

UC Riverside

UC Riverside Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Appropriating 'Comfort Women': The Cold War Politics of National Belonging in Korean American Literature

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0cq438k1>

Author

Lee, Eun-joo

Publication Date

2023

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Appropriating 'Comfort Women':
The Cold War Politics of National Belonging in Korean American Literature

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative Literature

by

Eun-joo Lee

September 2023

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. John Namjun Kim, Chairperson
Dr. Setsu Shigematsu
Dr. Traise Yamamoto
Dr. Jin-kyung Lee

Copyright by
Eun-joo Lee
2023

The Dissertation of Eun-joo Lee is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I still cannot believe my good fortune to spend the last years of my higher education in the Department of Comparative Literature and Languages at UC Riverside, whose working-class-friendly atmosphere and radical, political and educational mission restored my sense of belonging to academia and gave birth to my own intellectual subjectivity. I met many exceptional, inspirational, empathetic, and supportive faculty members, colleagues, and friends there, from whom I gratefully benefitted for my intellectual journey and self-awakening.

Above all, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my committee members, all of who did not hesitate to spend time to share with me their critically astute insights and encouragement. They were always certain of and never ceased to support my intellectual passion and potential, even when I did not believe in myself. Dr. John Namjun Kim is a devoted teacher, who taught me everything that a scholar should know. He welcomed all my successful and failed attempts, and his guidance and support transformed them into practice and knowledge that I did not think to have. I am also fortunate to have Dr. Setsu Shigematsu, a scholar-activist in word and deed, as a role model. She was also an ardent advocate for my academic achievements and a trustful mentor to whom I was not ashamed to reveal my confusion, fear, and weakness. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Traise Yamamoto, who taught me the meaning of being humble as an intellectual. By bowing to my mother at the commencement, she acknowledged and paid respect to her unbeatable determination and arduous effort for her daughter's upward mobility. Dr. Jinkyung Lee's intellectual and professional imprint on my writing and thinking is indelible.

Alongside Dr. Kim, she was always reachable whenever I needed her and continues to demonstrate her educational dedication even after my final defense. As such, I am so indebted to all my teachers for my education, and I hope that they will feel happy to see me teaching and serving students as I learned from them.

Without my parents, the completion of my higher education, including this dissertation, would not have been possible. My mother, Yoonjeom Lee, is a woman of unshakable, working-class resilience who raised a family out of nothing. She was—and will be—always behind me with tireless motherly love, devotion, and motivation. My father, Joonhyun Lee, is a great father and man who broke the generational cycle of violence. He gave me unconditional love and taught me the strength not to return violence with violence. Mom and dad, I am genuinely lucky to have you as my parents.

Lastly, I would like to thank my senior colleagues Dr. Hyosun Lee, Dr. Dong-Wook Noh, and Dr. Jiwon Min, who were kind enough to first suggest gestures of emotional and intellectual help. My friends, Jun Go, Sung-ah Cho, May GuChi Vang, Kate Wanchi Huang, and Eric Ramirez, make me feel loved and supported, and I know how blessed I am to have them as my friends. All these remarkable people's generous friendship has never wilted, and I hope to spend the rest of my life with them.

This dissertation is dedicated
to my parents, from whose humbleness I have learned grace and dignity.
With love and respect, always.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Appropriating ‘Comfort Women’:
The Cold War Politics of National Belonging in Korean American Literature

by

Eun-joo Lee

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Comparative Literature
University of California, Riverside, September 2023
Dr. John Namjun Kim, Chairperson

Since the mid-1990s, Korean American writers have written novels to double-voice Korean/Asian American issues by a detour through the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual slavery (the ‘comfort women’ issue) during World War II. Unfortunately, their double-voicing forgets the U.S. Cold War involvement in the issue, whereby it leads to American nationalist representations of it. Such discursive acts metonymically reinforce Korean/Asian American national subjecthood. The following chapters are divided into three parts to embody this gradual amnesia and the resultant increase in their Korean/Asian “American” legibility through the disappearing slash in the parts’ titles. Part I, “Claiming Korea(n)/America,” consists of Chapter 1, “Anticommunist Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’ through Multiracial Democracy in Therese Park’s *A Gift of the Emperor*.” I examine why the novel’s critical representation of Japan’s colonial rule of Korea, the U.S. detention and mobilization of Japanese Americans, and Syngman

Rhee's anticommunism rather indicates its assimilation into a U.S. anticommunist foreign policy called multiracial democracy that intended to propagandize the U.S.-led panethnic anticommunist collectivity in Asia. Part II, "Claiming Korean America," has two chapters. In Chapter 2, "Americanizing 'Comfort Women' through the Homogenization of Nationalisms in Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life*," I critique the novel's homogenization, whose American imperialist logic starts to forget the U.S. involvement in the continuity between the 'comfort women' issue and U.S. military-centered prostitution while remembering the Cold War origin of the model minority myth. Chapter 3, "Korean/Americanizing 'Comfort Women' through Transparent Translation in Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman*," debunks the novel's attribution of the shared gender and ethnic affinities as the reason for a transparent translation, which dialectically Orientalizes both a comfort woman and Korean American woman due to their sharing of Asianness. The last chapter, "Cold War Nationalizing 'Comfort Women' through the Universalization of Women's Oppression in Mary Lynn Bracht's *White Chrysanthemum*," is located in Part III, "Claiming Korea." I investigate the novel's discursive link between Japan's military sexual slavery and the Jeju 4.3 (April 3) Incident, whose gender-essentialist emphasis on women's economic and thus sexual empowerment against universal patriarchy in the domestic realm is metaphorically reminiscent of a U.S. anticommunist policy called domestic containment.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Part I: Claiming Korea(n)/America | |
| Chapter 1: Anticommunist Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’ through Multiracial Democracy in Therese Park’s <i>A Gift of the Emperor</i> | 25 |
| Part II: Claiming Korean America | |
| Chapter 2: Americanizing ‘Comfort Women’ through the Homogenization of Nationalisms in Chang-rae Lee’s <i>A Gesture Life</i> | 55 |
| Chapter 3: Korean/Americanizing ‘Comfort Women’ through Transparent Translation in Nora Okja Keller’s <i>Comfort Woman</i> | 82 |
| Part III: Claiming Korea | |
| Chapter 4: Cold War Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’ through the Universalization of Women’s Oppression in Mary Lynn Bracht’s <i>White Chrysanthemum</i> | 110 |
| Bibliography | 137 |

Introduction

The Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery during World War II, often euphemistically called the 'comfort women' issue, is still today considered a typical example of large-scale institutionalized wartime sexual violence against women along with a mass rape policy during the Bosnian War (1992-1995). The Army designed this slavery to provide its soldiers with sexual rewards that would appease their dissatisfaction, low morale, insubordination, and rebellion and thus sustain its manpower. The operation of slavery began in 1931 and ended with Japan's defeat in WWII in 1945, and the geographical scope was vast throughout the Asia-Pacific region as the Army established rape camps wherever its war effort reached. The total number of victims, who were called comfort women, was estimated from 50,000 to 200,000, whose majority—up to eighty percent—were Koreans as the 1910 international treaty against trafficking of women and girls was not applicable to them due to their status as colonial subjects. The Ministry of War, the highest military authority of Imperial Japan, scrutinized, enforced, and supervised the methods of procurement and management through the chain of command.

On August 14th, 1991, almost five decades after Japan's defeat in WWII in 1945, a former comfort woman Kim Hak-sun finally gave the first voluntary testimony about Japan's military sexual slavery. Her testimony quickly traveled globally, and it was soon followed by those of other victim-survivors scattered in Asia, Australia, and even the

Netherlands. In response to the issue's gravity and urgency, the transnational coalition of activism was immediately formed across South Korea, Japan, the United States, and other parts of the globe. The survivors, activists, scholars, and the public raised their voices to demand justice, redress, and reparation. While criticizing Japan's right-wing government's denial of its historical accountability, scholars and activists interrogated why the testimonies could not be heard until 1991, and their interrogation unleashed various Cold War memories about Japan's military sexual enslavement system. Some recalled the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE, 1946-1948), in which the United States excluded the system from prosecution and even exonerated many of Japan's war crimes on condition of taking over its war technologies. Others conjured up memories of The United States Army Military Government in the southern part of the Korean peninsula (USAMGIK) right after WWII, which inherited the Japanese colonial system to facilitate its governance. Among this inheritance was its employment of former pro-Japanese Korean officers of Japan's Imperial Army in the newly formed Republic of Korea Armed Forces (hereafter the ROK military), who not only established U.S. military-centered prostitution (camp town prostitution) modeled after Japan's comfort station system according to its order. As they had previously been involved in the system, they also ran their own comfort stations during the Korean War (1950-1953). South Korea's patriarchally constructed Pro-American anti-communist dictatorships were not forgotten, which sexually stigmatized former comfort women and silenced their voices in the name of national security and economic development. In addition, as Japan had fully recuperated by becoming an important ally of the United States since the Korean War,

the South Korean government's encouragement of *kisaeng* tourism, the sex industry for Japanese businessmen-tourists, in the 1970s was pointed out as the continuing legacy of Japan's sexual mobilization of Korean women during WWII. As such, Cold War memories of the 'comfort women' issue indicate that the issue is "a palimpsest of multiple layers of Japanese colonialism and neo-imperial domination, especially by U.S. hegemony, which superimposed its systems on the political and social infrastructures of Japanese colonial rule" (Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi 3).

Likewise, Korean American novels of comfort women, which are up to date four, also revive various Cold War memories, but whose revivals are discursively more diverse than those in transnational activism for these women. In the chronological order of these novels' temporal settings, first, Therese Park's *A Gift of the Emperor* (1997) compares Japan's colonial sexual mobilization of Korean women and the U.S. ethnic one of Japanese American soldiers during WWII in a romantic relationship between a Korean comfort woman and a Japanese deserter-cum-American soldier. In Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* (1999), the main temporal background is set between the 1940s to the 1970s. During the Asia-Pacific War, the protagonist Hata, a Korean male diasporic subject in the ethnic disguise as a Japanese soldier, raped a Korean comfort woman Kkutaeh and later, as a Japanese American model-minority middle-class patriarch, attempts to domesticate his adoptive daughter Sunny born between a Korean camp town sex worker and a Black American G.I. His sexually abusive relationships with these women represent the link between the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery, camp town prostitution, and the model minority myth. Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman* (1997) consists of a double

narrative, one of which depicts a comfort woman-cum-immigrant Soon Hyo's life trajectory from the 1940s to the 1980s, and the other portrays her Korean American daughter Beccah's recollection of childhood memories about her mother in the 1990s. Instead of linking the 'comfort women' issue and the other relevant Cold War ones, these two female protagonists' narratives thematically respond to one another, resolving Beccah's cultural and emotional estrangement from her Korean m/other. By doing so, the novel represents a Korean American female subject's new investment of Koreanness in her subjectivity. Lastly, Mary Lynn Bracht's *White Chrysanthemum* (2018) also takes a comfort woman Hana and her sister Emi's double narrative, in which the former's abusive marital life with a Japanese deserter at the end of WWII in Mongolia is juxtaposed with the one between the latter and an anticommunist police officer during the Jeju 4.3 (April 3) Incident (1948-1945), the notorious red hunt sponsored by the U.S. military in the early days of the national formation of South Korea. This juxtaposition links Japan's wartime sexual crimes against comfort women with those during the Incident, against which Emi finally economically and thus sexually empowers herself on her sister's behalf in conjunction with the national economic development in the 2010s.

These discursive links in Korean American novels of comfort women exemplify what Lisa Yoneyama calls the "Asian/Americanization of the memories of Japanese colonialism and militarism" ("Traveling Memories" 75). The Americanization of Japan's war crimes regards U.S. wars against Japan during WWII as a "good war," which "not only liberated Asians, including Japanese themselves, from Japan's military fanaticism, but also rehabilitated them into free and prosperous citizens of the democratic world"

(Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories" 58-59). In contrast, in the Asian/Americanization of Japanese atrocities, Asians and Asian Americans work as "the agent-subject," by whom "different kinds of historical justice are negotiated, realized or deferred" (Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories" 57). Their epistemic and political efforts not only shed light on the U.S. Cold War extension of the Japanese colonial conditions in postcolonial Asia. They also link this extension with the Cold War origin of racialized gendered discrimination against ethnic minorities in the United States, such as immigration control, segregation, disenfranchisement, and so on. By discerning the interrelation between Japanese colonialism and American Cold War imperialism, the Asian/Americanization of Japan's war crimes transforms itself into "a critical, emergent historical juncture" in the transpacific, which "can bring about equally productive hopes and visions for the minoritized and disenfranchised both within and outside the boundaries of a nationalized public sphere" (Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories" 62).

Yoneyama highlights "the productive ambivalence" of knowledge produced by the Asian/Americanization of Japanese war crimes ("Traveling Memories" 74). On the one hand, its knowledge clarifies the complexities of "the deeply conjoined, enduring [Japanese-American] interimperial complex of historical violence" and Asian nationalisms' complicity with it in the postcolonial era (Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* ix). Grappling with these complexities allows for positive knowledge production and the resultant affiliations between various kinds of activism, whose transnationality and transpacific-ness revise Korean national(ist) framings that usually exclude the U.S. Cold War involvement in Japan's colonial wrongdoings and Korean collaboration with both

imperial powers. On the other hand, despite such epistemically politically critical potentials, Asian/American knowledge production can also fall into the trap of what Yoneyama calls “the transnational ‘warping’ of politics” (*Cold War Ruins* 179). This kind of politics takes place “when a critique travels from one location to another, it often inadvertently results in allying with intellectual and political positions that are at odds with those it endorsed in the original context” (Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* 39). This allying usually leads to “self-mystifying nationalism—an effect which participates in the occlusion of many issues that can and need to be addressed across national and other borders” and thus the Americanization of Japan’s war crimes (Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* 191). In this sense, the intervening slash in the term “Asian/Americanization” implicates its coexistence of conflictual possibilities of critical knowledge production and the transnational warping of politics.

Kandice Chuh and Laura Hyun Yi Kang have already discussed the transnational warping of politics in Korean American novels of comfort women in the 2003 special issue of *Journal of Asian American Studies*. Chuh first reminds us that the U.S. involvement in the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual slavery is far earlier than a general assumption and traced back to the mid-nineteenth century. As European and U.S. imperial powers’ aggressive interest in Asia resulted in the emergence of Japanese modernity, which soon led to Japan’s colonization of Korea, “[t]he United States thus is a part of the early picture that encapsulates the conditions giving rise to ‘comfort women,’ and it continues to stay in the frame through its neo-colonial presence in Korea subsequent to World War II” (Chuh, “Guest Editor’s Introduction” 2). In this sense, the

1905 Katsura-Taft Secret Agreement between the United States and Japan can be argued as the first, specific historical juncture that allowed the former's involvement in the latter's military sexual slavery. Both governments agreed to acquiesce to each other's colonial advancement, facilitating the U.S. colonization of the Philippines and Japan's colonial rule of Korea. Later in 1931, the U.S.-Japan relationship changed as they began competing for the Chinese market and natural resources in Asia and the Pacific, and in the next year, Japan's Imperial Army started establishing comfort stations in China. Pointing out this long history of Japan-U.S. interimperial violence, Chuh urges us "to be critically cognizant of U.S. nationalism and imperialism" in Korean American literary productions that links "the cognitive and geopolitical locales of the Asia-Pacific, the United States, and Asian America" ("Guest Editor's Introduction" 3). She continues to ask what kinds of "methods of remembrance" are used "toward what ends" in their representations (Chuh, "Discomforting Knowledge" 12).

As a response to Chuh's inquiries, Kang examines "a range of different modes and methods of re-presenting 'comfort women' as distinctly mediated by their [Korean American literary and other cultural works'] American location . . . to highlight the limits and the dangers of what Lisa Yoneyama calls the 'Americanization' of the 'comfort women' issue" ("Conjuring 'Comfort Women'" 28-29). According to Kang, the first representational method is "transporting the 'comfort women' figures to the United States," or what I call the diasporization of comfort women, through which "the 'comfort women' figure is located as ex-centric to the national borders of the United States" ("Conjuring 'Comfort Women'" 33). This diasporization transforms a comfort woman

into a Korean American, whose “‘American’ presence is tenuous, made more so by her physical isolation” as an ethnic minority (Kang, “Conjuring ‘Comfort Women’” 33). This transformation allows her and other Korean/Asian American characters to share the same political issues and agendas and thus enables what Laura Hyun Yi Kang calls “a double-voicing in which certain Korean/Americans achieve a voice against the repressive processes of ‘racialization and sexual objectification’ *in the United States*” by a detour through the ‘comfort women’ issue (“Conjuring ‘Comfort Women’” 32, emphasis original). For example, *A Gift of the Emperor* and *Comfort Woman* set comfort woman-cum-immigrants as their protagonists while a comfort woman Kkutaeh is diasporized and transported to American soil through Hata’s memories in *A Gesture Life*, whereby all these female characters become involved in Korean/Asian American issues. Although a comfort woman Hana’s diasporic life occurs in Mongolia in *White Chrysanthemum*, her diasporization can be argued to relate to Asian American women’s issues in a larger context as the novel intends to represent Japan’s military sexual slavery as an example of women’s universal oppression against which Korean, Korean American, and American women all struggle.

Kang points out that although this double voicing enunciates “a diasporic Korean identification with the ‘comfort women,’” this enunciation rather highlights “the [Korean American] producers’ cultural and national location in the United States” (“Conjuring ‘Comfort Women’” 33). These producers’ “American” legibility is most explicitly exemplified by their other method, which I refer to as the homogenization of Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American Cold War nationalisms. All Korean American

novels of comfort women homogenize these three nationalisms as if they are biological entities innately identical by highlighting the patriarchally constructed ethnic/racial essentialist logic shared by them. For instance, *A Gift of the Emperor* portrays a romantic relationship between Soon-ah and Sadamu in the Pacific and Hawai‘i, in which her anger at one race’s (Japan’s) colonial victimization of another (the Korean) is intermingled with her observation of his forced allegiance to the United States due to his Japanese “enemy” race, leading to her anti-ethnic nationalist interpretation of South Korean anticommunism. Likewise, *A Gesture Life* depicts Hata, Kkutaeh, and Sunny’s shared, national unbelonging to Korea, Japan, and the United States due to diasporic status, female sexuality, and biracial lineage, respectively. Their shared unbelonging is aligned with Hata’s continuous victimization of these female characters as an attempt to claim national belonging through assimilation into their national ideologies, and this alignment emphatically represents how identical these ideologies are. *Comfort Woman* portrays Korean and Korean American women’s shared oppression, from Korean women’s doubled hardship under Korean patriarchy and Japan’s colonial rule to Soon Hyo’s experience of rape by Japanese soldiers at a comfort station and later her American missionary husband and her daughter Beccah’s sexually abusive relationship with her White American boss. Through this portrayal, the novel emphasizes more the patriarchal logic than the ethnic/racial nationalist one shared by Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms. Lastly, *White Chrysanthemum* alternates two narratives of Hana’s forced marital life with Morimoto at the end of WWII and the one between Emi and HyunMo during the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Within this alteration, Japanese colonialism, Soviet

Communism, South Korean anticommunism, and U.S. Cold War imperialism are juxtaposed to highlight how indistinguishable their sexual war crimes are against Korean women.

As this homogenization is preoccupied with the shared logic of the national ideologies of Korea, Japan, and the United States, it necessarily decontextualizes “the simultaneity and entanglement of the Japanese empire and the U.S. empire” in the ‘comfort women’ issue (Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* 140). This decontextualization is mostly instantiated by *A Gesture Life*, which not only representationally overemphasizes the Korean patriarchy’s collaboration with the Japanese military’s procurement of comfort women and the resultant “equal” responsibility of Korea and Japan for the issue but also hardly depicts the U.S. Cold War involvement in it. While I am also critical of this shameful part of Korean history, I rather deal with this collaboration to critique Korean American amnesia of Japanese and U.S. neo/colonial simultaneity and entanglement mentioned above. I even include in my critique the equally contentious issue of the comfort station system run by the Republic of Korea Armed Forces (hereafter, the ROK military). I believe that I introduce the South Korean scholarship of this system, which has been comprehensively done by sociologist Kim Gwi-ok, to the American academic scene for the first time. This scholarship has rarely received South Korean academic and public attention, probably due to an understandable concern that it will give a wrong impression that both a formerly colonized country and an empire are equally morally degenerate and thus hamper the former’s decades-long activism against Japan’s denial of the historical accountability for its sexual war crimes. However, my

introduction intends to add new evidence of the U.S. neocolonial technologies that have enabled the continuity between the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery and its military-centered prostitution. By analyzing these technologies, I hope to constitute Asianists, Asian Americanists, and Americanists' collective goal of critiquing U.S. Cold War imperialism.

Needless to say, this continuity begins with the Japanese Imperial Army's technologies that induced and manipulated Korean collaborators. The Japanese colonial rule's economic exploitation extremely impoverished many Korean peasant households, and their young daughters were sacrificed first for their families' economic survival due to Korean Confucian patriarchy. As the Japanese colonial educational policy did not require a compulsory education system for women, they were never sent to school or forced to quit it at an early age, did household chores, or migrated to cities or other areas to make money to support families and male siblings. Here, the Army's artful technologies of procuring comfort women intervene. According to Tanaka Yuki, it adopted the "behind-the-scene" strategy for procurement, and each army headquarters recruited Japanese and pro-Japanese Korean proprietors and labor brokers as its agents and sent them to Korea (48). While the Army "did not do the dirty work but had procurers do it for them," these collaborators procured Korean women through various vicious tactics such as deception, intimidation, coercion, and even kidnapping (Yoshimi 29).

Right after the end of WWII, the United States inherited and manipulated Japan's colonial legacy of sexual mobilization through its military as a part of its Cold War effort

in the Korean peninsula and Asia. Its inheritance and manipulation were put under two overlapping categories during the Korean War. One was military prostitution only for soldiers of the U.S. military and the Allied Forces, or camp town prostitution, which started simultaneously with the U.S. military occupation of later South Korea and is still continuing today. Katharine H.S. Moon points out that there were “former comfort women [who] also worked as [American] GI prostitutes among the first generation of *kijich'on* [camp town] sex workers” (*Sex among Allies* 46). According to Grace M. Cho, the presence of comfort women-cum-camp town sex workers was possible because “when the U.S. military occupied Korea in September 1945, they also occupied the comfort stations . . . taking over the women who were stationed there as well” (94).

The other category was the Republic of Korea Armed Forces’ comfort station system exclusively for its soldiers, which began in 1951 and ended in 1954. This system was established by pro-Japanese-to-pro-American South Korean military elites, who had once been soldiers of Japan’s Imperial Army and later were hired by the U.S. military government to establish the South Korean military. For example, the then regimental commander in charge of establishing and managing South Korean comfort stations was a former officer in the Kwantung Army (Kim Hŭi-o 70-80; qtd. in Kim Gwi-ok 116). These “autocolonizing” agents had the experienced knowledge of establishing and operating Japan’s comfort station system and reutilized it to not only establish the South Korean military’s comfort station system but also actualize the U.S. military’s demand for military prostitution for its exclusive use (Jin-kyung Lee 30). U.S. military-centered prostitution reached its highest peak during Park Chung-hee’s dictatorial regime in the

1960s and 1970s. He was also a pro-Japanese Korean officer in the Kwangtung Army from 1944-1945 and manipulated this prostitution to reinforce the South Korean-U.S. military alliance and earn foreign currency.

It is not surprising that Japanese and South Korean comfort station systems and U.S. military-sponsored prostitution share the remarkably same patterns in operation and management. The Japanese and American neo/colonizers produced, re/hired, and manipulated Korean collaborators, who then worked for their masters' sexual pleasure. The systems were operated as an official military policy through the chain of command, from which any civilian participation in policy- and decision-making was strictly prevented. Although more research is needed on the ways of the South Korean military's procurement, Korean proprietors and labor brokers, who had procured comfort women for Japan's Imperial Army, again did the same activity against camp town sex workers on behalf of the U.S. military, and their methods of procurement were still the same, such as deception and coercion. The Japanese, South Korean, and U.S. sexual enslavement systems also shared the same hygiene instructions, regulations, and criteria supervised and enforced by each military's authorities, e.g. women's regular medical checkups for venereal disease. As Moon states, "there is no clear delineation between one system and another" among them (*Sex among Allies* 46).

As Japanese colonialism and U.S. Cold War imperialism also overlap one another in the formation of Korean/Asian America, the homogenization of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms risks the decontextualization of the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans. When Korean American novels of

comfort women are chronologized according to the temporal setting, this chronologization shows how this decontextualization is gradually exacerbated in them. In *A Gift of the Emperor*, set in 1945, this gradual decontextualization has not yet occurred. The novel comparatively depicts Japanese colonial nationalism's sexual mobilization of Korean women instead of Japanese women with White supremacist American nationalism's coercion of Japanese Americans' allegiance through soldiering. This depiction rightly represents not only how identical the two empires' racial victimization is but also the relatability between Korean comfort women and Japanese American soldiers under the two empires' competition at the end of WWII. More importantly, it leads to the anti-ethnic nationalist revision of South Korean anticommunist nationalism in the denouement. This revision is reminiscent of U.S. postwar anticommunist foreign policy called multiracial democracy, in which the "greater, if conditional, integration for Asian Americans . . . [was] mandated . . . as the United States sought leadership of the 'free' capitalist world and competed with Soviet-led communism for the affiliation and cooperation of emerging, postcolonial Third World nations" (Hsu 1). This reminiscence allows a reader to see this relatability in terms of U.S.-led anticommunism.

However, the U.S. global Cold War regime's making of this relatability begins to be decontextualized in *A Gesture Life* as its homogenization of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms selectively forgets—and remembers—memories of this making. On the one hand, as discussed above, this homogenization forgets memories of the U.S. continuation of Japan's military sexual slavery in the forms of the ROK military's comfort station system and its military-centered prostitution, the continuation which was

part of its Cold War project on the Korean peninsula. In addition, the depiction of Hata's life in postwar Japan from the end of WWII to the early 1960s was completely absent within the novel's comprehensive, temporal setting from the late 1920s to the 1990s that covers his entire life trajectory. Whatever the textual intention of this absence would be, when it is aligned with the forgotten memories mentioned above, this alignment indicates another disremembered history of the Cold War entanglement between the United States and Japan in the postwar era. During this period, multiracial democracy was implemented in Japan, leading to its recuperation and rehabilitation as a major U.S. ally in East Asia against China and the Soviet Union in the postwar era. In contrast to this double amnesia, the novel remembers the Cold War origin of the model minority myth. It depicts that during the 1970s, when the U.S. defeat in the Vietnam War was becoming evident, Hata, as a Japanese American "model" minority, had a strong abhorrence of Black and colored American working class and attempted to domesticate Sunny as a proper middle-class woman by repeating the same kind of sexual victimization he has done against Kkutaeh. Such a depiction helps a reader conjure up memories of the myth as a cultural policy in the same era, through which President Johnson propagated the economic success of the self-contained and politically acquiescent Asian Americans and promised that subsequent Black assimilation would prove American liberal capitalist modernity's potential for all humankind's prosperity. As multiracial democracy had once done, the policy also attempted to conciliate the United States's colored allies and thus win against the Soviet Union and expand the capitalist bloc in Third World. As such, the homogenization of nationalisms in *A Gesture Life* results in unproportionate remembering, in which the U.S.

