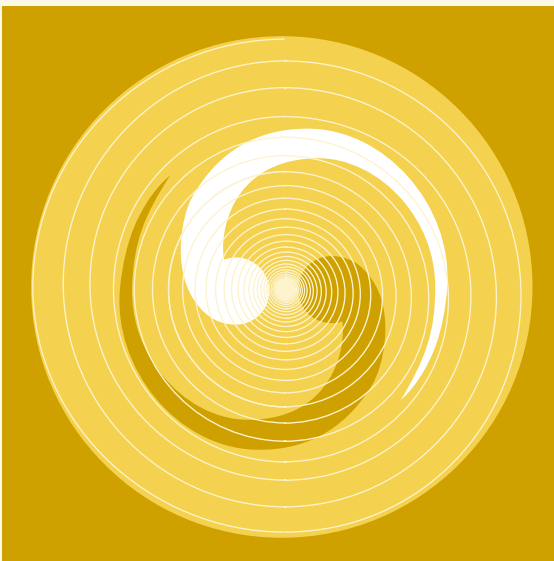


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Guest Editor's Introduction

A Philosophical Inquiry of Family in Korean Culture¹

Kim Heisook

Family is a difficult issue to deal with from a philosophical perspective. We have faced difficulties with the concept of family itself from the start of our inquiry into the family. In our research on the family, we shared the thought that the family is what constitutes a core of women's questions arising in the Korean context. We consider family questions as philosophical questions concerned with the fundamental human conditions and women's existence throughout history. In contrast with the family in the Korean context, the Japanese family as a philosophical question is also examined.

In East Asia, the concept and the reality of the family have historically been determined by Confucian tradition. The family was conceived primarily in its institutional role and never as a love relationship between man and woman. Filial piety has been the main virtue governing family relations, along with the virtue of paying loyalty to the king, in the Confucian context. The first paper deals with the concept of the family in traditional Korean society. It proposes that filial piety as the core concept of Korean traditional culture can be made viable through a reflective reconstruction of the concept. By shedding off the patriarchal elements embedded into the concept of filial piety, Kim Seseoria wants to transform it into a kind of bidirectional care ethics.

The existence of a caring mother has been at the center of the Korean family.

1. This group's research has been conducted through the support of the Korea Research Foundation Grant funded by the Korean Government (MOEHRD). The project grant number is KRF-2005-042-A00039. The participating researchers are Kim Heisook (manager), Kim Seseoria, Kang Jin-ok, Kim Hyu-ryun, and Sakiko Kitagawa.

However, the idea of mother as represented in our myths and legends is not that simple. The concept of maternity has been reconstructed within socio-historical contexts. In literary works, the contrast between the good mother and the bad mother has reflected the ideological tendency toward motherhood in that period when the works were written. Literature is an effective means to represent the ideological tendency. Kang Jin-ok examines the contrast between positive and negative mothers in various stories ranging from the ancient myths to modern novels. Kang thereby provides us with the modes in which the idea of maternity has transformed itself within the tradition of Korean narrative literature. Tensions between the image of good mother and that of bad mother represented in the story of stepmother can be identified as the other side of the patriarchal family. Kang examines the structure of tensions depicted in various stories in ancient and modern Korea.

The ideological background of East Asian traditional family has been provided by such philosophical texts as *Book of Changes*, where the union of man and woman is taken to be the beginning of the universe and ethics. In the Korean Confucian context, an individual is always a relational being that is defined in terms of social and family roles. It lacks its own subjective identity, independence, and moral autonomy. Marriage has been an essential element that defined the being of an individual, and especially the being of a woman. It has also essentially defined what the family is. Kim Heisook examines the relations between family ethics and social ethics in both traditional and contemporary societies, focusing on the condition for achieving the unity of society. She claims that we must free ourselves from the presupposition of marriage to reinterpret the concept of family.

One important internal element of what constitutes a family is an emotional tie among its members. It can be characterized as feelings of intimacy, warmth, comfort, trustfulness, cooperativeness, and loyalty. We may group these under the name of love or compassion. Kim Hyu-ryun considers the condition under which the emotion of compassion is rationalized, which she calls 'the sincerity condition'. She claims that a family relation on the basis of warm feelings by its own terms does not warrant the moral validity of subsequent actions upon feelings. In order for love to be morally relevant, the lover must express his or her feelings in one way or other and make sure that his or her intentions are authentic and the subsequent actions are in the best interest of the beloved. Such a requirement has to do with the sincerity condition for the proper operation of compassion.

Compared to a Korean family based upon Confucian values, the Japanese family has a far more principled role in defining moral theory. It was used as a channel through which Japanese modernization was carried out. In the process, the notion of the family state has been enforced to institute Japanese nationalism. Sakiko Kitagawa claims that the Japanese family was a social institution that has coped always with the state and conformed in a dubious way with Japanese nationalism. In this type of moral discourse, the concept of the family has always been used as mediation between the private moral life of one's intimate circle and the public morality of social issues. She believes that the most dangerous characteristic of Japanese modernity was that the social norms were sought mostly in the sphere of intimacy and its emotionality, and thereby people were emotionally engaged in national affairs and devoting themselves to the nation as to the family. She claims that there were social manipulations in this direction in the modern period and thus a critical reflection of the history of the misuse of the family relations is necessary. She also warns against the naïvete of an attempt to develop a moral theory modeled upon the intimacy and the emotions in family relations, instead of justice and right.

The Meaning of 'Filial Piety' and Ethics of Care in the Korean Family¹

Kim Seseoria

The Korean society which has entered the aging society very quickly is facing a new family problem concerning the aged and the big issue about caring for the aged socially. Filial piety has always been considered a hot issue in Korean society with its strong sense of Confucian familial emotion. An oppressive meaning inherent in filial piety cannot be overlooked even though filial piety practices traditional virtues and is related to humanism.

Premised on this critical eye, this paper proposes that a discourse on filial piety in modern times is a way to minimize the problems caused by emphasizing the consciousness of traditional filial piety, while putting an emphasis on the ethical side of care that filial piety has. This paper suggests the above in the following three points. First, this paper emphasizes that filial piety should not be a virtue confined to family relations and something solely dependent on maternity, but should be extended and applied to the male area beyond sex and social relations. Second, this paper emphasizes that filial piety should be discussed not from the viewpoint of care coming from the intimacy caused by special relations but from the viewpoint of right, equality, and justice among the people who exchange the acts of care. Third, this paper emphasizes that to practice filial piety should be based on responsibility and the self-nurture attendant on difficult works.

Keywords: family, traditional Confucianism, moral emotion, intimacy, filial piety, ethics of care

1. This work was supported by the Korea Research Foundation Grant funded by the Korean Government (MOEHRD) (KRF-2005-042-A00039).

Introduction

From the traditional point of view, family can be understood as a community 'sharing the same blood'. This is based on the assumption that each generation is connected through lineage and such connected people are one. The relation between parents and sons has been understood as the most intimate and deepest love and, accordingly, parents and sons have been regarded as the foundation of morality in traditional Confucian society. It is connected with this context that familial love has been particularly emphasized and filial piety has been remarkably emphasized in traditional Confucian society.

Meanwhile, can the meaning of family be similarly recognized by those of us who are living in a 21st-century society? Despite our affection toward traditional family, isn't the stronghold of kinsfolk collapsing rapidly in modern society? Therefore the existing familiar concept of family seems anachronistic and even doubtful. The exclusive qualities inherent in kinsfolk is considered to be duly overcome and the meaning of family has been changed and recognized not as a blood community based on marriage and living persons but as the group of people loving and taking care of one another. In the overwhelming situation of seeing family from the empirical point of view rather than in any particular form, family is understood as an enlarged concept, including all the various meetings of human relations presupposing emotional common care.

Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that family has an emotional narrative based on distinctive intimacy from other community and family discourses that are formed in relation to daily and intimate affairs. The reason we don't abolish the concept of 'family' despite many conflicts and oppression within the family is that we think family is a unit which establishes a certain emotional and sentimental solidarity different from other groups. Such a situation appears clearly in a Korean family that has been strongly affected by traditional Confucianism. Also, the discourses about family in such a Korean situation are not confined only to institutional and biological groups but are applied to the social community as well. In this context, filial piety seems to be connected with loyalty in traditional Confucianism. It can be understood in this context that the problem of supporting the aged in a Korean society that has already entered an aging society is being discussed in the phase of family discourses, such as the strengthening of the education of filial piety, inspiration of the consciousness of filial piety, campaign for respecting the aged, a respect-for-age week, the awarding for filial

conduct, and a drive for legalizing filial piety² rather than in the phase of social welfare.

Keeping such a real Korean situation in mind, this paper will survey the problem of supporting the aged and the values of filial piety in the aging period in the context of the feminist ethics of care.³ Though we cannot deny that filial piety has been realized in the patricentric direction of oppressing women in traditional society, the altruistic side and the ethics of care inherent in filial piety will be virtues still necessary to those who are living in the modern world. In fact, the problems of oppression and violence around filial piety within the family will be raised on both sides of receiving and practicing filial piety. It is very difficult to balance the equality of power within relations as it appears very complicatedly in the context of right and obligation. This paper will discuss whether it will be possible to rule out the oppressive quality of filial piety while encouraging the spirit of relational ethics and, if possible, how it will be done.

To develop these thoughts effectively, this paper will raise the following questions. What is the essential meaning of filial piety that has been emphasized by Confucianism? Is filial piety a problem of private emotions occurring between parents and sons or a problem of individual self-control? Does it have a value as an ideology of public morality? Is filial piety oppressive submission or willing care? What meaning does such traditional filial piety have in modern Korean society? When viewing filial piety as the ethics of care, is it different or the same from the feminist ethics of care? These problems are connected with

2. Recently, such an effort to legalize filial piety including 'the legislation of filial law' has been discussed in the process of deciding policies.

3. As a comparative study on the ethics of Confucian *jen* (benevolence) and the feminist ethics of care, see Chenyang Li (1994). Chenyang Li argues that Confucian *jen* and the feminist ethics of care are compatible. Li, who understands Confucian *jen* and care as exchangeable concepts, maintains that the center of the Confucian *jen* concept is to love others and it can be understood as the care of a natural tendency to take care of others. Li contends that Confucianism can be defined as 'care-oriented humanism' and Confucian love can be understood as 'responsible caring love'. On the contrary, Shin Ok-hi's "Feminist Ethics—Theory and Application" (1988) raises the strong question whether Confucian *jen* can be identified with the feminist ethics of care while recognizing that Confucian *jen* can be introduced as a kind of ethics of care. For the purpose of defining the direction of Korean feminist ethics, Shin Ok-hi, based on the views of ethics of Wonhyo and Jaspers instead of Confucian *jen*, tries a unifying approach between ethics focusing on care and ethics focusing on power. Kim Hye-suk (Kim Heisook) also approaches from a slightly negative point of view as to the possibility of Confucian feminism. Kim (1998) argues that "the major characteristics of Confucianism should be lost in order for Confucianism to meet feminism." Also refer to Yuan 2002 and Li 2002.

whether filial piety is spontaneous or something made artificially based on a kind of control and responsibility. Also, when viewing filial piety as the ethics of care, it is the problem of the ethical status that the acts of care have.

Essential Meaning of Filial Piety in Traditional Confucianism

1. Filial Piety as Moral Emotion: Between Private Intimacy and Public Authority

Jen (仁) in Confucian philosophy is humanity and altruism. ‘Altruism,’ interpreted as loving humans and other people, begins with the practice of filial piety, which becomes a virtue to realize humanity. Meanwhile, the meaning of filial piety in traditional Confucianism can be understood as authoritative hierarchy and the enforcement of obedience of the next generation according to vertical hierarchy between the previous and the next generation. Of course, such an evaluation of filial piety is justifiable in a way because the continuing obligation of the next generation, by means of sacrifice and obedience to the intention of the previous generation, whether the previous generation is alive or dead, is demanded. It is also because, irrespective of the acts of the previous generation, the unilateral acts of the next generation rather than the bilateral dutiful relations between the previous and the next generations are demanded to a considerable degree. “Those who are obedient to their parents and love their brothers seldom disobey the orders of the elders. Also, those who don’t disobey the orders of the elders seldom raise a disturbance” (Analects 2:2). This is a typical foundation to make us understand that filial piety means absolute submission of the next generation to the previous generation.

