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South Korean Anticommunism and Global Cold War Culture: Imaging North Korea, Disciplining
the Anticommunist Subject

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It was the end of Japanese rule in 1945 that signaled the transformation of pan-Asianist (*kungmin munhak*) texts of the late colonial period into acts of collaboration. In South Korea, the discourse of collaboration remains a privileged way of producing ethnonational identification, naturalizing the national narrative by isolating out specific instances of collaboration as deviating from the pre-existing ethnonational subject of history. In other words, an inversion marks the discourse of collaboration: it is the accusation of collaboration that effects the formation of a bounded off, normative regime of ethnonational identity, one that erases contestations of classed and gendered subjects. To confess or offer an apology of collaboration, as some writers did in the immediate postliberation period, is not to perform oneself as collaborator, but to produce the ethnonation that the collaborative act presupposes.

National division and U.S. neocolonialism, what Paik Nak-chung has called the “division system,” also brought about the erasure, by way of censorship in anticommunist South Korea, of laboring bodies in colonial-period proletarian texts. I hope that linking the discourse of collaboration both to the anticommunist censorship of “those who went North” (*wölbuk chakka*) and the earlier literary production, and elimination, of colonial-period KAPF (Korean Artists Proletarian Federation) writers will help us approach the post-1945 emergence of a statist, ethnonationalized subject, disciplined, and assimilated, in the Cold War developmentalist narrative.

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Following Dipesh Chakrabarty, it is possible to consider what many have pointed to as the internationalism of KAPF writers as a historicist/universalist form of “translating life-worlds into labor and history.”¹ Considered by many the highest achievement of KAPF literature, Yi Ki-yöng’s *Hometown* (Kohyang, serialized from 1933-34), for example, produces a secularized, universal temporality that turns upon what Baudrillard in *The Mirror of Production* notes is a privileging of ‘labor power as the fundamental human potential.’² If the central concern of *Hometown* is the transformation of sympathetic bourgeois intellectuals into worker/farmers in a symbiosis that produces knowledge by way of labor, the dramatic instance of this transformability occurs when the woman protagonist Kap-suk’s body is erased—she literally becomes the worker Ok-hwa. In *Hometown*, then, Kap-suk’s trajectory opposes that of a figure such as Wan-sik in Yöm Sang-söp’s 1931-2 nationalist *Fig* (Muhwaga, serialized the year before Yi’s *Hometown*).

¹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000) p. 73.

² Jean Baudrillard, *The Mirror of Production* (St. Louis, Telos Press, 1975), p. 31.

Yöm's text shows us the ways in which the national/capital coincidence relies, in part, upon the figure of an ethnonationalized body for which the universalizing of labor power represents an excess. *Fig* calls attention to the worker Wan-sik's body more than any other—his muscles, his powerful frame, his towering stature.³ It could be the body of a socialist realist narrative, but Wan-sik must discover another kind of consciousness, away from the factory: a self-awakening achieved through the scene of reading and writing, the self produced through his diary.⁴ The move is not simply away from colonial exploitation in the Japanese-owned factory, but from the privileging of the body as labor power, from the classed subject of knowledge produced by this bodily experience. It was this move, as I will discuss at the close of my presentation, that the South Korean state would sanction, and seek to enforce, via the National Security Law and the excision of KAPF texts.

Set in Japan, Song Yöng's "Shift Change" (Kyodae sigan, 1930) helps us further note the relation between body, space, and time in KAPF texts, as well as call attention to KAPF's internationalism—the text works explicitly to recover bodies from a "false" nationalizing (the melee between Japanese and Korean workers clearly signals a loss of the body to what the text considers "false consciousness"). "Shift Change" calls for the recovery of the authentic body, the universalist laboring, productivist body—this change is historicist, deterritorializing bodies by shifting them onto a common revolutionary teleology (time is privileged over space). In Yi Ki-yöng's earlier "Wönbo" (1928), it is the railroad which organizes time and space, connects country to city (the text's central concern is the city/country, worker/farmer relation)—the alienation and death in the city of Wönbo, the farmer deployed to work on the building of the railroad in the countryside but disallowed from using it, brings city and country together, privileging neither as site of authenticity (even as it is the city that sets in motion the politicization of workers, who then can educate farmers and bring them into a class alliance). Here also, space—city and country—loses meaning in favor of revolutionary time.