Cold War effort on South Korean and Japanese fronts is underestimated while the same effort against ethnic minorities in the United States is overestimated. This selective forgetting/remembering renders vague the relatability between the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery, U.S. military-centered prostitution, and the model minority myth as U.S. global Cold War regime's policies throughout the inter/national fronts.

Memories of this Cold War relatability, which has begun to disappear in *A Gesture Life*, become almost completely forgotten in *Comfort Woman*. The novel consists of Soon Hyo's autobiographical narrative from the 1940s to 1960s and Beccah's retrospection of her mother's life in the 1990s. However, throughout this double narrative, there is only one brief episode about the Cold War in the Korean peninsula, which depicts Soon Hyo and her American missionary husband's migration to its southern part against the communist regime to depart to the United States. Since then, the novel emphatically depicts Soon Hyo's experience of racialized sexual victimization by Japanese soldiers and her husband. The former regarded her Korean female sexuality as inferior to her Japanese counterpart and thus as commodifiable, disposable, and replaceable, and the latter showed other Americans her as an "exotic" Oriental(ized) living example of Christian God's savior and raped her. However, despite their double sexual victimization, Soon Hyo finally achieves sexual empowerment against them through her spectral, lesbian continuum with another comfort woman spirit and even upward mobility, through which she leaves her property to her daughter. Soon Hyo's developmental narrative indicates that the U.S. Cold War policies mentioned above—multiracial democracy and the model minority myth—are more textually implemented in *Comfort Woman* than in

the previous two novels. While the latter still attempts to, although unsuccessfully, critically represent Cold War racial issues of Korean/Asian Americans, the former completely assimilates into U.S.-led anticommunism by optimistically representing the United States as an ideal, free and capitalist place where any immigrants can realize any aspirations. The United States in the 1990s is represented as even more “democratic” in Beccah’s narrative as she does not experience racial victimization similar to her mother’s in the 1950s and 1960s. Accordingly, Beccah’s understanding of her mother’s life as a comfort woman-cum-immigrant is based on feminist solidarity, which she has developed from her sexually abusive, extramarital relationship with her White American boss, and her feminist understanding leads to a new investment of her mother’s Koreanness in her American subjectivity. As such, through these two female characters’ double narrative, the novel represents that the relatability between comfort women and Korean American women is nothing to do with the Cold War but is premised upon these two kindred groups’ shared experience of sexual violence. I would argue by slightly revising Chuh’s phrase that such a representation renders the ‘comfort women’ issue as “the trope organizing and unifying [American Cold War] feminist discourse,” whose agendas and pursuit of gender justice contribute to the U.S. Cold War global regime (Chuh, “Discomforting Knowledge” 6).

In contrast to all three Korean American novels of comfort women discussed above, *White Chrysanthemum*, the most recent one, is neither set in the United States nor has Korean/Asian American characters. Accordingly, the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian American women and men, which has been gradually

decontextualized in the former novels, becomes undetectable in *White Chrysanthemum*. Surprisingly, the novel dedicates some effort to depicting the Cold War rivalry in the Korean peninsula and Asia. The novel juxtaposes Hana's sexual victimization by her Japanese husband and Soviet soldiers in Mongolia at the end of WWII and that of Emi by her anticommunist Korean husband and American soldiers during the Jeju 4.3 Incident. This juxtaposition emphatically represents hegemonic masculinity shared by Japanese colonial, Soviet communist, and South Korean and American anticommunist patriarchies. Both female protagonists struggle to economically and thus sexually empower themselves against their husbands. Although Hana's attempt is frustrated as Mongolia is Sovietized, Emi achieves economic and sexual empowerment, which coincides with and allegorizes South Korea's national development. The novel then ends with a scene set in the year 2011, almost seventy years after their separation, in which Emi finally symbolically reunites with Hana, who now returns to South Korea as the *Statue of Peace* modeled from her. Hana and Emi's double narrative is discursively characterized first by its representation of the 'comfort women' issue as one example of women's shared oppression under universal patriarchy, which necessarily decontextualizes the neo/colonial entanglement between South Korean, Japanese, Soviet Union, and American nationalisms and its impact on the issue. This decontextualization not only risks amnesia of the U.S. neocolonial continuation of legacies of Japan's military sexual slavery in its military-centered prostitution by hiring of pro-Japanese Korean collaborators with the former slavery to establish the latter. It also renders invisible the same continuation of Japan's colonial technologies of oppressing Korean independence activists in the Jeju 4.3

Incident by hiring the same collaborators as its agents for the red hunt. Another discursive characteristic of these female protagonists' double narrative is that their struggles for economic and sexual emancipation are entirely limited to their households, and this spatial limitation, in conjunction with the decontextualization mentioned above, is reminiscent of U.S. anticommunist foreign policy called domestic containment. In this sense, it is ironic that the novel conjures up memories of the Cold War rivalry in Korea and Asia to "contain" them, and given the previous three novels' ever-exacerbating assimilation into the U.S. anticommunist policy of multiracial democracy, *White Chrysanthemum's* (metaphoric) domestic containment can be argued as the worst assimilation into U.S.-led anticommunism. In this line of logic, when the novel is compared with *Comfort Woman*, an American Cold War feminist practice of mobilizing Japan's military sexual slavery as its trope for justifying its discourse is more exacerbated in the former than the latter.

To sum up, one of the two major representational methods of Korean American novels of Japan's military sexual slavery is the diasporization of comfort women to render them Korean American subjects and thus double voice Asian American issues by a detour through this slavery. To discursively reinforce this double voicing, these novels homogenize Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and U.S. Cold War nationalisms by overemphasizing their shared logic. However, this homogenization necessarily leads to American nationalist representations of comfort women because its overemphasis on this logic results in amnesia of the U.S. Cold War inheritance and manipulation of legacies of Japan's wartime sexual violence, which are most obviously exemplified by the continuity

between the Japanese Imperial Army and the ROK military's comfort station systems and U.S. military-centered prostitution. This amnesia also negates these novels' representational attempts to shed light on the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans because the U.S. involvement in the former's issue and the racialized gendered objectification and dis/enfranchisement of the latter are all parts of U.S. Cold War effort and policies. Moreover, the chronologization of the novels according to their temporal settings indicates that this negation is gradually exacerbated. This gradual exacerbation is intertextually represented as unquestioning Korean/Asian American issues, which is reminiscent of the U.S. anticommunist policy called multiracial democracy, and the U.S. Cold War imperialist feminist rehistoricization of South Korean history, which reminds a reader of domestic containment, another foreign policy of U.S.-led anticommunism. Thus, returning and responding to Chuh's previous question of "how subjects of history are constructed and toward what ends" in Korean American novels of comfort women, I would argue that their representational methods have constructed [American Cold War nationalist] subjects of the 'comfort women' history ("Discomforting Knowledge" 12). Given the ever-increasing Asian Hate in the United States and the wide spectrum of Asian American subjectivities, from American to diasporic, transnational, or else, it would be inappropriate to say this construction reinforces Korean/Asian American national belonging on the realpolitik. However, it seems to do so at least in terms of ideology as these novels' inter/textual assimilationist representations of comfort women increase Asian "American" legibility.

This dissertation is my own response to and continuation of Yoneyama, Chuh, and Kang's critically astute problematization of U.S. Cold War imperialist representations of comfort women in Korean American literary and cultural productions, which was initiated almost two decades ago. Since then, there has remained a scarcity of effort following these critics', and I assume that this scarcity has something to do with Asian Americanists' preoccupation with the urgency of resolving the centuries-long racialized gendered objectification of and practices against Asian Americans. I also agree with this urgency and believe that my attempt to denationalize the American nationalist representations of comfort women in Korean American novels participates in their effort for resolution first because it revisits how insidious and still ongoing U.S. Cold War imperialism's Asiatic gendered racialization is. In addition, my denationalizing attempt also clarifies the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans, which these novels have unsuccessfully done, and reassures a reader of U.S. Cold War imperialism's formidable expansiveness and extensiveness. Due to these never-ceasing formidable scopes and effects of this ideology, the interdisciplinary approach that encompasses Korean/Asian American, American, Korean/Asian, and postcolonial studies is more necessary than ever, and my dissertation takes this approach following other insightful Asian Americanist critics' precedents.

The following chapters are in order of the novels' temporal settings that embody not only that the more they forget the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans, the more their metonymic legibility as American increases. Their order also draws a trajectory of U.S. Cold War imperialism that returns to contain

the 'comfort women' issue through the traveling, assimilationist memories. In addition, I categorize the chapters into three parts to implicate again these double discursive movements through the disappearing slash in their titles.

To begin with, Part I, "Claiming Korea(n)/America," consists of Chapter 1, "Anticommunist Nationalizing 'Comfort Women' through Multiracial Democracy in Therese Park's *A Gift of the Emperor*." As the part's title indicates, the novel's propagandistic denouement is ironically a strong indicator of its vivid remembering of the 'comfort women' issue as a Cold War issue. My critique of the novel focuses on this denouement, in which the novel's anti-ethnic nationalist revisional representation of South Korean anticommunism assimilates into a U.S. anticommunist foreign policy called multiracial democracy. It is then followed by a comparison between the novel and other Korean American counterparts to investigate their intertextual representation of this policy to show anticommunism as the political unconscious of Korean American novels of comfort women.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 constitute Part II, "Claiming Korean America." As the absence of the intervening slash suggests, the novels I deal with in this part do not metonymize Korean American subjects' affective relationship with Korea but attempt to increase Korean "American" legibility through their selective remembering and forgetting memories of the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans. Chapter 2, "Americanizing 'Comfort Women' through the Homogenization of Nationalisms in Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life*," conjures up Cold War memories of comfort women repressed by the novel's homogenization, the

memories about the U.S. Cold War continuation of the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery and its military-centered prostitution. I compare the novel's disremembering of these memories with its remembering of the Cold War origin of the model minority myth. This comparison reveals that despite the latter, the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans begins to be decontextualized in the novel. To debunk this decontextualization, I elaborate on this continuation with emphasis on the U.S. inheritance of Japan's colonial technologies of producing Korean collaborators and juxtapose it with the myth to show them as policies of the U.S. Cold War global regime.

I continue to discuss how this decontextualization is exacerbated in Chapter 3, "Korean/Americanizing 'Comfort Women' through Transparent Translation in Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman*." Cold War memories are almost completely forgotten in the novel, and thus the relatability between comfort women and Korean American women is represented as their ethnic and gender affinities. Then, the novel optimistically represents Beccah's transparent translation of her comfort woman m/other's shamanistic historicization, through which the latter is expected to resonate in American society. My critique intervenes in this hopeful representation to clarify its Orientalist logic, which opposes her comfort woman m/other's Korean otherness with Beccah's self-/representational ability exemplified as transparent translation, which is the prerequisite of American national subjecthood as an implied proper subject of law. My intervention continues to show this logic also Orientalizes Beccah as her transparent translation dialectically indicates the same kind of otherness in Beccah, too.

I locate Chapter 4, “Cold War Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’ through the Universalization of Women’s Oppression in Mary Lynn Bracht’s *White Chrysanthemum*,” in Part III, “Claiming Korea.” I analyze the novel as a metaphor for a U.S. anticommunist policy called domestic containment. This analysis begins with an examination of how the novel’s universalization of women’s oppression decontextualizes the U.S. involvement in and the resultant interconnectedness between the ‘comfort women’ issue and the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Against this decontextualization, I revive memories of the U.S. military’s hiring of former pro-Japanese Korean soldiers of Japan’s Imperial Army for its red hunt, which allowed the repetition of the same colonial mentality as Korean collaborators with the Army’s procurement of comfort women in the Incident. Lastly, I discuss how the novel represents women’s economic empowerment in the domestic realm as emancipation from women’s universal oppression and why this representation metaphorizes domestic containment. Since this policy was also implemented in the United States, the Cold War relatability between comfort women and Korean/Asian Americans expands to include Americans, too.

Chapter 1
Anticommunist Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’
through Multiracial Democracy
in Therese Park’s *A Gift of the Emperor*

There are up to date four Korean American novels about the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual slavery during World War II (the ‘comfort women’ issue). In contrast to the two highly acclaimed counterparts, Nora Okja Keller’s *Comfort Woman* (1997) and Chang-rae Lee’s *A Gesture Life* (1999), Therese Park’s *A Gift of the Emperor* (1997), along with Mary Lynn Bracht’s *White Chrysanthemum* (2018), has rarely received any critical attention due to its politically conservative vision, let alone the plain use of a figurative language. Probably there are only two brief critiques of *A Gift of the Emperor* in Asian American scholarly writings, and one of them is Kandice Chuh’s. She states only one sentence that problematizes the novel’s thematization of a romantic relationship between a Korean comfort woman and a Japanese deserter: “[T]he deployment of ‘comfort women’ brings into sharp relief the inadequacy of such broad designations as ‘Asian America’ to signify, for example, the challenges to panethnic identification raised by an Asian Americanist construction of a World War II history that simultaneously recognizes ‘comfort women’ and Japanese American internment” (“Guest Editor’s Introduction” 3-4). Before demonstrating my response to her critique, which is one of the purposes of this chapter, I first point out the embarrassment underlying her statement. To

the extent of not bothering to mention the novel's title, she seems quite embarrassed by its romanticization of a comfort woman's relationship with a Japanese soldier that intends to propagandize the first South Korean president Syngman Rhee's pro-American anticommunist fascist regime.

Despite Chuh's embarrassment, and although *A Gift of the Emperor* is an extreme case, this thematization is a national(ist) leitmotif in the transpacific literary production of comfort women. For example, Tamura Taijiro's¹ two novels, *Shunpu-den*² (1947) and *Inago*³ (1965), justify Japan's colonial rule of Korea "by investing these [Korean comfort] women with a fictional freedom and agency" to love their Japanese rapists (Choe 108). In contrast, the Korean novel, *Fly upon Golden Wings*⁴ (2006) by Ko Hye-jöng, portrays a love story between a Korean comfort woman Madangsuni and a Japanese soldier Soseki, who later turns out to be a Korean conscript and her older brother. Their incest romance symbolically accuses the Japanese total war regime of its colonial mobilization of Korean women and men. Despite such a difference, these Korean and Japanese novels hardly depict anything related to the U.S. military's involvement in Japan's sexual war crimes, such as its exoneration of them during the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (1946-1949) on condition of taking over Japanese war technologies in favor of its Cold War effort.

¹ In Japanese: 田村泰次郎

² The English title is *Story of a Prostitute*, and the Japanese one is 春婦伝.

³ The English title is *Lobust* and 蝗 in Japanese.

⁴ In Korean: 날아라 금빛 날개를 타고 (Narara Kumbich' nalgaerül t'ago)

The same theme is also found in Korean American novels but as counterexamples that depict Japanese soldiers' victimization of Korean comfort women in their seemingly romantic relationships. For example, in *A Gesture Life*, the Korean ethnic protagonist Hata, as a "Japanese" soldier, rapes and dismembers a comfort woman Kkutaeh and later repeats similar abuse, as a "Japanese American," against a Korean military sex worker's daughter Sunny. By doing so, he attempts to be acknowledged as a national subject. However, the more he assimilates into Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms, the more his national belonging is denied by their patriarchal and ethnic nationalist logic. Similarly, *White Chrysanthemum* juxtaposes a Japanese deserter Morimoto's coercion of marriage against a comfort woman Hana in WWII and that of a South Korean anticommunist police officer HyunMo against Hana's sister Emi during the Jeju 4.3 (April 3) Incident (1948-1949), or the U.S. military-sponsored red hunt. Through this juxtaposition, the novel also highlights how identical Japanese colonial and South Korean anticommunist patriarchies are. Unfortunately, along with the Korean and Japanese novels mentioned above, these two Korean American novels assimilate into American nationalism as their overemphasis on the three nation-states' shared national ideologies underestimates the U.S. postwar involvement in Japan's military sexual slavery.

These Korean, Japanese, and Korean American novels share characteristics, the first of which is that the theme of a comfort woman's romantic relationship with a Japanese soldier is mobilized when a nation is in crisis and/or question, such as the justification of historical wrongdoing, national victimization by a colonial rule, ethnic minorities' disavowed national belonging, and women's continued oppression under the

neo/colonial occupation. In addition, all these novels hardly delve into the U.S. postwar involvement in Japan's military sexual slavery. Amid this amnesia, when Korean postcolonial representations of the 'comfort women' issue are met with Japanese imperialist and Korean American nationalist representations thereof, this encounter not only transforms the issue into an arena of nationalist clashes between South Korea, Japan, and Korean/Asian America. It also risks reinforcing a nation-state as a unit of identification and/or differentiation.

Alongside the novels mentioned above, *A Gift of the Emperor* also thematizes a romantic relationship between a Korean comfort woman Soon-ah and a Japanese soldier Sadanu Izumi. However, the novel's initial intention of this thematization, which is to critically represent the ethnic/racial essentialist logic of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms, is overshadowed by its propagandistic denouement. As it attempts to resolve the trilateral clashes by representing the panethnic political collectivity of Korean, Japanese, and Korean/Japanese American subjects as members of nation-states from the U.S.-led anticommunist bloc, it necessarily appropriates the 'comfort women' issue to propagandize U.S. global Cold War regime. Needless to say, the novel's propagandization exacerbates the amnesia of U.S. Cold War involvement in the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery in the transpacific literary production of comfort women.

The novel consists of two parts. The first part focuses on Soon-ah and other Korean comfort women's arduous survival against Japanese soldiers' brutal sexual violence at a comfort station (rape camp). The other one depicts Soon-ah and a Japanese soldier Sadamu's love affair. At first, she hesitates to accept his affection due to the

Korea-Japan antagonism but falls in love with him as he persuades her that one's autonomy and freedom in love exceeds nationality. As Sadamu becomes suspected of a pro-American and anti-Japanese attitude, he and Soon-ah desert together to an uninhabited island in the Pacific Archipelagos. On the island, they witness the Japanese Imperial Army's barbaric atrocities against American soldiers and even its soldiers. They soon meet Robert Tanaka, a Japanese American Nisei soldier-survivor, and all three form a friendship, through which Soon-ah learns about the racial oppression of Japanese Americans, such as the internment and the forced allegiance through soldiering. All three are finally rescued by the U.S. Navy. Sadamu decides to serve in the U.S. military to prove his new loyalty to the United States, but Soon-ah could not understand his decision to serve his nation's enemy. After the separation from him, she disembarks in Hawai'i. She attempts to settle down on a plantation where many Korean immigrants are working but leaves there not long before due to her disappointment at their poverty-stricken lives and some male laborers' attempts to rape her. She instead stays in a refugee shelter. Soon, she hears of Japan's defeat in WWII and the capitalist south-communist north division in Korea following its independence and decides to return to Korea. Before the departure, she meets Robert again, who is now severely wounded and suffers from hatred for the Axis powers, and he tells her Sadamu's death on the battlefield. On a repatriation ship, she is impressed by the leadership of Syngman Rhee's secretary, Mr. Lee, who acknowledges as Korean a baby born between a Korean comfort woman and a Japanese soldier and tries to win over communist Korean passengers. She finally comes home but

finds out about her brother's membership in a communist youth association. She makes him withdraw from it and persuades her family to migrate to the capitalist south.

I call for a newly invested, scholarly interest in the novel's embarrassingly propagandistic denouement for two reasons. On the one hand, the novel critically depicts American nationalism's racial oppression of Japanese Americans. At this point, it needs to remind us of the U.S. law's postulation of Whiteness as the precondition for property ownership in the early twentieth century and the U.S. government's economic disenfranchisement of Japanese Americans for the reason of their "enemy" race during WWII. These historical circumstances indicate American nationalism's alignment of Whiteness-property ownership-citizenship. In the denouement, the novel revises the ethnic nationalist and anti-Japanese logic of Syngman Rhee's anticommunist nationalism called *Ilmin chuŭi* (One Peoplism) by depicting his secretary's acknowledgment of a baby born between a comfort woman and a Japanese soldier as Korean. Simply put, the novel does anti-ethnic/racial essentialist anticommunist representations of South Korean and American nationalisms. Are they not reminiscent of a postwar U.S. anticommunist foreign policy called multiracial democracy, in which the "greater, if conditional, integration for Asian Americans . . . [was] mandated . . . as the United States sought leadership of the 'free' capitalist world and competed with Soviet-led communism for the affiliation and cooperation of emerging, postcolonial Third World nations" (Hsu 1)? Moreover, when *A Gift of the Emperor* is juxtaposed with other Korean American novels of comfort women, all of them represent that the later an era is set, the more multiracial democracy is implemented; the higher the upward mobility of comfort women and other

Korean and Korean American characters' becomes, the more they become the national subjects of the nation-states of the U.S.-led capitalist bloc; consequently, the more the memories of the U.S. Cold War involvement in the 'comfort women' issue are contained, reminding us of another U.S. anticommunist policy called "domestic containment." Then, I return to Chuh's previous critique, slightly revise it by adding the intervening slash to it, and ask: under the U.S. global Cold War regime, what would "the challenges to [Asian/American] panethnic [anticommunist] identification" arise from these novels in transpacific literary production of comfort women ("Guest Editor's Introduction" 4)? What would this slash imply, given the ironical coexistence of panethnic identification and the nationalist clashes between South Korea, Japan, and the United States in the production? By answering these questions, I hope to show the novel's foundational value in an investigation of the Cold War politics of national belonging in Korean American novels of comfort women, the value which has been less visible due to its propagandistic denouement.

Among various Asianist, Asian Americanist, and Americanist scholarships upon which my critique of *A Gift of the Emperor* is founded, I want to emphasize in particular David L. Eng and Shinhee Han's, Takashi Fujitani's, and Madeline Y. Hsu's discussions. On the one hand, I link the first two discussions of Eng and Han's and Fujitani's to examine the racial essentialist logic of American capitalist nationalism. For discussing the novel's revisional representation of Rhee's One Peoplism, which serves as a justification for U.S.-led anticommunism, I resort to Hsu's analysis of multiracial

democracy, the U.S. anticommunist policy that has propagandized the Asia-U.S. political collectivity in excess of racial and ethnic differences since the 1950s.

Based on *A Gift of the Emperor's* emphatic representation of the Cold War alliance between South Korea and the United States, I situate this chapter in Part I, "Claiming Korea(n)/America," to metonymize a Korean female immigrant's assimilationist attempt to claim the double national belonging to both nation-states. In contrast, *A Gesture Life* and *Comfort Woman* in Part II, "Claiming Korean America," focus on Korean American national belonging to the United States, albeit taking opposite approaches. *A Gesture Life* maintains a pessimistic perspective about a Korean male diasporic subject's national belonging by highlighting American cultural nationalism, which, despite its ostensible celebration of multiculturalism, is no less ethnic nationalist than Korean ethnic and Japanese colonial nationalisms. *Comfort Woman* optimistically represents multicultural America, where a Korean American female subject's inheritance of her comfort woman mother's Koreanness does not risk her American national belonging. In the last part, "Claiming Korea," *White Chrysanthemum* does not set a Korean American character who grapples with his/her Americanness by the detour through the 'comfort women' issue. This un-setting could be read as a latter-generation Korean American female subject's new attachment to South Korea and the resultant, newly invested "Korean" American female subjectivity.

The rest of this chapter consists of two parts. I first closely read the novel's representation of multiracial democracy in Soon-ah's romantic relationship with Sadamu. Then, I critique how this representation assimilates into U.S.-led anticommunism. My

critique begins by examining American nationalism's alignment of Whiteness-property ownership-citizenship that is hinted at in the novel's depiction of U.S. racial oppression of Sadamu and other Japanese/Asian American characters. In this examination, I first trace back to the U.S. judicial system's postulation of Whiteness as the prerequisite for property ownership in the early twentieth century to highlight American nationalism's racial essentialist logic. I also compare the U.S. and Japanese mobilizations of their ethnic and colonial soldiers not only because it shows how this logic was imposed upon Japanese Americans during WWII. It also indicates why the U.S. mobilization signals the beginning of multiracial democracy, which the novel represents through its anti-ethnic/racial nationalist depiction of Rhee's ethnic nationalist anticommunism. Then, I investigate how this revisional representation discursively coincides with the anticommunist logic of a U.S. foreign policy called multiracial democracy, which (restrictively) permitted the inclusion and enfranchisement of Asian Americans to propagandize the Asia-U.S. Cold War alliance in excess of racial and ethnic differences against the Soviet Union. In the last discussion, I conduct another comparison between *A Gift of the Emperor* and other Korean American novels of comfort women to shed light on these novels' intertextual representation of Asian and Asian American panethnic anticommunist identification. I then juxtapose this identification with the national differentiation between South Korea, Japan, and the United States in the transpacific literary production of comfort women. By doing so, I conclude that anticommunism is the political unconscious of the Korean American novels, which reinforces not only the

U.S. hegemonic Cold War alliance with South Korea and Japan but also a nation-state as an unyielding unit of identification/differentiation.

Multiracial Democracy

Soon-ah falls in love with Sadamu, who, unlike other Japanese soldiers, is critical of Japan's "madness" in the Pacific, does not use service at a comfort station, and is sympathetic to Korean conscripts and comfort women (*GE* 83). She at first hesitates to accept his affection due to his Japanese ethnicity and the antagonism between Korea and Japan, but Sadamu persuades her by saying that "[m]y nationality doesn't mean anything to me" (*GE* 104). He even candidly expresses his anti-Japanese perspective by comparing brainwashed Japanese soldiers, who "can fight viciously as long as there's a commander ordering them, but . . . don't know how to make their own choices," and an American POW, who "didn't need an order . . . [and] was freely living out the last moment of his life . . . in front of his killer" (*GE* 126).

As he soon becomes suspected of disloyalty due to his attitude as a "Chosenjins-lover" and pro-American perspective, he and Soon-ah desert together and hide on an uninhabited island in the Pacific Archipelagos (*GE* 123). On the island, they witnessed the aftermath of Japanese colonial nationalism's war crimes against American soldiers, whose dead "flesh[es] [are scattered] here and there . . . losing [their] dignity" as human beings (*GE* 146). Even Japanese soldiers could not avoid its atrocities as they were so brainwashed by it that they did not "know how to make their own choices" against it and

“committed hara-kiri,” a suicide to refuse surrender to an enemy, “[f]or the Emperor” in the end (*GE* 126, 149, 148).

They soon meet Robert Tanaka, a Japanese American Nisei soldier-survivor of a shipwreck. All three become friends, and from Sadamu and Robert’s conversations, Soon-ah learns about not only the internment of and the hostile racism against Japanese Americans during Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor. According to Robert, during the invasion, “[e]very student who had Japanese blood in his or her veins was the target of the white students’ hostility,” and “U.S. Military Police moved his family to a Relocation Camp” (*GE* 163). He also tells her that Japanese American soldiers, including himself, have tried “to show they too were American citizens” by “fighting for their adoptive country—America” (*GE* 163, 212). However, their arduous effort to claim their national belonging to the United States is frustrated by the then profound anti-Japanese racism, as he says: “[B]ut to my fellow Americans, I’ll never be one of their own no matter how much I love my country or how hard I work to be a good American citizen. I know very little about Japan, but my fellow Americans see my yellow skin and think I’m their enemy” (*GE* 163).

After some time, Soon-ah, Sadamu, and Robert are finally rescued by the U.S. Navy. Its authorities investigated Soon-ah and Sadamu and found the propagandistic news articles he wrote before the conscription. Accordingly, to prove his innocence that he is not a spy and to prove his new allegiance to the United States, he appeals to General MacArthur for permission to serve in the U.S. Naval Intelligence in the letter: “[w]ould you grant me a chance to serve mankind before I die so that my soul will be comforted?