Beforehand, it must be recognized that filial piety in traditional Confucianism is a way of love coming from the most intimate relation with me, that is, the relation between parents and sons. It also stems from this fact that filial piety can be defined as private emotion of intimacy and, therefore, we can mention filial piety as ‘emotional care’. The contents of filial piety in traditional Confucianism can be summarized as follows: “One must respect his parents with great care at home; when one serves his parents, he must please them with great care; when parents are ill, he must look after their illness with great care; when one is in mourn-

ing after his parents' death, he must grieve for their death with great care; when one makes sacrifices to their parents' spirit, he must be grave with great care. (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 13)

This shows that filial piety is based on the emotion of intimacy because emotions change according to the conditions of parents, and one's mind and behavior also change according to one's emotion. Therefore, filial piety in traditional Confucianism is premised on love and respect and emphasizes the love toward parents without the exchange of emotions, and only material services without respect are not the real meaning of filial piety.

Today's filial piety means to serve parents with food. However, even a dog or a horse receives man's service. Therefore, what is the difference without respect? (Analects 2:7)

Even a small-minded person serves his parents with food. How can a virtuous person without a mind of respect be distinguished from a small-minded person? (Book of Rites, Chapter 30)

The above shows that filial piety is connected with emotional care. It is said that a filial son "doesn't comb his hair with worry about his parents' illness, doesn't walk too fast, doesn't make a joke when talking with people, doesn't play a musical instrument, doesn't eat meat until he loses appetite, doesn't drink until a change comes over his face, doesn't show his teeth and grin when laughing and doesn't speak critically of others when he becomes angry" (Book of Rites, Chapter 1). The Confucian warning against emotional sympathies like respect, pleasure, worry, sorrow, and graveness and the behaviors of betrayal like pride, indecency, and argument also show that filial piety is an emotional exchange between parents and sons.

Filial piety as emotional care is shown very well in Confucian funeral formalities.⁴ Confucianism makes it a rule to place a parent's body in a coffin on

4. At the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, in order to try to fortify the foundation of the dynasty through emphasizing filial piety, funeral formalities were strictly observed, and the numerous memorials to the throne by the Office of the Inspector General and the Ministry of Rites prove this.

the third day after the parent's death and this is also discussed in connection with the emotional condition of sons facing the death of a parent.

A certain person said, 'Why is a parent's body placed in a coffin on the third day of the parent's death?' He answered. 'When a parent is dead, a filial son is in agony. Therefore, he collapses crying over his parent's death, as if doing so will make his dead parent rise from the dead. Then, how is it possible to place the dead parent in a coffin contrary to the intention of the filial son? Thus, we usually prepare the body for burial on the third day'. (Book of Rites, Chapter 35)

Also, traditional Confucianism makes it a rule to observe three years of mourning when a parent dies and this was an emotional re-compensation for the parent's love and affection, like an infant parting from its mother's breast three years after its birth. In response to Jaea's saying that three years of mourning is too long, Confucius' retorts: "Will you feel it comfortable to eat with relish and put on beautiful clothes during the parent's mourning? If you feel it comfortable, do it. A virtuous person doesn't feel it delicious to eat tasty food, nor feels pleased with music, nor are his daily life and behavior comfortable. Therefore, he doesn't do so" (Analects 17:21). Thus, after the parent's death, "at any time he feels sad, a filial son always cries and observes a three-year mourning. It comes from longing for his parent. It is the feeling of a filial son and a truth of human feeling. Therefore, funeral formalities are mainly based on the feeling of sorrow" (Book of Rites, Chapter 35). When crying with severe sorrow, "women grieve beating their breasts and men bow touching their heads on the ground" (Book of Rites, Chapter 35). These are expressions of extreme sadness.

Confucius judged that a son's complaint against his father's theft was not real honesty (Book of Rites 13:18), and when the father laid a complaint against his unfilial son, Confucius only detained, didn't try him, and released him after three months according to his father's withdrawal of the suit. Such management by Confucius is premised on natural moral emotion between parents and sons and is a good example showing that such private emotions are superior to public norms. Such a situation can be seen in regulating the laws during the Joseon period that adopted Confucian ideology. In the codes of the Joseon dynasty, such as *Gyeongguk daejeon* (Grand Code of Managing the Nation), *Sok-daejeon* (Supplement to the National Code), *Daejeon tongpyeon* (Comprehensive National Code), and *Daejeon hoetong* (Comprehensive Collection of National

Codes), familial crimes between a lineal ascendant and a collateral descendant, an elder brother and a younger brother, or wife and concubine, were punished more severely than other crimes. This shows the tendency of Confucian thought that the intimacy between parents and sons is prior to legal norms.⁵

2. Filial Piety as a Mediating Mechanism: Is It a Private Norm or a Social Norm?

In traditional Confucianism, it was understood that family was a medium to connect the state with an individual and was an essentially basic system to maintain social order. Therefore, the Confucian state recognized family as part of the ruling organization and pursued a policy to take positive advantage of this. It was connected with this that the state encouraged people to respect parents of other people like their own parents and made the aged be respected not only with family and kinsmen but also within society through filial piety. It is in this context that Confucian society understands family order as a model of all social orders and applies familial norms to social relations.

Thus, the thought of denying familial order and establishing an extra public area irrespective of familial order doesn’t appear in a Confucian society. In traditional Confucianism, family becomes not only a private area to be overcome for establishing a public area, but also becomes a model of the public area and is recognized as a starting point of public activities. On the contrary, family in

5. The contents of the punishment for a murder case shown in *Salok* (Murder and Imprisonment) of *Daejeon hoetong* (Comprehensive National Code) show the Confucian ideology of Joseon toward family. When parents murder their son or daughter and an elder brother murders a younger brother on cruel purpose, they should be flogged or imprisoned for 1-3 years (徒刑). When a son murders an adulterer at his mother’s adultery scene, he should be exiled in consideration of the extenuating circumstances. When a father receives a severe wound from a beating and his son beats the offender to death, the son should be exiled except for a death sentence. When a father is murdered and a lawsuit is proceeding, the one who arbitrarily revenges his murdered father without waiting for the final decision should be exiled except for a death sentence. When a father is murdered, the one who doesn’t note the murder to the authorities, makes peace with the murderer privately, receives expenses for the funeral, and arbitrarily revenges his murdered father later on should be flogged one hundred times and be imprisoned for three years in accordance with the reconciliation rule instead of the revenge rule. When a wife arbitrarily murders her husband’s enemy or a mother an enemy of her murdered son or daughter, she should be flogged sixty times. When an unmarried woman is raped and her father beats the rapist to death on the spot, the father should be flogged one hundred times instead of receiving the death sentence.

Western tradition is considered something given naturally prior to a public area and its originality is recognized. However, family is devalued as an obstacle to the unity of the state. Such a thought of traditional Confucianism toward family and society unites a private familial area based on kinship with the public political area based on non-kinship according to the same principle of a patriarchal order.

The patriarchal order to mediate between blood group and non-blood group thinks highly of the head of a family (father) as ‘the Most Revered’ and considers him the center of all familial relations. Placing private ethics, familial ethics and social ethics altogether in the same category, the key to connecting them is considered the respect toward the head of a family, that is, filial piety. It is in this context that the relation between filial piety and loyalty is recognized very closely in Confucian society. Therefore, the relation between parents and sons in a family is often compared to the relation between the sovereign and the people in a society. As the sovereign is also born and nurtured by parents in a family like all the other people, it is emphasized that the sovereign should practice filial piety and friendly love in his own family. In this context, it is understood that the participation of the sovereign and the people in politics can be accomplished through practicing filial piety and brotherly love in a family. Only the way of practicing filial piety and brotherly love appear differently according to status and position.⁶

Filial piety and brotherly love within a family and loyalty toward the sovereign are compared like this and are in the same relation. In traditional Confucianism, filial piety is a virtue that is emphasized prior to loyalty and a virtue as familial and racial ethics prior to loyalty as social ethics. *Bujacheonhap* (relation between parents and sons is established by the Heaven) and *gunsinuihap* (relation between the sovereign and the subjects is established by justice) indicate clearly that the relation between parents and sons is prior to the relation between the sovereign and the subjects, and that the relation between parents and sons is established by the heaven and cannot be broken artificially (Classified

6. In *Book of Filial Piety*, the discussion about the way of practicing filial piety from the emperor to the common people shows this very well.

Conversations of Zhu Xi, Chapter 20). Thus, it is recognized that love by blood in the traditional Confucian family is too special to be compared to any other human relation.⁷ It is understood that, though the relation between the sovereign and the subjects is often compared to the relation between fathers and sons, it is a relation suitable to common purposes and justice and can be broken off whenever it doesn't serve the purpose. Thus it was demanded that, while one should advise his father or brother with a smile on his face not to harm kindness and affection, one should advise frankly the sovereign according to justice without considering the sovereign's feelings (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 20).

The filial piety of traditional Confucianism is not restricted to private emotions or familial norms of the relation between parents and sons but has a quality of public norms applicable to non-kinships. The idea that filial piety in Confucianism is not restricted to only private areas clearly appears in the explanation that Confucian human relations begin with love by blood and are extended to human relations and the natural world beyond the closest relation between parents and sons. In Confucianism, an individual is recognized not as an individual body but as an individual closely connected with its parents and ancestors. The body of an individual is a branch stemming from the trunk of the parents; accordingly, body, hair, and skin are the inheritance and it is recognized that not to harm them is the beginning of filial piety (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 1). However, it is discussed that filial piety and brotherly love and affection are not restricted to binding the bodies of an individual and parents altogether but should be extended. *Daehak's* (Great Learning) explanation, that extends the body of an individual and family to society, the state, and the world and considers them as an organic connection, is in the same context.

The function of filial piety as a public moral ideology was enlarged and strengthened through the Confucianism of the Han and Sung dynasties. As society grew bigger, the change of tying mechanism among social constituents was demanded and the necessity of connecting filial piety with loyalty, parents with the sovereign, and family with the state was strongly rising. The search of the Han dynasty for a new imperial order based on courtesy was related to changing the world into a familial area. This appeared in enlarging and applying the system of status based on the then task of establishing an absolute monarchy. That

7. This was explained in the theory of *chinchin'* (love toward family and parents) and *jonjon'* (love toward non-family members). Such a Confucian theory criticizes the Motzu's theory to love equally all the people in the world (Mencius Chapter 5).

is, it means the establishment of a patriarchal hierarchy to take the sovereign as the head of a family, bureaucrats as elder brothers, and subjects as sons. According to this theory, the state became a large family. Just as sons and daughters of a family must obey the head of the family, so to must the constituents of the state obey the ruler. It was natural in this context that *Book of Filial Piety* was of importance during the Han dynasty.⁸

Such a work was also the task of Neo-Confucianism during the Sung period. In *Seomyeong* (西銘), Chang Tsai, a Neo-Confucian scholar, considers filial piety an important moral norm and explains in detail the aspect of taking the sovereign as the head and the subjects as the eldest sons.

Geon (Heaven) is called father and *gon* (earth) mother. My tiny body lies within them mixed with heaven and earth. Therefore, *gi* (the material force) plentiful in heaven and on earth becomes my body and the main material of heaven and earth becomes my surname. The people are my brothers and all things are with me. The sovereign is the eldest son of our parents and his subjects are retainers of the eldest son. (Complete Collection of Zhu Xi, Chapter 4)

‘Our parents’ are not only real parents but also all the ancestors, and the sovereign is understood as the great eldest son of the head family. Every meaning in the order by blood is concentrated only on the sovereign. As shown above, private and public areas in traditional Confucianism aren’t clearly distinguished and filial piety is a key to connecting them.

3. Filial Piety in the Unbalance of Power: Oppressive Submission or Voluntary Consideration?

In general, there is obvious unbalance between parents and sons. In particular, in a society like a traditional Confucian society where patriarchal consciousness is dominant, the decisive power of the head of a family is compulsory to a considerable degree. It is a general tendency to understand filial piety as the meaning of obeying the head of a family.

8. During the Han period, though *Book of Filial Piety* wasn’t one of the Ogyeong (Five Confucian Classics) nor established an institute, it was viewed as important and actively studied.