Compare this to the work of the nationalist Yi Kwang-su—in Yi Kwang-su's well-known 1932 agrarian novel *Soil* (Huruk) the colonial cityscape is erotically mapped—the text produces a repression of what it calls individualism, which turns out to be another name for sexual desire. The story is of the taming of the modern girl Chöng-sön, described as "the embodiment of sexual desire itself," her transformation into hardworking *yöpyönnne*, her removal from city to country (her desires are left behind one by one as her train moves away from the colonial capital). The text takes obvious pleasure in the amputation scene, where Chöng-sön's leg is cut off from the knee down. The city is a dangerous place—a space produced by "private" desire, dwelled upon much more in this novel classified as "agrarian" than the countryside, even as the latter is privileged as site of ethnonational authenticity.

It is important to note that the text turns explicitly on the figure of sublimation, sacrifice, the denial of bodily pleasures, the redirection of desire away from sexual pleasure toward the ethnonation that is at once a disciplining of gender relations. Elizabeth Grosz writes that "the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, "citized," urbanized as a distinctively metropolitan body."⁵ Grosz's detailing of the ways in which bodies are "representationally produced and . . . in turn, project themselves onto their sociocultural environment" helps us to see the ways in which in *Soil*, the representational transformation of sexualized metropolitan bodies into distinctive sites of ethnonational desire produces an eroticized nationscape, a fleshly soil (where Chöng-sön's leg is buried).

Traversing Chosön in Yi Kwang-su's text, as in many other colonial-period literary works, is again the railroad, marker of colonial modernity, imbricating Chosön in a network of

³ MHG, pp. 684, 737, esp. 738-40.

⁴ MHG, p. 748.

⁵ Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in Beatriz Colomina ed., *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 242.

relations that can best be described as global. In this 1932 text, we have the envious gaze of the narrator on the spectacle of imperialist expansion, the crowd at Kyōngsōng Station cheering the transport train carrying Japanese troops through Chosōn to the front in Manchuria—a desire to experience the crowd in the urban space as a oneness formed from many. *Soil*, like Yōm Sang-sōp’s *Fig*, responds to the crisis of the early 1930s following Japan’s advance into Manchuria. For Yi Kwang-su, this crisis produces the desire for a masculinist, fascist body, a body located in time, ahead, the body-of-the-Chosōn-future in an expanding space.

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How to represent August 15, the date marking the formal end of Japanese colonial rule? I would like first to turn to what was by all accounts an immensely popular film, Ch’oe In-gyu’s 1946 *Hurrah for Freedom!* (*Chayu manse*). The film’s setting in August 1945, on the eve of liberation, speaks to the need to construct a pre-August 15 trajectory of opposition to Japanese rule within Chosōn’s borders, one that shores up nationalist (South Korean legitimacy)—the underground resistance led by Han-jung is made in the name of freedom (*chayu*) and the ethnonation (*minjok*), not in the name of class liberation (proletarian revolution). Han-jung, of course, serves as central actor in the resistance and romantic lead in a love triangle (both of his helpmates, Mi-hyang and Hye-ja, are in love with him).

Han-jung’s equation of national and romantic registers (he locates patriotism and romantic love on the same register when, finding himself in Mi-hyang’s apartment after rescuing his colleague and killing a Japanese policeman, he informs her that “Korea is my lover”) occurs after he has asked Mi-hyang, “Who are you?” and she has responded “Who do you think I am? I’m Korean.” Mi-hyang’s response is transformative, signaling her disassociation with her former lover, the pro-Japanese collaborator Nambu. Mi-hyang’s move points both to the equation of romance and love of nation (the move away from Nambu is at once a move away from association with Japan) and to the central concern of the film, the issue of collaboration and the production of ethnonational identity (Mi-hyang’s response is performative). The delinking of Mi-hyang from Nambu (who is racialized in the film text as Japanese) produced for its immediate postliberation audience a code-switching from imperialized (simultaneously multiethnic and assimilated) to ethnonationalized identity.⁶