I'll die in joy if I can halt this monstrous war which already killed millions of human lives . . . to serve one man's [the Japanese emperor's] devious dream of destroying the world" (*GE* 196). Although Soon-ah could not understand his decision to serve in another country's military, she should accept his decision. Sadamu is sent to the Philippines, and she disembarks in Hawai'i. Robert also goes back to the frontline.

Soon-ah goes to a plantation, where many Korean indentured laborers work, to find a job and settle down among other Korean immigrants. However, she leaves there soon because of not only some laborers' attempts to rape her but also a poverty-stricken life at the plantation. She returns to a detention camp and soon moves into a refugee shelter called "The Shepherd's Home," which was operated by "Father Shimono [who] was also the chaplain of Nisei soldiers," and "[m]ost of [whose] residents there were older Japanese-Americans who had lost their homes and families at the time of Pearl Harbor" (*GE* 212).

While traveling between two places, she encounters Korean conscripts of the Japanese Imperial Army, who "looked thin and pale as though they had been starving all their lives," and feels anger at "[t]he fate of those born in a country so poor and so powerless," and she finds that one of them was her brother, Wook (*GE* 213, 215). Soon, Soon-ah receives a letter from Sadamu, and she has an illusion that "[she] heard Sadamu's voice calling me in the wind" (*GE* 220). She thinks that "[b]oth Sadamu and Wook shared the same fate: Sadamu was fighting for Americans just as Wook had been for Japanese. They were victims of the powerful . . . *And what about you? a voice said. You too are a victim, chained here in Hawaii. You don't know when you'll be released*"

(*GE* 220, italics original). She feels “a sudden urge to break loose from all the invisible chains and ropes and swim toward the horizon to find Sadamu . . . and walk[s] into the water” (*GE* 220). Fortunately, Father Shimono finds and rescues her, and she is hospitalized.

Finally, WWII ended with the Japanese emperor Hirohito’s surrender on August 15, 1945, and Soon-ah and other Koreans in Hawai‘i received “a letter from the immigration office,” which ordered that “[a]ll Koreans residing in Honolulu must attend the meeting . . . [to] make a list of people returning to Korea” (*GE* 229). At the meeting, she meets Syngman Rhee’s secretary called Dong Kiu Lee, who explains to the audience the national division that “[South] Korea will be under the US military government . . . [while] the Soviet Union . . . crossed the Tuman River and occupied . . . major cities in the North” (*GE* 231). As shock and anxiety spread among people, he tries to relieve them by saying that “[t]here’s no need to worry . . . We don’t have the danger of losing our country to the Russians as we did to the Japanese . . . We are forever grateful to the United States for helping us be liberated from Japan” (*GE* 231). As he finds out that Soon-ah speaks decent English, he suggests that she should work with him because Rhee’s government will “need many good English-speaking people” (*GE* 234). Soon-ah also reunites Haruko, another Korean comfort woman she worked with at a comfort station, and learns from her about the brutal ordeal and tragic deaths of other comfort women sent to the frontline soon after her escape with Sadamu.

Before repatriation to Korea, Soon-ah hears from Father Shimono that Robert is seriously wounded, and she visits him in a hospital. He lost one of his legs and suffers

from profound hatred for the Axis powers: “[E]very time I look at it [his amputated leg], I think . . . [m]aking Japan and Germany surrender to the Allies is the same thing as amputating a bad leg . . . The most difficult thing for me to deal with is that those who wronged me and all mankind are unable to apologize for what they did” (*GE* 244-45). He also tells her that Sadamu’s tragic death was caused by two pro-Japanese Filipino collaborators, who deceived him into bringing him to a place where Japanese soldiers were hiding to capture him, and Sadamu committed suicide by “hanging [himself] from a tree” to avoid the capture (*GE* 246). Soon-ah then realizes that she has already anticipated his death, although without awareness, through the previous illusion about him.

On board a repatriation ship to Korea, the passengers talk about the national division between the capitalist south and communist north, during which “more than fifty political organizations mushroomed . . . all wanting to rule the country. Already several leaders have been assassinated by their rivals” (*GE* 248). They are concerned about the Soviet soldiers’ war crimes, who “raped women and stole gold watches from people on the street,” and while listening to their conversations, Soon-ah thinks that “the Russians have [not] been a lesser evil than the Japanese” and decides to “find a way to move to the south . . . [because] it would be safer in the south” (*GE* 249, 248). She then starts to anxiously wonder, “how long would it take for Koreans to develop their own identity as an independent people after years of being Japan’s colony? . . . Liberation . . . would demand that we know who were and what goals we had” (*GE* 251).

On the last day on the ship, one comfort woman gives birth to a baby, whose father is assumed as a Japanese soldier. As “a man grunted loudly in a northern accent,”

“[t]he noises of the crowd shifted to an angry mutter. People turned and whispered to one another . . . [that] ‘[w]ho wants a Japanese baby in our new country?’” (*GE* 252). Mr. Lee, Syngman Rhee’s secretary, suddenly appears “as if he were Moses” (*GE* 253). He tries to appease people’s anti-Japanism, acknowledges the child as Korean by saying that “[i]t’s our privilege to witness the birth of a new life when our new country is about to be born,” and asks Soon-ah to take care of the mother and child (*GE* 254). Soon, conflicts between communist and capitalist passengers take place, and as one communist passenger argues, “[c]ommunism is for people like us, laborers and working class people,” the other capitalist asserts that it “will ruin our country” (*GE* 254). Mr. Lee suggests that they could “talk peacefully instead of yelling and shouting . . . [and] mold our future together without arguing” (*GE* 255). That night, while looking at Mr. Lee’s anti-ethnic nationalist leadership again that starkly contrasts Korean male passengers’ ethnic nationalist stigmatization of a comfort woman and her bi-ethnic baby, Soon-ah feels patriotism, a sense of liberation, and hope: “[i]t seemed he was asking me to love our country, take care of it, and enjoy living in it. Or . . . to be reborn again in our liberated land, forgetting my past as a comfort woman” (*GE* 255).

Soon-ah finally comes home to the northern part of the Korean peninsula. However, she finds out that her younger brother, Chin Soo, is “the leader of the Youth League, the Little Red Army,” and “hunted for the Japanese after liberation” (*GE* 257). She is so shocked by how violent the Army is, which “shouldn’t have used children like [him] to hunt for the Japanese,” and urges him to withdraw from it (*GE* 258). The novel then ends with the last scene, in which she persuades her family to migrate to the

capitalist south in the hope of a politically free and economically better life under Syngman Rhee's regime.

Anticommunist Nationalizing 'Comfort Women'

The rest of this chapter critiques how the novel's representation of multiracial democracy assimilates into U.S.-led anticommunism. My critique begins with examining American nationalism's alignment of Whiteness-property ownership-citizenship, against which the novel representationally claims multiracial democracy through its revisional depiction of Rhee's ethnic nationalist anticommunism. The historical formation of this alignment is traced back to U.S. chattel slavery in the sixteenth century. In contrast to the conventional idea that race relations were based on the dichotomy between White subjectification and Black objectification, this slavery reveals that Black objectification has been in tension with the fact that a slave was not entirely an object (commodity) but an object with subjectivity. The simultaneous coexistence of objecthood and subjecthood within a slave's personhood has us reconsider that a racial subject is neither exclusively a pure subject nor a pure object but is precisely both at once. However, American liberalism did not accept this coexistence within a human subject. In addition, by forgetting not only African slavery but also other racial wrongdoings such as indigenous dispossession and Asian indentureship, it restrictively defined a human subject only as a White (male) subject with an undefeatable agency. Such a definition shows that race is not a fixed, biological attribute but an ever-shifting and contingent historical process that consists of subjectification and objectification, the process which is called racialization.

However, two fundamental shifts in the concept of property in U.S. jurisprudence in the twentieth century opened up a discursive space to define race not only as a historical process of subjectification/objectification but also as a type of intangible property. According to Eng and Han, the first shift took place in the early twentieth century when jurist Wesley Newcomb Hohfield (1879-1918) challenged the conventional distinction between a subject (owner) and an object (property) (*Racial Melancholia* 13-14). Hohfield instead insisted that property consists of a subject-subject relationship—which is by any means relational at heart. For instance, an owner of land has legal rights to be on it and exclude others from it, suggesting that property consists of a relationship between two subjects mediated by legal modes of inclusion and exclusion. Given a long, U.S. history of racial policies, such as Black-White segregation and antimiscegenation laws, it is obvious that race has been a major term by which a subject-subject relationship on a property is mediated and negotiated.

The second shift occurred in 1992 when Cheryl I. Harris published her article “Whiteness as Property,” exploring the trajectory of Whiteness becoming a property produced and ratified by U.S. law. First, White Americans’ exclusive possession of property and property rights were created from the objectification of Black people as commodities and the dispossession of Native American peoples. In other words, their exclusive possession of the property and the relevant rights was premised on racial dominion, and the systems of segregation and their exclusive dominance over properties and property rights were simultaneously operated. Put otherwise, Whiteness was a conceptual nucleus of a property right, and throughout the periods of conquest,

enslavement, dis/possession, and dis/enfranchisement, it was consolidated as a kind of status property, based on which rights, powers, and immunities were ratified, legitimated, and protected. In this sense, it can be argued first that Whiteness was the nucleus of a property right and property itself. It is also plausible to assert that American nationalism aligned Whiteness with property ownership and citizenship, given the U.S. history of Asian American disenfranchisement—from immigration exclusion and quotas, antimiscegenation laws to other policies that barred Asian immigrants and Asian Americans from full participation in and belonging to American society.

Drawing upon Takashi Fujitani's and Kandice Chuh's discussions, the comparison between the Japanese and U.S. mobilizations of their colonial and ethnic soldiers during WWII helps to see how this alignment was operated against Japanese Americans during WWII. *A Gift of the Emperor* also allows this comparison through its juxtaposed depictions of Soon-ah's panethnic, affective relationship with Sadamu and Robert and her encounter with Korean conscripts of Japan's Imperial Army in a detention camp. Both empires ran total war regimes against each other during the era and "witnessed the steady exhaustion of their own racially exclusivist pools of civilian and military labor" (Fujitani 10). They had to seek to maximize every available human resource and thus formally denounced racism to gain support and cooperation from and mobilize colonial and ethnic subjects. In addition, this denouncement was also necessary to "mobilize 'allies of color' to win the war," "to gain their support for the longer-term goal of establishing postwar global, or at least regional, hegemony," and "to further its political and economic interests throughout the non-white world" (Fujitani 11).

However, Japan and the United States were the opposite in enfranchising their colonial and ethnic soldiers. In Japan's case, although the pure Yamato race's discourse still maintained its cultural and political influence, it was no more possible for the government to "simply exclude them [Koreans] from the national community" due to "the need for them to cooperate and be included in the war effort" (Fujitani 16). The Japanese government thus propagandized the discourse of "'the common ancestry of Japanese and Koreans' . . . alongside humanistic universalism to disavow differences within the nation and among allies" and enfranchised Koreans (Fujitani 26). For example, it officially promoted the intermarriage of Koreans and metropolitan Japanese. It also expanded the right to vote in Koreans, and the number of Korean voters in Japan increased from "9.3 percent . . . in the 1928 election, as compared to 20 percent of the metropolitan Japanese" to "21 percent . . . in the 1930 Lower House election [who] cast their votes in hangul" (Fujitani 24). Even a Korean candidate called "Pak Ch'ung-gŭm—who, we will see, was an active proponent of opening military service to Koreans—was elected to the Diet twice, once in 1932 and again in 1937" (Fujitani 24).

In contrast, the U.S. government was not able to deploy the same strategy of "highlighting racial contiguity with the 'yellow and brown peoples' . . . precisely because Western discourses on race had already naturalized the "races of man" as almost fixed categories" (Fujitani 26). Accordingly, it was caught in its own contradiction. On the one hand, according to Kandice Chuh, the government adhered to "a tradition of enmity against Asian-raced populations" "by creating 'Asians' as different from 'Americans[,] . . . ineffably foreign[,] and inassimilable to America" (*Imagine Otherwise*

63, 59). It also did not discard the judicial affirmation of “the whiteness of America,” such as “the 1790 Naturalization Act that reserved naturalized citizenship to ‘whites’ and the legality of various race-based immigration exclusion acts and anti-miscegenation laws” (Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise* 63, 68). The U.S. history of Asian adversary reached its most intense point when the government incarcerated approximately 112,000 Japanese Americans from March to August in 1942 after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941 in the name of the Japanese as “an enemy race” (Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise* 64).

Simultaneously, the U.S. government also had to show a “sincere” gesture of disavowing racism to mobilize the non-White world against Japan, which was getting “stronger through policies of inclusion and denunciations of racist discrimination” (Fujitani 10). Japanese American internment accordingly “became an extreme embarrassment,” and “the government’s handling of this minority became one of the nation’s most sensitive and conspicuous barometers of the sincerity of its disavowal of racism” (Fujitani 19). Under this situation, while operating internment camps, which continued even after WWII, the U.S. government mobilized Japanese Americans not only to meet the massive demand for military labor. Its mobilization also aimed to “display loyal Japanese Americans who . . . truly believe in and embody the American principles of freedom and the equality of all,” as well as American liberalism’s promise that “the ambiguously nationalized others can rehabilitate themselves as legitimate citizen-subjects” (Fujitani 19; Yoneyama, “Traveling Memories” 68).

This mobilization resulted in Japanese Americans’ assimilation and nationalization through economic enfranchisement, all of which led to the reconfiguration

of American nationalism's alignment of Whiteness-property ownership-citizenship. Lisa Yoneyama explains such a discursive process by pointing out that "Japanese Americans . . . were forced to choose their wartime allegiance, the disavowal of ties and loyalties with Japan at some point in their public lives, and assimilation to white, middle-class lifestyles and domesticity, [all of which] ha[ve] been a prerequisite for full, first-class cultural citizenship" ("Traveling Memories" 68-69). However, in comparison with "the nationalization of Koreans as Japanese came to an abrupt halt with Japan's defeat" in WWII, the assimilation, nationalization, and reconfiguration mentioned above continued in the postwar era (Fujitani 31). Such a continuation is depicted in the protagonist Ichiro's postwar retrospection in John Okada's *No-No Boy* (1957): "But Ichiro remembers as well that . . . another thousand chose to fight for the right to continue to be American because homes and cars and money could be regained but only if they first regained their rights as citizens, and that was everything" (34).

In contrast, *A Gift of the Emperor* does not depict Japanese Americans' postwar, economic enfranchisement. It instead emphatically represents how legitimately American Sadamu and Robert are through its depictions of their assimilation to "the nation's official Cold War history—that is, the dominant memory of the Second World War" (Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories" 69). For instance, even before he immigrated to the United States, Sadamu assimilated into American nationalism. He compares Japanese soldiers, who "don't know how to make their own choices," with an American POW, who "[i]s freely living . . . in front of his killer" (*GE* 126). His comparison is reminiscent of American liberalism's definition of a human subject as a White male subject with an

undefeatable agency, according to which the former is less human than the latter. Likewise, he considers Japanese nationalism less human than the American counterpart because of not only its brutal war crimes against American soldiers but also its atrocious violation of their soldiers' agency by ordering them to "commit[] hara-kiri," a suicidal refusal of surrender (*GE* 149). Sadamu has a strong conviction in the U.S. righteous war against Japan, "which already killed millions of human lives . . . to serve one man's [the Japanese emperor's] devious dream of destroying the world" (*GE* 196). Robert also shares the same belief with him, and both dedicate themselves to "fighting for their adoptive country—America" and "be[ing] a good American citizen" (*GE* 212, 163). Moreover, Robert blames Japan and Germany for "wrong[ing] [him] and all mankind" and depreciates their surrender and postwar inclusion into the U.S. global Cold War regime as "amputating a bad leg" (*GE* 245). The novel's thematic absence and emphasis critically represent the White racial essentialist logic of American nationalism's alignment of Whiteness-property ownership-citizenship, which disavows Sadamu and Robert's national belonging despite their assimilation and allegiance. Such a critical representation is further emphasized by the novel's depiction of Korean indentured laborers' poverty-stricken lives at the plantation.

Against this alignment, the novel representationally revises *Ilmin chu'ui*, the first South Korean president Syngman Rhee's ethnic nationalist anticommunism, by depicting his secretary's acknowledgment of a Korean comfort woman and a Japanese soldier's baby as Korean in the denouement. Such an abrupt trajectory from a critical representation of American nationalism to the anti-ethnic nationalist one of South Korean

antiracism is reminiscent of a U.S. antiracist policy called multiracial democracy following the end of WWII. According to Madeline Y. Hsu, the postwar Cold War rivalry had the United States trump multiracial democracy as a foreign policy “as [it] sought leadership of the ‘free’ capitalist world and competed with Soviet-led communism for the affiliation and cooperation of emerging, postcolonial Third World nations” (1). This policy also “propelled the dismantling of Asian exclusion in ways that provided greater, if conditional, integration for Asian Americans” as “token gestures of greater acceptance and equity, in the form of changes to immigration and citizenship laws that had previously barred Asians as ‘aliens ineligible to citizenship’” (Hsu 1). The necessity of multiracial democracy was underlined as “[t]he unanticipated ‘loss’ of China to the Communists [in 1949] provoked . . . hard-line commitments to securing beachheads of American dependencies—styled as fellow democracies and capitalist partners—against the sinisterly inexplicable expanding threat of communism” (Hsu 2). Due to this loss, “Chinese Americans . . . faced particular suspicions,” and their “[l]ong-standing practices of immigration through fraudulent statuses—the so-called paper son system—drew close scrutiny as a possible means of entry for communist spies” (Hsu 9). However, the U.S. government “did not replicate its summary incarceration of all West Coast Japanese Americans . . . during World War II” against Chinese Americans probably due to the urgent necessity of implementing multiracial democracy (Hsu 9).

The novel’s reminiscence of multiracial democracy is further indicated by its depictions of Sadamu and Robert’s assimilation into the American imperialist myth of liberation and rehabilitation of Asian peoples against Japan. As described above in a

discussion on *No-No Boy*, Japanese Americans' allegiance through soldiering against Japan led to creating their middle class and achieving enfranchisement and first-class cultural citizenship in the postwar era. In domestic politics, Japanese Americans' upward mobility was represented as "the nation's model minority . . . [which] was further elaborated in a more multiculturalist (in contrast to assimilationist) direction as a result of the Cold War project of mobilizing minorities for national goals" (Fujitani 31). In the realm of foreign policies, this representation was manipulated to justify "one of America's most powerful claims to have attained equity as a functioning multiracial democracy," thereby being "proved particularly useful in efforts to achieve postcolonial hegemony in the Asia-Pacific" (Hsu 10; Fujitani 31). In this sense, the depictions of Japanese American soldiers' assimilation to American nationalism and the anti-ethnic nationalist revision of South Korean anticommunism in *A Gift of the Emperor* hint at multiracial democracy, through which the Asian and Asian American panethnic anticommunist collectivity has been formed under U.S.-led Cold War regime.

The comparison between *A Gift of the Emperor* and other Korean American novels of comfort women shows that all these novels intertextually represent the gradual formation of this collectivity in conjunction with ever-exacerbated amnesia of its anticommunist rationale. To begin with, in *A Gift of the Emperor*, a comfort woman in the 1940s wishfully anticipates U.S.-led multiracial democracy, through which Asian nation-states and Asian America form the panethnic anticommunist collectivity and "collaborate" with one another against the Soviet Union. *A Gesture Life* subsequently represents how this formation was gradually realized in the United States from the 1960s

to the 1990s. On the one hand, the amnesia mentioned above begins in the novel with Hata's questionable silence about his years in postwar Japan from 1945 to the early 1960s, the period in which Japan was fully economically recuperated as it became a major Cold War ally of the United States against the Soviet Union and China. Simultaneously, the novel hints at the operation of multiracial democracy in the 1960s by depicting the protagonist Hata's encounter with "a Japanese [American] gentleman," who was middle class and "owned a store that sounded much like [his]" at a conference for entrepreneurs (*GL* 20). The anticommunist logic of this racial policy is represented in Hata's relationship with his Blasian adoptive daughter, Sunny, in the 1970s. "This was the period after the Vietnam War, when the young people . . . began to consider the grim and terrible price all involved must have paid," but Hata was rather symptomatic of anticommunist hysteria given his attempt to domesticate her as a middle-class subject in conjunction with his anxious repugnance for colored working-class people (*GL* 146-47). The novel also depicts the Asian and Asian American panethnic anticommunist collectivity in the 1990s, in which Asian transnational entrepreneurs, such as "the Viet people who bought the cleaner's," become prominent actors and compete with Hata and other American counterparts in his middle-class neighborhood's local economy (*GL* 134). In contrast to *A Gift of the Emperor*, *A Gesture Life* attempts to critically represent multiracial democracy and the resultant formation of the Asian/American anticommunist bloc through emphatic depictions of Hata's national unbelonging despite his status as a model minority. However, even this critical representation is not full-fledged due to the novel's selective forgetting of U.S. overseas Cold War violence, e.g. its exoneration of

the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery and establishment of its military-centered prostitution modeled after this slavery, which are major parts of its Cold War effort in Asia.

Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman* (1997) also takes a discursive approach similar to *A Gesture Life*'s. Alongside the latter, the former does not depict U.S.-led anticommunism in South Korea and other Asian nation-states, except for a brief depiction of the immediate outbreak of the Korean War and instead focuses on depicting the comfort woman-protagonist Soon Hyo's upward mobility by herself all alone. She began her immigrant life as an "orphan, having to beg for everything, every scrap of food or whatever" and worked "as [a] fry cook and clean-up girl" in the 1960s (CW 203-04, 3). However, she worked hard and made money "enough for buy em [the house] outright, jus' before dat big Japanee real estate boom" (CW 204). She survived Japanese transnational entrepreneurs' dominance over the U.S. economy and even "set up one special account in your [her daughter's] name" in the 1980s when "the [U.S.] market wen skyrocket" due to the Japanese asset price bubble (CW 204). In the 1990s, Beccah inherited her mother's fortune and Korean cultural legacy, which led to her development into a writing subject on her mother's behalf in the denouement. As such, the United States represented in the novel is a society, in which all political turmoil of the Cold War conflicts is gone, Asian Americans have achieved upward mobility through hard work while competing with Asian entrepreneurs, and their claiming of Asianness no more risks the national unbelonging. The novel's secretion of U.S.-led anticommunism and representation of the

Asian/American panethnic capitalist collectivity indicate that multiracial democracy is more textually implemented in *Comfort Woman* than in *A Gesture Life*.

Surprisingly, *White Chrysanthemum*, the latest Korean American novel of comfort women, sets neither any Asian Americans as characters nor the United States as a spatial background and explicitly depicts the Cold War rivalry in the Korean peninsula. The novel juxtaposes a comfort woman Hana's and her sister Emi's abusive marital lives with a Japanese deserter in Mongolia and an anticommunist police officer in South Korea, respectively, in which both women share struggles for economic and sexual empowerment. Such a juxtaposition represents the 'comfort women' issue as one example of women's universal oppression and thus decontextualizes the neo/colonial entanglement between South Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms, in which the latter manipulates the former two in favor of its Cold War hegemony in Asia. The novel then portrays eighty-something-year-old Emi in 2011, who retrospects her vicarious achievement of her sister's empowerment, which was frustrated by the Sovietization of Mongolia. Her vicarious achievement coincides with and thus allegorizes South Korea's economic development in the contemporary era and is made entirely in her household. All these representational characteristics—from assimilation to U.S. Cold War imperialism to disparagement of the Soviet Union and the containment of any radical aspirations in the domestic realm—are reminiscent of U.S. foreign policy called domestic containment. Within the novel, as a metaphor for the U.S. policy of domestic containment, Emi is represented as a capitalist subject whose economic empowerment allegorizes South Korea's rehabilitation to the U.S.-led capitalist bloc. When Emi is

juxtaposed with Vietnamese transnational entrepreneurs in *A Gesture Life* and the Japanese counterparts in *Comfort Woman*, it becomes clear that *White Chrysanthemum* represents the formation of Asian/American panethnic anticommunist collectivity in Asia, which is otherwise subtly hinted at in those two novels.

A Gift of the Emperor's propagandistic denouement helps to read that the later a temporal setting is, the more Asian and Asian American characters achieve upward mobility, and the more memories of the Cold War disappear. In this sense, *A Gift of the Emperor* has a foundational value in an investigation of anticommunism as the political unconscious in Korean American novels of comfort women. I further call for an invested interest in the novel's such value by drawing upon Malcom Read's reading of Juan Carlos Rodríguez's concept of the ideological unconscious. According to Read, capitalism is so taken for granted that "people are collectively convinced of the truth, as it appears to them, of the human condition, [and] are caught up in social relations that, however 'imaginary,' are objectively 'secreted' . . . [as if] the lord *really* believes he is a lord, just as the free subject *really* believes s/he is a free subject" (83, emphasis original). As such, "displaced by an ideological secretion," capitalism becomes what Juan Carlos Rodríguez calls the "ideological unconscious" of contemporary people (Read 83). Rodríguez's concept is useful to recognize *A Gift of the Emperor*'s foundational value that sheds light on anticommunism as the ideological unconscious in Korean American novels of comfort women. The novel explicitly represents the contingent formation of Asian and Asian American panethnicity through U.S. anticommunist policy called multiracial democracy in the denouement. Its explicit representation helps to see the

gradual displacement of memories of U.S. Cold War wrongdoings and the development of comfort women and other Asian and Asian American characters into middle-class subjects are symptomatic of the secretion of anticommunism in other Korean American novels of comfort women.

Slavoj Žižek also makes the same argument with Rodríguez's. According to Žižek, the Korean American novels' ideological unconscious indicates that they "leave out the resignation at its heart – the acceptance of [anticommunism] as 'the only game in town', the renunciation of any real attempt to overcome the existing [U.S. global anticommunist] regime" (95). Wendy Brown also argues that "the political purchase of contemporary American identity politics would seem to be achieved in part *through* a certain renaturalization of capitalism that can be said to have marked progressive discourse since the 1970s" (60, emphasis original). Then, returning to my previous reformulation of Chuh's problematization, what are "the challenges to [Asian/American] panethnic [anticommunist] identification" arising from these Korean American novels in the transpacific literary production of comfort women ("Guest Editor's Introduction" 4)? One possible answer would be that insofar as they would not question the U.S. formation of this collectivity, they could hardly question how U.S. Cold War imperialism has manipulated the 'comfort women' issue and racial oppression of Asian Americans in its formation. Without this questioning, their attempts to critically represent the ethnic/racial essentialist logic of Asian and American nationalisms against comfort women and Asian Americans would not only end up with assimilation into U.S. Cold War imperialism. As implied by the intervening slash in the "Asian/American panethnic anticommunist

identification,” they also reinforce a nation-state as an unyielding unit of differentiation, which is the shared object of their critical representation of comfort women.