For sons and daughters-in-law to be obedient and respectful is not to disobey their parents and parents-in-law and not to be negligent. When they are asked to eat food, they must taste it even though they don't like it and must wait for parents' order. When they are given clothes, they must try them even though they don't like them and must wait for parents' order. When they are given something to do and are replaced by others, they must have others do the work for a while and then take the work again. (Inner Lessons, Chapter 2)

However, it is doubtful whether the understanding of filial piety as unconditional and absolute obedience toward parents is a complete understanding of the traditional Confucian context. It is because it is emphasized in many Confucian books that subjects and sons should advise the sovereign and parents not to make mistakes. Many Confucian scholars maintained that it was not filial piety for sons to obey parents' orders unconditionally even though they knew it was wrong. Confucius also emphasized that unconditional obedience to parents' orders was not filial piety.

If there are sons who indicate parents' errors and argue with them, their parents won't have to commit injustice. Therefore, when injustice is committed, sons must advise their parents and subjects must advise the sovereign. If parents commit an injustice, sons must advise them not to do it. Can it be filial piety at all to obey parents' orders unconditionally? (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 20)

There is an anecdote showing that unconditional obedience to parents' orders is not filial piety.

When Tsengtzu (曾子) removed weeds at the cucumber field, he happened to cut the root of the cucumber. His father got angry and hit his son on the back with a big stick. Tsengtzu fell, fainted, and regained his consciousness pleasantly after a while. He came to his father and said, "A short while ago, I made a big mistake. Father made me realize my mistake by force. There is nothing wrong with my body." Then, he came back to his room and played lute and sang. To hear this anecdote, Confucius got angry and said to his disciples, "If Tsengtzu comes, don't let him in." Not knowing any reason for Confucius' anger, Tsengtzu

asked Confucius. Confucius said, “Long ago, Gosu had a son named Sun. When his father made Sun work, Sun was always beside his father. If his father seemed to kill him, Sun always ran away out of his father’s sight. Sun was pleased to get punished with a small stick but ran away in case of a big stick. Therefore, his father couldn’t commit a crime to kill his son against paternal morality and Sun could accomplish filial piety. On the contrary, you thoughtlessly entrusted your body to your father and didn’t escape even in a deadly embarrassing situation. If you were dead and your father committed a crime to kill his own son, can there be impiety worse than this?” (Words and Deeds of Confucius, Chapter 4)

In books for children from the Joseon period like *Gyeongmongyogyeol* (The Secret of Striking out Ignorance) and *Dongmongseonseup* (Children’s First Learning), it was thoroughly criticized to overlook parents’ mistakes and was emphasized to positively persuade parents to behave well.⁹ From this point of view, it cannot be a complete understanding of Confucian filial piety to evaluate filial piety simply as oppressive and submissive ethics.

If Confucian filial piety cannot be asserted simply as oppressive and submissive ethics, is there room for interpreting Confucian filial piety as spontaneous ethics of care? Considering that filial piety has not been given wholly from the outside but is already innate, it is recognized that the practice of filial piety is based on spontaneity. Therefore, the one who has not practiced filial piety properly cannot be treated as a moral subject in traditional Confucianism. The contents of Confucian books, emphasizing that saints and saint kings were dutiful sons,¹⁰ can be understood in this context. In traditional Confucianism, to have a family means the first step toward a human as a moral subject and this also means to have responsibility for oneself and other people. That is, the personality as the moral subject is considered a model of true humanity and is defined as the subject of the community of love. Filial piety is a basis of the moral subject

9. The following can all be understood in this context: Neo-Confucian scholars criticized the Crown Prince Sinsaeng as an undutiful son because he blindly obeyed Heongong’s mismanagement and died; Confucius called harming one’s body impiety concerning the anecdote that Tsengtzu was beaten with a stick by his father; on the contrary, Confucius called King Sun a dutiful son because he ran away from his father when Gosu tried to kill him.

10. It can be understood in this context that *Mencius, Book of Filial Piety* and *Inner Lessons* reveal the filial piety of kings Sun, Mun and Mu. “The reality of *jen* [benevolence] is to serve parents well and the reality of *ui* [righteousness] is to follow elder brothers well” (Mencius 8:27). “The governing morality of King Yo and King Sun is only filial piety and respect” (Mencius 12:2).

and, therefore, can be a moral emotion occurring spontaneously.

Confucius explains how to accomplish *jen* (benevolence) as loyalty (忠)¹¹ to oneself and consideration (恕) of others. The Confucian explanation that a basic virtue realizing *jen* is filial piety and the ways to accomplish *jen* are loyalty (忠) and consideration (恕) means that filial piety is to practice consideration of others to the persons nearest to oneself, parents. To practice filial piety to one's parents means the accomplishment of duty to serve them and provide them with necessities. In Confucian philosophy, the reason sons should practice filial piety to parents can be explained in the phrase that parents bore me (Book of Rites, Chapter 24) and brought me up. And the practical ways to practice filial piety are to respect and take care of one's parents by providing them with services needed by parents (Mencius, Chapter 7).

The letter 恕 meaning consideration that Confucius mentioned can be divided into the two parts 如+心, which signify to make other's mind equal to my mind. It is difficult for me. How about him? I am hungry. How about him? It means consideration by stepping into another's shoes. The meaning of consideration (恕) is not to do to others what I don't want and to do to others what I want. To speak precisely, it means to support my parents as much as I want my sons to support me and to serve my elder brothers as much as I want my younger brothers to serve me (Book of the Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter 13). And the filial piety of traditional Confucianism can be called 'a kind of' ethics of care. Consideration (恕) is "Don't force the junior to do what the senior dislikes; don't serve the senior with what the junior dislikes; don't force the posterior to do what the anterior dislikes; don't let the anterior follow what the posterior dislikes; don't make friends with the left with what the right dislikes; don't make friends with the right with what the left dislikes" (Great Learning, Chapter 10). That is, consideration (恕) is an ethical consciousness occurring from making relations among people and a kind of reciprocal relation and duty that each one should practice inherently. Accordingly, the ethics based on consideration (恕) can be regarded as a kind of ethics of care.

11. The character of loyalty (忠) appears eighteen times in *Analects*: three times in chapter 12, twice each in chapters 1 and 5; the others appear in chapters 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, and 14. The meaning of loyalty (忠) in *Analects* is sincerity and not to deceive others. All of them mean to be sincere and to do one's best.

Characteristics of Korean Familial Culture and the Meaning of Filial Piety

1. Characteristics of Korean Familial Culture

The traditional Korean family system is founded on the familial consciousness, focusing on the house which has a considerable influence on modern Korean familial culture. The Korean family still stands strongly for the Confucian ideology that the identity of the paternal line is inherited permanently. Accordingly, it views absolutely ancestor worship and patriarchy representing the present family members and internalizes Confucian tradition to think highly of the eldest son, the future heir. Aiming for continuity of the paternal line, marriage and the living people are valued. Though family is formed mainly according to conjugal relations and father-and-son relations, father-and-son relations are superior to conjugal relations when the paternal line and familial continuity are emphasized.¹²

In the midst of the rapid industrialization and urbanization since the 1960s, the Korean family has shown that the family system in a direct line has decreased conspicuously and the nuclear family system has increased. In fact, the Korean family has had the appearance of a revised large family, composed of the union of nuclear families, and there are a considerable number of aged who are living with male family members in a direct line (Lee 1989:43). In the Korean family that has internalized familial consciousness ideologically, the interdependency among family members appears very high and the characteristics of the Korean family appear very clearly, which cannot be far away from the consciousness of a large family that is interdependent and helping one another among family members and kinsmen (Choe 1990:540; Shin 1996:21).

The structural change of family occurring in Korean society cannot be regarded in the same light with the change of the family system or the change of familial relations. It cannot be denied that the separate formation of family by the respective generation of parents and sons will have an influence on the inter-

12. For Korean traditional family, refer to Kim 1994 and Choe 1996. In general, the traditional family based on Confucian philosophy is characterized by patriarchy, ancestor worship, respect toward the aged and followers. The system of the male line, predominance of men over women, an extended family system, preference for many children, concubinage, heredity between father and son, filial piety, and the characteristics of Korean traditional family are almost the same (Wei 1990).

relation to strengthen the solidarity between the two generations. However, the spatial separation caused by the formation of family doesn't mean the separation of the relations between parents and sons in the family system in a direct line. The relation between the families of parents and sons isn't confined to simple contact or correspondence. Not to speak of spiritual and economic support, the relation as a family is still maintained in spite of spatial separation (Choe 2006:249).

That is, though the Korean family is mainly composed of a nuclear family, focusing on husband and wife, the real circumstances like familial consciousness or relations are different from the reality.

Another characteristic of Korean familial culture is that family or relatives are valued over individuals. The Korean family strongly maintains the ceremony sharing family precepts or values, property, symbol and statue by the family and the belief in 'a familial community'. Thus, the consciousness is strengthened that all family members are one body that has a moral, economic, religious and social right or obligation equally (Choe 2006:541-51).

Therefore, the profit or loss of an individual and the purpose of life are regarded as those of the whole family he belongs to, and the relationship of a family and between families is recognized as important. Also, filial piety is understood as the mechanism to strengthen the relationship between families and relatives.¹³ Thus, the family system in a direct line and filial piety are still functioning as an ideological system and are understood as useful survival tactics or the meaning of welfare that a family can take under structurally rapid-changing socio-economic circumstances (Choe 2006: 253).

2. Meaning of Filial Piety within Korean Familial Culture

The characteristics of the Korean family changing to the nuclear family system and based on the family system in a direct line make filial piety an important and influential virtue in Korean familial culture. Filial piety is an essential norm in familial relations and is considered important in itself, functioning as a norm in the relation of real sons, including the hierarchical and intimate relationship. The

13. It is recognized that the ceremony of sacrifice after a parent's death means basically the courtesy toward dead parents and is essentially needed for maintaining a relationship among the living kinsmen. In every sense, to satisfy these two functions, the ceremony of sacrifice after a parent's death is taken as filial piety.

filial piety in Korean familial culture functions not only as the most important value adjusting the attitudes and behaviors of the younger generation toward parents and the aged, but also as influential familial norms and social moral norms regulating family life. Therefore, a virtue of filial piety becomes a condition considerably affecting the establishment of various policies to respect and treat the aged and is also regarded as an important virtue reproducing familial values.¹⁴

In a Korean familial culture affected strongly by traditional Confucian culture, filial piety is recognized not only as an obligation of sons but also as a virtue perfecting oneself morally. The one who doesn't practice filial piety properly in Korean society cannot be treated as a normal person even though he has become a success socially. In this context, the government, schools and every enterprise prepare a prize for filial conduct affecting the college entrance examination. The contents of filial conduct are mainly composed of respect for parents and physical and economic sacrifices for parents, but also contain responsibility toward parents, gratitude, familial harmony, sympathy toward parents, support for the aged parents, and accomplishment of difficult tasks for parents.

The motivation to emphasize filial piety in Korean familial culture can be found in the moral and social elements of expectation and the relation of give-and-take (Seong 2005:85-94). Sons and daughters brought up in a culture that has strongly socialized the norms of filial piety toward parents take it for granted to respond positively to the aged parents, and the motivation to practice filial piety is greatly generated because parents also expect it. The relation of give-and-take such as 'parents' nurturing sons and daughters vs. sons' and daughters' supporting the aged parents' occurring for a long period works as the motivation filial piety is emphasized. Thus, the thought that sons and daughters should support the aged parents becomes internalized as a strong moral norm.

14. It is a characteristic of traditional Confucian society that filial piety isn't simply confined to familial ethics but is discussed from the national point of view. In a Confucian society, the emphasis on the family system and filial piety was laid by national encouragement and enforcement, which means the institutionalization that the next generation should respect and support the dependent aged and the emphasis on filial piety by the state is closely related to the welfare of the aged of a society. It can be explained well in the fact that the land system that was the basis of public welfare during the Joseon period had been arranged for 100 years between kings Taejo and Seongjong and at the same time various relief systems were carried out together with various welfare policies for the aged. Thus, the emphasis on filial piety becomes an element regulating differently the social viewpoint on the aged and the viewpoint on the aging (Choe 2004).

Thus, considering the characteristics of Korean traditional familial culture laying a strong emphasis on the degree of adhesion to family and the meaning of supporting parents, an attitude to discuss the problem of the aged as a familial discourse has a reasonable foundation. Such a discussion is supported by the situation (Morney 1976:15-20; Song 1999:81; Seong 1995:19) that emphasizes that the function of self-help to protect and support their family members and that the community should be strengthened considering the report on the limits of the capacity to support the aged based on the welfare system of Western society.