I would like also to turn to the imagining of North Korea’s location within the post-1945 world in an early postliberation work, *Travels in the Soviet Union* (Soryōn kihaeng, 1947) by the 1930s modernist turned proletarian writer, Yi T’ae-jun.⁷ Like An Hoe-nam, it was only in the immediate postliberation period that Yi T’ae-jun moved to the left; we can, in fact, read *Travels in the Soviet Union*, like An’s “Fire” and “History in the Eye of the Storm,” as a confessional, an articulation of Yi T’ae-jun’s recantation of his 1930s literary production. At the same time, Yi T’ae-jun’s texts differs from the work of other proletarian writers in the anxious glance they cast toward the possibility of assimilation, their abiding concern with the preservation of national identity while locating North Korea in the Soviet-led socialist world (in *Travels in the Soviet Union*), as well as rejecting the coloniality of the U.S. military occupation (particularly in Yi’s 1950 “Dust”).

Like Yōm Sang-sōp’s post-1945 “Thirty-eighth Parallel,” “Parting and Meeting,” and its sequel, “Reunion,” both *Travels in the Soviet Union* and “Dust” occur in the form of travelogues. Both Yi T’ae-jun and Yōm Sang-sōp, that is, explore in their immediate postliberation works the relationship between the subject and space, the identification of a subject with a particular

⁶ <<자유만세>> itself, of course, can be viewed as 최인규’s recantation of his pro-Japanese work in late colonial period films such as <<태양의 아이들>> (1944) and <<신평의 아들들>> (1945).

⁷ 이태준, <<소련기행, 농토, 먼지>> (서울: 깊은샘, 2001).

geographic location, North and South Korea (here is where the thirty-eighth parallel achieves meaning).

Certainly the travelogue and the confessional intersect, insofar as both seek to produce an authentic identity. Late 1930s recantations (like those portrayed in Kim Nam-ch'on's "Management" and "Barley") detail an interior journey, the unfolding of a subject in time linked to the identification of this subject with a place, *tongyang*. On one level, *Travels in the Soviet Union* works to counter the trajectory of recantation narratives (which produced a pan-Asian subject while repudiating communism), all the while demonstrating a discomfort with the very unsettling of place in internationalist proletarian texts that *both* colonial-period texts by nationalist writers such as Yi Kwang-su and pan-Asian assimilationist texts reject.

Travels in the Soviet Union, it turns out, is structured by a temporality (past, present, future) linked to space, China ("spiritual past"), Chosŏn (present), and Soryŏn (vanguard pointing to proper socialist future). Yi T'ae-jun's celebration of the Soviet Union occurs precisely because of its allowing of mulilayered identities. While nationalism is critiqued in the text as possessing the potential to serve as repetition of Japanese mythology (the privileged example is the South's adoption of the Tan'gi calendar), the text's central concern is to separate out what it considers fascist nationalism from a specific form of national culture. What Yi T'ae-jun locates in his trip to the Soviet Union is a socialist multiculturalism, the separation out of the economic from the cultural, the naturalizing of ethnicity: in the text, the Soviet Union allows for the autonomy of national cultures and is thus figured as non-assimilatory. It is precisely for this reason that the text rests upon the parallel description of socialist policies implemented in different regions (the ways in which these policies will produce an economic and political assimilation approaching the normative socialism existing in Russia) and the marking of ethnic, cultural difference. The text remaps Chosŏn in relation to Moscow as socialist center while invoking an essentialized national and cultural sovereignty of place.

In other words, the linear time of socialism is supplemented in Yi T'ae-jun's text by the timelessness of the *minjok* as transhistorical cultural and aesthetic subject (a move away from KAPF, toward the *minjok munhak* of the 1970s). It is a culturalist position that Yi T'ae-jun assumes, one that differs both from the organicist notion of the nation, the construction of a national body (Yi Kwang-su and the nationalists) and the location of the subject in a laboring body (KAPF).