Chapter 2
Americanizing ‘Comfort Women’
through the Homogenization of Nationalisms
in Chang-rae Lee’s *A Gesture Life*

Albeit to different extents in a thematic focus, all Korean American novels of the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual slavery during WWII (the ‘comfort women’ issue) represent a patriarchally constructed ethnic/racial essentialist logic shared by Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American cultural nationalisms. However, what distinguishes Chang-rae Lee’s *A Gesture Life* (1999) from other novels is that the former explicitly depicts how this shared logic has produced pro-Japanese Korean collaborators. For example, Captain Ono, who is the Japanese perpetrator against a Korean comfort woman Kkutaeh, argues the racial superiority of the Japanese to Koreans by pointing out “a Pan-Asian prosperity as captained by our [Japanese] people” (*GL* 268). At the same time, while highlighting Kkutaeh’s racially and ethnically pure aristocratic lineage, he also admits the East Asian racial purity and thus superiority shared by “Chinese and Koreans of special and high character, in fact, of the same bloodlines as the most pure Japanese” (*GL* 268). Similarly, Kkutaeh’s father is a pro-Japanese collaborator who advocates the notion of East Asian racial purity and superiority. As she laments, “[h]e didn’t have any Western novels among his books . . . He always told . . . that we should revere our Asian heritage and protect it from foreign influences, that whether Chinese or

Japanese or Korean we were rooted of a common culture and mind and that we should put aside our differences and work together” (GL 248-49).

Gi-Wook Shin’s discussion on the development of Korean ethnic nationalism helps to examine the discursive characteristics of the novel’s representation of pro-Japanese Korean collaborators, as well as Korean ethnic nationalism in a large context (25-57). Japanese colonialism’s Pan-Asianism “first appeared [in the late 19th century] in Japan and often advocated Japanese leadership in promoting regional solidarity and security . . . with the claim that since Asian people were similar racially and culturally, they could develop a new and distinctive civilization” against Western imperialisms (Shin 32-33). In contrast to Ono’s “later notion of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere [in the 1940s,] . . . early versions of pan-Asianism had a ‘solidarity-oriented, non-dominating conception of Japan’s role in reviving Asia’ . . . [which] attracted Korean intellectuals and reformers” in the early twentieth century such as Kkutaeh’s father (Shin 33). Unfortunately, as Shin points out, the imperialist logic of Japan’s pan-Asianism later not only “resulted in aggressive, imperialist expansion, leading to colonization of . . . Korea” in 1910 but also gave birth to some Korean intellectuals’ ardent collaboration with this colonization in the 1940s (33). On the one hand, Japan’s colonial racism and assimilation policies, such as *Ilhandongjolon*⁵ and *Naesõnilche*⁶, worked as a contingent force that reinforced Korean ethnic nationalism, which asserts Korean people’s “shared blood and ancestry[,] . . . [t]he uniqueness and purity of the Korean nation[,] . . . [and] a

⁵ It is *nissen dōsoron* (日韓同祖論) in Japanese, which means the common ancestry shared by Koreans and Japanese.

⁶ It is *naisen ittai* (内鮮一体) in Japanese, whose meaning is Japan and Korea as one body.

Korea-centered view of East Asia” (54). At the same time, Korean ethnic nationalism “could not escape from using the very logic and language of the [Japanese] pan-Asian [ideology],” and this “‘elective affinity’ . . . was employed as an excuse for Korean collaboration in the later years of colonial rule” (Shin 55). In addition to Japanese colonialism, Shin does not forget to mention “international Socialism in the late 1920s that either denied the uniqueness of the Korean nation or preached class over nation” also further intensified Korean ethnic nationalism (111). Shin’s discussion helps to see first that *A Gesture Life* well reflects the correlation between Japan’s colonial ideology of Pan-Asianism and Korean ethnic nationalism that has led to the latter’s collaboration with the former. However, it also shows the discursive pitfalls of this reflection, in which Korean ethnic and Japanese colonial nationalisms are depicted as inherently homogenous, as if two biological entities are, as it pays little attention to various contingent forces that have resulted in such homogeneity.

This homogenization of nationalisms underlies *A Gesture Life*’s entire plot. The protagonist Hata was born to an underclass ethnic Korean family residing in Japan during Japan’s colonial rule of Korea. From his birth, Hata’s national belonging was denied by Korea, Japan, and the United States due to their shared, middle-class ethnic nationalist patriarchal logic. Accordingly, he lived his entire life under a middle-class ethnic disguise. First, he disguised himself as a middle-class pure Japanese man. While serving in Japan’s Imperial Army during the Asia-Pacific War, he engaged in the rape and dismemberment of Kkutaeh, who was sold to a comfort station by her pro-Japanese Korean collaborator father. After immigrating to the United States, he kept his ethnic

disguise as “Japanese” American and tried to prove his assimilability by becoming a middle-class model minority. He adopted a camp town sex worker’s multiracial daughter Sunny, a transnational adoptee whose multiracial lineage was denied by ethnic nationalist South Korea, and attempted to domesticate her as another model minority. Ironically, the more he assimilated into Japanese and American nationalisms, the more his national belonging to their nation-states, and Korea in the larger context, was thwarted because their shared logic does not legitimize as a national subject comfort women, camp town sex workers, and diasporic subjects like him altogether. Likewise, the novel homogenizes Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American cultural nationalisms by bringing into sharp relief their shared, middle-class ethnic nationalist patriarchal logic, whereby it discursively links the ‘comfort women’ issue with U.S. military-sponsored prostitution and the model minority myth.

A Gesture Life’s homogenization produces ambivalent knowledge, one of which is critical knowledge that sheds light on the transpacific interconnectedness of Cold War violence against comfort women, camp town sex workers, and Korean/Asian Americans. However, this knowledge is overshadowed by its transnational warping of politics because the novel’s selective forgetting—or, strategic remembering—leaves many important issues unaddressed and thus decontextualizes (South) Korea, Japan, and the United States’ hegemonic neo/colonial relationship. What kind of logic underlies its homogenization that highlights Korean patriarchy’s collaboration with Japan’s procurement of comfort women but forgets the latter’s artful colonial technologies that induced and manipulated this collaboration? What is the logic of its homogenization that

remembers Korean ethnic nationalist victimization of comfort women and camp town sex workers but not the U.S. Cold War inheritance of Japan's military sexual slavery to establish its military-centered prostitution? In addition, despite its symbolization of Sunny as U.S. military-sponsored prostitution, why does the novel have only a couple of sentences depicting it while hundreds of pages are dedicated to a full-fledged depiction of Japan's comfort station system and the model minority myth? Without depicting camp town prostitution, how can its interconnectedness with the model minority myth be discerned as U.S. Cold War policies, the former implemented on the Asian front and the latter on the domestic front? My critical approach to *A Gesture Life* begins by questioning its homogenization of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms whose antinationalist approach contradictorily ends up with American nationalist amnesia of the U.S. Cold War inheritance, involvement, and manipulation of Japan's war crimes, or what Lisa Yoneyama calls "the 'Americanization of Japanese war crimes'" ("Traveling Memories" 58).

Asian Americanist critics have not paid attention to the pitfalls of *A Gesture Life's* homogenization of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms. Their uninterest possibly results from their preoccupation with the chance offered by the novel to grapple with the ongoing, urgent issue of Asian American subjects' national belonging, doubly denied by Asian ethnic nationalisms and American cultural nationalism. Whatever the reason, I call for a critical approach to the novel's homogenization of nationalisms to discern its amnesia of the U.S. roles in Japanese-American interimperial violence. This approach is a constitutive part of our Asian American unassimilability—not in terms of a

historical connotation (“unassimilable others”) superimposed by U.S. Cold War imperialism to domesticate us as model-minority subjects but of our collective efforts for envisioning anti-imperialist and anti-racist America.

This chapter is indebted to transnational Asianist and Asian Americanist scholars’ critiques of the U.S. Cold War involvement in the continuity between Japan’s comfort station system and camp town prostitution. Among them, I highlight in particular the Korean sociologists Kim Gwi-ok and Park Jeong-Mi’s analyses of comfort stations run by the ROK military during the Korean War (1950-1953). Their analyses are the very first attempt in and outside the South Korean intellectual scene to publicize the hitherto alleged fact of the ROK military’s comfort stations. My introduction of Kim and Park’s analyses in this chapter helps English-speaking readers’ understanding of the ROK military’s comfort stations as concrete, historical evidence of the U.S. Cold War involvement in the continuity between Japan’s comfort station system and U.S. military-sponsored prostitution. In so doing, this chapter clarifies that the ‘comfort women’ issue is not only a colonial issue between Korea and Japan but also a Cold War issue. It is an urgent issue of the Cold War whose U.S. historical accountability is still not pronounced amid Asians and Asian Americans’ ever-increasing redressing efforts in U.S. juridical, legislative, and civic scenes.

I situate my critique of *A Gesture Life* in the last chapter of Part II, “Claiming Korean America.” Therese Park’s *A Gift of the Emperor* (1997) in Part I, “Claiming Korea(n)/America,” metonymizes a Korean female immigrant’s claim of the double national belonging to South Korea and the United States through an assimilationist

representation of the two nation-states' alliance. In opposition to the protagonist of the novel, those in *A Gesture Life* and Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman* (1997) in Part II regard only the United States as their nation. However, both novels take opposite approaches to Korean American national belonging to the United States. *Comfort Woman* sets a Korean American female subject, whose conviction in the national belonging to multicultural America rather encourages her inheritance of Koreanness from her comfort woman mother. In contrast, *A Gesture Life* represents its pessimistic anticipation of a Korean American male subject's national unbelonging by highlighting American cultural nationalism's racial essentialist logic, which is no less exclusionary than Korean ethnic nationalism and Japanese imperialism. In Part III, "Claiming Korea," I metonymically read *White Chrysanthemum* as a latter-generation Korean American female subject's attempt to newly form an affective relationship with South Korea as it does not question her national belonging to the United States by the detour through the 'comfort women' issue and dedicates itself to representing the nation-state.

The rest of the chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, I do a somewhat lengthy reading of the novel's homogenization of those nationalisms represented in Hata's sexually abusive relationship with Kkutaeh and Sunny. The second part revisits some important memories of the continuous sexual mobilization from comfort women to camp town sex workers to show their neo/colonial complexities in excess of the novel's homogenization. This revisitation begins with the memories of Japan's procurement behind-the-scene that placed responsibility upon pro-Japanese Korean collaborators, a colonial aspect that the novel's homogenization neglects. I then conjure up other

memories forgotten in the novel, those of the U.S. involvement in the continuity between Japan's military sexual slavery and camp town prostitution. Within the memories thereof, I focus particularly on the ROK military's comfort station system during the Korean War, a replica of the Japanese precedent that was established by former Korean officers of the Japanese military who, after the U.S. military's exoneration and recruitment, also collaborated with the establishment of camp town prostitution, or another replica following the first one. These conjured memories supplement the novel's forgetting of the U.S. involvement mentioned above, which shares the Cold War origin with the model minority myth. By doing so, this chapter attempts to revisit memories of the Cold War interconnectedness of the 'comfort women' issue, U.S. military-sponsored prostitution, and the model minority myth that are partially remembered—or forgotten—in the novel's imperialist homogenization of nationalisms.

The Homogenization of Korean Ethnic, Japanese Colonial, and American Cultural Nationalisms

A Gesture Life is characterized by the protagonist Hata's retrospection, which begins with memories of his life as a Japanese American model minority that soon lead to, and alternate with, older memories of his sexual abuse of a comfort woman Kkutaeh and a camp town sex worker's daughter Sunny. The alternation of his memories brings into sharp relief a middle-class ethnic nationalist patriarchal ideology shared by Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American cultural nationalisms. With this emphasis, the novel discursively links the Japanese Imperial Army's comfort station system, U.S. military-

sponsored prostitution, and the model minority myth. Hata is a diasporic male subject who has made lifelong endeavors to secure his national belonging to his host countries by assimilating into their national ideologies. When he was living in Japan as an ethnic Korean, he internalized a Japanese colonial concept of “mutualism” and its argument of a “sense of obligations” and “the harmonious relation between a self and his society” (*GL* 72). He thus believed that “a lifetime of [individual] struggle” is sufficient to “change his station” of “the narrow existence of my family and our [ethnic Korean underclass] ghetto of hide tanners and renderers” (*GL* 72). He tried “to score exceptionally high on several achievement tests, and was one of a few boys of [his] kind to be identified and enrolled in a special school in the nearby large city” (*GL* 72). His academic achievement led to his adoption by a Japanese middle-class childless couple called the Kurohatas in his early adolescence (*GL* 72). Since then, Hata abandoned his Korean ethnicity and has lived his entire life under a double pursuit of ethnic purity and middle-class membership. During the Asia-Pacific War, he served as a paramedic officer in Japan’s Imperial Army to prove his legitimacy as a pure Japanese middle-class male subject by “fulfilling [his] duty for Nation and Emperor” (*GL* 120).

After the war, Hata lived in Japan for some time but immigrated to the United States in 1963. Given his life in the United States as “a generic Asian American,” who was racially marked but not identified by a specific culture or ethnicity, his immigration can be read as his escape from unbearable tension from his ethnic disguise in the ethnic nationalist Japanese society (Page 38). However, throughout the novel, Hata never mentions why he left Japan. In stark opposition to his artful skills of lyrically

romanticizing his sexual abuse of female characters throughout the novel, his complete silence hints that Japan's ethnic nationalist denial of his national belonging was too traumatic for him to articulate.

Hata finally settled down in a White American-centered middle-class neighborhood called Bedley Run that would not shun an ethnic minority in so far as he "was seen as a positive addition to the census and tax base" (*GL* 3). He gained economic success by running his business and got a good reputation as he acted "out of gestures and politeness" as a model minority, or "good Charlie" who "organize[d] the garbage and sidewalk-cleaning schedule" (*GL* 95). Here, Hata's assimilation into the model minority myth is reminiscent of his previous one to Japanese mutualism because both ideologies share a logic that collective militancy should not be pursued in one's achievement because it only harms his/her relationship with society. Hata's diasporic trajectory from Japan to the United States shows a liberal logic shared by Japan's colonial nationalism and American cultural nationalism.

After some time, he adopted Sunny, a girl who was born to a Korean camp town sex worker and a Black American G.I. She was an accidental replacement of a Japanese girl whom Hata, as a "Japanese" American, wanted to adopt in the hope of having an ideal middle-class family based on "a ready, natural [racial] affinity" (*GL* 204). Hata tried to domesticate Sunny to be another model minority. However, she refused to be a token of his American middle-class patriarchal authority and instead built up relationships with working-class people. Her resistance reaches its climax in the scene in which he is voyeuristically watching her sexual intercourse with a working-class musician Lincoln

Evans at the drug dealer Jimmy Gizzi's house. Her sexual agency frustrated Hata's American middle-class patriarchal sexual claim that "she [should] stay forever pristine, unsoiled" (*GL* 114).

Hata's memories of Sunny's sexual agency are followed by another recollection of a black flag, the episode about his triangular relationship with a Korean comfort woman Kkutaeh and his superior Captain Ono during the Asia-Pacific War. The episode begins at the time when Sunny was about to leave his house permanently. Hata and Sunny had the last conversation before her departure, from which he learned that when she was a child, she stumbled upon "a [black] flag [] [f]rom the war," one of the few mementos still in his possession (*GL* 148). He also found that her lover Lincoln Evans stabbed Jimmy Gizzi to prevent his raping her. She then expressed her determination to protect herself even in a suicidal way: "It's over. Nothing like that is ever going to happen to me again. I'll kill myself before it does, I swear" (*GL* 150). Sunny's suicidal protection gave rise to Hata's "revisitation of a long-stored memory of another young woman [Kkutaeh] who once spoke nearly the same words" (*GL* 150).

The episode of a black flag is centered on the triangular relationship between Hata, Kkutaeh, and Captain Ono, in which Hata was both a victim and victimizer of Ono's Japanese colonial nationalism. Ono was a head physician of Hata's unit who was from a pure Japanese family of an elite caste, and he had a university pedigree and skillful techniques as a surgeon. His social status was what Hata desperately desired in his entire life. Ono chose Kkutaeh for his personal concubine because she was not only pure "Korean[]" of special and high character, in fact, of the same bloodlines as the most

pure Japanese” (*GL* 268). She, as an aristocratic woman, was also free from “the germ of infirmity” of working-class people who were so “weak and lame-minded” that they “too much depend[ed] upon generous fate and gesture” (*GL* 266). Simply put, Ono had a middle-class ethnic nationalist sexual desire for Kkutaeh.

Ono already knew that Hata was not a middle-class pure Japanese man. He thus sardonically ordered Hata to prepare Kkutaeh for him when a black flag would be affixed to an infirmary. Here, Ono makes a symbolic link between Hata’s underclass diasporic background and a black flag, or ‘Kurohata’ in Japanese, meaning a contagion. ‘Kurohata’ was also Hata’s surname as his Japanese adoptive family was descended from apothecaries who had taken their family name from “the banner [that] a village would raise by its gate in olden times to warn of a contagion . . . the signal of spreading death” (*GL* 224). With a black flag, Ono warned Hata that only a nobleman of pure ethnicity could have a woman of the same kind, while a man of non-pure ethnicity and low class would be no other than a fatal contagion in their pure and noble lineage. By doing so, Ono embodies Japanese colonial nationalism’s rigid alignment between the middle class, pure ethnicity, and patriarchal authority.

The episode of a black flag is followed by the scenes of male characters’ sexual exploitation of Kkutaeh’s body, within which Ono and Hata’s Japanese colonial nationalism and her father’s Korean ethnic nationalism converge on her body. Ono’s claim on Kkutaeh’s body was an attempt to differentiate “the divine spread of our strain” from Kkutaeh, “a kind of rare vessel of us [] to be observed and stewarded,” who was as pure and noble as his strain but inferior in ethnicity and sex (*GL* 268). The logic of his

claim is Japanese colonial ethnic nationalist patriarchal because it recognizes her racial purity and noble lineage but feminizes and inferiorizes Korea by using a sexualized trope of a vessel to be stewarded. Kkutaeh's father shared Ono's logic in his claim on her body. He was also a noble patriarch of pure ethnicity like Ono and collaborated with Japan's pan-Asian prosperity because he agreed upon its argument of "rever[ing] our Asian heritage and protect[ing] it from foreign influence" (*GL* 249). He later manipulated ethnic nationalist patriarchal authority to maintain his pure aristocratic patriarchal lineage by trading her and her older sister as comfort women for his son's exemption from the Japanese Imperial Army's conscription. Both patriarchs' sexual claim on Kkutaeh's body again embodies that Japanese and Korean nationalisms share the rigid alignment between pure ethnicity, the ruling class, and the patriarchal authority.

Hata raped Kkutaeh to compensate for his impossibility of having the authority of a middle-class patriarch of pure ethnicity. His first rape of her intended to take revenge on her because her pure Korean ethnicity and aristocratic class aroused his sense of inferiority as an underclass diasporic male subject. His second rape took place right before his unexpected identification with Ono. Ono, who had already known Hata's sexual interest in her, told him that she was pregnant with a Japanese soldier's baby. Being infuriated by her pregnancy, Hata raped her again. Not long after the second time, Hata accidentally overheard Ono's tender whisper to seduce her and realized how identical they were in treating Kkutaeh. Hata's identification with Ono hints at the second rape as colonial mimicry "to be like his idol, Ono" (Page 47). As Ono, Kkutaeh's father, and Hata's sexual victimization of her all share a ruling-class ethnic nationalist

patriarchal logic, her body becomes a symbolic locus in which Japanese colonial and Korean ethnic nationalisms intersect. By juxtaposing these Korean and Japanese male characters' sexual victimization that shares the same logic, the novel represents the 'comfort women' as an issue for which Japan and Korea are "equally" responsible.

Kkutaeh finally chose execution to protect herself from rapes at a comfort station. She kills Ono during his attempt to rape and appeals to Hata's sympathy to kill her. Having taken Ono's position as the base doctor and his Japanese middle-class patriarchal authority, Hata refused her plea and falsely reported to first lieutenant Shiboru that Ono accidentally killed himself while playing with Kkutaeh. Kkutaeh thus attacked Shiboru to avoid being taken to a comfort station, and Shiboru and other Japanese soldiers brutally rape and dismember her body. Hata later visits the site of her execution, where he found her and her fetus's dismembered bodies. David Cowart insightfully interprets the "other, tiny, elfin form" of Kkutaeh's dead fetus (*GL* 305) as a symbol of "his [Hata's] own fetal self, a little Korean untimely ripped from his first home" (Cowart 106). Expanding upon Cowart's interpretation, I suggest a new reading of a series of Hata's acts—from his anger at Kkutaeh's pregnancy to his refusal of her plea for help and concealment of her murder—all leading to the execution of her and her Korean-Japanese fetus. I read Hata's engagement in their deaths as his projection of his self-hate as a diasporic subject, adding to other readings of it as a trope of Korean and Japanese nationalisms' ethnic nationalist denial of multiethnic subjects and/or his assimilation into them. Whichever is a more plausible reading, all these readings highlight how brutally an ethnic nationalism victimizes its various subjects—both female compatriots and people in the diaspora. This

brutality is further highlighted in juxtaposition with Hata's silence on the reason for his immigration to the United States discussed above, thereby convincing readers of the homogenization of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms. The readings of Hata, Kkutaeh, and her Korean-Japanese baby again work for his later engagement in the abortion of Sunny's baby who is multiracial due to "other color (or colors)" that "ran deep within her" (*GL* 204).

Hata's recollection of the dismemberment of Kkutaeh and her fetus is followed by his other one of a forced abortion of Sunny's multiracial baby. Sunny contacted Hata about a year after she had left his home. She told him that she was pregnant and needed his help. When they finally met, she was "quite near full-term" (*GL* 339). Although Sunny soon changed her mind and kept the baby, Hata obliged her to undergo it because he feared that Sunny's pregnancy would bring "the imminent disgrace and embarrassment" to his reputation as a model-minority citizen in a White American-centered middle-class neighborhood (*GL* 340). Although Dr. Anastasia refused to perform an abortion as it was too risky given her imminent delivery, Hata persuaded him by telling him that he could skillfully assist him as he was once a medical officer during World War II. Hata's engagement in the abortion of Sunny's multiracial baby overlaps his previous engagement in the dismemberment of Kkutaeh and her Korean-Japanese baby. As the latter originates from his assimilation to an ethnic nationalist logic of Japanese colonial nationalism, so does the former to American cultural nationalism. Despite its ostensible celebration of multiculturalism, it is nothing other than ethnic nationalism due to its hegemonic prioritization of a particular ethnicity/race. Adding to

this interpretation, I also suggest another reading of Hata's engagement as his projection of his self-hate as a multiethnic subject, which is reminiscent of his previous projection onto Kkutaeh's Korean-Japanese fetus. In this sense, Hamilton Carroll rightly argues the continuation of "the colonial conditions of his Japanese past in his American present" (596).

As American cultural nationalism and Japanese colonial nationalism converge on Sunny's abortion, the former intersects with Korean ethnic nationalism within her transnational adoption, which is the only brief depiction of U.S. military-sponsored prostitution throughout the novel, leaving many neocolonial issues unaddressed. Before immigration to the United States, Sunny spent her childhood at "a halfway house," a treatment facility for VD-infected camp town sex workers, in Pusan, South Korea (*GL* 335). The facility, or "Monkey House" as sex workers had called it contemptuously, was established by the dictator Park Chung-hee in the early 1960s to prevent sexually transmitted diseases within the U.S. military stationed in South Korea. The Monkey House was historically notorious for its inhumane, medical abuse of camp town sex workers' bodies, by which Sunny's mother died. Due to her mother's death and South Korean society's ethnic nationalist stigmatization of sex workers' multiracial children, Sunny had to become a transnational adoptee, and her national unbelonging ideologically coincides with those of other characters: Kkutaeh and her Korean-Japanese fetus, Sunny's multiracial baby, and Hata. Likewise, the novel focuses on representing how identical Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American cultural nationalisms are in the relationship between Hata, Kkutaeh, and Sunny.

Americanizing ‘Comfort Women’

The rest of this chapter conjures up important memories of the genealogy of military sexual violence in Korea to see how they are over- and/or underestimated by the novel to homogenize Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms. I focus especially on memories of Japanese colonial technologies that induced and manipulated Korean patriarchy’s collaboration, the U.S. military government right after the Korean national liberation that enabled the ROK military’s establishment of its comfort stations, and the U.S. military’s camp town prostitution that was modeled on Japan’s comfort stations. All these memories indicate the U.S. Cold War continuation of Japan’s colonial legacies of sexual mobilization in those three kinds of military sexual violence. Revisiting these memories clarifies the interconnectedness between this continuation and the model minority myth as the U.S. Cold War effort constituents that are in excess of a shared logic of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms. Through this clarification, the chapter shows that *A Gesture Life*’s homogenization of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms is a literary act of Americanizing the ‘comfort women’ issue due to its American nationalist decontextualization of the U.S. Cold War manipulation of the issue.

Let me begin with Japanese colonial technologies’ inducement and manipulation of Korean patriarchal collaboration. Under the Japanese colonial rule’s economic exploitation, many Korean peasant households became extremely poverty-stricken, and many impoverished young daughters, due to Korean Confucian patriarchy, were often the first to be sacrificed for their families’ economic survival. They were often forced at an early age to quit school, do household chores, or migrate to cities or other areas to make

money for families and male siblings. Such Korean patriarchal oppression was further supported by a Japanese colonial educational policy that did not require a compulsory education system for women. Here, the controversy of pro-Japanese Korean collaborators with Japan's procurement of comfort women intervenes. These collaborators approached and promised those helpless young women decent employment and good work conditions. Because of a lack of education, few economic prospects, a sense of oppression, and a desire for escape, these women considered their false promises irresistibly attractive. These procured women usually did not find out the real nature of the work until they were taken into and raped at comfort stations.

In order to understand Korean patriarchal collaboration as both the nation's past wrongdoing and the outcome of Japanese colonial technologies, the Japanese Imperial Army's procurement system "behind-the-scene" needs to be discussed (Tanaka 48). Although the Army directly procured comfort women at the end of the Asia-Pacific War, it generally worked as the top-ranked decision-maker who "did not do the dirty work but had procurers do it for them" (Yoshimi 29). For instance, each army headquarters recruited Japanese and pro-Japanese proprietors and labor brokers as its agents and sent them to Korea. Or, they coerced local Korean leaders to do a round-up. On behalf of the Army, all these Japanese and Korean procurers then used various vicious tactics such as deception, intimidation, coercion, and even kidnapping. Once confined at comfort stations, women could hardly escape from sexual servitude because of the system of indentureship, or debt slavery.

The Japanese Imperial Army's artful inducement and manipulation of Korean patriarchal collaboration should be addressed in understanding the 'comfort women' issue as colonial sexual exploitation. More importantly, for the same purpose, Korean collaboration should not be underestimated. Without considering it, it is impossible to examine the artfulness of Japan's procurement technologies that shifted responsibility to its agents, thereby inadvertently supporting an imperialist understanding of the issue. Simply put, a double critique of both Japanese colonialism and Korean patriarchy is necessary to avoid the imperialist and victimhood nationalist understandings of the 'comfort women' issue that are in a reciprocal relationship.

Japan's military sexual slavery system finally ended with its defeat in World War II and the national liberation of Korea in 1945. However, the sexual mobilization of Korean women continued under the U.S. military governance of the southern part of the Korean peninsula that had begun right after the liberation. During the Korean War, mobilization was put under two categories. One was the ROK military's comfort station system. It began in 1951 and ended in 1954 and was exclusively for South Korean soldiers. The other was U.S. military-sponsored prostitution, usually called camp town prostitution permitted only for the U.S. military and the Allied Forces. It began simultaneously with the U.S. military occupation of later South Korea and is still continuing today.