Meanwhile, it cannot be ignored that Korean society is facing a situation where it is difficult to continue the traditional ideology of filial piety owing to the preference for the small-family system, an increase of employed women, and an increase in the number of unmarried people. According to the present situation, it is difficult for the Korean family to maintain the traditional ideology of filial piety in reality and to abandon it. That is, in a Korean family where the nuclear family is prevalent externally, but the habitual system of a large family is widespread internally, the values of filial piety exist ideologically and so does a certain social pressure that makes it impossible to think about familial relations without filial piety. While encouraging the affirmative meaning relating to the humanism traditional filial piety has, is it possible to reinterpret the meaning in accordance with modern society? If possible, how should it be composed?

Filial Piety as Ethics of Care and Criticism about Feminism

To take care of others means to care about and look after the safety and peace of others. This is a theory of taking the viewpoints of others, which is morally valuable. However, all the acts of care don't become spontaneously ethical. The acts of care that presupposes neither mutual care nor self-nurture nor ethics of impartial care cannot become ethics of real care and cannot meet ethics of feminist care either. The ethics of care coming from only intimate emotions can be misused as the mechanism to mass-produce sacrifice and oppression. The filial piety of Confucian philosophy is a typical example.

The filial piety of Confucian philosophy is 'a kind of' ethics of care because it presupposes the acts of taking care of parents by sons and daughters.¹⁵ It is more than a matter of considering whether traditional filial piety can be regarded in the same light as 'ethics of sincere care.'¹⁶ Because the focus on a private area

emphasized in traditional filial piety is apt to miss impartiality and to connect accomplishing the acts of care with a particular sex is prone to force unilateral acts of care. Therefore, an excessive emphasis on unilateral sacrifices and services will make it impossible to consider self-nurture.

Nevertheless, the establishment of a relational self through filial piety is absolutely necessary and its reconstruction is needed. While never overlooking that the context filial piety produced and encouraged was androcentric ethics and could not help but bring about the oppression and sacrifice of women, it is necessary to make an effort to reconstruct filial piety as ethics of sincere care. Ethics of sincere care, or ethics of feminist care, should recognize ethics of care and, above all, should consider the problem of equal construction lest care could be used in a society of sexual discrimination. Afterwards, the filial piety as ethics of sincere care will be able to be discussed.

1. Filial Piety as Ethics of Intimate Care and Criticism about Feminism: For Ethics of Impartial Care

The filial piety in Confucian philosophy begins with kinship and is based on private intimacy. Moreover, it is also needed to extend benevolence to others unrelated by blood. It is needed to extend love between relatives to humans and all things. When it is extended from intimate ones to distant ones, from relatives to non-relatives, and from the same kind to the rest of creation, it is said that real Confucian love, or *jen*, will be realized. According to Mencius, “If we serve others’ old people like ours and love others’ children like ours, to rule the world will be as easy as turning the hand” (Mencius, Chapter 1). “Even though morality is near, people search for it in the distance; even though all things are in an easy place, people search for them in a difficult place. If everyone loves his parents and serves the senior with great care, the world will be peaceful” (Mencius, Chapter 7). The above sayings about *jen* and filial piety in Confucian scriptures show this very well.¹⁷

Though the Confucian theory of relatives says that intimacy should extend to more distant social relations, the filial piety in traditional Confucianism criticizes

15. Refer to footnote #2.

16. This paper regards ethics of sincere care in the same light as feminist ethics of care. Though ethics of care and responsibility is important and necessary in feminist ethics, it should be noted and stated that femininity is not feminism in a male-dominated society.

Motzu's (墨家) theory of love for all and the importance of impartiality of Legalism (法家), and idealizes the favor of oneself and intimate ones, while strongly presupposing the exclusiveness of intimacy. To practice filial piety and brotherly love at home is preferred than to practice them outside, which is apt to result in discord and conflict caused by familial egoism. Though the Confucian familial ideology based on patriarchal order and ethics of filial piety and brotherly love is expected to play a mediate role connecting an individual with family or relatives and family with the state, it actually ignores individual rights and has the danger of fostering familial egoism without considering the whole profit of the state. While filial piety can be presented as a kind of ethics of care owing to the characteristics of filial piety in Confucian philosophy, it also contains a danger of ignoring the principle of impartiality.

On the contrary, ethics of feminist care emphasizes the search for a way to promote consideration toward other people in addition to close people (Heo 2004:274). In order to make filial piety ethics of sincere care, we will have to use the general idea of filial piety as an extended idea to social relations, beyond using it as an effective meaning only in kinship. Though emotions occurring from special relations cannot be ignored, it will be ethics of sincere care not to restrict the product of emotions to special relations but to extend it to distant relations. Thus, in order to extend the emotions of concern, sympathy, and consideration between the people especially connected with one to social relations, a new modern meaning of filial piety and the filial piety as ethics of care that presupposes impartiality will be provided.¹⁸

If we want to establish meaningful filial piety in a modern society, filial piety should be discussed not only in the phase of care coming from intimate emotions but also in connection with the rights, equality, and justice among the people who give and take acts of care. The fact that intimacy 'means the promise of democracy' (Giddens 1993:271) and filial piety is basically founded on intimacy seems to enable filial piety to be discussed in relation to democracy. However, when "it should be emphasized that intimacy is not simply mutual exchanges of emotions but should presuppose rights," filial piety becomes so far from the true

17. Confucian *jen* means to begin with the love of parents and children and reach the love of all things. In this context, Confucian *jen* can be presented as ethics of care. In particular, Nel Nodings' argument that the most intimate situation of care begins with natural relations and it is the most powerful care which can be compared to the Confucian *jen*. (Nodings 1986).

18. For further information, refer to Kim 1998.

meaning of democracy (Giddens 1995:281). Right will be helpful only when it will be led to an equilibrium of obligation by accomplishing responsibilities toward other people.

2. Filial Piety as Ethics of Unilateral Care and Criticism about Feminism: For 'Ethics of Reciprocal Care'

The filial piety of traditional Confucianism assumes the aspect of a typical patriarchy forcing authoritative hierarchy by making obedience of the next generation an obligation, thus creating a vertical hierarchy between generations. Such an order of rank continues both during one's lifetime and after death of the former generation and demands the practice of obligations of the next generation, sacrifice and the maintenance of the intention of the deceased. No mutual relation between the former and the next generation, but a unilateral relation is apt to be established. It is pursued that the acts of feminist care should not be unilateral,¹⁹ but bilateral care. Therefore, when the acts of care are performed unilaterally, feminists warn that spontaneous sacrifice of the caretaker will be forced. Though the acts of care are morally valuable, the lack of enough consideration toward caretakers will be an intolerable burden to them.

The true meaning of ethics of care is that the ethical acts of both caretaker and beneficiary should be demanded.²⁰ That is, ethics of care should not be the case of giving and taking care unilaterally but should be accomplished in the phase of 'mutual care'. It is because human dignity can be protected only when every individual respects the right of others. In this sense, unless the beneficiary meets the acts of care properly, it cannot be the acts of real care.

Thus, ethics of care is not accomplished simply with the acts of a caretaker but is accomplished only when the caretaker receives compensation corresponding to the acts of care from the beneficiary. It is because reciprocity in the acts of care should be essentially accompanied. When we try to understand filial piety in the category of ethics of care, the basic characteristics of filial piety, such as 'willingness of service' and 'willingness of taking care of other people', should be accomplished not unilaterally but bilaterally and be accomplished with simultaneous and present recompense.

19. Baby-care, family-care, support for the aged and the senior, and sacrifice-offer.

20. Nel Nodding develops this discussion using the term, 'ethical care'.

In fact, many people, especially women, freely give away spiritual services and substantial support because of filial piety. Very often, the acts of taking care of others become obligations beyond the phase of consideration, and respect toward parents also becomes something negative consuming oneself. Many women in a unilateral relation to her parents are living without knowing how much they are depleted in the name of filial piety. The acts of taking care of others are invaluable ones that cannot be under-evaluated. However, it is necessary, to a certain degree, for us to be free from the obsession that only taking care of others is moral and responsible acts. It is because ethics of care can secure genuineness through reciprocal care.

3. Oppressive Care under Pretense of Altruism and Criticism about Feminism: For 'Ethics of Self-nurture'

There are often people who regard reproachfully the acts of self-nurture as selfish. However, this must also be changed because self-nurture is also a moral and responsible act. Those who are obsessed with the idea of continuous services toward other people regard taking time to take care of themselves in the same light as egoism, not to do what they should do, idleness, or pursuit of private pleasure. The idea that self-nurture is selfish is especially prevalent in women who support the aged or take care of children. There are few selfish women who disguise self-satisfaction as self-nurture, if any (Domar 2002:73-4).

The role of women who do unilateral and sacrificial acts of care is often disguised as affection and altruism. The situation is not quite different when performing filial piety. This makes both the beneficiary and the caretaker unable to live subjectively. In general, the act of caretaker is praised as an admirable type of human being who has an altruistic life. However, according to psychology, the one who leads his life not subjectively but sacrificially is actually in a kind of 'dependent characteristic disorder' (Chang 2004:167-9). Though a dependent characteristic disorder is often considered living like a child who is totally dependent on others, it is said that all dependent characteristic disorders don't appear only as 'the child type'. In case of the one who has low earning power, it appears as 'the child type'; in case of the one who has high earning power, it appears as 'the sacrificial type'.

The one who doesn't take care of oneself but takes care of others is clearly in outward appearance the one who leads a sacrificial life. However, such a person can't look after his own right and can't be a subject of his own life. The reason

such a person helps others positively is that he can transfer the responsibility of his acts to others. It is said that when such a person meets one in need of care, he doesn't worry about "whether he may help the one in need or not," but worries about "how he can help the one in need" (Chang 2004:167-9). The one who leads such a life thinks from the standpoint of others but not his own and thinks highly of the necessity and emotions of others but not his own emotions and judgment.

In fact, the traditional meaning of filial piety doesn't regard the acts that aren't self-caring as filial piety. "It is the beginning of filial piety to value them because arms and legs, skin and even hair are inherited from parents" (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 1) is a typical saying that emphasizes the care of his own body. "Don't stand under a dangerous rock or a crumbling wall" (Mencius, Chapter 13.) and "Don't go along the narrow path" (Analects) show the warning against injury of the body. "According to the mourning rites, one should neither become as thin as a lath owing to sorrow and pain, nor become weak-sighted nor lose hearing" and "One should wash his hair when he hurts on the head, take a bath when he has a boil on the body, wash his hair when he becomes ill and should drink and eat meat when he has an illness. When he recovers from illness, he should return to the original condition. Owing to the sorrowful loss of parents, to neglect the medical treatment, to lose one's life and not to wear mourning is not benevolence to posterity and impiety to parents" can all be understood as filial piety in the phase of self-care (Book of Rites, Chapter 1).

Though ethical love is open toward all human beings, it should start with self-respect and self-care. In order to truly love other people, one should be entitled to a man of ethical character, should love himself first of all and then should realize his real nature. Also, not the simple emotional phase of intimacy but the problem of right and equality considering oneself and other people altogether must be discussed. The love of oneself and the love of other people are not in opposite relation but are inseparably related to each other. To establish 'self-care and the dialectic of taking care of other people' is the way to construct ethics of sincere care.

Conclusion

Care means to look after or to have an interest in the sick, the aged and children, and the acts of care are performed in various human relations.²¹ The feminist dis-

cussion appears variously whether maternity inheres in women.²² Anyhow, women perform the acts of care in actual life; therefore, it will be possible to view care as femininity. Care is not an androcentric and activist ethics but should be developed as an ethics to accept and sympathize with emotions, and an ethics to think highly of concrete human relations. Also, if ethics of care is needed by us as an ability of care is a characteristic of femininity, it must be something that is needed by both men and women and should also be performed by men and women.

Meanwhile, acts of care have been regarded as activities in unequal human relations rather than in equal human relations. Therefore, individual responsibility and sacrifice have always been emphasized in the acts of care. Filial piety is also in this context. Filial piety can be a useful virtue in modern society. As filial piety was provided in the family system of unequal patriarchy, there are some limits to filial piety to be used as a useful virtue in modern society. Though the altruism and humanism innate in filial piety toward parents are essential in modern society and are worth reviving, they cannot be called moral and ethical if oppressiveness and inequality cannot but inhere in them.

The discourse on filial piety in modern society should be discussed in a way to minimize various problems coming from the emphasis on the consciousness of traditional filial piety while encouraging the ethical aspect of care filial piety has. The discourse should not be confined to familial relations nor should be confined to maternity; on the contrary, it should be enlarged and applied to the male area beyond sex and social relations. Then, it can be sublimed into a public ethics of care²³ beyond private image of spontaneous care; therefore, the public ethics of care to foster relations to whom spontaneous care hasn't occurred can be established.