For Yi T'ae-jun, socialism allows for the product to be separated out from profit, but this does not rest upon the privileging of labor power as giving rise to value. Instead, this separation de-commodifies the product into a work of art. In *Travels in the Soviet Union*, production occurs for art's sake: the factory becomes an "atelier."⁸ *Travels in the Soviet Union* offers an aesthetic socialism (all laborers are artists), a move which dismisses not only labor power, but also use value, figuring the production process as creative act giving rise to aesthetic value.

We can think of Yi T'ae-jun's aesthetic socialism both as an attempt to reconcile his 1930s modernism with proletarian literary production and as part of a broader effort to mediate the leftist-art for art's sake literary debates of the 1920s and 1930s. South Korean anticommunism of the late 1940s and 1950s, of course, worked to demonize the North, to figure communism as "foreign ideology," to decry "Soviet imperialism," and, importantly, to delegitimize communism as disallowing the creative potential of the individual (see, for example, Hwang Sun-wŏn's early 1950s *Descendants of Cain* for a privileging of the artistic over the repetition, imitation, formulaism of communism). It was in fact this latter opposition which informed one of the more well-known repudiations of the Soviet Union, Andre Gide's *Back from the U.S.S.R.*, a text Yi T'ae-jun refers to in *Travels in the Soviet Union*. We should note that a summary of Gide's work appeared during the Korean War in the inaugural issue of the South Korean intellectual journal *Sasang* (the precursor to *Sasanggye*) and that Gide's text informs one of the most well-known

⁸ Ibid., pp. 117-119.

attempts to mediate the location of the Korean peninsula in the Cold War world order, Ch'oe In-hun's *The Square* (Kwangjang, 1960).

If Yi T'ae-jun rejects exchange value in favor of a linkage between production and artistic value, Yöm Sang-söp's post-1945 texts allow us to see the ways in which the developmentalist narrative invests the commodity form with national affect. For bourgeois nationalism, exchange value in global capitalism is supplemented by a purposefulness that exceeds the profit motive. In national capitalism, autonomy is achieved by reworking exchange value into ethnonationalized use value (via the investment not of labor, but of the national body in the commodity form). The nationalized commodity form would become central to the formation of developmental South Korean subjects in the Cold War world. It is, in fact, via the nationalized commodity that the developmental state would secure its borders and position itself as non-collaborative (non-comprador).

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Scholars such as Kang Man-gil, Bruce Cumings, and Kim Tong-ch'un have pointed out the ways in which elites compromised by their association with the Japanese colonial state were able to secure legitimacy in the immediate postliberation period by way of their espousal of anticommunism—contemporary literary texts by writers such as An Hoe-nam were also quick to point out this move. A further displacement occurs, I think, in the late 1940s and 1950s: the figure of the communist becomes linked to that of the collaborator (a reworking of colonial-period representations of the communist by nationalist and, later, pan-Asianist writers). The 1954 film *Hand of Fate* (Unmyöng üi son; dir., Han Hyöng-mo) allows us to see the way in which a South Korean anticommunist, ethnonationalized subject is produced by way of body parts. If this is at once film noir, and a Cold War detective film (recall the ways in which the detective novel form secures bourgeois space against the threat of working class bodies, it is also a figuring of the communist as separated out from an authentic body. As the film begins, we have the hand of the communist, whose face we do not see, guiding the woman protagonist Margaret, a café waitress and North Korean spy. The hand fades into Margaret's body early in the film; the communist does not possess its own body, can only exist by inhabiting another. The communist as there and not there, ghostly and threatening presence delinked from the materiality of the body intersects with Margaret's alienation within a U.S.-dominated Cold War order. Margaret, the post-1945 rearticulation of the modern girl as "western princess" (*yanggongju*) is, in fact, at once possessed by the ghostly communist other and U.S. power, the disembarking of columns of U.S. soldiers on the docks in the film—the soldiers who will purchase and appropriate her body. Margaret's collaboration with communism/the U.S. emerges as beyond her control even as it is linked to loss of the body, the breakdown of the body's borders.