Some of the women serving the U.S. and Allied soldiers, especially during the early days of the Korean War, were "camp followers" such as war widows, orphans, and survivors who "did laundry, cooked, and tended to the soldiers' sexual demands" (Moon,

Sex among Allies 3). Their sexual service was spontaneous and individual rather than as a part of the institutionalized military prostitution system. In addition to them, there were “former comfort women [who] also worked as [American] GI prostitutes among the first generation of *kijich'on* [camp town] sex workers” (Moon, *Sex among Allies* 46). Grace M. Cho explains that the U.S. sexual mobilization of former comfort women for its military prostitution was possible because “when the U.S. military occupied Korea in September 1945, they also occupied the comfort stations . . . taking over the women who were stationed there as well” (94). This taking over indicates that camp town prostitution was founded upon Japan’s comfort station system, and “there is no clear delineation between one system and another” (Moon, *Sex among Allies* 46).

Meanwhile, the ROK military also ran its own comfort stations. Based on various sources such as the military’s official document called *The History of the Home Front*⁷ and South Korean and American veterans’ and local civilians’ testimonies, Kim Gwi-ok argues that the ROK military’s comfort stations were constructed around the summer or fall of 1951 when the Korean War began to reach a deadlock (112-27). The stations were intended to relieve soldiers’ boredom and prevent desertion. The military officially closed its comfort stations in 1954. The number of South Korean comfort stations was estimated at six, where at least three hundred women served their compatriot soldiers. Some were North Korean POWs or politically suspicious women; and others were prostitutes, war orphans, and refugees. Park Jeong-Mi argues that these women’s diverse backgrounds do

⁷ *Hubangjōnsa* (後方戰史) in Korean.

not guarantee abduction and coercion as the main methods of the ROK military's procurement of comfort women (46).

Within the Japanese-South Korean-U.S. continuous sexual mobilization, the ROK military's comfort station system needs to be paid attention to because, without which, it is not possible to discuss U.S. Cold War technologies that induced South Korean pro-American "autocolonizing" efforts in the form of its stations and complicity with camp town prostitution (Jin-kyung Lee 30). The technologies were twofold. Outside the Korean peninsula, in the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, the United States exonerated Japanese war criminals on the condition of sharing their warfare technologies that were later deployed in the Korean War and later the (first) Gulf War with Iraq. Inside the Korean peninsula, the U.S. military established the ROK military by exonerating and hiring former pro-Japanese Korean soldiers from Japan's Imperial Army and the Manchukuo Imperial (Kwangtung) Army. Although former soldiers from the Korean Liberation Army also constituted the new, national military, many of them were excluded from being commissioned as field-grade and company-grade officers because the U.S. military government was concerned with their nationalist perspective against its Cold War interests. Accordingly, these pro-Japanese officers—now pro-American—quickly dominated the national military.

These pro-Japanese-to-pro-American South Korean military elites, who had been "autocolonizing agents" since Japan's colonial rule, continued the same efforts under U.S. military governance (Jin-kyung Lee 30). They established the ROK military's comfort station system to maintain its manpower, as exemplified in General Kim Hŭi-o's

memoir⁸ that the then regimental commander in charge of establishing and managing South Korean comfort stations was a former officer in the Kwantung Army (Kim 70-80; qtd. in Kim Gwi-ok 116). The U.S. military benefitted from the ROK military's comfort station system as its sexual service, which maintained South Korean soldiers' morale and combat capacity, supported the U.S. war effort against North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union during the Korean War. They also actualized the U.S. military's demand for establishing military prostitution licensed only for itself and the Allied Forces, which has been working as "a staple of U.S.-Korean relations since the Korean War and the permanent stationing of U.S. troops in Korea since 1955" (Moon, *Sex among Allies* 1). Camp town prostitution reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s when the dictator Park Chung-hee, who had also been a pro-Japanese Korean officer in the Kwangtung Army in 1944-1945, manipulated it as a major means of reinforcing the military alliance and earning foreign currency. In this sense, the ROK military's comfort station system shows the ways of U.S. Cold War involvement in the continuity between Japan's comfort station system and camp town prostitution. The U.S. military not only took over Japanese comfort stations but also produced and recruited South Korean autocolonizing agents and manipulated their acquired Japanese colonial technologies to establish camp town prostitution and South Korean comfort stations for its war effort against the communist North.

It is thus no wonder that remarkably similar patterns are repeated by Japanese and South Korean comfort station systems and U.S. military-sponsored prostitution. All three

⁸ *The Scent of Human: Life Journey with Liberal Democracy and Anticommunist Struggle* (Inganŭi hyanggi: Chayuminju/taegongt'ujaenggwa hamkkehan insaengyŏkchŏng)

systems were operated as an official military policy through the chain of command while strictly blocking any civilian influence in policy- and decision-makings. Although the ROK military's procurement methods need further analysis, camp town proprietors and labor brokers procured sex workers on behalf of the U.S. military, who previously procured comfort women as agents of Japan's Imperial Army. These agents used the same procurement means, such as deception, intimidation, coercion, and kidnapping. The systems also shared quite similar hygiene instructions, regulations, and criteria. They were supervised and enforced by each military's authorities, and women were obliged to undergo regular medical checkups for venereal disease not to harm soldiers and troops' combat power.

A Gesture Life falls into the trap of the transnational warping of politics as its textual purpose of representing the relatability between Hata's abjection as an ethnic-minority subject and Kkutaeh and Sunny's sexual abjection decontextualizes neo/colonial complexities of Korean, Japanese, and American sexual mobilization. In order to represent a shared logic between Hata's national unbelonging and military sexual enslavement of Kkutaeh, the novel highlights Korean patriarchal collaboration with Japan's procurement by depicting Kkutaeh's father who traded her and her sister for preventing his son's conscription. It overlooks colonial complexities of the procurement of comfort women, thereby risking the mitigation of Japan's historical accountability for the 'comfort women' issue. This mitigation is then followed by its disinterest in U.S. military-sponsored violence. In representing the ethnic nationalist logic of the model minority myth imposed upon Hata and Sunny, the novel rarely deals with this prostitution

despite its symbolization of Sunny as U.S. military-sponsored prostitution. It only has a couple of sentences that depict camp town prostitution, and they only work to support the novel's purpose mentioned above by representing South Korean ethnic nationalist necropolitical manipulation of camp town sex workers (Sunny's mother) and the transnational adoption of their multiracial children (Sunny). While focusing on a common reason for the racialized gendered abjection of Hata, Kkutaeh, and Sunny, the novel neglects that the oppression of a comfort woman and camp town sex worker's daughter is in excess of, and can never be reduced to, that of a Korean diasporic male subject by homogenizing Korean, Japanese, and American nationalisms. This homogenization reduces the latter two's responsibilities for their sexual mobilization of comfort women and camp town sex workers. It also renders invisible the U.S. Cold War inheritance of legacies of Japan's comfort station system in its military prostitution, thereby leaving Japanese-American interimperial sexual war crimes unaddressable. As a result, the novel results in American nationalist amnesia of U.S. Cold War involvement in the 'comfort women' issue, or the Americanization of the issue.

I finish this chapter with a discussion on the novel's remembering of the Cold War origin of the model minority myth that intensifies its amnesia of the same origin of the U.S. involvement mentioned above. While the United States (through its military) was taking advantage of Japanese and Korean comfort station systems and camp town prostitution to reinforce its Cold War hegemony on the international front in South Korea, it was also manipulating the model minority myth for the same purpose on the domestic fronts. Robert G. Lee discusses the myth as a Cold War technology (254-69). The model

minority myth originates in “[e]thnicity theory [which] was grounded in the belief that while certain historically anachronistic patterns of racial segregation persisted, modern American society was open to the full participation of all who were willing to participate” (Robert G. Lee 267). In World War II, American liberal social scientists argued that the desired assimilation of Black Americans into American society could be achieved by dismantling racial segregation and non-White ethnic minorities’ accommodation of themselves to values of “universal” modernity. Their argument implied that ethnic minorities could achieve equality “not through political organization and community empowerment, but only through individual effort, cultural assimilation, and political accommodation” (Robert G. Lee 268).

Under the ever-increasing Cold War rivalry in the 1950s, a liberal concept of assimilation became a U.S. ideological technology. Policymakers in Washington manipulated the concept to repress the triple menace—the menace of communism, the Black menace of civil rights, and the White menace of homosexuality—and reinforce the U.S. capitalist hegemony. For fear of the red menace, they highlighted the concept’s disavowal of collective political movements and superimposed an image of communism on any unionizing efforts to repress them. The same fear extended to the Chinese American community when the Korean War broke out in 1950, and China soon entered the war. The menace of White homosexuality was also oppressed. Although this menace is not directly related to communism, it was repressed due to its non-reproduction, which would risk the nuclear family as a necessary social unit of consumption, whereby a long period of the national capitalist power would be unsustainable.

The birth of the model minority myth was initiated to contain the Black menace. The Watts Rebellion in 1965 was incited by the then LAPD's mistreatment of Marquette Frye, a 21-year-old Black American man who failed a field sobriety test. The Rebellion surfaced Black Americans' longstanding demands for racial equality, economic equity, legal rights, and the dismantling of segregation since the end of World War II. Their demands put the Johnson Administration's racial policies into crisis, so Washington policymakers created and manipulated the model minority myth to repress them. In *Report on the Black Family*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who was the assistant secretary of Labor of the administration, blamed Black Americans' economic, political, and racial struggles for their unsuccessful assimilation to American liberal values. The *U.S. News* article responsively argued that "when it is being proposed that hundreds of billions be spent on uplifting Negroes and other minorities, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans are moving ahead on their own with no help from anyone else" (qtd. in Robert G. Lee 261).

A decade later, amid the Vietnam War, Moynihan situated the model minority myth within the Cold War context. In his speech at Howard University, President Johnson took Moynihan's side and argued that Black Americans' assimilation to American liberal values, such as economic and political self-improvement, would be "a model of the 'true American revolution' as an alternative to communism" (Robert G. Lee 267). Such a Cold War contextualization was not surprising given the then concern of decision-makers in Washington that racial discrimination against ethnic minority groups in the United States would raise doubt among the U.S.-friendly Third-World nations.

They attempted to conciliate their colored allies by propagating the economic success of the self-contained and politically acquiescent Asian American model minority and promising that subsequent Black assimilation would prove American liberal-capitalist modernity's potential for all humankind's prosperity. In other words, the United States tried to win against the Soviet Union and expand the capitalist bloc in Third World by sending the World a message that its demands for independence, self-determination, and economic development could be realized by assimilating to U.S.-led capitalism.

A Gesture Life depicts the Cold War origin of the model minority myth. For example, the Cold War contextualization of the model minority myth during the Vietnam War is hinted at by the simultaneity between Sunny's resistance to Hata's model-minority education and the anti-Vietnam War movement in which "the young people . . . began to consider the grim and terrible price [of the Vietnam War] all involved must have paid" (*GL* 146-47). The liberal logic of the myth is also represented by Hata's response to his neighbors' racist hostility towards "the Viet people who bought the cleaner's" under "this [economic] recession" that made the neighbors "feel[] insecure and threatened" (*GL* 134, 135). He suggested a liberal solution to racism by saying that: "It's true that at times I have felt somewhat uneasy in certain situations, though probably it was not anyone's fault but my own . . . if it is a question of feeling at home in a place" (*GL* 135). However, by depicting Hata's denied national belonging despite his faithful assimilation throughout the narrative, the novel debunks the liberal promises of the model minority myth.

In contrast, the novel hardly deals with the Cold War origin of the U.S. involvement in the continuity between Japan's comfort station system and camp town

prostitution. As discussed above, the novel's homogenization of Korean and Japanese nationalisms overestimates Korean patriarchy's collaboration with Japan's procurement while underestimating the latter's artful colonial technologies that induced and manipulated the former. It thus represents the relatability between Korea and Japan's denial of a Korean diasporic male subject's national belonging and their military sexual enslavement of a comfort woman. In addition, the novel oversimplifies U.S. military-sponsored prostitution and highlights the shared logic of Korean and American nationalisms (and Japanese nationalism in a larger context as well). It accordingly represents the continued national unbelonging shared by a Korean diasporic male subject and a camp town sex worker's daughter in South Korea and the United States. This oversimplification renders invisible the U.S. Cold War involvement in the continuity between Japan's comfort station system and camp town prostitution and resultantly unaddressable the transpacific interconnectedness of this continuity and the model minority myth as a U.S. Cold War effort. To conclude, *A Gesture Life* exemplifies the Americanization of the 'comfort women' issue by homogenizing those three nationalisms that results in American nationalist amnesia of U.S. Cold War manipulation of the issue.

Chapter 3
Korean/Americanizing ‘Comfort Women’
through Transparent Translation
in Nora Okja Keller’s *Comfort Woman*

Since Kim Hak-sun’s testimony in 1991, memories and controversies of the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual slavery during World War II (the ‘comfort women’ issue) quickly traveled to the United States. The gruesomeness of its sexual war crimes—the vast regional scope of comfort stations (rape camps) throughout Asia and the Pacific, the massive number of procured women from 50,000 to 200,000, their years-long exposure to countless rapes and the resultant lifelong trauma, and the postwar Japanese right-wing government’s denial of its historical accountability—immediately evoked many Asian Americans’ indignation against the crimes and sympathy and solidarity with Korean victim-survivors. Their vigorous responses soon led to various kinds of Asian American coalitions for redressing the ‘comfort women’ issue, from scholarly and cultural productions to U.S.-bound legal and legislative actions and transnational activism.

As well stated by Laura Hyun Yi Kang, it is notable that Korean American female artists “dispel the wishful trajectory in which a more intimate *identification with* the Korean ‘comfort women’ leads to better *representations of* the ‘comfort women,’ which in turn secures greater *justice for* these women” (“Conjuring” 27, emphasis in original). For example, the playwright Chungmi Kim sees herself as “a cultural ambassador” who

“is dedicated to her role as the voice of the silent comfort women” in her play *Hanako* (“Baring the Scars of Shame”). She believes that she knows those compatriot women’s pain of hiding their sexual victimization better than any other Asian American women due to the shared pain of the Korean Confucian patriarchal norm of women’s chastity. Therese Park, the author of *A Gift of the Emperor* (1997) critiqued in Chapter 1, mentions her empathy for comfort women whose arduous efforts to survive are reminiscent of “[her] own struggle as an Asian woman transplanted to American soil, which is harsh to nonwhites” (221). Her empathy is so intense that she even experiences a spectral and enunciative identification with a comfort woman character: “The heroine of my novel, Soon-ah . . . found me, rather than that I created her. ‘I was one of them . . . I’ll tell you how it happened, if you’ll trust my voice’ . . . Finally, my own purpose in writing *A Gift of the Emperor* . . . was . . . to give a voice to those women of my own native land” (221-22). Likewise, the film producer Sasha Y. Lee provocatively proclaims herself as an inheritor of comfort women’s histories in her *Cover-up and Denial/Playboy*, a digital image that parodies a Playboy magazine cover. The text on the right side of the image reads: “YUNGJU BEARS ALL. She speaks out against the greatest atrocities committed against women during WWII” (Lee).

These aforementioned artists’ representational confidence instantiates what I call the Korean/Americanization of the ‘comfort women’ issue, a concept that I create by expanding upon Lisa Yoneyama’s and Kang’s critiques of Asian Americans’ redress effort against Japan’s war crimes during WWII. First, both my concept and Yoneyama’s “Asian/Americanization of the memories of Japanese colonialism and militarism” are a

process in which Korean/Asian Americans work as “the agent-subject” of “legal and other discursive forces . . . through and over which demands for different kinds of historical justice are negotiated, realized or deferred” (“Traveling Memories” 57). However, as indicated by the Korean American female artists mentioned above, what distinguishes my concept from hers is, in Kang’s words, the attribution of “a shared ethnic and/or gender identity as the secure origin or compelling cause of their representational impulse” (“Conjuring” 27).

This attribution is also a reason for the ambivalence of Korean/Americanized knowledge of comfort women. On the one hand, intimate cultural knowledge developed by ethnic and gender affinities can refute and revise the American dominant culture’s distorted figurations of those Korean victim-survivors by more accurately and humanely representing them. Such a representational endeavor constitutes the international feminist effort against militarized sexualized capitalism in Asia, from the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual enslavement to U.S. military-sponsored prostitution and other relevant kinds of commercialized prostitution. Along with this collective effort, the Korean/Americanization of the ‘comfort women’ issue produces critical knowledge of “the long history of entanglement and the complicity of imperial violence, as well as the amnesia about these matters between Japan and the United States” (Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* 152).

Simultaneously, representational reliance on ethnic and gender affinities can also frustrate such critical knowledge production, especially when it is discursively “consistent with their [Asian Americans] normative subject position in America’s settler

present” (*Cold War Ruins* 169). The Korean American female artists’ representational confidence mentioned earlier exemplifies this frustration. First, what underlies their confidence is their belief that “a more intimate *identification with* the Korean ‘comfort women’ leads to better *representations of* the ‘comfort women’” (“Conjuring” 27, italics original). While holding this belief, they become so preoccupied with the decades-long silencing of comfort women that they hastily assume those kindred women’s lack of voice and need for a speaking subject on their behalf, assumptions which are actually belied by the latter’s direct testimonies and vigorous redress activism. Their representation then ends up with the Asiatic racialization that defines Koreanness as voiceless and thus unassimilable in opposition to American national subjecthood, that is, the capability for self-/representation to claim one’s rights in front of the law. In this sense, the intervening slash within the term “Korean/Americanization” indicates a Korean American female subject’s ambivalent knowledge production between the questioning of, and the assimilation into, U.S. national ideologies, as did the slash of its precedent concept, “the Asian/Americanization.”

Nora Okja Keller’s *Comfort Woman* (1997) is a literary example of ambivalent knowledge production by the Korean/Americanization of comfort women in the practice of translation. The novel deals with the mother-daughter relationship between Soon Hyo, a comfort woman and shaman serving another comfort woman’s spirit called Induk, and her Korean American daughter Beccah, a journalist. The novel consists of a double narrative, in which each protagonist alternately narrates her story. First, Soon Hyo poetically and eloquently narrates how Korean shamanism empowers her development

from a victim of wartime and marital rape to a survivor who demands justice for comfort women through her shamanistic rituals. However, in Soon Hyo's "actual" life depicted throughout the novel's entire narrative, nobody understands her voice, which lacks logocentric articulation because of her sexual trauma and whose alternative, shamanistically symbolic expression is too "foreign" to the extent of sounding schizophrenic. Beccah's translation of her mother's voice is thus necessitated by Soon Hyo's wish for her legacy to be known in American society. As if responding to her mother's wish, Beccah's narrative depicts her development into a translating subject. While growing up, Beccah experiences two moments of shamanistic identification with her mother, and this experience implies her intimate cultural knowledge and the matrilineal succession of her mother's shamanism—that is, ethnic and gender affinities—as the reason for her transparent translation of her mother's shamanistic voice. Later, growing up as a journalist, Beccah does a Korean-to-English verbatim transcription and translation of her mother's shamanistic testimony, news articles of comfort women, and government-issued documents about the Korean diaspora. The novel then ends with a denouement that hints at Beccah's development into a subject of transparent translation, through whom Soon Hyo's legacy will resonate in American society.

My critical approach to the novel begins by questioning the logic underlying Beccah's translation. Beccah seems like a properly American subject as her transparent translation of her Korean m/other's shamanistic interiority meets the requirement of American national subjecthood, or a self-/representational ability to claim her rights as an implied proper subject of law. Her translation also gives her the agency to historicize and

claim visibility that Soon Hyo cannot have due to her lack of logocentric inarticulation. However, given her translation, whose transparency originates in her shamanistic identification with her mother, is Beccah not a Korean American female normative subject who also shares her mother's Korean otherness in her subjectivity? In addition, drawing upon Rey Chow's words, if Soon Hyo is an other that Beccah should embrace for her transparent translation, is Soon Hyo also not "in Lacanian language, the Other (big Other) that is before 'separation' . . . [or] missing parts of the whole" (*Writing Diaspora* 49)? If Soon Hyo is both an other and the Other and thus no longer corresponds to American liberalism's promise of universal representation, as exemplified by Beccah's transparent translation, does Soon Hyo not debunk this ideology's epistemological hegemony? Moreover, does a series of these questions not indicate various relationships overlapping in Soon Hyo and Beccah's mother-daughter relationship? How can we understand these two protagonists' simultaneous formation of both a subject-object relationship and the object-object one in Orientalist knowledge production, alongside Soon Hyo as the Other of Orientalism, American liberalism, and Beccah's Korean American subjectivity, which cannot sustain without her Otherness? By attempting to answer these questions, this chapter aims to critique the self-debunking Orientalist knowledge produced by the novel's Korean/Americanization of a comfort woman that poses critical (re)imaginings about "the subject/object binary that always privileges subjectivity (or at least a certain kind of subjectivity) as the route to agency" (Tina Chen 65).

Little attention has been given to Beccah's translation, and I propose the reasons for this by expanding upon Silvia Schultermandl's, Laura Hyun Yi Kang's, and Patricia P. Chu's discussions. First, based on Schultermandl's discussion, I suggest that the early passionate Asian American reception of former comfort women's testimonies might be repeated in Soon Hyo's testimonial narrative, thereby turning readers' attention away from Beccah's narrative (72). This uninterest seems to be intensified by the discursive coincidence between Beccah's translation and Asian American feminists' identity politics since the 1960s. These feminists have pursued the positive conflation of "[Asian] specificity and [American] generality" with a newly added emphasis on "[a] shared identification with 'the predominantly white-middle-class movement'" (*Compositional Subjects* 12-15). Following Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), *Comfort Woman* also pursues this conflation by representing that Soon Hyo's shamanistic legacy, "which might once ha[ve] meant . . . not . . . American, now means [Beccah] share[s] with other Americans an enriching access to a matrilineal heritage of profeminist individualism and enterprise" (Chu, *Assimilating Asians* 168). Under the urgency of Asian American feminists' political agenda, this discursive accordance might have left Beccah's translation of her mother's shamanism outside the realm of critical interest.

My critical approach to *Comfort Woman* is not possible without critiques of Orientalist representations in Asian American cultural production by Asianist and Asian Americanist scholars, to name a few: Kandice Chuh, Laura Hyun Yi Kang, Lisa Yoneyama, Patricia P. Chu, Rey Chow, and Tina Chen. Among their critiques, I want to express my discursive indebtedness, particularly to Chow's and Chen's. On the one hand,

Chow's critical reading of Tejaswini Niranjana's privileging of the "original" verbal text in translation helps me to analyze Beccah's epistemic and political hegemony resulting from her verbatim translation. Moreover, her other critically astute discussion, which dialectically invokes the native women as an other and the Other of imperialism, becomes the basis of my critique of *Comfort Woman*'s ambivalent knowledge that representational reliance on ethnic and gender affinities simultaneously results in and debunks the double Orientalization of Korean and Korean American women. Chen's "Agency/Asiancy," a comprehensive research on Asian Americanist artists and scholars' critical re/conceptualization of the concept of agency, offers some insights into the discursive implications of this double Orientalization in the context of re/conceptualization thereof.

I locate my critique of *Comfort Woman* in the first chapter of Part II, "Claiming Korean America." In the previous part, "Claiming Korea(n)/America," Therese Park's *A Gift of the Emperor* (1997) metonymizes a Korean female immigrant's double national belonging to South Korea and the United States through its emphatic representation of the two nation-states' anticommunist alliance. In contrast, *Comfort Woman* and Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* (1999) in Part II, maintain some affective distance from Korea through representations that increase their protagonists' Korean "American" legibility. However, these representations have the opposite, political implications. Whereas *A Gesture Life* has a pessimistic view of a Korean American male subject's national belonging to White supremacist America, *Comfort Woman* heralds the female counterpart's belonging to multicultural America by establishing a reciprocal relationship between a Korean matrilineal legacy and Anglo-American feminist tradition. I assume

that the latter case has something to do with Korean/Asian Americans' "uneven disenfranchisement [as] collectively racialized but differentially gendered social subjects in the United States" (Elaine H. Kim; qtd. in Kang, *Compositional Subjects* 55). Put differently, while redressing the 'comfort women' issue, a Korean/Asian American female agent-subject might have felt relatively empowered as she exerts discursive and political influences based on her shared ethnic and gender affinities. Her relative empowerment would accordingly have led to an optimistic view of her national belonging to Multicultural, and this view is reflected in the novel. Then, it would be plausible to read that such an optimistic view continues in Mary Lynn Bracht's *White Chrysanthemum* (2018) in Part III, "Claiming Korea." Rather than grappling with her Americanness by the detour through the 'comfort women' issue, the novel focuses on the issue in the South Korean context. Such a focused effort could metonymically be read as a latter-generation Korean American female subject's formation of a new attachment to South Korea and the resultant, newly invested "Korean" American female subjectivity.

In the following, I proceed first with a close reading of the novel's representation of Beccah's translation of Soon Hyo's Korean shamanistic voice. Despite the risk of losing a reader's concentration, I do a somewhat long, close reading to attention to Soon Hyo's lack of logocentric articulation and the resultant necessity of Beccah's development into a subject of logocentric translation, whose transparency and epistemic reliability arise from her ethnic and gender affinities. Then, I critique why the novel's attribution of Beccah's ethnic and gender affinities as the reason for her transparent translation both causes and cancels the Orientalization of Soon Hyo. My critique consists

of three discussions. First, I examine how this attribution seemingly allows Beccah's transparent translation, thereby increasing her legibility as an American normative subject. I also investigate the other side of the coin of her transparent translation, that is, the double Orientalization of Soon Hyo and Beccah herself. Then, I analyze how the transparency of Beccah's translation dialectically invokes Soon Hyo as the Other of Orientalism who debunks the ideology. By shedding light on the self-debunking Orientalist knowledge produced by the Korean/Americanization of *Comfort Woman*, I hope that my critique constitutes what Kang calls "the 'comfort women' problematic," or Asianist and Asian Americanist scholars' collective effort for self-/critical knowledge production on comfort women (*Traffic* 153).

Beccah's Transparent Translation

Comfort Woman consists of Soon Hyo and Beccah's double narrative. Soon Hyo's narrative depicts her life in a relatively chronological and autobiographical way, and it gives an impression of a monologue that she desperately wants to be heard by her daughter, given her lack of logocentric articulation in her actual life and the continuous interposition of her confession of motherly love between episodes. Her mother's sudden death enacts Beccah's narrative, and it consists of reminiscences about her childhood memories of her mother's strenuous and sometimes violent education in Korean shamanism. The sequence of Beccah's reminiscences represents Beccah's gradual acquisition of cultural knowledge and womanhood that are necessary for transparently translating her mother's shamanistic voice. Their double narrative overall represents an

intergenerational effort in which a plea for visibility by a Korean immigrant mother in a culturally esoteric voice is realized by her Korean American daughter's development into a translating subject on behalf of her mother.

Soon Hyo's narrative begins with her abduction to a comfort station at the age of twelve and depicts her arduous survival and empowerment through Korean shamanism since then. Throughout her entire life, Soon Hyo was accompanied and protected by the spirit of Induk, who was her predecessor at a comfort station before being publicly executed. During the escape from a comfort station, Induk brought Soon Hyo to an American missionaries' orphanage, as she could not return home due to her sexual stigmatization as a fallen woman. Induk also prevented Soon Hyo's physical collapse from sexual trauma during her stay at the orphanage and psychologically empowered her to facilitate her settlement in the United States. Moreover, their lesbian continuum rendered impotent Soon Hyo's sexually abusive White American missionary husband, and this rendering can be metonymically read as Soon Hyo's resistance to rapes at the comfort station, as her husband and Japanese soldiers share the same kind of hegemonic masculinity.