Also, when performing filial piety, the responsibility²⁴ and self-care attendant on difficult tasks should be premised. The acts of care are not what 'the true character given naturally' appears 'spontaneously'. Even though such true character is given naturally, it is a kind of 'project'²⁵ accomplished through a certain

21. In actual life, they appear in relations between parents and children, between doctors and patients, between old parents and sons and daughters, and between teachers and students.

22. The feminists who regard the interest in care as a basic motto of feminist ethics are Carol Gilligan, Nel Nodings, Joan Tronto, and Nancy Chodorow. Through 'care', they try to develop not the existing androcentric ethics but a new feminist ethics as empathy and sympathy.

23. For Nel Nodings' ethics of care, refer to the Association of Korean Feminist Philosophy 2005.

effort. Such a project is not something completed but a process of efforts to complete it.²⁶ Though the intimacy coming basically from the love of kinship and the filial piety based on it are regarded as spontaneous human real nature, they are not something gained naturally. They are something obtained through continuous efforts and cultivation of the mind, where self-care should also be considered.

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24. The responsibility mentioned here is different from the idea inherent in oppressiveness like duty and obligation. Joan Tronto calls it 'willingness' that may be distinguished from duty and obligation (Tronto 1993).

25. Even in Confucian philosophy, which understands to keep filial piety in mind is one's innate true character, it is recognized that the true nature is not obtained of itself but is obtained through incessant development of good real nature.

26. Such a project is an idea connected with time. It is a form of act to make a plan and change and get over the present state.

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The Family Culture in Korean Narrative Literature: Focusing on ‘Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity’¹

Kang Jin-ok

Maternity is the foundation for forming a family along with paternity and a basic element guaranteeing the continuity of life. This maternal figuration has been important material and the subject of the history of narrative literature from mythology through ancient novels to modern novels. This paper surveys how the maternal figuration in Korean narrative literature has been reproduced in relation to its opposite, anti-maternal figuration. As a result, this paper ascertains that the nature of maternity and anti-maternity have taken on a new meaning while reflecting each socio-cultural context according to the times and genre.

While maternity versus anti-maternity in shamanist mythology was embodied in the basic nature of shamanist imagination, which emphasized abundance and fecundity, the then ethical norms, family system and familial ideology in ancient novels functioned as a standard of prescribing maternity vs. anti-maternity. While the nature of maternity vs. anti-maternity in classical narrative literature was depicted as conflicts between opposite characters, it also appeared as conflicts between opposite values coexisting inside a character in novels since modern times. As stated above, this paper ascertains that at the present time when the traditional role of sex is dissolved, maternal values are an important foundation for forming various types of family and are recognized as a universal human virtue irrespective of delivery and sex.

Keywords: maternity, anti-maternity, maternal values, Korean narrative literature, family culture, social care

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Preface

Nowadays, the dissolution of the traditional family is a problem being faced by Korean society, according to the demands of constituents pursuing a variety of values in rapid social changes. As society industrialized, familial relations went through various changes. Since the Asian economic crisis, economic problems such as bankruptcy of family finances have been identified as important causes accelerating the dissolution of the family. It is a remarkable phenomenon that the number of mothers going away from home has risen and the number of parents abandoning their obligations, including the nurturing of their children, has gone up. Since the 1990s, literary works by women writers has also paid attention to feminist desires and self-consciousness, showing a tendency of digging into them, and a tendency of being faithful to the desires of women themselves rather than the profits of a familial community.²

On the contrary, mass media have been reproducing the figuration of family members worthy of so-called familial myths. The following dramas seem to reproduce an ideal of the medieval familial ideology according to the modern context: *Bumonim jeonsangseo* (A Letter to One's Parents), a family drama depicting the harmony between a respectable father with love and tolerance, a good wife and wise mother, and exemplary sons and daughters; *Wanjeonhan sarang* (Perfect Love), a drama depicting a self-sacrificing woman who considers only her husband and children before her death; and the drama *Rosemary*. Meanwhile, the paradoxical counterevidence of familial myths appears as conflicts between a stepmother and the children in *Cheongukui gyedan* (The Steps to Heaven) and the happy-ending plot that the children of the former wife get over the harmful scheme of the stepmother in *Hoejeon mokma* (Merry-Go-Round). Both succeed to the tradition of stepmother narratives and anti-maternity mythology since the medieval times.

Mass media pay attention to familial mythology because of public interest in the material, and this seems to show both the recognition of the critical situation of today's familial problems and the ideal solution they dream of. The reproduction of familial mythology is based on the fantasy that the maternal home is an ideal shelter where the mother, at the center, is represented by self-sacrifice and

2. See Eun Hi-gyeong's *Geunyeoui sebeonjjae namja* (The Third Man of Hers) and Jeon Gyeong-rin's *Nae saengae kkok harubbunin teukbyeolhan nal* (Only One Special Day during My Life).

devotion. Though the sense of value has been developed considerably according to social changes, the theory of managing real lives is still bound to traditional familial ethics. The fact that both extreme views of an absconding mother and a self-sacrificing mother co-exist provides an important clue to grasping the real nature of today's familial problems. While the demand for independence and self-realization by women is rising, the maternal mythology based on two axes, sacrifice and devotion, continues to have an influence on daily phases. This paradoxical situation will eventually lead to conflict and confrontation.

In order to objectively understand the realistic situation before us, it is not enough only to make an issue of the visible present aspects, because both extremes are the phenomena traditional ideas have brought about. Therefore, this paper aims to establish the origin of both extremes through literary works. Since literary works reproduce the typicality of contemporary lives, this study surveys, as a standard, the mythical narrative which is the prototype of Korean literature and a way of figuring maternity reproduced in ancient novels that succeeded it. In order to effectively deal with the enormous research topic, this paper focuses on the existence of maternity (good mother) versus anti-maternity (bad mother), because the aspect of 'the confrontation between maternity and anti-maternity' reproduced in narrative literature reflects more concretely the sense of maternity at the time when the literary work was produced. The maternal phase becomes more conspicuous through its opposite anti-maternal nature and the concrete aspect appears differently according to the genre and socio-historical context.

This paper surveys literary works that reproduce the construction of confrontation between 'maternity and anti-maternity' and shows the characteristics of the society who enjoyed the works. By using the maternal aspects that are embodied in modern and contemporary literature, this paper also searches for maternal values corresponding to today's socio-cultural situation and surveys Korean family culture.

2. Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity Shown in Mythical Narratives

1. The Original Aspect of Maternal Principle: *Samseung halmang bonpuri*

Samseung halmang bonpuri (Myth of the Three Goddesses Governing

Childbirth) is a myth about goddesses governing childbirth and nurture that shows the basic principle of maternity and is narrated orally in “Buldomaji” (a shaman song), a song that contains the origin of pregnancy, childbirth and nurture. In “Buldomaji,” the two myths explaining the history of Jeoseung-halmang (Gusamseung) who takes the soul of a dead child and Saengbul-halmang (Samseung-halmang) who is seated as a goddess of childbirth and nurture are narrated orally. They are connected in the ceremonial context and embody the divinity and authority of Samseung-halmang.³

Gusamseung-halmang, who was born the daughter of the Dragon King of the East Sea, is expelled because she has made many mistakes while growing up. For her livelihood, she learns the way of being a goddess governing life from her mother. Severely scolded by her father, she comes to this world without learning the way completely. She blesses the wife of Imbaksa with a baby. But she doesn't know the way of delivery, leaving the wife of Imbaksa at death's door. Imbaksa appeals the unfair treatment to Heaven. The daughter of Myeongjin-guk is recommended to the King of Heaven who is looking for a goddess governing life to solve the problem. Owing to the opposition of Gusamseung-halmang, the two women bet on the blooming of flowers in front of the King of Heaven. The daughter of Myeongjin-guk who blooms flowers in all their glory becomes Saengbul-halmang, while the daughter of the Dragon King of the East Sea who blooms withered flowers became Jeoseung-halmang. When the daughter of the Dragon King of the East Sea puts a curse on a newly born baby with a sprig of flowers and warns it will get various diseases in a hundred days, the daughter of Myeongjin-guk says she will provide presents and food for the baby and persuades the daughter of the Dragon King of the East Sea to be good and make peace each other. The two goddesses drink a farewell drink and go to this world and the underworld respectively as Iseung-halmang and Jeoseung-halmang. The ceremony reproduces the process of conflict and reconciliation of the two goddesses in performance.

Jeoseung-halmang is turned out because of her misbehaviors like impiety and discord with kinsmen; whereas, Saengbul-halmang is described as a character of positive values who coexists peacefully through filial piety, family concord, and construction of a bridge over the deep water and has 'a flourishing flower on the one hand and a reviving flower on the other hand.' This discrepan-

3. Refer to Hyeon Yong-jun 1980 for the order of exorcism of *samseung halmang bonpuri* and *buldomaji gut*.

cy between the two goddesses is apparent before the victory of Samseung-halmang in a bet on blooming flowers. The ability to bloom flowers abundantly signifies plentiful vitality and proves the capability of the goddess governing childbirth. Meanwhile, Gusamseung who fails in assisting childbirth, endangers a life, and shows barrenness by blooming withered flowers is seated as Jeoseung-halmang.

The figuration of the two goddesses in Samseung halmang bonpuri represents maternity that bears and protects a life through pregnancy, childbirth and nurture and anti-maternity that signifies death and barrenness. The aspect of Samseung-halmang who blesses someone with a baby and protects and nurtures it as a virgin has a mythic symbol showing the original view about maternity. The confrontation between the two goddesses reproduces a shamanist imagination praising a maternal victory by expelling anti-maternal elements. The incident of Daebyeolsang, a god of smallpox threatening to children, with Samseung-halmang shows an absolute belief and expectation toward the authority of maternity. Thus, the phenomenon that the doings of Samseung-halmang appear in the forms of a struggle like confrontation (betting on blooming flowers and a struggle with Daebyeolsang) is a plot that shows her powerful and firm divinity. Strong power is essential not only in pregnancy and childbirth but also to protect a child. In a traditional society whose infant mortality rate was high, it was believed that the help of powerful gods or goddesses would stop infant diseases. The plot of a bet and a struggle is used as a device to confirm the authority of divinity and reproduces the form of expelling the anti-maternal phenomena by maternal authority.

The efforts of Samseung-halmang to protect lives appear in both confrontation and reconciliation. It was to preserve the health and life of a child through the reconciliation with Jeoseung-halmang. Such an endless love toward life and positive confrontation against the elements, contrary to life, expresses well the attributes of love and protection of life that maternity has.

The figuration of Samseung-halmang as a healthy, beautiful, and intelligent virgin is a metaphor showing the original theory of the life of maternity. It symbolizes the divinity full of vitality. However, in pregnancy and childbirth corresponding to the practicality of maternal principles, conjugal unity emerges as an important element. The sincerity of a husband is emphasized more in childbirth than in pregnancy. The cases of Imbaksa who builds an altar and prays to Heaven to save his wife and of proud Daebyeolsang who submits to and earnestly begs Samseung-halmang for his wife's safe delivery show part of the folk

customs relating to pregnancy and childbirth in a traditional society where childbirth was considered more important an incident than pregnancy. The fact that a child is born by means of the mother's birth pains and the sincerity of the father shows how the attitudes of father and mother should be when meeting a new life.

2. *Chilseong puri*: Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity Represented as a Real Mother and a Stepmother

*Chilseong puri*⁴ focuses on the familial problem of relations between husband and wife, mother and son, father and son, and between brothers and it assumes the character of a familial myth. The father Chilseong deserts his wife Maehwa and children and leaves his house, hating her when she bore seven sons at one time. The mother makes every effort to nurture the seven sons and volunteers to make a sacrifice for them, recognizing the difficulty of nurturing seven sons without another's help. In the narrative which focuses on the realistic hardships of life for a single mother and her seven sons, the tragedy of the family was caused by the irresponsibility of the father who abandoned his obligation to support his family.