What emerges in this film is a subject that is at once anticommunist (in relation to the ghostly communist other) and ethnonationalized (in relation to U.S. invasive economic and military power). Yöng-ch'öl, the male protagonist in the film, ruminates on the status of the term laborer (*nodongja*) in the film (he works on the docks unloading U.S. goods flowing into South Korea during the Korean War). Later, however, we discover that he is actually a South Korean counterespionage agent operating undercover. The laboring body is dispensed with as agent in favor of the acumen of the detective—a Cold War struggle, the production of a mental vigilance, a regime of surveillance over one's own body and that of others that would mark the South Korean anticommunist narrative for decades (recall the roadside signs of the 1980s: 의심나면 다시보고 수상하면 신고하자; if in doubt, take another look, if it's suspicious, report it—the sign calls for a look both inward and outward).

At the close of the film, Margaret dies at the hands of Yöng-ch'öl, who shoots her, at her request, to put her out of her misery (she is dying a slow death after having been shot by the

communist for refusing to kill Yōng-ch'ōl—"I don't want to die by an enemy bullet," she declares). Yōng-ch'ōl calls out to her, "Margaret, Margaret"; she responds, "Please call me Chōng-ae," the first we hear of this name. The corpse of "Margaret" becomes the site of anticommunist identification (a turn away from the "enemy") and ethnonational recovery (a rebirth as Chōng-ae, followed by a quick martyrdom), even as a certain agency, and trajectory, are produced: Yōng-ch'ōl, and those who follow in his wake in South Korea, are fated, in this film, to take matters into their own hands—assimilated anticommunist subjects, firmly located south of the thirty-eighth parallel, moving through the ethnonational/developmentalist temporality of the Cold War world.

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Paik Nak-chung has called north Korea "the other that is not an other" (*t'aja anin t'aja*). I think we can link this remark, on one level, to a process located somewhere between mourning (as LaCapra notes, the recognition of the other as other—p. 184) and melancholia (in LaCapra's words, "a specular relation that confuses the self with the other"). The experience of division as national division and as loss should also be linked to the ways in which north Korea and north Koreans are spectral, experienced in their absence by way of images—and so the notion of north Korea becomes marked by a certain encounter with death. While meetings with those from the north have increased in recent years as a result of the influx into south Korea of the *t'albukcha*, it is important to note the ways in which for a generation of *sirhyangmin* north Korea has been accessed via memory-images that often appear in south Korean literary texts of the 1960s and 1970s (the decades I am focusing on in this paper) mediated by the discourse of a prelapsarian agrarian past (see, for example, Yi Ho-ch'ōl, Yi Pōm-sōn, and Hwang Sun-wōn). For a younger generation of south Koreans, north Korea was encountered via state-sponsored Cold War anticommunist discourse, which included the consumption of images, as well as their production—for example the sketching of north Korea as classroom exercise.

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Cold War evolutionist portrayals of north Korea as communist were a staple of 1960s south Korean popular culture. Kim Ki-dōk's *Yongary, Monster from the Deep* (Taegwoesu yonggari, 1967), for example, provides us with a remake of *Godzilla* that turns upon the spectacle of an *already* developed south Korea in full possession of a space program—we are presented with cars, roads, clothes, homes, and suburban spaces that seem very much in line with what we might expect in 1960s Pasadena or Cape Canaveral. The film and its 1967 audience enter into the space, in the movie theater, of the future perfect of development—development as an already accomplished fact and as yet to be achieved.

In the film, Yongary, the monster who retraces the route taken by the north Korean Army in June 1950, emerges as something more than degraded other. In a pivotal scene, Yongary's rampage through Seoul comes to a stop, and the child protagonist dances with the monster to the tune of a jazzed up version of "Arirang." Indeed, Yongary and the boy have a special relationship, informed by the trope of the organicist nation—body (north Korea) has become separated from head, the boy-genius, product and future vanguard of the developmental south Korean state. Body and mind, north and south Korea, unite momentarily and spontaneously, to the rhythm of "Arirang," jazzified, modernized, and yet ethnonational. North Korea, that is, is remembered as body.