Soon Hyo repaid Induk for her protection by becoming a shaman who accommodated the latter as a possessing spirit within her interiority. This accommodation allowed Induk to take Soon Hyo's voice, through which she articulated resentment against Japanese rapists and a demand for justice for comfort women. However, Soon Hyo did not think that Induk manipulated her voice. As a living victim of sexual victimization at a comfort station, she felt a profound identification with Induk, who

experienced the same kind of injustice, and thus what Induk articulated through Soon Hyo's voice was simultaneously what Soon Hyo spoke through Induk's articulation. All their voices intermingled and became one, and there was neither the self-other binary nor the other nor hegemonic conflict for voicing between them. In this sense, Soon Hyo's shamanistic rituals allegorize a transparent articulation, in which she has "a double agency" as "both the agent worked upon and the agent working . . . to perform the memory-work and rituals of remembrance necessary for incisive social critique" (Chen 119).

However, no matter how Soon Hyo poetically and eloquently narrated her arduous survival and empowerment through shamanism, her narration was decipherable only to her. In her "actual" life depicted in the novel's entire narrative, nobody understood her shamanistic voice due to the esoteric symbolism of Korean shamanism and the shamanistic possession that deprived her of logocentric articulation. Earlier in her narrative, this deprivation was already hinted at in the episode of *Ch'onja-chaek*. During her escape from a comfort station, Soon Hyo dreamed that the spirits of her female ancestors visited and showed her "*Ch'onja-chaek*" which recorded her history (CW 53). However, Soon Hyo could neither read—nor thus write—her history and only saw herself reduced to the images.

I walked and slept, walked and slept, and throughout the journey kept my eyes fixed on Induk beckoning before me . . . I realized I was walking with my ancestors.

I tried running to my mother . . . It was then that I noticed that she held a small book . . . which I recognized as the *Ch'onja-chaek*, the most basic school primer. When she began to turn the pages, I strained to read what it said, but to my surprise, I found I could not understand the words . . . As my mother flipped through the book, I saw myself and my sisters as children, hanging on to our mother as she moved through our barley field and tended to our garden. And I saw us holding on to her body as we cried the death cries for her spirit. I saw myself underneath the pumping bodies of Japanese soldiers and, in the later pages, saw my oldest sister beneath the same soldiers. I saw myself sitting in the river, and I saw myself walking and sleeping, walking and sleeping, until I died.

At this point my mother closed the book. When I asked her why I could not see the rest of the book, the oldest spirit, whom I knew to be my great-grandmother, said, If you read the final chapters, you would know the universe. You would be dead. (CW 53-54)

Following the *Ch'onja-chaek* episode, Beccah narrates her reminiscence about her mother's persistent effort to teach her Korean shamanism. Soon Hyo first taught Beccah filial piety by telling her a "story of Princess Pari" (CW 48). Princess Pari was the first shaman in Korea and a symbol of filial piety because she went to a hell of oblivion to rescue her parents' souls and bring them back to the Lotus Paradise. By telling Beccah the story, Soon Hyo attempted to elicit the same virtue from her daughter, who would consequently help her retrieve "[her] given name[,] Soon Hyo" (CW 195). Since her

abduction to a comfort station, Soon Hyo's Korean female subjectivity had been disavowed, and she was forcibly renamed Akiko 41 there and later Akiko Bradley after marriage and immigration to the United States. However, she could not reclaim her Korean name because Korean shamanism, or her only means of articulation after the loss of logocentric articulation, was too esoteric to understand. Soon Hyo thus hoped her daughter would do this reclaiming on her behalf. Despite her ignorance of what her mother's plea means, Beccah was so touched by the story that she promised her mother to fulfill it: "I'll never forget it . . . I'll be like Princess Pari, and I'll rescue you" (CW 50).

The episode of *Princess Pari* is followed by another recollection, or the *sal* episode that depicts Beccah's first experience of shamanistic identification with her mother. Beccah entered puberty at the age of twelve, and her puberty reminded Soon Hyo of her sexual servitude at a comfort station that began at the same age. Soon Hyo thus projected her sexual trauma onto Beccah and considered Beccah's puberty the *sal*, or "the evil-energy arrows," that would bring her daughter the misfortune of the same kind of sexual victimization as hers (CW 73). Soon Hyo forced Beccah to fast and remove the *sal* from her body, and Beccah initially rejected her mother's insane suggestion but soon accepted it without knowing why. As her body was getting emptied by fasting, Beccah started to feel her mother's "spirits fill[ing] [her] body" (CW 85). When the spirits completely filled her body, Beccah experienced perfect—from corporeal to psychic—unity with her mother, from which she gained the shamanistic power to heal her: "I felt my arms disappear up to the elbows, my body reabsorbed by hers. In those moments, I

knew I was truly my mother's daughter, that I nursed her with my light . . . I would be tiny enough to slip completely into the [spiritual] world my mother lived in" (CW 85-86).

Given the shamanistic identification between Soon Hyo and Induk in which the former transparently articulated the latter's words, Soon Hyo attempted to teach Beccah a shamanistic identification in the hope of Beccah's transparent translation of her esoteric, shamanistic voice to others to know her Korean female subjectivity. Despite Beccah's lack of a shared experience of sexual victimization, Soon Hyo believed in her transparent translation because she was the only daughter and person who had closely observed Korean shamanism and had its intimate cultural knowledge. However, Soon Hyo had to wait for her hope to be realized. Due to her ignorance of her mother's past as a comfort woman and her intention of shamanistic teaching, Beccah soon again felt estranged from her mother as usual, and she thought that "the *sal*—too deep within [her] to uproot—remained . . . to kill the light" emanating from their unity (CW 86).

Beccah's recollection of her first shamanistic identification leads to that of another identification at fourteen when she had her first menstruation. Soon Hyo explained to Beccah a shamanistic meaning of menstruation: a spirit would come out of a shaman's body through menstrual blood to allow her to pause her duty and have some time for her body. Soon Hyo also warned Beccah that a shaman should bring back her spirits after menstruation, otherwise, they would roam forever with their resentment forgotten and unrelieved. After her mother's reminder of a perdurable bond between a shaman and her spirit, Beccah had a dream about a shamanistic identification with her mother's possessing spirit, Induk, who said that "I . . . found a beautiful woman waiting

for me . . . I realized it was myself. ‘My name is Induk,’ the woman said through my lips” (CW 188). Induk also told Beccah that “[she] must come back across running water,” and the following day, Soon Hyo brought Beccah to the river near their house (CW 189). They danced together to “the song of the river,” a song about a shaman’s duty to “carry the sorrow of people far, far away” like a river (CW 40). Soon Hyo also performed a ritual of washing Beccah’s blood with the river, which Induk would travel to wash away her sorrow and return to her new shaman, Beccah. Through this ritual, Soon Hyo passed down her shamanistic legacy to Beccah in her early womanhood, hoping that her daughter would carry forward a matrilineal lineage of Korean shamanism for comfort women and its memory work in the United States.

When Beccah returns to the present as her reminiscences about her mother’s shamanistic education ended, she discovers her mother’s keepsakes. One of these keepsakes is “a cassette tape marked ‘Beccah,’” which recorded Soon Hyo’s shamanistic rituals for comfort women and other Korean victims of Japan’s colonial rule (CW 171). Beccah listens to the cassette tape and “scribble[s] words . . . from her [mother’s] accounts of [Japan’s war] crimes” (CW 192-94). Beccah then “scan[s] . . . and translate[s]” another keepsake of “an envelope stuffed with . . . yellowing newspaper articles . . . about World War II, the Japanese, and [rape] camps” (CW 173). She also finds in the envelope “two official-looking . . . missing-persons reports” of her mother’s sisters, from which Beccah learns about her maternal family’s diasporic history (CW 173). Beccah learns the necessary cultural and historical knowledge to translate her mother’s shamanistic voice.

Beccah finally understands her mother's "prayers for justice" (CW 197). It is her wish that, as if a shaman transparently articulates her spirit's words, Beccah transparently translates her mother's shamanistic voice and thus reclaims her Korean female subjectivity on her behalf. Beccah promises Soon Hyo to fulfill her wish in a shamanistic funeral ritual for her:

I unpacked my mother's ceramic offering bowls, strips of linen cut from the bedsheet I had written on when I listened to her tapes . . . I dipped a strip of linen into the water. Ink-black spider legs, fragile and minute as cracks in glazed porcelain, wiggled out from the words I had scribbled on the material. I touched the ink, and when my finger came away clean, I touched my mother's eyelids and her cheeks, dipping her in blessed water. I rinsed the strip in the bowl of water, wrung it dry, and blotted her lips. "This is for your name, Omoni, so you can speak it true: Soon Hyo. Soon Hyo. Soon Hyo. . . ."

Her words, coiled tightly in my script, tied her spirit to her body and bound her to this life. When they burned, they would travel with her across the waters, free. (CW 207-09)

In a previous scene, Beccah repeated her mother's testimonies during her transcription and translation as if a shaman transparently articulates her spirit's words during a ritual: "Wishing I could turn up the volume even more, I added my own voice . . . I fit the words into my mouth, syllable by syllable, and flipped through my Korean-English dictionary, sounding out a rough, possible translation" (CW 193). Beccah then "touche[s] [her]

mother's eyelids and her cheeks . . . and blot[s] her lips" with "strips of linen cut from the bedsheet" on which Soon Hyo's testimonies are transcribed/translated. She promises that her transparent translation will allow Soon Hyo to "speak [her name] true" and thus her resentment to "travel with her across the waters, free" (CW 208-09). The novel then ends with the denouement of the two protagonists' emotional, shamanistic, and epistemic bond, in which Beccah is "coiled tight around a small seed planted by [her] mother, waiting to be born" again as a new shaman serving her mother through her translation, around which Soon Hyo's "words[] [are] coiled tightly" (CW 213, 209).

Korean/Americanizing 'Comfort Women'

The rest of this chapter critiques ambivalent knowledge produced by the novel's attribution of Beccah's transparent translation of Soon Hyo's shamanistic voice to ethnic and gender affinities. I begin with the novel's Orientalist deprivation of logocentric articulation from Soon Hyo. Despite Beccah's emphatic retrospection of her mother's "crazy"—that is, Korean shamanistic—behaviors, it is not difficult to find that Soon Hyo was also a sane and strong Korean American female immigrant subject with political, economic, and sexual agency. For example, as she began to live in her late White mother-in-law's apartment in a city where she was the only Asian American, she defeated the mother's ghost, who bullied and attempted to evict her. Rather than being agonized by a sense of unbelonging, Soon Hyo symbolically claimed "this—the apartment, the city, the state, and America—home [as] [her] own" for not only herself but also her biracial daughter, hoping that "she would never feel homeless, lost" (CW 113). Soon Hyo also

“want[ed] my own child to know that I gave her a [Korean] hundred-day celebration . . . even though . . . she [was] a girl, an American girl” because she hoped her daughter to not lose her cultural bond with her Korean motherland (CW 119). Although she began her life in the United States “as [a] fry cook and clean-up girl,” she made some decent money “enough for buy em [the house] outright, jus’ before dat big Japanee real estate boom” (CW 3, 204). She was also a shaman of whom “[e]veryone seemed so respectful . . . in awe” and whose English was also good enough to perform shamanistic rituals “primarily in English” (CW 11, 192). Soon Hyo’s lesbian continuum with Induk made impotent her American missionary husband, who shared the same kind of sexual objectification with Japanese rapists at a comfort station, and in so doing, she metaphorically punishes the latter, as well as the former. Last but not least, Soon Hyo pursued and demanded justice for Korean victims of Japan’s colonial rule and historicized their testimonies through her shamanistic rituals both orally and symbolically.

Contradictory with these depictions of Soion Hyo’s agency, however, the novel deprives Soon Hyo of logocentric historicization, as seen in the *Ch’onja-chaek* episode. She “could [neither] understand the words” and is nor allowed to be a subject of knowledge production, whereby she is reduced to “the rapidly moving pictures” (CW 53), or “an absolute entity in the form of an image” in Chow’s words (*Writing Diaspora* 34). Soon Hyo is now an image-object that has both “lack (requiring interpretation) and fullness (having a meaning all its own)” (Chow, *Primitive Passions* 22). These attributes “neutralize[] the untranslatability” (Chow, *Writing Diaspora* 38) of her shamanistic voice, and by setting Soon Hyo’s desperate plea for “speak[ing] [her name] true” (CW 209), the

novel justifies “the need to make up for the lack/silence in the visual image with an act of nonvisual filling” (Chow, *Primitive Passions* 8). Like Freud’s woman who “will never have a penis . . . [and] will for the rest of her life be trapped within the longing for it and its substitutes,” the novel makes Soon Hyo forever look for Beccah’s translation, without which she can be neither spoken nor heard (Chow, *Writing Diaspora* 32).

The novel represents Beccah’s translation of Soon Hyo’s shamanistic voice on two levels. First, on the level of a character, the novel depicts Beccah’s verbatim transcription and translation of Soon Hyo’s shamanistic testimonial materials. Beccah “flip[s] through [her] Korean-English dictionary” to meticulously, or “syllable by syllable,” transcribe and translate her mother’s testimonies in “a cassette tape” (CW 193). She then combines them with other information that she translated from “yellowing newspaper articles . . . about World War II, the Japanese, and [rape] camps” and “two official-looking . . . missing-persons reports” of her mother’s sisters (CW 173). On the level of double narrative, Beccah’s narrative itself functions as a cultural translation of Soon Hyo’s shamanism, and this function is highlighted especially in the two episodes of her shamanistic identification with Soon Hyo and Induk. In the *sal* episode which depicts her first shamanistic identification with her mother, Beccah uses the corporeal tropes of emptying and filling her body to figuratively explain a shamanistic act of accommodating another subject in one’s interiority. In the depiction of her second identification, to help a reader’s understanding of shamanistic accommodation, she again corporeally portrays the unity of a shaman’s and her spirit’s voices as the bodily oneness by stating that: “I dreamed . . . and found a beautiful woman waiting for me . . . then I realized it was

myself. ‘My name is Induk,’ the woman said through my lips. I looked into the face that was once my own and . . . the body that Induk now claimed” (CW 188).

Beccah’s cultural, double translation in her narrative is thematically linked to her development into a subject of translation in the denouement, and I refer to her narrative as an ethnographic *Bildungsroman*, whose representation of a protagonist’s development functions as an ethnography of another character. In her ethnographic *Bildungsroman*, her relationship with Soon Hyo is the very locus of *Bildung*, in which her mother passes down Korean shamanism to her, and she learns it intimately as the only daughter and person. Her development into a subject of translation of her mother’s *Bildung* is then necessitated by her mother. As the *Ch’onja-chaek* episode depicts, due to her lack of logocentric articulation, Soon Hyo is not allowed to perform the existing institutional practice of historicization, or “‘history’ . . . in the sense of a dense text” (Chow, *Primitive Passions* 191). Accordingly, Beccah’s task as a translator on behalf of her mother is the logocentric historicization of her mother’s shamanistic voice “whose value does not necessarily reside in [its] linguistic profundity and complexity” (Chow, *Primitive Passions* 191). She fulfills this task by not only her verbatim translation but also her narrative which functions as a cultural translation of her mother’s *Bildung*. Moreover, Beccah’s historicization will be free from any misinterpretation because she will transparently translate Soon Hyo’s voice, as if a spirit speaks through a shaman’s voice. To put it another way, the novel invests Beccah’s ethnic and gender affinities with ontoepistemological reliability as a subject of knowledge production and hints that she

can more faithfully claim a racial m/other's visibility and political significance in American society than any other does.

Soon Hyo and Beccah's mother-daughter relationship is reminiscent of the Korean/Americanization of the 'comfort women' issue that I discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Then, what specific kind of ambivalent knowledge does *Comfort Woman's* Korean/Americanization produce in comparison with other kinds of cultural production mentioned earlier in this chapter? First, the novel shares with the latter the nationalization of Korean American subjecthood, or what Yoneyama calls the "subjectification to U.S. judicial, legislative and other state apparatuses" ("Traveling Memories" 60). According to Chuh, American national subjecthood is defined as "a rights-endowed subject status (citizenship)" (*Imagine Otherwise* 22). Put differently, justice is defined as rights in her possession, and she should be able to represent herself in order to claim her rights as an implied proper subject of law. Her self-representation necessarily accompanies a representation of other subjects because one's construction of the self is not possible without her identification with and/or differentiation from them. In this vein, Beccah can be regarded as an American national subject because she can transparently translate Soon Hyo's Korean otherness, whereby she can also self-represent by universally showing how she is either similar to or different from her Korean m/other. In other words, her transparent translation of her mother's shamanistic voice is also her transparent self-/representations, which not only increases her legibility as an American national subject but also reinforces the myth of "[Anglo-American] liberalism's promise of universal representation" (Kang, *Compositional Subjects* 4).

In this line of logic, the more Beccah's Americanness is highlighted, the more Soon Hyo's un-Americanness—her foreign voice and inability to self-/represent—is underlined, all of which exacerbates her Orientalization. Ironically, Beccah also falls into the trap of the Orientalization of Korean otherness. The precondition for Beccah's transparent translation is the Korean-American binarism, in which the original meanings of the former can be probed, known, and affirmed by the latter. Under this binarism, Soon Hyo is Orientalized by the novel's deprivation of logocentric articulation from her and its depiction of the mystical, supernatural, and unfamiliar features of Korean shamanism. Simultaneously, under the same binarism, Beccah is also Orientalized because the transparency of her translation originates in her shared ethnic and gender subjectivity that is formed through her shamanistic identifications with her mother and Induk. That is to say, Beccah can transparently translate her m/other's voice because she also has her mother's otherness in her subjectivity, and accordingly, the more translatable, objectifiable, and Orientalizable Soon Hyo is, so is Beccah in alignment with her mother in her translation.

At the same time, the novel's Korean/Americanization invokes Soon Hyo as the Other of Orientalism, and this invocation debunks its doubly Orientalist knowledge production and Orientalism itself. Chow's dialectical invocation of the native as the Other of Orientalism helps to examine the novel's self-debunking logic (*Writing Diaspora* 49-50). Her invocation begins with a Lacanian psychoanalytic reading of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's imagination of the native, in which he sees the latter as "a kind of total other" who "is self-sufficient because he possesses *nothing*" and is in "a stage for

the incomplete (or antagonistic) nature of human society” (*Writing Diaspora* 49). To put it another way, a post-Enlightenment Western man can realize his and his society’s completeness only when he encounters an other, and Chow points out that in Rousseau’s imagination, a “man is completable only through others; that is, his identity is always obtained through otherness” (*Writing Diaspora* 49). Thus, the native is “not simply [as] a cultural other, but, in Lacanian language, the Other (big Other) that is before ‘separation,’ before the emergence of the *objet petit a*, the name for those . . . missing parts of the whole” (*Writing Diaspora* 49). The moment that the native, whom he has thought of as an object that would perfectly fit into his knowledge system, turns out to be the Other, or the missing part of his self without which he cannot exist as a complete human, is also the moment that the “object and knowledge of object . . . do not mutually correspond” (Chow, *Writing Diaspora* 115), thereby debunking his claim to sovereignty over the truth through his “reason as *transcendental poesis*” (Hegel 23, qtd. in da Silva 82, italics original). Chow’s invocation seamlessly applies to the novel’s Orientalist representation of Soon Hyo. The novel wishfully represents that Beccah can transparently translate Soon Hyo’s otherness, and its wishful representation reinforces Beccah’s legibility as a normative American subject in possession of self-/representationability. On the flip side, Soon Hyo becomes the Other of American national subjecthood because the latter cannot sustain without her otherness, whereby she debunks the novel’s Orientalist representation, as well as the American knowledge system’s claim to epistemic sovereignty.

As Soon Hyo is both an other and the Other of American Orientalism, the *Ch’onja-chaek* episode can also be read in a way other than hinting at Beccah’s

development into a subject of translation necessitated by her impossibility of logocentric historicization of her shamanistic testimony. Chow's critique of the masculinist logic of Malek Alloula's postcolonial discourse in *The Colonial Harem* (1986) offers a clue to another plausible reading of the episode (*Writing Diaspora* 39-52). In her critique, she pays attention to an Algerian woman's gaze in picture postcards and realizes that she has always existed long before French colonial rule. As she is not an actual person, her gaze is neither "the gaze of the native-as-subject, nor the gaze of the anti-imperialist critic like Alloula . . . rather it is a simulation of the gaze that witnessed the native's oppression prior to her becoming image" (*Writing Diaspora* 51). However, postcolonial discourses such as Alloula's have long held the reductive binarism of the colonizer as a primary, active gaze and the native women as a passive object, whereby the native Algerian woman on postcards is doubly Orientalized first by French colonialism and later by Alloula himself. Chow thus asks: what kind of self-consciousness does a colonizer have when he is "looked at by the native's gaze," or the gaze of the Other of colonialism, and becomes "'conscious of himself . . . reflected' in the native-object" (*Writing Diaspora* 51)? His self-consciousness is undoubtedly not the one in "Hegel's story . . . about Western Man's highest achievement," but the one in "a story about the disturbing effect of Western Man's encounter with" his innate incompleteness" (*Writing Diaspora* 51). The same question can also be asked of a self-declared subject of political discourse, re/historicization, representation, and/or translation.

Chow's critique helps to read Soon Hyo's gaze as the native's in the *Ch'onja-chaek* episode in the first block quotation above. In the episode, she looks at the images

of her life trajectory from her childhood to her and her sister's victimization by Japanese colonialism in the Ch'onja-chaek, a symbol of Beccah's translation of her voice which the novel invests with transparency. She is not only a (fictive) native woman who existed before Japanese colonialism: "I saw myself and my sisters as children, hanging on to our mother as she moved through our barley field and tended to our garden" (CW 53). She is also the native's gaze witnessing Korean women's victimization by Japan's military sexual slavery: "I saw myself underneath the pumping bodies of Japanese soldiers and, in the later pages, saw my oldest sister beneath the same soldiers" (CW 54). Simultaneously, she is an other of American Orientalism as the novel deprives her of the ability of logocentric historicization, reduces her to "the rapidly moving pictures," and necessitates her daughter's transparent translation of her shamanistic voice, which consequently increases her daughter's legibility as an American national subject who can universally self-/represent (CW 53). However, she is also the Other of American Orientalism because she the missing part of it, without which the ideology, and Beccah's American national subjecthood, cannot sustain. Accordingly, when Soon Hyo as the Other, or the native as the gaze, is "concentrating on the . . . pictures" of herself as an other, she reveals the unsustainability of all ideologies of the novel, from Japanese colonialism to American Orientalism and Anglo-American liberalism which claims universal representation (CW 53). Soon Hyo as the Other is also hinted at in the scene of her funeral in the second block quotation, in which "[i]nk-black spider legs . . . wiggled out from the words [Beccah] had scribbled" while transcribing and translating her shamanistic testimonies as

a former comfort woman as if she is no more signifiable by any of those ideologies (*CW* 208-09).

When Beccah's translational, representational, and epistemic agency is de/stabilized by the simultaneous coexistence of Soon Hyo's otherness and Otherness, what does this ambivalence imply? On the one hand, an Asian American knowing subject cannot form or claim his/her agency through his/her relationship with an Asian other/Other, which rather exposes that the hitherto presumed alignment of subject and agency is unwittingly complicit with a hegemonic ideology which s/he has purported to oppose. Instead, as Tina Chen insightfully states, Soon Hyo as an other and the Other encourages us "to interrogate agency in relation to objects or 'objectness'" and thus critically imagine "a differentiated and differentiating form of agency . . . [that is,] the objective agency . . . that serve to reformulate the subject/object divide" ("Agency/Asiancy" 64, 66). In this sense, ambivalent knowledge production by the Korean/Americanization of *Comfort Woman* offers an opportunity to reformulate agency in ethico-political ways through its own discursive limits.

Chapter 4
Cold War Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’
through the Universalization of Women’s Oppression
in Mary Lynn Bracht’s *White Chrysanthemum*

In her “An Open Letter to Mary Daly,” Audre Lorde critiques Daly’s *Gyn/Ecology*, which portrays “noneuropean women . . . only as victims and preyers—upon each other” and excludes “any images of my foremothers in power” to highlight women’s shared oppression (Lorde 67). Lorde warns that “[t]o imply . . . that all women suffer the same oppression simply because we are women is to lose sight of the many varied tools of patriarchy. It is to ignore how those tools are used by women without awareness against each other” (67). To rephrase her warning, although women share some kinds of oppression due to patriarchy’s systematicity, pervasiveness, and insidiousness, they do not respond uniformly to them. While some establish solidarity to fight for shared political goals, others, with aspirations for power, manipulate patriarchy against other fellow women and consequently reinforce it. Despite its pitfall discussed by Lorde, gender essentialism still has currency due to the profound prevalence of sexual violence in women’s everyday life. For example, Cressida J. Heyes, a feminist philosopher-activist who devotes her *Line Drawing* to critiquing gender essentialism, confesses the temptation of the ideology in the face of rampant rape culture: “I came to see gender as a horribly real and often absolutely overwhelming axis of difference in the

context of sexual violence. I sometimes felt as if all men stood on one side of the line, and all women on the other, and that nothing more remained to be said” (8).

Gender essentialism is also found in debates, disputes, and controversies on the ‘comfort women’ issue, a euphemism for the Japanese Imperial Army’s sexual slavery during World War II. For instance, as Eika Tai puts succinctly in *Comfort Women Activism*, there was an intense debate between Ueno Chizuko and Kim Pu-ja during the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women (133-37). In reclaiming a history of Japanese comfort women, Ueno criticized “the Korean nationalist discourse . . . [whose] distinction between forced and voluntary is equivalent to matching Korean comfort women against Japanese comfort women, with the result that a division is brought into play on the basis of nationality” (*Nationalism and Gender* 92). Without consideration of how postwar Japan’s amnesia of its compatriot female victims is different from the Korean one, and with a preoccupation with critiquing a shared, patriarchal logic of Korean and Japanese nationalisms, her criticism implies that Korean nationalism is no less responsible for this forgotten history. In response to Ueno’s homogenization of Korean and Japanese nationalisms, Kim first pointed out that although she “agrees with Ueno that the exploitation of Korean and Japanese women was caused by the patriarchal system,” “Ueno [neither] pay[s] adequate attention to the issue of Japan’s colonial control of Korea . . . [nor] see[s] Korean women as also suffering from Japan’s colonial control” (Kim; qtd. in Tai 135). Kim also reminds her that “postwar Japan has failed to deal with responsibility for colonial control . . . [and] this failure has contributed to shaping the [Korean] nationalist discourse in the Korean comfort women movement” (Kim; qtd. in

Tai 135). Tai also problematizes Ueno's gender-essentialist argument by mentioning "the position of non-prostitute Japanese women vis-à-vis both Japanese and Korean victims, that is, the former's complicity in the latter's ordeal" (134).