The seven sons search for their father. The father who is living with a second wife welcomes them, makes them study, and establishes familiar relations with them. The stepmother envies her husband who shuns her to take care of the sons of his former wife and buys off a fortune-teller. The stepmother pretends to be sick and says to her husband that the livers of the seven sons are a medicine for her illness. Chilseong makes up his mind to sacrifice his seven sons for his second wife. This behavior by the father brings about a narrative response, the appearance of the devoted real mother to save her seven sons. The real mother who becomes a big deer provides her liver and saves the lives of her sons. The seven sons who were saved by their mother's sacrifice fight a decisive battle with the stepmother.

Father's behavior shows a lack of understanding by the father who has lost objective cognitive power toward the reality of life. In the past history, he deserted his wife and seven sons by running away from home and this lack of under-

4. There are alternative versions of the shamanist myth *Chilseong puri* and Hong Na-re closely reviews the different aspects of these versions (Hong 1997:7-18).

standing is regarded as another expression of 'lack of father'. As the inability of understanding the reality of life becomes an element to worsen the immediate familial problem, it is practically the same as a lack of the role of the father.

The real mother solves the danger to her sons that was caused by the father's lack of cognitive ability. The mother who gave up her liver to save the lives of her sons realizes the image of a self-sacrificing and devoted mother. Here, the real mother and the stepmother are distinguished as a devoted mother and as a bad mother who tries to kill the sons for her own benefit. The sons who were saved by the sacrifice of their real mother uncover the conspiracy of their stepmother and restore their home by reviving their real mother.

Thus, the two mothers, a real mother and a stepmother, show opposite attitudes toward the sons. The real mother becomes a mother through pregnancy and childbirth and is a being that plays the role of mother. Though her husband abandons her soon after childbirth, she is a devoted mother who is pleased to sacrifice her own life for her sons. Her grown-up sons revive their mother and the dissolved family is restored. Meanwhile, the stepmother becomes a mother through marriage. The situation develops where she must play the maternal role to the sons of the former wife who suddenly appear without the pre-stage of becoming a mother. The stepmother, who is not accustomed to maternal roles, becomes anxious and conflicts with the sons of the former wife when her husband restores a familiar relation between father and son. To resolve the conflict, she organizes a conspiracy and tries to kill the sons. This attitude is contradictory to the attitude of a real mother who sacrifices herself for her sons.

The stepmother is motivated by jealousy. The existence of the seven sons of the former wife who intervene in the intimate relation between her and her husband can be recognized as an obstacle to hurting the affection and solidarity with her husband. It is an anti-maternal behavior that the stepmother organizes a conspiracy and attempts to kill the seven sons. The fact that the stepmother has no children functions as an element showing her anti-maternal phase, compared with the fact that the real mother has seven sons.

The thorough punishment of the stepmother, the revival of the real mother at the end, and the restoration of the familial relation creates an ideology that praises and views self-sacrificing and devoted maternity as a matter of course. The victory of maternity and the punishment against anti-maternity can also be regarded as a plot showing that the life of a woman and mother are meaningful only in relation to sons. It shows that self-sacrificing maternity will eventually be compensated as a mother of sons, highlighting the absolute sacrifice and

devotion of a mother. The status of the real mother who overcomes difficulties, revives brilliantly as a mother of sons, and becomes the center of a family seems to help the mother adhere to the familial concept by blood and the female identity as a mother of sons. Such recognition is confirmed in the conflicts between wife and concubine and between stepmother and sons of the former wife that are repeated in family novels during the second half of the Joseon dynasty.

Chilseong puri is a myth about the origin of the family, showing the process of forming a family through the marriage of Chilseong and Maehwa and childbirth, where the structure of the family appears as a conjugal family. Such a family form shows that the group that inherited this myth regarded such a conjugal familial form as a typical one (Seo 1988:95). Moreover, this myth shows the recognition for obligation and the role of each family member in familial relations. It presents the roles of a father who should support his family as the head of the family, a mother who bears and nurtures her sons and daughters, and the sons who should solve familial problems and inherit the family line.

Recognition of Maternity in Ancient Novels

In ancient novels with their medieval narrative style, a mother is generally a marginal person behind her husband and sons and works as an assistant to help her sons grow (Jeong 2002:242). But the roles of a mother are mostly concentrated on childbirth and nurture. This phenomenon reflects the situation that the roles of a mother secured a typical character suitable to the patriarchal ideology when ancient novels were written. Therefore, if in an ancient novel ‘a mother’ is highlighted in front of the narrative and works as an axis leading the narrative, it is not through a typical mother showing a maternal phase but through a bad mother showing anti-maternity. Novels of the stepmother-type which focus on the conflict between a stepmother and sons of the former wife and novels of the type with conflicts between wife and concubine are the works highlighting women as the central figures. This paper will review anti-maternal phases realized through the villainous types of characters, and search for the recognition toward maternity that is pursued through them.

1. *Sassinamjeonggi*: Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity Appearing in the Relation between Wife and Concubine

Lady Sa and Lady Gyo, the major characters in *Sassinamjeonggi* (Record of Lady Sa's Trip to the South), are related as a wife married in poverty and a concubine. As she bore no son for a long time, Lady Sa persuades her husband Yu Yeon-su to take a concubine to produce an heir and positively joins in showing the concubine into the house. However, since Lady Gyo bears a son, the latent conflict stemming from the hierarchy within the family begins to slowly emerge. Lady Gyo who would like to be a concubine of a court noble rather than a wife of a poor man of virtue makes a positive effort to accomplish her desire. When pregnant, she goes to a shaman, asks the fetus's gender and practices magic to change the daughter into a son. All these efforts are aimed at securing her position as the mother of a son who will succeed to the family line. Meanwhile, Lady Gyo who is as proud as a peacock because of her son feels anxious when the legal wife, Lady Sa bears a son. Lady Gyo together with her adulterer Dongchang develops a tragic situation to harm Lady Sa. Infatuating Yu Yeon-su by dancing and singing, fabricating evidence and situations, and raising the degree of the plot to do harm, Lady Gyo marches toward the ousting of Lady Sa.

Lady Sa is an extremely virtuous and modest wife, an intelligent daughter-in-law, and an affectionate mother. The conspicuous examples of maternity in Lady Sa's features appear largely in two cases. First, Lady Sa shows an open-minded love to the sons who will succeed to their family. The fact that Lady Sa loves Lady Gyo's son equally like her own son shows her sense of value of attaching importance to the family rather than an individual. Her behavior toward her husband, Lady Gyo, and the son of Lady Gyo are features of an ideological person devoted to the continuity and prosperity of the family beyond the biological view of maternity. This is contrasted with Lady Gyo's behavior of pursuing her private desires. Second, Lady Sa shows concern for the safety of her sons. In the passage when she faints upon hearing the news that her son Ina is missing and upon meeting him at home when she thinks he is dead are exceptionally passionate considering her reasonable character. These two phases coexist in Lady Sa's maternity, an ideological aspect showing a revival of patriarchal ideology and blood love toward her real son. Such maternity by Lady Sa can be affirmed in her other roles and is based on her fine character and her distinguished nature, culture, and morality that are cultivated by education.

In the maternal features of Lady Gyo, the phase of maternity and its opposite phase of anti-maternity are largely coexisting. First, let's look at the maternal phase of Lady Gyo. When pregnant for the first time, she asks a shaman about the fetus's gender and bears a son by practicing magic to change a daughter into

a son. Such an eager desire for a son proves that a private desire is preferred to maternity. However, in the passage where she laments bitterly over the death of her second son Bongju, she shows pure maternity. Maternity is also shown where she refuses Dongcheong's proposal to kill Jangju, but various complicated phases are mixed in the passage intriguing against Lady Sa by taking advantage of the son's death. The outburst of Lady Gyo's wicked anger implies an increasing psychological mechanism when her sorrow for her son's death is changed into hatred toward Lady Sa. Lady Gyo internalizes self-consciousness as a victim more conspicuously at this point; the maternal love and private and selfish desire coexisting within Lady Gyo collide. As a result, Lady Gyo attains the prize position of a legal wife, not to mention the ousting of Lady Sa.

The anti-maternal behaviors in Lady Gyo's figuration are largely composed of an attempt to kill Lady Sa's fetus and another attempt to take advantage of her own son. Lady Gyo secretly puts an abortive medicine into Lady Sa's medicine, but Lady Sa always vomits whenever she takes the medicine. Even though Lady Gyo ordered a maid to put Ina into the river and to leave no trace behind, the maid put the baby in the bush and saved the baby. In order to expel Lady Sa, Lady Gyo takes advantage of her own son several times. By burying a wizard thing and making her own son fall ill, Lady Gyo positively takes advantage of her son's death to expel Lady Sa.

The ideological values appearing in the conflict between Lady Sa and Lady Gyo have a few layers that have the effect of showing the figure, ethics, and maternity of the character comparatively. The role of a wife seems to be central in *Sassinamjeonggi* and is mainly composed of the conflict between a wife and a concubine. But the roles of wife, mother, and daughter-in-law also appear equally important because in the familial structure during the Joseon dynasty, a wife was a daughter-in-law and mother before playing the role of wife. Therefore, maternity emerges as an important element in comparing characters. Wise and virtuous Lady Sa is a benevolent and maternal woman. On the contrary, cunning Lady Gyo is an obscene and anti-maternal woman who takes advantage of even her own son. It is because her desire has priority above all. Lady Gyo, who takes advantage of her son's death to strengthen her position within the family, actually sympathizes with the suggestion of Dongcheong to kill the son, which works as a decisive momentum toward an unrecoverable and destructive ending.

The relation between a wife and a concubine can be complementary from the standpoint of the husband but is antagonistic from the standpoint of the wife. This relational perception is a serious problem because the wife and the concu-

bine have a different social status according to the marriage system. But there is a bigger problem for Lady Gyo who emphasizes private desire than for Lady Sa who gives priority to the benefits of the family. Apart from a wife who is supported legally and systematically, a relatively unstable concubine usually takes relation-oriented action to achieve her firm status. Lady Gyo who positively uses her beauty and talent to fulfill her desire is criticized because she focuses on establishing relations through the medium of sexuality. Sexuality is an axis of her desire and works as a means to realize another desire. This is an intolerable misbehavior from the viewpoint of Confucian feminist ethics which lays emphasis on chastity.

It is very suggestive that sexuality forms an axis of desire of Lady Gyo who is embodied as an obscene wife and an anti-maternal mother. This tells us that the two axes of the age, the ideology of chastity and the ideology of maternity that govern women, are closely connected with the oppression of femininity. This can be confirmed in the fact that Lady Yim who becomes a concubine after Lady Gyo's ousting is a virtuous person, helps Lady Sa, and nurtures Ina with maternity. This shows the recognition of writers and readers of ancient novels who think the qualities of 'maternity and anti-maternity' revealed in women are connected with characters.

From the viewpoint of feminist desire, there are new clues regarding the figuration of Lady Gyo. They show the conflict between maternity and anti-maternity, presented as a topic in feminist novels since modern times, in that Lady Gyo realized and pursued her femininity.

2. Novels of the Stepmother-Type: Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity Revealed in the Relationship between a Real Mother and a Stepmother

The novels of the stepmother-type are developed on the axis of the conflict between a stepmother and the sons of the former wife. This type of narrative establishes the stepmother as an evil character and the conflict within a family is dormant from the very beginning of the stepmother's appearance. The conflict is in proportion to the growth of the son whom the stepmother bore. Such conflict in the novels of stepmother-type can be largely summarized into two elements.

First, there is the problem of property rights that appears in the earlier novels (Kim 1996:146). For instance, in *Janghwa hongryeonjeon* (Rose Flower and Pink Lotus), whose main topic is the conflict between sons and daughters of the

former wife and the stepmother, the problem of heir doesn't become conspicuous. The dormant conflict between the sons and daughters of the former wife and the stepmother becomes explosive over the issue of property rights. Lady Heo, who thinks highly of property as marital conditions, desires to keep the property rights and to protect the future of her and her son. Consequently, the conflict between the sons and daughters of the former wife and the stepmother enters on a grim phase.

Second, there is another problem for heirs that appear in the later novels (Kim. 1996:147). It is only through her sons that a woman is able to secure her status under the system of clan rules. Not to speak of bearing a son, the son's status within the family is very important. Meanwhile, in the case of the lack of a legitimate eldest son, it is possible for a son of the stepmother to become an heir. The stepmother desires to make her own son the heir of the family and plots to remove the obstacle, the son of the former wife. As a result, the conflict between the sons and daughters of the former wife and the stepmother appears as an extreme confrontation.