For a writer such as Nam Chōng-hyōn, well-known for the court case surrounding his 1965 "Land of Excrement" (Punji)—Nam was prosecuted and convicted under the National Security Law—statist development relies on an evolutionary economics, the racializing/primitivizing of the communist other, the production of the developmental abject. In

Nam's "Letter to Father" (Puju chŏn sangsŏ, 1964), Yong-dal, locked up in the Ch'anggyŏngwŏn Zoo, tells his father that a young student comes every day and spends all day observing him:

Even if he says he is studying me in order to build up the knowledge to become a great zoologist, he's probably thinking that the race [*injong*] that lives in the north resembles this type of beast. That's right, Father. These days, for some reason, young people think that only the communist party lives in the north; they don't acknowledge the fact that people live there. If we told them that parents, wives and children, siblings whom we love live there, would they believe it? It would just be cause for laughter. At any rate, the only thing the young boys and girls know is that a bunch of evil monsters live in the north that deserve to be killed.⁹

Here the would-be zoologist's observation of the disfigured, beast-like Yong-dal (standing in for those who live in the north) is nothing more than a gaze in the mirror: it is by examining, categorizing his body (the homogeneous body of the *tongp'o*) as primitivized other that the zoologist locates himself on the trajectory of the developed, modern "free world" subject.

Yong-dal informs his father that a foreign delegation is coming to observe him, that his face must be cosmetically altered because it is still considered too "human-like." The foreign gaze will rest less upon the abject body of Yong-dal than on the south Korean production of a visual, carceral regime, the display of its ability to self-regulate, cage, and degrade Korean bodies.¹⁰ It is, then, by way of the spectacle of the disfigured Yong-dal that the text attempts to make visible the ways in which the trope of development turns upon a racializing/primitivizing logic. The face-altering "operation" Yong-dal must undergo before the arrival of the foreigners literalizes the visual regime that the "developed" subject performs when gazing upon the third world abject as primitive.

The production of the beast Yong-dal and its display to foreigners, moreover, earns currency in the same manner as the continued production of the north as "evil monster" ensures the inflow of U.S. economic "aid." "Letter to Father" portrays the south Korean state as locating itself on the other side of the bars, aligning itself with the United States, coauthoring the production of the north as radical other in order to place itself on the developmental register of the "human," the zoologist. North Korea, then, is remembered as the past of south Korea (here I would like to mention in passing that I think there is a way in which the figuring of north Korea as past is now marked in contemporary south Korea by a certain post-development nostalgia).

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I would like to turn to the 1967 horror film *Wŏrhyang's Grave* (Kisaeng Wŏrhyang chimyo; dir., Kwŏn Ch'ŏl-hwi), which occurs as part of the mid-1960s post-Normalization Treaty grappling with the traumatic memory of collaboration and coloniality. The film organizes a memory of the colonial period that, in the end, sanctions the developmental narrative by attempting to put the ghosts of the past to rest. Wŏrhyang dies a *han*-filled death, haunts the home of her husband, Han-su, and, at the close of the film, ascends to the heavens following the latter's suffering and contrition. Han-su is traitorous on several counts: his betrayal of his close friend,

⁹ *Sasanggye*, (1964: 6), 374–75.

¹⁰ This production of "humanity," like that enabled by the 1906 caging of the African "pygmy" Ota Benga in the monkey house at the Bronx Zoo, is performed by the exhibition itself, the display of the ability to process, enclose, and conduct research on objects.

the resistance fighter Ch'un-sik, his abandoning of Ch'un-sik's sister, Wŏrhyang, in favor of the cook, his enjoyment of sudden wealth (via a gold mining operation) and tacit collaboration with the Japanese.

If a ghost is an embodied past, the material manifestation of memory, Wŏrhyang's son, Yongjin, under constant threat of death in the film by the former cook, is secured as future, embraced at the close of the film by Han-su in the midst of the public cemetery where Wŏrhyang is buried. At the same time, the multilayered patriarchal/colonial repression of women and the consequent displacement of the anxious memories of the colonial past onto the register of *han*, demonstrate the crisis of legitimacy confronted by the mid-1960s south Korean state. The film, that is, details the sins of the colonized, collaborating father in order to produce a proper developmental subject in the mid-1960s, Yongjin, who emerges from the public cemetery, the site of Wŏrhyang's life and death transformed into a collective, shared trauma—the act of haunting translates singular memory into social memory.