Mary Lynn Bracht's *White Chrysanthemum* (2018) is another example of a gender-essentialist representation of the 'comfort women' issue in Korean American literature. The novel links the issue with the Jeju 4.3 (April 3) Incident, the notorious red hunt sponsored by the U.S. military on Jeju Island during the national formation of South Korea, and transposes them to a comfort woman Hana's and her younger sister Emi's marital lives, respectively. On the one hand, the rape that Hana had experienced at a comfort station (rape camp) was repeated in her marital life with a Japanese deserter Morimoto during their refuge among Mongolian nomads. However, she is finally freed from his sexual victimization as the Soviet troops execute him, and she decides to launch a new life in Mongolia. Although Hana hopefully expects that the Mongolian nomadic way of life, which is based on female and male members' equal economic participation without any institutional patriarchal oppression, will guarantee her individual freedom, agency, autonomy, and dignity, it is hinted that her hope will soon be frustrated by the Sovietization of Mongolia. Emi also experiences sexual and economic subjugation in her conjugal relationship with an anticommunist police officer HyunMo during the Incident as he forces her to marry him, takes over her property, and makes her bear his children in the name of protecting her and the nation against communism. However, she gets out of all his abuse as he loses his job and financially depends on her. Emi raises her children

successfully, and her daughter YoonHui grows up as a middle-class matriarch based on her mother's legacy.

Through the juxtaposition of these two marital narratives and by spatially limiting the protagonists' struggles for emancipation to their marital lives, the novel homogenizes the Japanese colonial and the South Korean anticommunist patriarchies, comfort women's and female Jeju islanders' oppressions, and institutionalized and personal sexual violence, all leading to the universalization of women's oppression. However, without consideration of the U.S. military occupation of the southern part of the Korean peninsula that took over Japan's colonial legacies, how can we understand comfort women's relevance with the Jeju 4.3 Incident? In addition, what is implied by the novel's oppositional representations of Hana's impossibility of economic and sexual empowerment in communist Mongolia and Emi's success in this empowerment in capitalist South Korea, especially in the context of U.S.-Soviet Cold War rivalry in the Korean peninsula and East Asia? Last but not least, building upon its amnesia of Japanese-American interimperial violence against Korean women, is the novel's containment of women's narratives of economic, and thus sexual, empowerment in domestic realms not reminiscent of a homonymous U.S. Cold War policy, which asserts that any radical dissents should be contained domestically to prevent their infection of communism? By seeking answers to these questions, I aim to critique the novel's U.S. Cold War nationalist representation of comfort women through its universalization of women's oppression.

White Chrysanthemum has rarely received critics' attention. With the rise of critical transnational feminism and postcolonial studies in recent decades, they might have hastily concluded that it would be worthless to discuss the novel's anachronic, gender-essentialist vision, not to mention its plain use of tropes. I intervene in their uninterest by revealing the ongoing currency of a universalizing tendency in Korean/Asian American literary production by briefly comparing the novel with Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* (1999). As I elaborate in Chapter 2, *A Gesture Life* also homogenizes Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American cultural nationalisms to represent a comfort woman and Korean American diasporic male subject's shared national unbelonging to these three nation-states. Its homogenization leads to an American Cold War nationalist representation of comfort women because its overestimation of the shared logic of the three nationalisms necessarily underestimates their hegemonic relationship. It accordingly leads to amnesia of the United States' involvement and manipulation of Japan's comfort station system, such as its complete overlooking of it during the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (1946-1948) and establishment of U.S. military-centered prostitution modeled on the system, all of which intended to facilitate its Cold War effort in and beyond the Korean peninsula. However, its discursive limit has rarely been considered because of its thematization of urgent Asian American issues and elaborate use of poetic language. Such the opposite receptions of these two novels indicate that discursive pitfalls of gender essentialism are not always problematized, especially when it serves an urgent political agenda. This selective problematization allows the ideology's currency to continue across Asian

American high-brow and popular literatures and transpacific cultural production, exemplified by Ueno's scholarly writing in an earlier discussion. Thus, I hope my critique of *White Chrysanthemum* helps to re-attract a reader's attention to the recurrence of the ideology and its decontextualization, which would adversely affect the decades-long transnational effort for redress and reparation for comfort women.

My critical approach to *White Chrysanthemum* is my own effort to form a dialogue across political philosophy and Korean, Japanese, and American Studies, upon which my Korean/Asian Americanist critique of the novel is founded. This interdisciplinary dialogue begins by inviting Ernesto Laclau's theorization of universality as an empty signifier and the resultant conflicts for its signification, in which a hegemonic group usually wins over others. As his discussion makes room for memories forgotten by the novel's U.S.-led capitalist universalization of women's oppression, I describe them drawing upon Heo Ho-joon's dissertation and Kwŏn Gwi-suk's article on the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Both writings are also in dialogue as the latter supplements the former with a discussion that sheds light on the U.S. military government's inheritance of Japanese colonial legacies as a linkage between Japan's military sexual slavery and the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Lastly, Heo's and Kwŏn's scholarships are followed by Elaine Tyler May's, Lisa Yoneyama's, and Christina Klein's overlapping investigations on the policy of domestic containment in the United States, Japan, and South Korea, respectively. Their investigations help to see that the novel's entire textuality metaphorically works as domestic containment of memories of the U.S. Cold War involvement in the 'comfort women' issue.

This chapter is located in Part III, “Claiming Korea,” of my dissertation. Therese Park’s *A Gift of the Emperor* (1997) in Part I, “Claiming Korea(n)/America,” metonymically represents a Korean female immigrant subject’s formation of the double national belonging to South Korea and the United States through an emphatic representation of the anticommunist alliance between the nation-states. What differs this novel and *White Chrysanthemum* is that in contrast to the former, the latter does not set a Korean American female character’s grappling with her Americanness and instead focuses on representing the ‘comfort women’ issue in South Korea. This un-questioning of Korean American national belonging would metonymize a latter-generation Korean American female subject’s focused effort to form an affective relationship with South Korea, which would lead to a newly invested “Korean” American female subjectivity. However, Chang-rae Lee’s *A Gesture Life* (1999) and Nora Okja Keller’s *Comfort Woman* (1997) in Part II, “Claiming Korean America,” embody Korean American subjects’ affective distance from Korea through their representations of comfort women that increase their Korean “American” legibility. *A Gesture Life* takes a pessimistic approach to Korean American national belonging to the United States by critically representing Korean ethnic, Japanese colonial, and American cultural nationalism, all of whose ethnic/racial essentialist logic disavows his belonging. On the contrary, *Comfort Woman* optimistically represents multicultural America, where a Korean American female subject’s inheritance of and voicing for her comfort woman mother’s Koreanness would no more risk her national unbelonging.

The rest of this chapter consists of two parts. I first closely read the novel's universalization of women's oppression. The second part then examines the ways in which its universalization leads to the U.S. Cold War nationalization of the 'comfort women' issue by a detour through that of the Jeju 4.3 Incident. First, I conduct a semiotic analysis of the universal as an empty signifier to investigate why the novel's universalization necessarily makes the Japanese-American neo/colonial context slip from the issue, thereby allowing U.S.-led capitalism to occupy the emptied signification. I then conjure up counter-memories against the novel's hegemonic signification to shed light on the U.S. Cold War connection between those two kinds of neo/colonial injustice. This critical retrospection clarifies how the novel's decontextualization of this connection leads to an American Cold War nationalist representation of comfort women. In a concluding discussion, I compare the novel's discursive, thematic, and narrational metaphorizations of domestic containment with the homonymous U.S. Cold War policy to show how the novel is thematically and structurally complicit with U.S. Cold War imperialism.

The Universalization of Women's Oppression

As mentioned above, *White Chrysanthemum* universalizes women's oppression by linking the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery and the Jeju 4.3 Incident and transposing them to its female protagonists' marital lives. First, the former is transposed to a comfort woman Hana and Morimoto's marital life. Hana was originally a *haenyeo* (sea woman), a traditional female diver-matriarch who made her family's livelihood by

harvesting sea life. She and Morimoto first met during his patrol of Jeju Island with other Japanese soldiers. At the time, she was doing her *haenyeo* work, and he was about to discover her younger sister, Emi, playing at the seashore while waiting for her older sister. Hana sacrificed herself to rescue Emi from their abduction, and she was transported to a comfort station in Manchuria.

At the comfort station, Hana and other Korean comfort women suffered from brutal rapes by Japanese soldiers. While many died from rape, pregnancy, illness, torture, and opium addiction, Hana barely survived with the help and care of a Japanese comfort woman called Keiko, who rescued her from suicidal impulses and taught her to avoid venereal disease. After some time, Morimoto visited Hana. Morimoto had a delusion that Hana was a god-given substitute for his first wife, who died with their son at a Japanese internment camp, so he forced her to flee together. Despite her profound hatred toward him, Hana had no other choice but to accept his suggestion; otherwise, she would never be able to escape a comfort station.

Hana and Morimoto migrated to northern Mongolia to stay with nomads with whom he was smuggling opium. Unlike her previous life as a *haenyeo*, Hana had to depend economically on Morimoto, and her dependence made her impossible to resist his marital rape. Meanwhile, Hana gradually grew fond of the Mongolian nomadic life, whose absence of a rigid, patriarchal hierarchy allowed women to participate equally in familial and communal economic activities and thus share rights and authority with men. She built a friendship with some nomads, who later helped her escape Morimoto. However, he soon chased her. They met Soviet troops, and Morimoto was executed for

his association with Japan's Imperial Army. Fortunately, unlike other comfort women captivated and raped by Soviet soldiers, Hana was barely released from them as her Mongolian friends bribed them for her. After release, she decided to live with the Mongolian nomads because she was concerned about the political danger and sexual stigmatization that her return would cause her and her family. Despite her sadness over the impossible homecoming, Hana expected that their nomadic life would bring her again the matriarchal freedom, pride, and authority she once had as a *haenyeo*. Hana never saw her family again and died in Sovietized Mongolia.

The novel also transposes the Jeju 4.3 Incident to Emi and HyunMo's marital life. After Hana's abduction, Emi worked as a *haenyeo* instead of her older sister, and Korea was finally liberated from Japan in 1945 when she was in her late adolescence. The liberation was immediately followed by the Cold War division between the capitalist south under the U.S. military occupation and the communist north backed by the Soviet Union, and a bloodstained red hunt soon swept all over Jeju Island. More than twenty thousand innocent civilian islanders, including Emi's father, were massacred during the hunt, and Emi and her mother had to hide in a cave with other villagers to avoid the slaughter. Many died from starvation there, and Emi and her mother had to come out of it to find food. They were soon arrested by police officers, one of whom was her future husband, HyunMo. He was originally from the north, but after the communists' massacre of his family, he migrated to the south and participated in the red hunt for revenge. He already knew that Emi's household was relatively more prosperous than other neighbors, so he suggested a marriage of convenience, which was actually the forced one on the

condition of not executing her and her mother as communist sympathizers. Through marriage, he claimed her property and made her bear his children, whereby he easily settled down on the island. However, their marriage soon emotionally ended because he overlooked the execution of Emi's mother to protect his job, and so did his patriarchal abuse as he was dismissed from his job and became financially dependent on her. She achieved economic empowerment, which coincides with South Korea's economic development, and this coincidence allows a reader to read her as a national allegory. As a matriarch, Emi worked hard and passed down her wealth to her daughter YoonHui, who grew up as a professor and began a new, middle-class matriarchy based on her mother's legacy. Emi attained the dream that Hana also had but was unable to realize in Sovietized Mongolia, the dream to "become the breadwinner in her family, matriarch of her home, and master of her own destiny" (WC 287).

Almost 70 years after their separation, the symbolic reunion between Hana and Emi occurred at the one-thousandth Wednesday Demonstration against Japan's military sexual slavery during WWII where Emi saw the *Statue of Peace* modeled from a photograph of "a woman who was captured by Russian soldiers during World War II" (WC 283). Hana had to experience all the ordeal and die in diaspora due to the colonization of her homeland but finally embraced her younger sister, who overcame patriarchal oppression through economic empowerment, and her homeland, whose economic development has enabled it to be diplomatically powerful enough to demand justice from its previous colonizer.

Cold War Nationalizing ‘Comfort Women’

The rest of the chapter examines how the novel’s universalization of women’s oppression results in the assimilation of the ‘comfort women’ issue to U.S. Cold War imperialism. The examination first draws from Laclau’s semiotic discussion on the universal as an empty signifier. He begins his discussion by giving an example of a social antagonism between a national minority and an authoritarian regime (13-45). He first points out that this antagonism generates negative equivalence on both sides. On the regime’s side, as many historical instances have shown, the regime becomes complicit with and inseparable from other antagonistic forces, e.g., a foreign invasion, neo/colonial rule, and/or neoliberal transnational corporation, to maintain its hegemonic power. A national minority then perceives all these different antagonistic forces as equivalent entities that constitute the total threat to itself, so it signifies the unity of these entities as purely negative that transcends the specificities of each different antagonistic force. Similarly, another negative equivalence also occurs on the side of a national minority. The minority will perceive any mobilizing efforts with subversive goals as constitutive of its resistance or its resistance itself, thereby establishing the unity of resistant struggles against all equivalent antagonistic forces. This unity is also signified as purely negative by the regime as the latter sees the former as a total threat to itself.

Given that the unity of each group is an incarnation of something equally present in all its equivalent constituents, the longer the chain of equivalence is, the less concrete the unity will be. This equivalential expansion is ever-increasing to the extent that the unity of a national minority reaches the pure communitarian being entirely independent

of all particular manifestations of its differential constituents. At the same time, an authoritarian regime also expands to pure anti-community against, pure evil to, and pure negation of this pure communitarian being. This equivalential expansion implies that the pure anti-/communitarian being—or the universal of an anti-/community—does not have a content of its own and is only an absent fullness, whereby it becomes an empty signifier that cannot represent itself and must borrow a representational form from one of its constituents. However, none of the constituents is predetermined *per se* to represent it, and due to “the unevenness of the social,” that is, the power relationship, they have to compete with one another to claim a function of representing the universal, whose fulfillment by one particular constituent is always replaced by another at any moment (Laclau 43). To summarize, “[t]his relation by which a particular content becomes the signifier of the absent communitarian fullness is exactly what we call a *hegemonic relationship*. The presence of empty signifiers . . . is the very condition of hegemony” (Laclau 43, italics original).

In the same vein as the antagonism between two parties in Laclau’s discussion, on the male victimizer’s side, the novel juxtaposes Morimoto and HyunMo’s sexual violence to highlight how identical Japanese colonial patriarchy and the South Korean anticommunist one are. This chain of equivalent patriarchies gets longer by including other militarized patriarchies depicted in the novel. For example, as Morimoto and Japanese soldiers did at a comfort station, a Soviet soldier also attempts to rape Hana by “untying [her] sash” (WC 237). Moreover, North Korean communists, South Korean anticommunist police officers, and the U.S. government and its soldiers are all depicted

as equally brutal in their treatment of enemies. During the Attack on Pearl Harbor, when the antagonism between Japan and the United States was at its height, the U.S. government “declared all Japanese subjects in America traitors and spies . . . [and] put them into detention camps,” where Morimoto’s “son starved to death, and then [his] wife . . . hanged herself” (WC 239). During the national division in the Korean peninsula, North Korean “communists murdered . . . [HyunMo’s] family . . . [and] took everything from [him]” (WC 109), and South Korean police officers and U.S. soldiers massacred “[m]ore than seven hundred political dissidents . . . including [Emi’s] mother” during the Jeju 4.3. Incident (WC 226). Simply put, the novel highlights the homogeneity between South and North Korean, Japanese, Soviet, and American militarized masculinities and thus establishes hegemonic masculinity as the unity of patriarchies, or universal patriarchy, which Hana profoundly resents: “Your kind, soldiers, men, all of you are the worst creatures that plague this land. You bring your hatred and pain and suffering with you everywhere you go” (WC 272).

In this line of logic, on the female victim-characters’ side, all their different experiences of gendered oppression become equivalent and identical under universal patriarchy. As “one of the [Korean] girls at the brothel . . . said [that] [she] would repay [her] father’s debts by working in [a comfort station] Manchuria,” Korean comfort women were economically and sexually exploited through debt slavery, which a geisha-cum-comfort woman Keiko also could not avoid despite her colonially superior ethnicity (WC 264). The Soviet soldiers are not different from Japanese soldiers in treating them as one of the former captives and attempts to rape Hana, as well as “a pair of [other]

Korean girls sitting next to each other, clasping hands” (WC 226). Similarly, during the Jeju 4.3 Incident, HyunMo and “other [anticommunist] policemen . . . marry[] you [Jeju female islanders] to . . . keep the communists out of the South . . . breed them [anticommunist children] out . . . for . . . the good of Korea” (WC 109). While Hana, Japanese and Korean comfort women, Emi, and female Jeju islanders constitute the chain of women’s oppression, the chain increases once again by the novel’s transposition of Japan’s military sexual slavery and the Incident to Hana’s and Emi’s marital lives. Sexual and economic subjugation at a comfort station is repeated in Hana’s marital life with Morimoto because she could not resist his rape due to her helpless dependence on him for survival in an unknown place. Emi, too, experiences the same kind of subjugation in her conjugal relationship with HyunMo, who did not have any material means of resettlement in Jeju Island, took her property through marriage, and forced her to bear his children. In this way, the novel’s transposition represents how equivalent and identical the various kinds of women’s oppression are, from those between individuals in a domestic realm to the large-scale institutionalized ones. What is formed from this transposition is thus women’s universal oppression that all women experience the inherently same kind of victimization by universal patriarchy regardless of their differences in race, ethnicity, class, and other social constructs under different historical and political circumstances.

What kinds of memories slip from the novel’s universalization of patriarchy and those from its universalization of women’s oppression? To put it another way, what are the novel’s forgotten memories about the U.S. Cold War involvement in the continuity between the ‘comfort women’ issue and the Jeju 4.3 Incident that is in excess of a shared

logic of South Korean, Japanese, and American patriarchies? Heo Ho-joon's and Kwōn Gwi-suk's discussions provide useful hints about this continuity. Korea was finally liberated from Japan's colonial rule in 1945 when Japan and other Axis forces were defeated in WWII. However, the national liberation was immediately followed by the Cold War rivalry as the United States occupied the Southern part of the Korean peninsula while the Soviet Union took its northern part. Soon after, the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) took place, which "marked the onset of the Cold War . . . [as] [it] prompted the announcement of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947, followed by the Marshall Plan that June and the elaboration of the US's policy of 'containment' in July" (Heo 16). Meanwhile, Jeju Island, which had been Japan's military fortress during colonial rule due to its geographical proximity to China, Russia, and the Pacific, was fortified again by the U.S. military for "actualizing its containment strategy" against the Soviet Union (Heo 19). However, the island was also a region where many socialists and communists resided, leading to "[s]uch violent popular opposition to a postwar US occupation [that] occurred nowhere else" (Merrill; qtd. in Heo 17). The armed conflicts against the South-North national division began on April 3 on the island, and the failure of the May 10 election for establishing the Pro-American South Korean separate government soon followed it. These events alarmed US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) and led it to consider Jeju "the Greece of the Orient" and think that "[i]f the crux of ideological conflict in postwar Europe was Greece, which served as the direct catalyst for the declaration of the Truman Doctrine, the crux of ideological conflict in East Asia was South Korea" (Heo 17, 30). USAMGIK especially regarded the electoral failure as a

severe threat to containment and the entire island as a hotbed of communism, and thus it instantly made a suppression effort to ensure the success of the re-do election. After establishing a separate government in South Korea, USAMGIK again sponsored the large-scale red hunt in Jeju Island—the Jeju 4.3 Incident—by mobilizing the South Korean police and military, local far right-wing political and paramilitary organizations, and its military.

USAMGIK manipulated Japanese colonial legacies during the Incident “by “rebuild[ing] the police force and preserv[ing] parts of the colonial bureaucracy that had been built during the Japanese colonial period” (Heo 67). Accordingly, “the police system in South Korea was similar to the one utilized by the Japanese, and the police exercised the same authority and employed the same techniques” (Heo 68). It also hired “[South Korean] police officers who had collaborated with the Japanese,” and the senior positions on the Jeju police force were also filled with former members of the colonial police (Heo 67, 69). These pro-Japanese-to-pro-American collaborators “were [now] transformed into the vanguard of nation building, the foot soldiers of the right wing, and agents of oppression against the left wing” (Heo 68). Under USAMGIK’s sponsorship and command, they killed more than twenty thousand innocent civilians and committed horrendous sexual crimes against women, to name a few: rape, sexual torture, forced incest, and forced feticide. These examples included forced marriage between female Jeju islanders and male members of South Korean armed groups who had recently migrated to the island, such as Emi and HyunMo’s in *White Chrysanthemum*. As he narrates, this marriage ostensibly aimed at “keep[ing] the communists out of the South . . . [and]

breed[ing] [anti-communist children] . . . for . . . the good of Korea,” but its real purpose was to facilitate the latter’s resettlement by extorting the former’s money and properties (WC 109).

Kwōn Gwi-suk clarifies how the U.S. Cold War inheritance of Japan’s colonial legacies links the ‘comfort women’ issue and the Jeju 4.3 Incident. In Chang Ji-ūn’s words, Kwōn states that sexual violence against female Jeju islanders by South Korean police officers and members of paramilitary organizations was a locus in which “a previous experience of Japanese colonialism, a desire for founding an anti-communist nation, patriarchal disdain for women, an attempt to prove hegemonic masculinity, and male solidarity intersect one another” (Chang 192; qtd. in Kwōn 187). Here, Kwōn points out these perpetrators’ colonial mimicry, an act of becoming “*a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*” with their colonizer, which had begun during Japan’s colonial rule and continued under the U.S. military occupation (Bhabha, 122). When they collaborated with Japan’s colonial rule, they obtained its knowledge and technologies of victimizing comfort women and repressing independence fighters. After USAMGIK re-hired them as their agents, they reutilized them against Jeju female islanders to collaborate with it and to prove their hegemonic masculinity as powerful as their neo/colonizers’ counterparts in founding a patriarchally constructed, strong anticommunist nation. Under the overlapping of Japanese colonialism and U.S. Cold War imperialism, Japanese colonial mimicry continued and transformed into American-style anticommunist neocolonial mimicry, whereby Japan’s military sexual slavery and the Jeju 4.3 Incident are interconnected in terms of neo/colonial mentality.

An emphasis on the U.S. Cold War inheritance of Japanese colonial legacies allows us to see that the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery is linked with the Jeju 4.3 Incident and other issues too. To begin with, the U.S. military exonerated Japan's war crimes, including its military sexual slavery, at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (1946-1948) on condition of taking over the latter's war technologies to manipulate them for its Cold War effort in East Asia. In the same period, it also hired former pro-Japanese collaborators in the South Korean military and police agency. Among them were some military officers who participated in Japan's comfort station system, and under the U.S. military's order and sponsorship, they established U.S. military-centered prostitution, as well as comfort stations for the compatriot soldiers, both of which were modeled on Japan's system. Meanwhile, as discussed above, South Korean police officers massacred innocent civilians on Jeju Island under the U.S. military leadership. Such a series of examples show that the U.S. Cold War manipulation of Japanese colonial legacies links not only the 'comfort women' issue and the Jeju 4.3 Incident but also these two historical instances with other related issues, sometimes through specific policies and other times with a detour through relevant policies.

Hence, to answer the question above of what are the novel's forgotten memories about the link between comfort women and female Jeju islanders, they are the U.S. Cold War manipulation of Japanese colonial legacies. On the one hand, the novel's universalization of women's oppression helps to see the shared logic of Korean, Japanese, and American militarized masculinities and the resultant similarities between comfort women's victimization and female Jeju islanders'. Unfortunately, it overemphasizes their

shared logic, underestimates their neo/colonial power relationship, represents those masculinities as “equally” hegemonic, and thus decontextualizes how Japanese-U.S. interimperial violence gave rise to these similarities. Moreover, this decontextualization is exacerbated by the novel’s transposition of those two institutionalized sexual war crimes to Hana’s and Emi’s marital relationships. On the one hand, the novel contains Hana alone with her abusive husband in an isolated region of Mongolia while excluding any hinted or detailed depiction of the complexities of the trilateral neo/colonial relationship between Korea, Japan, and the United States. Building upon this containment, it identifies the colonial hegemonic relationship between Korean comfort women and Japanese soldiers with spontaneous rape between two individuals in an isolated domestic realm, whereby it universalizes women’s oppression. Accordingly, as if a hegemonic social group claims its representation of an empty signifier of universality through its power, the novel does a liberal capitalist representation of women’s universal oppression by depicting Hana’s wish for personal economic and sexual empowerment against her Japanese husband’s marital rape, and metaphorically against Japan’s institutionalized, military sexual slavery. As if responding to her sister’s wish, Emi achieves this empowerment as she becomes the sole breadwinner of her household after her husband’s dismissal from his job and replaces her husband’s patriarchy with her matriarchy. Emi’s matriarchal legacies are later passed down to her daughter, allowing her to start her middle-class lesbian matriarchy. The trajectory of Emi’s economic and sexual empowerment coincides with South Korea’s capitalist development, thereby rendering her a national allegory. Unlike in the past when it was a war-torn and poorest former

colony, South Korea now confidently demands “[r]eparation for the [former comfort women] grandmothers” from the Japanese government, and Emi also no more fears “the [Japanese] embassy[] [whose] red brick building seems so small and unimposing,” and (WC 125, 275). Given Emi’s Cold War national(ist) allegorization, it can be assumed that Hana’s liberal capitalist wish is ultimately frustrated due to the Soviet Union’s communist rule of Mongolia. However, the novel attempts to symbolically compensate for Hana’s frustration through her symbolic homecoming in the novel’s denouement, in which she, embodied as the *Statue of Peace*, is reunited with Emi, who vicariously has achieved her wish.

To sum up, through the universalization of women’s oppression, the novel risks amnesia of the U.S. Cold War link between a comfort woman and a female Jeju islander, consequently enabling a liberal capitalist representation of a domestic realm as a locus of these women’s economic and sexual empowerment. The novel’s discursive trajectory metaphorizes the juncture of domestic containment as a national policy in the United States and the U.S. military government’s feminist reformations in South Korea and Japan as a method of implementing the policy in the transpacific. First, after WWII ended, Japanese women experienced a new era of women’s enfranchisement under the U.S.-led Allied occupation (1945-1952), according to Lisa Yoneyama (*Cold War Ruins* 81-107). Alarmed by the ever-increasing Cold War tension in East Asia later marked by the Chinese Communist Party’s victory in 1949 and the Korean War, General Douglas MacArthur, the then Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), “listed the enfranchisement of [Japanese] women at the top of his so-called Five Great Reforms”

(*Cold War Ruins* 90). Liberal feminist values such as equality between women and men and women's autonomy, free choice, individual spontaneity, and subjectivity were introduced, and marriage based on mutual consent, individual choice, and equality was stipulated in the law. Japanese women's activism through self-governing community organizations, modeled on American women's experience and guidance, was also encouraged. However, Yoneyama points out the message underlying SCAP's "benevolent" initiation of Japanese women's enfranchisement. It was that a "nondirect, nonviolent, deliberative process for political consensus through formal, institutionalized venues" would work well enough to lead the former enemy to "a steady and rapid path toward becoming a peaceful, democratic, and economically liberal sovereign entity" (*Cold War Ruins* 96, 82). In this sense, "antilabor, anticommunist American-style democracy" would be superior to any radical democratic movements that were no other than "political immaturity" and thus should be contained; otherwise, they would be plagued by communism (*Cold War Ruins* 96). It also propagated that as the United States had once "liberated . . . the Japanese themselves[] from Japan's military fanaticism, cultic imperial worship, and feudalism," it would also successfully reform other Asian peoples and guide them "into free and advanced citizens of the postwar democratic world" (*Cold War Ruins* 83).