In the novels of the stepmother-type, the problem of a stepmother stems from an innate character, which concretely appears as discrimination between children of the former wife and her own children. The stepmother who is bad to children of the former wife also becomes a benevolent and devoted mother to her own children. The criticism against a stepmother centers on the anti-maternity to love only her own children, to maltreat the children of the former wife and even to threaten their lives. Such maternity of a stepmother appears as an enlargement of selfish self-love. It is at this point that the maternity of a stepmother is criticized. A stepmother is a titular mother of all the children of the head of a family. The problem is that it is difficult to take such a positive attitude; however evil the character of a stepmother is, she doesn't always do evil from the beginning. As her own son grows older, she worries about the future of her and her son and comes to have desires. So adherence to her son of flesh and blood induces misbehaviors. Such behavior by the stepmother to give priority to her son violates the basic premise to protect all the children of her husband. The ending when an anti-maternal mother is punished emphasizes that a woman should bear and nurture a son to maintain patriarchy, give priority to familial orders rather than her private desires, and sacrifice herself. Therefore, such private and selfish desires against familial orders become an evil object to be punished. For these reasons, the immoderate maternity of a stepmother toward her son is criticized and rejected as misbehavior which harms familial orders.

Trying to make her son an heir instead of the legitimate eldest son is a behavior that challenges patriarchal order and shows matrilineal adhesion to blood. In the family system of the Joseon dynasty, to become a mother of the heir means to have considerable authority within the family. In spite of the cause of familial inheritance to succeed to her husband, the adhesion to her own blood shown in the conflict of succession works secretly as an unconscious desire for the preservation and succession of her blood. Thus, the stepmother's desire to give priority to matrilineal blood can be a challenge to the patriarchal and centered on patriarchal blood.

In later family novels of the stepmother-type, the conflict of succession between a stepmother and the sons of the former wife assumes the form of a conflict caused by the son of the concubine (*changseongamuirok*) or the form of a conflict between an adopted son and a legitimate son that the legitimate mother who bore a son after making an adopted son an heir tries to break the adoption. The denial of a breach of adoption and the reconfirmation of an adopted son and heir, which appear in long novels like *Seonghyeongongsukyeolgi* and *Eomssihyomuncheonghaengnok*, show part of the familial actuality which was implemented in the second half of the Joseon dynasty (Park 1998:268-74). This is the conflict between the consciousness of orthodox clan rules and the consciousness of clan rules by blood. In the above novels, the head of the family represents the former and the mother the latter whose insistence is rejected by the head of a family (Park 1998:280-1). Raised by the mother in the consciousness of clan rules by blood, the matrilineal consciousness to make her son an heir in the cause of the lineage of her husband works as a more powerful motive. The phenomenon that the familial conflict becomes conspicuous appears in a more negative way as priority is given to a private desire, especially the desire of a mother (Park 1998:281).

The figuration shown in novels of the stepmother-type can be summarized as follows. First, there is a case of the real mother versus the stepmother. The sorrowful emotion of a dying mother whose children are left behind appears in her earnest will toward her husband and children. Such a mother usually takes the remarriage of her husband for granted and asks her husband to remarry a virtuous woman who will take care of her children well. Foreseeing the uncomfortable relation between a stepmother and sons and daughters of the former wife, she thinks highly of the character of the stepmother. However, contrary to the dead real mother showing sincere love toward her sons and daughters, the stepmother develops uncomfortable relations with sons and daughters of the former

wife.

Second, a stepmother has the two-sided maternity of a real mother and a stepmother. The name stepmother was named from the standpoint of sons and daughters of the former wife and means a mother who succeeds their real mother. The existence of 'stepmother' has complicated maternity because she is a stepmother to sons and daughters of the former wife and a real mother to her own sons and daughters. In the novels of the stepmother-type that have a pattern in characters and narrative structure, a stepmother has 'maternity when she is established as a real mother' and 'maternity when she is narrated as a stepmother' at the same time. The fact that different roles and behaviors coexist in a character shows the gap between consanguine maternity and non-consanguine maternity. The fact that the character as a stepmother assumes instability in general is due to the way of existence to accept and play the antipodal roles. The complicated phase of the figuration of a stepmother, containing the tendency of self-dissociation, has been embodied in the narrative of inner conflicts that occurs within a character in the history of novels since the modern times. Thus, stepmother-type characters are worth being noticed as the pre-stage for the modern type of characters with a problematic tendency.

Modern and Contemporary Aspects of Maternal Figuration

1. Choi Jeong-hi's *Jimaek*: Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity Appearing as Motherhood and Femininity

The inception of *Jimaek* (The Layer) (1994) has the heroine, Eunyeong, arranging the household goods which are going to the *gisaeng* (female entertainer) house in Seoul where she will work as a needlewoman. With the death of her husband as momentum, Eunyeong who was confident in her choice realizes her situation as a marginal woman and finds out that she is nothing but a concubine and mother of an illegitimate child who cannot be guaranteed legally or systematically. In spite of being 'an intelligent woman that has read many progressive books', Eunyeong feels contempt when she is rejected in the work field and finds herself as a needlewoman at a *gisaeng* house after the death of her husband. Suffering from the stern realities of life, Eunyeong who was confident in her identity and was a brave woman falls into self-examination, discontent, anxiety, and fear. She becomes a believer of religion, suppresses her love toward

Sanghun, and leaves Seoul with determination to internalize maternity as religion.

Eunyeong's attitude toward Sanghun is antinomical. Though she has a keen desire for Sanghun, she abandons it for the happiness of her children. However, Sanghun is actually an indispensable person because she wants Sanghun earnestly above all and not just to have her children's names entered in a family register and to solve her present hardships. Meanwhile, in the background of choosing maternal values after suffering from the serious conflict between femininity and maternity, there are the examples of remarried women like Buyong and Hasun's mother that Eunyeong positively refers to. Buyong, who is a concubine of a rich man in Jeollado, knew 'there would be no problem if she had money' but experiences conflict and confusion because of her irresistible longing for her separated daughter and her hate against the son of the former wife. Moreover, she conceives a child with her loveless husband. Hasun's mother is a worried woman who left her daughter to someone else and sends living expenses to the child because her remarried husband dislikes her. The two characters are separated from their daughters owing to remarriage and suffer from pain owing to worries about them. In the figuration of Buyong who suffers from the double pain owing to motherhood of her real daughter and hate against the son of the former wife, the aspect of a stepmother-type character can be found.

The narrative point of *Jimaek*, centering on female characters corresponding to socially marginal persons, shows a certain difference from narrative literature of the former times, which were described from the standpoint of the real wife and sons and daughters of the former wife. While narrative literature of the former times criticized the stepmother and concubine, this writing describes the joys and sorrows of these characters objectively or from their viewpoints. Though the desires such as Eunyeong's love and Buyong's economic abundance intrude into the motive of their marriage, the reason for their choice is presented persuasively and such elements don't work as a negative quality in the figuration. On the contrary, the situation of suffering characters becomes conspicuous as a result of such choices. Seen from the viewpoint of maternity, a dualism appears in the figuration of these characters. Though the maternal quality toward their own sons appears conspicuously, there is a limit to the concrete realization owing to realistic conditions.

While brokenhearted by missing her own separated daughter, Buyong suffers from the hatred toward the son of the former wife. Her hatred toward her stepson is caused by the stepson's extreme antipathy toward her. Such an attachment

to her own blood and antipathy toward sons and daughters of the former wife follow the structure appearing in novels of the stepmother-type. The blood-centered view of family also appears in the male character; a good example being Hasun's stepfather who loves his wife but rejects his stepdaughter.

The examples of Buyong and Hasun's mother become so good a reference that Eunyeong makes up her mind to suppress her affection toward Sanghun and indulge herself in the self-sacrificing role of a mother. Such a situation seems to reflect part of the then family culture. It reflects the situation that in an atmosphere of accepting remarriage, the problem of children among all the problems caused by remarriage is left unsolved. The behavior of the husband of Hasun's mother, loving his wife but not loving her daughter, shows the then situation that the centrality of a legitimate son based on familial views by blood was dominant.⁵ The fact that the structural pattern of conflict of the stepmother-type narratives is reproduced in the example of Buyong shows that the social custom or idea of the former times connected with this continues. In spite of realizing her desire toward Sanghun, Eunyeong's attitude of refusing remarriage based on the negative example of the relation between Hasun and her stepfather reflects the then realistic recognition that maternity and feminist desire could be incompatible. This seems to be supported by the fact that her volition toward maternity appears in a desperate effort to upgrade and internalize maternity in the religious phase.

Troubled with the choice between femininity and maternity, Eunyeong chooses maternity. This proves that maternity is the most important feminist virtue and also an expected role of a woman. In Eunyeong's case, there works the consciousness of a marginal person who wants her fallen status to be compensated by devoting herself to ruling values and wants to elevate her pride. Her maternal volition of devoting herself to the absolute value of maternity and choosing the painstaking way is associated with the attitude of a seeker of truths that devotes oneself to religion and muddles through the bitters of life. Such attitudes of feminist characters can be found in other works of Choi Jeong-hi.⁶

5. A similar phenomenon can be found in Choi Jeong-hi's *Cheonmaek* (The Heaven's Layer). Yeoni, the heroine, is a character who is troubled with her husband who doesn't accept her son and with her son who dislikes his stepfather.

6. For instance, such a character as Chaehi in *Ingansa* (Human Affairs) who isn't related to maternity and pursues feminist desires—who indulges in luxury, is faithful to her emotion, neglects her child and leads a dissipated life with men—changes into the incarnation of maternity to take care of her handicapped children as a self-sacrificing mother at last.

The maternity elevated to a religious level in the works of Choi Jeong-hi demands self-sacrifice and devotion in practice that can be compared with those of a truth seeker. Such a phenomenon has a double-faced relation to the fact that feminist desires awakened within female characters are reproduced more vividly than in other works. As the conflict between feminist desire and maternity is vividly described, the maternal figuration elevated to a religious level shows a more transcendental tendency. The attitude of internalizing maternity is applicable to the work to make sacrifice and devotion meaningful as a way of overcoming the conflict. Such bestowal of meaning seems to be the process of making the cause of devotion toward maternal values.

Choi Jeong-hi's view on maternity, the appearance of a transcendental intention, appears in her pro-Japanese literature and involves the possibility of connection with militarist maternity. 'The mother of a militant nation' to beautify militarism and to be mobilized in it elevates maternity to the religious level in her former works and the biological maternity to the contrary is criticized as a blind and ignorant maternity.⁷ The biological maternity which values the lives of her sons and daughters above all else is negated as the anti-maternity. 'Knowing blind affection before her eyes and killing her sons and daughters with her hands' is a militarist maternity to beautify participation in a war and death in battle. Such recognition of maternity is reproduced in her pro-Japanese novels, *Yeomyeong* (Daybreak) and *Yagukcho* (Wild National Plant) (Lee 2002). Moreover, in Choi Jeong-hi's speeches, the process of a mother becoming aware of militarist maternity through reproach of her son who learned the ideology of militarism is shown.

2. O Jeong-hi's *Baramui neok*: Maternal Role and Maternity vs. Anti-Maternity Appearing in the Search of Identity

O Jeong-hi's female characters have offered a new possibility for feminist literature since the 1980s and are married women who seem to lead comfortable lives but actually are the ones who show a deep interest in the original self beyond their daily lives. Eunsu, the heroine of *Baramui neok* (The Soul of Wind)

7. "In every respect, an ignorant mother only knows blind affection before her eyes but by no means recognizes the large and brilliant future...After all, such a mother will kill her sons and daughters with her hands...Above all, the power of mothers is essential in order for the youths of the peninsula to be brave soldiers" (Choi Jeong-hi's Speeches).

(1986), runs away from home for the first time after about six months of marriage, wanders from place to place, and comes back home repeatedly. Her husband who was tired of his wife's habitual running away from home declares a separation. Missing her child very much, Eunsu goes to the kindergarten and takes the child to the city where she used to live in her childhood. She wants to know what the scene of the first part of her unidentified memory—the yard where the black rubber shoes lie—means. It may be the first clue to the memory to know who she is. Since puberty when she learned about her adoption, Eunsu has been troubled with the consciousness that the place she lives is not her house and that disturbs her at times. Her desire to know who she is results in repeatedly running away from home and wandering.