I think that in many ways *Wŏrhyang* is a reworking of Yi Kwang-su's *The Heartless* (Mujŏng, 1917), considered by many to be Korea's first modern novel, one that, in the words of Kim U-ch'ang, champions modernization while remaining utterly oblivious of the colonial condition (to underscore this forgetting, Kim U-ch'ang cites the famous image occurring near the end of the text of a mid-1910s thriving Chosŏn). *The Heartless* is also a text that is informed by a cinematic experience. Here, I would like to call attention to the way in which a visual regime links the enlightenment project of the early 1900s to its later post-1945 developmentalist articulation. The protagonist Hyŏng-sik, of course, encounters the cinema throughout the text; the sounds of the orchestra accompanying silent films follow him through Seoul. Moreover, memory in the text is filmic: images of past events in characters' lives are frequently described in terms of a motion picture (*hwaldong sajin*). The visibility of memory is, in turn, linked to an imaging of the future—the passage cited by Kim U-ch'ang is a visual experience, an imagining of a future that has already happened (the future perfect of *Yongary*). The developmental trajectory in *The Heartless* is filmic: visibility produces progress in time.

Coloniality does in fact enter Yi's text in the form of a regime of surveillance, the looks given by police at train stations and on the train by Japanese passengers—a sense of being looked at, watched, informs this text. Rey Chow's discussion of technologized visibility and the production of the primitive helps us to see the ways in which *The Heartless* moves to counter the colonial gaze by assuming an enlightened and enlightening position, one that relies upon the medium of film and the figuring of the people of Chosŏn as located back in time.¹¹ The famous flood scene in which Hyŏngsik emerges as enlightenment-protagonist can only occur by way of a gaze upon the scene of the helpless people of Chosŏn that produces the latter as primitives, compared to the Ainu.

Noting how memory in *The Heartless* is filmic allows us to see how visibility and temporality are linked—filmic memory sets in motion the imaging of a future perfect, when the people of Chosŏn, located in developmental time, will have lost their Ainu status. Filmic memory, then, structures the teleology of development in Korea's first modern novel, and maybe it is this that we should indeed call modern.

Wŏrhyang celebrates the technology of film with its transformation of a corpse-like, disfigured *pyŏnsa*, narrator of colonial-period silent films, into what he notes was his handsome figure of the 1930s. The ability to recreate the colonial scene becomes one way to overcome it (a trajectory that informs contemporary representations of the colonial period, where coloniality is located as past via technological simulation). Certainly the recovery of the handsome form of the *pyŏnsa* points to the anxieties addressed by the horror genre, its concern with mortality, normality, and the restoration of presence; at the same time, the horror genre becomes, in *Wŏrhyang*, one

¹¹ Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visibility, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 5, 22-3, 180-1.

way of addressing the anxiety of what is often called a “distorted” modernity, the history of coloniality and collaboration.

The history *Wŏrhyang* offers us can only work by forgetting those associated with the north (leftist resistance to colonial rule, for example cannot appear in this film)—this is an excision that allows us to think of the National Security Law as an organizer of memory. It is also an elision that produces a contestation, the emergence of literary texts in the 1970s recounting childhood memories of the Korean War and the breakup of families along ideological lines, as well as recollections, particularly in the 1980s, of family histories involving long-term political prisoners unwilling to recant.

