inscribed in them by colonial force, and therefore eventually urges the oppressed to tear down the sovereign power.⁴⁰⁷

Kim Saryang also invokes the hills of Arirang as a threshold to the symbolic order of the colonial state, but in a different way. For his novel emphasizes the hill of Arirang as a channel for communication and dialogues that could eventually dissolve the sovereign power. In Kim’s novel, Tenichi/Ch’ōnil appears as a subject who listens to the singing voices of the oppressed and responds to it, deciding to bear a responsibility to live with them. Tenichi/ Ch’ōnil listens to the singing voices of the girls, who express their suffering. He also hears the song of “Arirang” first sung by his dead wife and next sung by Nichidō (Ildong) and Tsukidō (Taldong) who returns from the journey, when falls into the state of coma after being attacked by the pursuer of the government. Being called by the voices of the oppressed and urged by their songs, Tenichi/ Ch’ōnil regains the will to live and migrated to a utopia with people of the Penamukoru.

In the end, Kim Saryang’s text envisions the hills of the Arirang not just as a new place for the landless people within the context of imaginary fantasy of the multiethnic Japanese empire or the reconstruction of the autonomous national space within the context of nationalist resistance,

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 61.

⁴⁰⁷ Agamben and Mladen Dolar respectively explore Kafka’s parable of “Before the Law” in *The Trial* as a threshold of the sovereign power. Agamben 49-62. Dolar 165-170.

but also as a channel for dialogues and communications. In the end of the story, the people of Penumukoru migrate to a utopian place in the mountains, being guided by the Nichidō (Ildong) and Tsukidō (Taldong). After their arrival, Yu gives the name to the hill, where they settle in, and dies: “this hill should be called the hill of Arirang, our unfinished dream.”⁴⁰⁸ “The unfinished dream of Arirang” is not just an ideal vision of the independent and autonomous socio-political space (which could be a nation-state), where the exiled people can live safely or the fantastic frontier of the Japanese empire, where the exiled migrants settle by driving out the existing residents. “The unfinished dream of Arirang” could be also associated with Kim Saryang’s dream of having “better heart-to-heart communications between Japanese and Koreans” and thus dialogues between those who are protected by the sovereign power in one side of the hill and those who are not in the other side of the hill. As Tenichi/Ch’ōnil listens to the voices of the oppressed and responds to them, Kim Saryang earnestly wishes that the readers in the metropole will listen to the voices of the oppressed in the colony and respond to it. In other words, the song of “Arirang” opens up the hill of Arirang as a new modality and channel for the dialogues. As the singing voices of protest and despair cross the hill of Arirang and reach the ears of those people staying in the other side of the sovereign power, a group of people who have the right to be protected by the state. Being called by the singing voices, the listeners are urged to respond to them creating dialogues with them. Such dialogues could eventually dissolve a threshold of the symbolic order that divides people into the two groups, the worthy and grievable lives and the unworthy and ungrievable lives.

⁴⁰⁸ Kim Saryang, “Tebekku sanmyaku [The Taebaek Mountains]” *Kokumin bungaku* [National Literature] Keijyō. (October 1943):130, rpt. *Nihon shokuminchi bunga undō shiryō11: Jinbunsha hen Kokumin bungaku. Vol8 [The Archives of Literary Movement in Japanese Colonialism XI:National Literature ed.Jibunsha Vol8].* (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobo, 1998).

In his examination of Japanese colonization of the Ainu, an indigenous people and the practice of translation by Chiri Yukie (1903-1922), an Ainu woman who transcribed and translated the Ainu epic tales into Japanese, Hirano Katsuya argues that when we listen to the voices of the oppressed, which had been silenced by the modern disciplines of history and literature, these voices compel us to confront the facts that modern system of knowledge, which has been constituted and maintained by the progressive view of history and the nation-state, is complicit in concealing or justifying the modernized form of violence, to which the oppressed people have been exposed all the time.⁴⁰⁹ Hirano contends that the voices of the oppressed appear to demand that we fulfill our responsibility to the oppressed other, through the act of responding to and listening to their voices, drawing on Benjamin's words, "Doesn't a breath of the air that pervaded earlier days caress us as well? In the voices we hear, isn't there an echo of now silent ones?"⁴¹⁰

The songs of "Arirang" are dialogically sung and shared by various groups of people of the oppressed from Kim Saryang's girls to the Korean revolutionaries like Kim San. These singing voices echo and resonate with the other voices of the oppressed inter-textually, cross-textually, and beyond time-space, as they also echo the insect-like voices of the Korean workers who were beaten by Japanese men in Tokyo in 1923, the murmurings of the poor women who were confined to the charity ward in Dalian, the indigenous people and the young colonized wife in a colonized community in Taiwan whose voices are silenced, the overseas Chinese men who were killed by the Japanese army or the women in Asia who were taken as comfort women to

⁴⁰⁹ Hirano Katsuya, "Ainu='horobiyuku minzoku' to seizon no inori: koroniaru na honyaku ['Ainu =the Ethnic Group that Will Become Extinct' and A Pray for Life: Colonial Translation]," This article will be published in the journal *Misuzu* in August 2016. I would like to thank to Professor Hirano for letting me cite the pre-published article.

⁴¹⁰ Walter Benjamin 392.

Singapore under the rule of Japanese military, and babies and children who could not survive in the colonies under the rule of the Japanese empire, and so on. When we listen to “an echo of now silent ones” in the voices or illogical noises, respond to it, and recognize this echo, the voice of the other, as part of ourselves, Japanese imperial literature opens up the potential circuits for multi-dimensional dialogues as the “dialogic reverberations.” The potentiality of imperial Japanese literature as a new social sphere can be found in the continuous defeated attempts of resistance as well as the polyphonic resonances of the voices of the oppressed, which are floating in the air and the texts, wishing to be heard and recognized as the voices of people whose lives are also worthy and valuable.

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