As discussed by Klein in *Cold War Cosmopolitanism* (32-52), in South Korea as well, "[w]omen . . . were targeted by American agencies waging the cultural Cold War as a key demographic whose allegiance needed to be won" (38). At the end of the Korean War, the USIS (United States Information Service) promoted gender equality among

South Korean women with a vision that they could also become both happy mothers and wives and active participants in public and political activities as American women had already done. Along with the USIS's promotion, American civilian agencies sponsored some leading South Korean female public figures' travel to the United States to educate them on American women's activism. In return, the recipients of the grants extensively publicized among their female compatriots the "ways that Korea could modernize along American lines" in their writings and speeches about their experience in the United States (Klein 39). Among those Americanized Korean feminists, Kim Hwallan (Helen Kim) is a specific figure who exemplifies the U.S. military government's employment of former pro-Japanese collaborators in its feminist reformations for domestic containment. This employment was coupled with that of pro-Japanese-to-pro-American collaborators in the Korean National Police Agency and ROK Armed Forces. Kim was the first native president of Ewha Womans University, the first higher education institute for Korean women. As Klein points out, "Kim's feminism sometimes superseded her nationalism" (44). For example, during the colonial era, "her decision to accept the presidency of Ewha in 1939 enmeshed her in Japan's imperial network . . . [and] she spoke out publicly in support of colonial rule" and propagated the conscription of Korean soldiers in Japan's Imperial Army (Klein 44). After the national liberation, she was again profoundly associated with the U.S. Cold War network and "hailed the Korean War as a modernizing force for women, one that would enable them to 'abandon old customs and ideas'" (44). Needless to say, "Americans regarded her as an ally in the dual projects of nation building and bloc building, and several US institutions underwrote her work" (44).

Meanwhile, what were American women doing, those who were regarded as the ideal role model for Korean and Japanese feminists? They seemed to have already been fully liberated to the extent that staying in a domestic realm was no more a gender issue as they shared free entrance to the public one with their male counterparts. For example, Jean MacArthur, General Douglas MacArthur's wife, "could have reigned as a queen . . . [but] chose to remain a housewife" while Beate Sirota Gordon worked as "a SCAP staff member and interpreter who took part in the committee to draft the postwar Japanese Constitution . . . [and] 'inscribe[d] the equality between the sexes in [it]'" (Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins* 100, 97). In contrast, May states that the general public of American women and men actually experienced "containment at home" (108). During the postwar era, Cold War anxieties swept all over the United States, and the American public believed that World War III was imminent following the USSR's explosion of its first atomic bomb in 1949 and the Korean War in the next year. Accordingly, American people, as well as policymakers in Washington, believed that "[c]ontainment was the key to security . . . [because] [t]he terrifying destructive potential of the [USSR's] atomic bomb would not be a threat if it could be contained" (May 16). This conviction subsequently led to political conservatism that "[i]f subversive individuals could be contained and prevented from spreading their poisonous influence through the body politic, then the society could feel secure" (May 16). At the same time, any "dissent was routinely equated with communism," and the purging of homosexuals was mostly widespread because they were regarded as "especially vulnerable to blackmail by Soviet agents eager to recruit intelligence sources" (De Hart 132, 125). In this sense, with some

exceptions such as labor strikes, the Black civil rights movement, and the antinuclear movement, “the 1940s and 1950s did not foster the emergence of grassroots social movements whose leaders would challenge the system” (May 17). Instead, against the fear of World War III and political persecution and being assimilated to the domestic containment policy and its political conservatism, Americans contained themselves at home, believing their walls were “the best bulwark against the dangers of the cold war” (May 9). Americans wishfully believed that “affluence, consumer goods, satisfying sex, and children would strengthen their families, enabling them to steer clear of potential disruptions, and in pursuing their quest for the good life, they adhered to traditional gender roles and prized marital stability,” according to May (14-15).

To summarize, during the 1940s and 1950s, the two otherwise disparate phenomena—American women and men’s containment at home and political and sexual conservatism on the one hand and Korean and Japanese women’s enfranchisement on the other—are the interrelated result of the U.S. national and foreign policy of domestic containment, for which *White Chrysanthemum*’s entire textuality is a triple metaphor. On a discursive level, through its universalization of women’s oppression, the novel “contains” memories of how the U.S. Cold War inheritance of Japan’s colonial legacies linked the ‘comfort women’ issue and the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Based on its amnesia of these two wartime sexual crimes’ correlated institutionality and systematicity, the novel thematically “contains” Hana and Emi’s shared struggles for economic and sexual emancipation in the domestic realms. As American women and men have once done, these two female protagonists pursue individual freedom, autonomy, agency, and security

at home against political turmoil in the outside world. The protagonists' seemingly feminist achievement otherwise implies that an individual is a proper unit of resistance, whereas any radically democratic aspirations through a collective movement for directly forming political consensus should be repressed due to their easy infection with communism. In this sense, the novel's representation of Hana and Emi's achievements is reminiscent of the U.S. military's enfranchisement of South Korean and Japanese women, which was a method of implementing containment policy on foreign fronts.

Furthermore, the novel also formally metaphorize domestic containment. Its entire narrative mainly consists of Hana's and Emi's narratives, with an addition of only one chapter about Emi's daughter, YoonHui. Although the two protagonists' narratives are narrated alternately, they proceed separately, not showing any thematic and/or tropic relevance, and their narrational disconnection represents the "contained" memories of the U.S. Cold War linkage between the Japanese Imperial Army's sexual slavery and the Jeju 4.3 Incident. YoonHui's narrative unfolds at the end of the novel, in which she grew up as an academic woman, has already begun her middle-class lesbian patriarchy through the inheritance of her mother's property, and helps her mother's symbolic reunion with her aunt by finding out that the *Statue of Peace* was modeled from the latter. Despite her academic, economic, and historical efforts, YoonHui does not know comfort women and female Jeju islanders' interrelated histories, and her ignorance symbolizes the later generation's amnesia of these histories. In this sense, the novel's representation of comfort women exemplifies what Yoneyama calls Cold War feminism, which "demonstrate[s] how the cultural logic that posits the United States and its allies as the

site of democratic rights and freedom has been inseparably linked to the feminist universalism that characterizes American gender justice” (*Cold War Ruins* 86). To conclude, through its discursive, thematic, and narrational metaphorization of domestic containment, *White Chrysanthemum* falls into the fallacy that it becomes complicit with U.S. Cold War imperialism, as well as Japanese colonialism and (South) Korea’s collaboration with them, which it purports to represent critically.

Bibliography

Sources in English

- Abbey, Ruth. *The Return of Feminist Liberalism*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2011. Print.
- Abel, Hirsch, and Elizabeth Langland, eds. *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development*. Hanover: UP of New England, 1983. Print.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Infancy and History: On the Destruction of Experience*. Trans. Liz Heron. London: Verso, 1993. Print.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed., London: Verso, 2006. Print.
- Andrade, Susan Z. *The Nation Writ Small: African Fictions and Feminisms, 1958-1988*. Durham: Duke UP, 2011. Print.
- Baik, Crystal Mun-hye. *Reencounters: On the Korean War and Diasporic Memory Critique*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2020. Print.
- Banet-Weiser, Sarah, et al. "Postfeminism, Popular Feminism and Neoliberal Feminism? Sarah Banet-Weiser, Rosalind Gill and Catherine Rottenberg in Conversation." *Feminist Theory* 21.1 (2020): 03-24. Print.
- Barry, Kathleen. *Unmaking War, Remaking Men*. Santa Rosa: Phoenix Rising Press, 2011. Print.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- Blanchot, Maurice. *The Space of Literature*. Trans. Ann Smock. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989. Print.
- _____. *The Work of Fire*. Trans. Charlotte Mandell. Redwood City: Stanford UP, 1995. Print.
- Blaut, J. M. "Colonialism and the Rise of Capitalism." *Science & Society* 53.3 (1989): 260-96. Print.
- Bolaki, Stella. *Unsettling the Bildungsroman: Reading Contemporary Ethnic American Women's Fiction*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011. Print.
- Bracht, Mary Lynn. *White Chrysanthemum*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2018. Print.

- Bruce Jr., Dickson D. "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Idea of Double Consciousness." *American Literature* 64.2 (1992): 299-309. Print.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999. Print.
- _____. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997. Print.
- Carroll, Hamilton. "Traumatic Patriarchy: Reading Gendered Nationalisms in Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life*." *Modern Fiction Studies* 51.3 (2005): 592-616. Print.
- Chancy, Myriam J. A. *Searching for Safe Spaces: Afro-Caribbean Women Writers in Exile*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1997. Print.
- Chang, Jieun. *National Narrative, Traumatic Memory and Testimony: Reading Traces of the Cheju April Third Incident, South Korea, 1948*. 2011. New York U, PhD dissertation. Print.
- Chen, Tina. "Agency/Asiancy." *The Routledge Companion to Asian American and Pacific Islander Literature*. Ed. Rachel C. Lee. New York: Routledge, 2014. 56-67. Print.
- _____. *Double Agency: Acts of Impersonation in Asian American Literature and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2005. 114-51. Print.
- Cheng, Anne Anlin. *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief*. New York: Oxford UP, 2000. Print.
- Cheung, King-Kok, ed. *An Interethnic Companion to Asian American Literature*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997. Print.
- Cho, Grace M. *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*. Minneapolis: The U of Minnesota P, 2008. Print.
- Chow, Rey. *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema*. New York: Columbia UP, 1995. Print.
- _____. *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993.
- Collet, Christian and Pei-te Lien. "The Transnational Politics of Asian Americans: Controversies, Questions, Convergence." *The Transnational Politics of Asian*

- Americans*. Christian Collet and Pei-te Lien, eds. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2009. 1-22. Print.
- Chu, Patricia P. *Assimilating Asians: Gendered Strategies of Authorship in Asian America*. Durham: Duke UP, 2000. Print.
- _____. “‘To Hide Her True Self’: Sentimentality and the Search for an Intersubjective Self in Nora Okja Keller’s *Comfort Woman*.” *Asian North American Identities: Beyond the Hyphen*. Eds. Eleanor Ty and Donald C. Goellnicht. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2004. 61-83. Print.
- Chuh, Kandice. “Discomforting Knowledge: Or, Korean “Comfort Women” and Asian Americanist Critical Practice.” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6.1 (2003): 5-23. Print.
- _____. “Guest Editor’ Introduction.” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6.1 (2003): 1-4. Print.
- _____. *Imagine Otherwise: On Asian Americanist Critique*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.
- Cocalis, Susan L. “The Transformation of Bildung from an Image to an Ideal.” *Monatshefte* 70.4 (1978): 399-414. Print.
- Cooppan, Vilashini. “The Double Politics of Double Consciousness: Nationalism and Globalism in *The Souls of Black Folk*.” *Public Culture* 17.2 (2005): 299-318. Print.
- Cowart, David. *Trailing Clouds: Immigrant Fiction in Contemporary America*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2006. Print.
- Cumings, Bruce. *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes 1945-1947*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989. Print.
- Da Silva, Denise Ferreira. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007. Print.
- Daly, Mary. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1990. Print.
- De Hart, Jane Sherron. “Containment at Home: Gender, Sexuality, and National Identity in Cold War America.” *Rethinking Gold War Culture*. Eds. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001. Print.
- Dowling, William C. *Jameson, Althusser, Marx: An Introduction to the Political Unconscious*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984. Print.

- Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Oxford UP, 2007. Print.
- Duncan, Patti. *Tell This Silence: Asian American Women Writers and the Politics of Speech*. Iowa City: U of Iowa Press, 2004. 173-213. Print.
- Eng, David L. and Shinhee Han. *Racial Melancholia, Racial Dissociation: On the Social and Psychic Lives of Asian Americans*. Durham: Duke UP, 2018. Print.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Oakland: U of California P, 2014. Print.
- _____. *Does Khaki Become You?: The Militarisation of Women's Lives*. London: Pluto Press, 1983. Print.
- _____. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Oakland: U of California P, 2000. Print.
- _____. *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*. Oakland: U of California P, 2004. Print.
- _____. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Oakland: U of California P, 2003. Print.
- Espiritu, Yen Le. *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1992. Print.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press, 2008. Print.
- Fink, Bruce. *Lacan to the Letter: Reading Écrits Closely*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995. Print.
- _____. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.
- _____. *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Eds. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton. Amherst: The U of Massachusetts P, 1988. Print.
- Freud, Sigmund. *On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology, and Other Works*. Trans. James Strachey. London: The Hogart

- Press, 1999. Print. Vol. 14 of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. 24 vols. 1999. Print.
- Fujiwara, Lynn and Shireen Roshanravan. "Introduction." *Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Politics*. Eds. Lynn Fujiwara and Shireen Roshanravan. Seattle: U of Washington P, 2018. 3-24. Print.
- Fujitani, Takashi. *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II*. Oakland: U of California P, 2011. Print.
- Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed., New York: Columbia UP, 2019. Print.
- Goldman, Emma. *Anarchism and Other Essays*. Los Angeles: Enhanced Media Publishing, 2017. Print.
- Haithman, Diane. "Baring the Scars of Shame." *Los Angeles Times*, 4 Apr. 1999, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-apr-04-ca-23914-story.html>. Accessed 17 May 2017.
- Harris, Cheryl I. "Whiteness as Property." *Harvard Law Review* 106.8 (1993): 1707-91. Print.
- Hegel, G. W. F. *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977. Print.
- Heo, Ho-joon. *American Involvement in the Jeju April 3 Incident: What the US Did on Jeju Island*. Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, 2021. Print.
- Herr, Ranjoo Seodu. "The Possibility of Nationalist Feminism." *Hypatia* 18.3 (2003): 135-60. Print.
- Heyes, Cressida J. *Line Drawings: Defining Women through Feminist Practice*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2000. Print.
- Hicks, George. *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1994. Print.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Ed. J. C. A. Gaskin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998. Print.
- Hong, Grace Kyungwon. *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2006. Print.
- Hsu, Madeline Y. "Asian Americans and the Cold War." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. 04. Oxford University Press. Date of access 12 Apr. 2023,

<<https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-44>>

- Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. London: Routledge, 2002. Print.
- Jeon, Joseph Jonghyun. *Racial Things, Racial Forms: Objecthood in Avant-Garde Asian American Poetry*. Iowa City: U OF Iowa P, 2012. Print.
- Jo, Ji-Yeon O. *Homing: An Affective Topography of Ethnic Korean Return Migration*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2018. Print.
- Joo, Rachael Miyung and Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, eds. *A Companion to Korean American Studies*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. Print.
- Kant, Immanuel. *The Critique of Pure Reason*. Eds. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood. New York: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.
- Kang, Laura Hyun Yi. *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women*. Durham: Duke UP, 2002. Print.
- _____. "Conjuring "Comfort Women": Mediated Affiliations and Disciplined Subjects in Korean/American Transnationality." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6.1 (2003): 25-55. Print.
- _____. *Traffic in Asian Women*. Durham: Duke UP, 2020. Print.
- Keller, Nora Okja. *Comfort Woman*. New York: Penguin Books, 1998. Print.
- Klein, Christina. *Cold War Cosmopolitanism: Period Style in 1950s Korean Cinema*. Oakland: U of California P, 2020. Print.
- _____. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961*. Oakland: U of California P, 2003. Print.
- Kim, Daniel Y. "Once More, with Feeling: Cold War Masculinity and the Sentiment of Patriotism in John Okada's *No-No Boy*." *Criticism* 47.1 (2005): 65-83. Print.
- Kim, Elaine H. "Teumsae-eso: Korean American Women between Feminism and Nationalism." *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender, and the State*. Ed. Arturo J. Aldama. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003. 311-21. Print.
- Kim, Elaine H. and Chungmoo Choi eds. *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism*. New York: Routledge, 1998. Print.

- Kim, Jodi. *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2010. Print.
- Kim, Suzy. "The Origins of Cold War Feminism during the Korean War." *Gender & History* 31.2 (2019): 460-79. Print.
- Ko, Jeongyun. "Politics of Representation: Americanization of Korean Comfort Women and Camptown Sex Worker Discourse." *The Jungang Journal of English Language and Literature* 56.1 (2014): 19-46. Print.
- Koikari, Mire. *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2008. Print.
- Koshy, Susan. *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2004. Print.
- Kristeva, Julia. *The Kristeva Reader*. Ed. Toril Moi. New York: Columbia UP, 1986. Print.
- Kuznick, Peter J. and James Gilbert, eds. *Rethinking Cold War Culture*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001. Print.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book XI: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*. Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978. Print.
- _____. *The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis 1954-1955*. Trans. Sylvana Tomaselli. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991. Print.
- Laclau, Ernesto. *Emancipation(s)*. London: Verso, 1996. Print.
- Lee, Chang-rae. *A Gesture Life*. New York: Riverhead Books, 1999. Print.
- Lee, Helene K. *Between Foreign and Family: Return Migration and Identity Construction among Korean Americans and Korean Chinese*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2018. Print.
- Lee, Jin-kyung. *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2010. Print.
- Lee, Kun Jong. "Princess Pari in Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman*." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 12.2 (2004): 431-56. Print.
- Lee, Na-Young. "Global/Local Gender Order and Women's Body in Korea: Japanese Military 'Comfort Women' and U.S. Camptown Prostitutes ('Yanggongju')." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 161.1 (2013): 3-38. Print.

- Lee, Sasha Y. *Cover-up and Denial/Playboy*. 1997. *Positions: Asia Critique* 5.1 (1997), <https://read.dukeupress.edu/positions/article-abstract/5/1/282/21926/Artwork-by-Korean-American-Artists?redirectedFrom=PDF>.
- Lee, Yoon Sun. *Modern Minority: Asian American Literature and Everyday Life*. New York: Oxford UP, 2013. Print.
- Lee, Young-Oak and Nora Okja Keller. "Nora Okja Keller and the Silenced Woman: An Interview." *MELUS* 28.4 (2003):145-65. Print.
- Leiwei Li, David. "The State and Subject of Asian American Criticism: Psychoanalysis, Transnational Discourse, and Democratic Ideals." *American Literary History* 15.3 (2003): 603-24. Print.
- Levinas, Emmanuel. *Entre Nous: On Thinking of the Other*. New York: Columbia UP, 1998. Print.
- Lim, Shirley Geok-lin. "Complications of Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asian American Literature." *Challenging Boundaries: Gender and Periodization*. Eds. Joyce W. Warren and Margaret Dickie. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2000. 107-33. Print.
- Ling, Jinqi. *Narrating Nationalisms: Ideology and Form in Asian American Literature*. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. Print.
- Lorde, Audre. *Sister Outsider*. Rev. ed. Feasterville Trevoise: Crossing Press, 2007. Print.
- Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts*. Durham: Duke UP, 1996. Print.
- Ma, Sheng-mei. *Immigrant Subjectivities in Asian American and Asian Diaspora Literatures*. Albany: State U of New York P, 1998. Print.
- _____. *The Deathly Embrace: Orientalism and Asian American Identity*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2000. Print.
- May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. Rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 2008. Print.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Mezei Kathy, ed. *Ambiguous Discourse: Feminist Narratology and British Women Writers*. Chapel Hill: The U of North Carolina P, 1996. Print.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Transnational Feminist Crossings: On Neoliberalism and Radical Critique." *Signs* 38.4 (2013): 967-91. Print.

- _____. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Print.
- Moon, Katharine H.S. *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997. Print.
- Moraga, Cherríe L. and Gloria E. Anzaldúa, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 2002. Print.
- Moretti, Franco. *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*. London: Verso, 1987. 15-73. Print.
- Najmi, Samina. "Decolonizing the Bildungsroman: Narratives of War and Womanhood in Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman*." *Form and Transformation in Asian American Literature*. Eds. Zhou Xiaojing and Samina Najmi. Seattle: U of Washington Press, 2005. 209-30. Print.
- Nguyen, Viet Thanh. *Race and Resistance: Literature and Politics in Asian America*. New York: Oxford UP, 2002. Print.
- Noh, Eliza. "Problematics of Transnational Feminism for Asian American Women." *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3.3 (2003): 131-49. Print.
- Okada, John. *No-No Boy*. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1978. Print.
- Page, Amanda M. *Understanding Chang-rae Lee*. Chapel Hill: U of South Carolina P, 2017. Print.
- Park, Therese. *A Gift of the Emperor*. Duluth: Spinsters Ink. 1996. Print.
- _____. "To Give a Voice." *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*. Eds. Margaret D. Stetz and Bonnie B.C. Oh, Armonk: An East Gate Book, 2001. 218-22. Print.
- Poster, Mark, ed. *Politics, Theory, and Contemporary Culture*. New York: Columbia UP, 1993. Print.
- Pratt, Geraldine. *Working Feminism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2004. Print.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed., New York: Routledge, 2008. Print.
- Punday, Daniel. *Narrative Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Narratology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Print.

- Rae, Gavin. *Poststructuralist Agency: The Subject in Twentieth-Century Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2020. Print.
- Read, Malcom. "Explorations of the Political/Ideological Unconscious: Fredric Jameson and Juan Carlos Rodríguez." *Mediations* 32.1 (2018): 71-94. Print.
- Rhee, Jeong-eun. "Dis/locating Oriental Citizen-Subject Makings: A Postcolonial Reading of Korean/Asian American Women's Narratives." *Counterpoints* 369.1 (2009): 249-67. Print.
- Rhee, Suk Koo. "Consumable Bodies and Ethnic (Hi)Stories: Strategies and Risks of Representation in *A Gesture Life*." *Discourse* 34.1 (2012): 93-112. Print.
- Robinson, Cedric J. *On Racial Capitalism, Black Internationalism, and Cultures of Resistance*. Ed. H. L. T. Quan. London: Pluto Press, 2019. Print.
- Rottenberg, Catherine. *The Rise of Neoliberal Feminism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018. Print.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. Print.
- _____. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. Print.
- Sakai, Naoki and Hyon Joo Yoo eds. *The Trans-Pacific Imagination: Rethinking Boundary, Culture and Society*. Toh Tuck Link: World Scientific, 2012. Print.
- Schlund-Vials, Cathy J. and Linda Trinh Võ and K. Scott Wong eds. *Keywords for Asian American Studies*. New York: NYU Press, 2015. Print.
- Schultermandl, Silvia. "Writing Rape, Trauma, and Transnationality onto the Female Body: Matrilineal Em-body-ment in Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman*." *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 7.2 (2007): 71-100. Print.
- Schwab, Gabriele. *Imaginary Ethnographies: Literature, Culture, and Subjectivity*. New York: Columbia UP, 2012. Print.
- Seo, Akwi. "Toward Postcolonial Feminist Subjectivity: Korean Women's Redress Movement for 'Comfort Women.'" *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*. Eds. Julia C. Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2018. 230-50. Print.
- Shigematsu, Setsu. "Rethinking Japanese Feminism and the Lessons of Ūman Ribū: Toward a Praxis of Critical Transnational Feminism." *Rethinking Japanese*

- Feminisms*. Eds. Julia C. Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2018. 205-29. Print.
- Shin, Gi-Wook. *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006. Print.
- Sinha, Mrinalini. *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995. Print.
- Soh, Chunghee Sarah. *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2008. Print.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravotry. "'Can the Subaltern Speak?' Revised Edition, from the 'History' Chapter of *Critique of Postcolonial Reason*." *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Ed. Rosalind C. Morris. New York: Columbia UP, 2010. 21-78. Print.
- Stetz, Margaret D. and Bonnie B.C. Oh, eds. *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*. New York: An East Gate Book, 2001. Print.
- Tai, Eika. *Comfort Women Activism: Critical Voices from the Perpetrator State*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong UP, 2020. Print.
- Tan, Amy. *The Joy Luck Club*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1989. Print.
- Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.
- Thoma, Pamela. *Asian American Women's Popular Literature: Feminizing Genres and Neoliberal Belonging*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2014. Print.
- _____. "Cultural Autobiography, Testimonial, and Asian American Transnational Feminist Coalition in the 'Comfort Women of World War II' Conference." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 21.1 (2000): 29-54. Print.
- Trinh, Minh-ha T. *Woman, Native, Other*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1989. Print.
- Ueno, Chizuko. *Nationalism and Gender*. Trans. Beverley Yamamoto. Balwyn: Trans Pacific P, 2004. Print.
- Warren, Joyce W. "The Challenge of Women's Periods." *Challenging Boundaries: Gender and Periodization*. Eds. Joyce W. Warren and Margaret Dickie. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2000. ix-xxiv. Print.

- Warren, Joyce W. and Margaret Dickie, eds. *Challenging Boundaries: Gender and Periodization*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2000. Print.
- Wei, William. *The Asian American Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1993. Print.
- Whelehan, Imelda. *Modern Feminist Thought: From the Second Wave to 'Post-Feminism.'* Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995. Print.
- Wu, Jean Yu-wen Shen and Thomas C. Chen eds. *Asian American Studies Now: A Critical Reader*. Piscataway: Rutgers UP, 2009. Print.
- Wu, Judy Tzu-chun. "Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Feminisms: Radicalism, Liberalism, and Invisibility." *Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Politics*. Eds. Lynn Fujiwara and Shireen Roshanravan. Seattle: U of Washington P, 2018. 43-65. Print.
- Yoneyama, Lisa. *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Durham: Duke UP, 2016. Print.
- _____. "Traveling Memories, Contagious Justice: Americanization of Japanese War Crimes at the End of the Post-Cold War." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6.1 (2003): 57-93. Print.
- Yoshimi, Yoshiaki. *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II*. Trans. Suzanne O'Brien. New York: Columbia UP, 1995. Print.
- Yuh, Ji-Yeon. *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America*. New York: New York UP, 2002.
- Zhou, Min and Anthony C. Ocampo, eds. *Contemporary Asian America: A Multidisciplinary Reader*. New York: New York UP, 2016. Print.
- Žižek, Slavoj. "Class Struggle or Postmodernism? Yes, please!" *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*. Eds. Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau and Slavoj Žižek. New York: Verso, 2000. 90-135. Print.

Sources in Korean

- Choe, Eun-Ju, "The Politics Surrounding the Love of Korean Comfort Women: "Comfort women" as a Media of Colonial/National Desire." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 64 (2015): 99-117. Print.
- Gwon, Gwi-sook. "Gender and Women's History: On the Jeju 4·3 Incident." *Research Institute for the Tamla Culture*, 45 (2014): 169-98. Print.

- Kim, Gwi-ok. Kŭgose hangukkun'wianbu'ka issŏtta: Shigminjuŭiwa chŏnjaeng, kabujangjeŭi kongjo [There Were ROK Army's 'Comfort Women': The Complicity among Colonialism, War, and Patriarchy]. Seoul: Sunin Publishers, 2019. Print.
- Kim, Joohee. "A Critique of Ueno Chizuko's Gender-Essentialism." *Feminism and Korean Literature* 47 (2019): 13-53. Print.
- Kim, Hyun Gyung. "Cold War and 'Comfort Women': Bae Bong-Ki's Forgotten Life and Contested Death." *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 37.2 (2021): 203-36. Print.
- Lee, Na-Young. "Global/Local Gender Order and Women's Body in Korea: Japanese Military 'Comfort Women' and U.S. Camptown Prostitutes ('Yanggongju')." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 161.1 (2013): 3-38. Print.
- Park, Jeong-Mi. "A Study on Prostitution Policies during the Korean War: Focusing on 'Comfort Stations' and 'Comfort Women'." *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 27.2 (2011): 35-72. Print.