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Ch’oe In-hun’s *A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist* (Sosolga Kubo ssi ūi iril), serialized from 1970 to 1972, rewrites Pak T’ae-wŏn’s 1934 Joycean text of the same title. Ch’oe In-hun’s Kubo, the Kubo of the early 1970s, follows the colonial-period Kubo in naming something more than psychological depth, the interiorized self. Like Ch’oe, this Kubo is a writer and a refugee from the north, a *sirhyangmin*. At the same time, the production of Kubo’s personal history, his psychology, exceeds its own textual boundaries, and those of south Korean literature, insofar as it refers to the production of the 1930s Kubo, whose text has been censored (Pak T’ae-wŏn went north in 1947). Ch’oe’s Kubo simultaneously names another place and time, the mid-1930s colonial capital of Pak T’ae-wŏn’s Kubo, and the unnamable place and time of Pak himself in Pyongyang in 1970. In this way the text contests the visual regime of the developmental state, the excision of the north from the nationscape. These spatio-temporal disjunctions informing the proper name Kubo, then, both dismantle the boundaries of the psychological self and contest the enforcement of a radical north/south bifurcation by the authoritarian, developmental state. Ch’oe’s Kubo is less of a subject than a site, a position from which to interrogate the history of Korean modernity—the text becomes a remembering of coloniality that is at once a genealogy of the production of the psychological self.

Kubo’s reappearance not only reveals how the Park regime enforces national division through an institutional disciplining of anticommunist subjects, but also the ways in which daily life in the South depends upon a radical forgetting of the north. At the same time, Ch’oe’s text questions the developmental assumptions of progress and a colonial/postcolonial break. The mid-1930s repressive, colonial past reemerges in contemporary Seoul, privileged by Park as sign of south Korea’s prosperous, modern future, by way of the return of the colonized intellectual who can move through public space but cannot participate meaningfully in a public sphere.

Ch’oe’s text, then, helps us to see the ways in which the representation of north Korea in Cold War south Korean culture of the 1960s and 1970s relies upon a visual regime linked to the enforcement of temporal and spatial boundaries shoring up what Paik Nak-chung has called the “division system.” As I noted in my discussion of *Yonggary*, however, the image of north Korea emerges as something more than demonized other. If the image of the communist/north Koreans dematerializes life in the contemporary north, it also interrupts the ways in which daily life in the south depends upon a forgetting of the north. For Ch’oe, the spectral image of “north Korea” becomes a particular kind of memory, a kind of repressed that informs the everyday—linked both to the contemporary excision of north Korean cultural production and the censored works of the Japanese colonial period.

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Later films such as Chŏng Chi-yŏng’s *The Southern Army* (Nambugun, 1990) attempt to reorganize anticommunist memory by rescuing history from the state (both the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea). Chŏng’s film provides a sympathetic

recollection (via first-person voice-over) of partisans fighting in Chölla Province during the Korean War, privileging an alternative postcolonial historical trajectory in scenes of partisan communality—young men and women working together, preparing food, singing, and fighting for their independence in the mountains. In the film, one partisan tells another that the origin of national division and war lies in the fact that Korea was handed its 1945 liberation from Japanese colonial rule by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. *The Southern Army*, then, invokes the notion of *haebang konggan* (liberation space), a term that emerged in the early 1980s to describe the three-year period between the formal end of Japanese rule and the emergence of separate regimes in north and south in 1948 as marking only the *possibility* of liberation.

If *haebang konggan* refers to the formation of the division system (the rapid incorporation of the peninsula into the Cold War world order by way of the twin occupations, Soviet military occupation in the north and U.S. military rule in the south), it also points to a continuing, colonial and postcolonial, negotiation of the meaning of “liberation” itself. *The Southern Army* achieves its utopian apex when the young partisans, destined to die at the hands of UN forces, find themselves greeted, as they playfully bathe in a stream, by General Yi Hyön-sang, described by the voice-over narration as a rare case, both a socialist and a nationalist. *The Southern Army* recovers the young, naked bodies of the partisans from the proletarian/nationalist opposition that fractured the colonial intellectual and literary scene in the 1920s and 1930s; the film provides its 1990 viewers with a memorying of partisan self-rule over a post-1945 space, in the mountains, extricated from a history of colonial and neocolonial domination. I would like to conclude by noting that this memorying is informed by the camera, looking out at south Korean soldiers throughout the film, suturing with the partisans. This is a visual reinscription, in 1990, of a historical vantage point, one consciously intended, I think, to counter the history of elision marked by such Cold War films as *돌아오지않는 해병들* (1963), where the entire film is shot from precisely the opposite perspective.