There are two different selves to Eunsu. The first self is Eunsu who tries to find out self through the memory of childhood. Her desire to know about her origins appears as repeated, habitual running away from home. The second self is the present Eunsu who is a wife and mother good at housekeeping. The two selves appear in incompatible relations with such different time as the past and the present in the background. The behavior of Eunsu, conflicting between the two selves, is recognized as the one that causes anxiety and is difficult to understand to neighboring characters. Eunsu's wandering to discover who she is shows instability in her life and an inability to settle down in daily life. Though her desire is serious enough to abandon daily routine, it just seems incomprehensible to her family (i.e., her husband and mother-in-law who want daily stability). Considering that her son Seungil is a child who needs to be protected, her habitual running away from home should be criticized as an inappropriate behavior, neglectful of a mother's duty.

Eunsu's habitual running away from home cannot be understood by her husband, Sejung, who dreams of an ordinary daily life. He doesn't try to approach the core of the conflict located inside her. The character of Eunsu, who doesn't reveal herself, can be another cause. This shows the lack of communication between husband and wife. Such a relational aspect that only to accomplish respective roles are considered to maintain conjugal relations completely doesn't raise the necessity of understanding each other substantially. Such a phenomenon can be applicable to the accomplishment of the role toward maternity. How much Eunsu loves her son as a mother can be judged only through the accomplishment of her role as a mother. Under the circumstances, the maternal role of Eunsu who habitually runs away from home cannot coincide with the maternal role that is generally expected. Therefore, in spite of her earnest maternity, she is

judged and rejected as an anti-maternal mother by her husband and mother-in-law.

After she was expelled from her husband's house, her desire toward her son becomes much stronger. She is keen on showing her love toward her son and wants her son to be a complete anchor for her, but even her sincere desire couldn't quell her whirling wantonness. Though the self-confirmation as a mother existed as part of Eunsu along with her search for her origin, it appears that the two selves couldn't coexist, because her habitual running away from home works as a restriction that cannot satisfy the social expectations as a mother. Though her son was invaluable to Eunsu, she was upset over a basic problem that couldn't be solved by her son. Only after a lot of wandering and offering real precious things—a mother to her son and a stable marriage life—as sacrifices, she reaches the first part of memory. The young Eunsu, who witnessed her parents' death and an unbearable miserable scene, tried an instinctive self-defense to escape from the nightmare by forgetting the external injury, and buried part of herself together with the memory. Eunsu who arrives at the place by herself reaches her hand out toward young Eunsu.

“Come on, my young soul, a wandering soul like wind, let endless yearning go to sleep and come back to me.” (O 1986:275)

This calling of Eunsu reminds us of the memorial ceremony which invokes the spirits of the dead. It is the invocation of her soul for the days of wandering like a phantom. As mistress of the ceremony, Eunsu sees her two selves unified as one and being born again can be compared to a hero of heroic narratives, culminating the long journey of expedition. The numerous wanderings were journeys of investigation to meet her ego. The joint journey with her son shows that the search for her ego and the role of mother were parts of Eunsu. Her external injury was caused by the violence of war. However, the meaning of the long journey to cure the injury is not confined to a historical phase of the war. It says that before the socially described roles of a wife or a mother, the most important thing in a women's life is to confirm their identity and to be true ones. Eunsu's search for her ego culminates in restoring completely her juvenile memory and compromising with her ego in memory. Considering the end of the work, it is expected that she will find her ego, finish long wanderings, and be born again as the subject of her life. However, will she be born again as a proud mother who doesn't mind her neighbors' eyes?

3. Gong Seon-ok's *Bulgeun podaegi*: Maternity and Unified Femininity

While the feminist novels in the 1990s are developed as the narrative of daughter, the works of Gong Seon-ok, who has written with the topic of maternity itself, are remarkable owing to the narrative developed by the voice of the mother. Though the mostly unmarried single mom heroines of Gong Sun-ok's writings are unstable beings socially or economically, they are quite satisfied and comfortable irrespective of their actual conditions. Because they are filled with love toward life, they are able to overcome their unfavorable actuality. Children are the origin and meaning of life. In spite of the bad conditions, the mothers are the beings who take care of children, i.e., invaluable life and find the power and reason to live.⁸

It seems that in the figuration of maternity in Gong Seon-ok's works that inherit part of so-called 'absence of father' narrative tradition, the aspect of mythic female characters is fully reproduced. Like the repeated ordeals of Yuhwa, mother of the Goguryeo birth myth, the mothers in Gong Seon-ok's novels are women who suffer from their own hardships and realize their own motherhood. Maternity is an important motive and identity in itself where they can rediscover themselves. Such maternal recognition and ability isn't something that was given to women from the beginning. While suffering from severe hardships, it is a gift that they find for themselves. It is important that such maternal recognition is the identity they confirm for themselves in the process of severe conflicts with the myth of maternity. This is where the maternity of Gong Seon-ok's female characters is distinguished from maternal ideology.⁹ The difference between the maternity shown in Gong Seon-ok's characters and the existing deified maternity can be found at the point where they are described as subjective and strong women who realize and get over the contradiction of patri-

8. This phenomenon forms the mainstream of Gong Seon-ok's writings in his early novels to *Susubateuro oseyo* (Come to the Sorghum Field).

9. The familial relation based on marriage, i.e., the relation based on the love between man and woman, can disappear; nevertheless, it is an original value that cannot be abandoned and shows love toward life. It shows a certain distinction from maternal ideology in that it is based on the basic love toward living life free from various conventions that form the familial relation—relational formation through marriage, childbirth, or blood relation; the mothers are healthy and frank enough to reveal their behaviors unworthy of motherhood—drinking, smoking, sexual desire, or deviate behaviors.

archy. They are described as positive and tolerant figures with primitive power (Kim 2005:107).

While Gong Seon-ok's *Bulgeum podaegi* (A Red Quilt for Babies) maintains the characteristics of her writings, meaningful changes are attempted in its firm structure and the way of describing characters and its thematic consciousness. It is evaluated that this work overcame the stereotype of the former writings to a considerable degree. The novel centers on Yeongmae who is the second wife of Huijo and the stepmother of brother and sister, Taegeon and Byeonghye and mother of her own sons and daughters, Taejun, Inhye and Suhye. The story begins with Inhye's homecoming after receiving Huijo's call to nurse Yeongmae. The narrative method that focuses on Inhye differs in its viewpoint from existing stepmother-type narratives that target the stepmother and her sons and daughters from the standpoint of sons and daughters of the former wife. Development of this narrative is closely connected with the writing's intention to re-illuminate the situation of a stepmother covered with conventional views and to search for the possibility to unify femininity and maternity. To realize such thematic consciousness, this writing uses the love of Yeongmae and her sons and daughters as a central motif. By doing so, a new type of character that can overthrow the narrative custom of the novels of the stepmother-type is created.

When her fiancé dies in an accident, Yeongmae volunteers for school service in a remote rural area to cover up being an unmarried mother, bears Taejun, and accepts the marriage proposal of the widower Huijo who promises to have her son entered in the family register. After marriage, she is a teacher for forty years, takes responsibility for supporting her family, and lives as a faithful wife, daughter-in-law, and self-sacrificing mother to the sons and daughters of the former wife. While the sons and daughters of the former wife are brought up enjoying all the benefits under the protection of her mother-in-law and husband, the sons and daughters of Yeongmae are laid aside and brought up feeling relative deprivation. As a result, the social success of the sons and daughters of the former wife is compared with the failure to socially adapt by the sons and daughters of Yeongmae—the wickedness of Taejun, the pride of Inhye, and the abnormality of Suhye.

The motif of 'an unmarried mother' works as an important clue to understanding the character of Yeongmae. The fact that she became pregnant, which violated a taboo in the then society where virginity was valued, shows that she is a woman who affirms feminist desires. Such a characteristic goes side by side with the maternal phase of Yeongmae to nurture the sons and daughters of the

former wife devotedly. It suggests the axis of the pattern of characters this writing aims for. Yeongmae's femininity appears as follows: even though 'more than ten years have passed since menopause' and she is seriously ill, she feels 'physical ecstasy in spite of the pains of sexual intercourse with Huijo; she 'sheds tears' 'feeling comfort nobody has ever given to her when Huijo's body sticks close to her body;' and she 'confesses frankly that she would like to get such pains more than ten times' (Gong 2003:69-70).

Such consciousness of Yeongmae appears by looking at the problems of her sons and daughters. She accepts untouched such seemingly abnormal phenomena as the immorality of Taejun, Inhye's luckless love affair and an abortion, and the pregnancy of Suhye. The attitude of Yeongmae, affirming her children's love and desires as they are regardless of the moral standards, shows her absolute affirmation toward life itself that is innate in them. Inhye inherits such a viewpoint, which works as an important axis solving familial problems.

Inhye is brought up and neglected in favor of her stepbrothers and stepsisters, eats another's salt at a relative's house in Seoul, and earns her school expenses by working from the high school course. Naturally, she has wrath and antipathy toward unilateral familial relations. Though she plans to go study abroad to get away from her family, she is forced to come back home to nurse her mother and gets involved in familial problems such as Taejun's marital discord and Suhye's pregnancy. In this vortex, the old lover, who betrays her devoted love and leaves her, comes back and the pains of her broken heart and the memory of her agonies increases. Suhye's pregnancy works as the momentum where the painful memory of the mother—anxiety and fear of an unmarried mother—meets the injury of Inhye represented as abortion. Inhye blots out the memories of injury and pain in her mind and the mother embraces and comforts her. The mother who sympathizes with Inhye's pains through her own experiences shows original love and the will to protect life without regard to social common notions. The mother urges Inhye in regards to Suhye's abortion to respect the femininity and love of Suhye, and the child. Such a mind of the mother revives wholly in the mind of Inhye, who hears Suhye leaving for the hospital to have the abortion and runs after her to stop her. Through communication with the mother, Inhye blots out her gloomy memory, is reconciled with her ego, and comes to understand the mother's mind. Through a process Inhye realizes the absolute value of life.

Podaeagi is a baby's quilt. It is compared to the breast of a mother from the standpoint of nurturing a child and to the womb from the standpoint of nurturing

life that will continue the next generation. While children are brought up wrapped in *podaegi*, the mother becomes more and more vacant. A 'red' *podaegi* symbolizes vitality and love. A worn-out one is a symbol of the protection and nurture to all lives. *Podaegi* that is an instrument to embrace and nurture life symbolizes equal maternity to all lives. It is a medium that will make reconciliation possible.

A social common notion or prejudice doesn't matter to the breast of *podaegi*. Yeongmae, who opened her eyes toward life through experiences of injury and pains, is able with great love to embrace all lives in the world. Reconciled with her ego through the love of her mother, Inhye cures her injury and follows her mother's way by sharing the experiences of pains and injury. She makes up her mind to protect the daughter of Suhye, a mentally handicapped and unmarried mother, and nurtures her with love. The father Huijo takes a red *podaegi* from Yeongmae's clothes chest and gives it to Inhye. It connects the mother's love with the child of Suhye. The red *podaegi*, which symbolizes the femininity and maternity of Yeongmae, is a band of love and life that solves familial conflicts and connects reciprocal minds.

The maternity of Yeongmae who nurtured the sons and daughters of the former wife more devotedly than her own sons and daughters is based on love and respect toward life. This shows an aspect of a great mother who is the origin of life beyond familial relations by blood. When such maternal energy can be extended from the category of her own children to the children of others, it is said that it appears in sisterly love (Donovan 1985:92). Gong Seon-ok's maternity is not confined to the biological side based on childbirth; the strong solidarity of her female characters is another phase of maternity that is extended to social care.¹⁰

The peak of maternal values in Gong Seon-ok's writings can be seen in *Susubateuro oseyo* (Come to the Sorghum Field). The heroine Kang Pil-sun supports five sons and daughters in all; her own two sons from different fathers, the two daughters of her friend O Eun-ja, and a son named Bomi that her younger sister deserted. A family formed in such a way shows the aspect of a matrilineal

10. "In *Tieodoneun namu* [A Wandering Tree], while the father is wandering from one construction site to another, the mother forms the central axis of all relations around the father as the root of the family. While all the women of the father form solidarity centering on the mother and 'my' hometown, their sisterly love is based on the maternity of the mother" (Kim 2005:109-10).

society. Pil-sun's response to the ex-husband of her younger sister shows that her behavior doesn't come from the mind but comes from spiritual enlightenment attained through severe life experiences. Pil-sun who knows 'what it is to be cold and hungry' thinks about human duties first of all when she sees the ex-husband of her sister and his son in rags (Kim 2005:113). The aspect of Pil-sun who reconfirms a desire of life through this experience shows a new phase of maternity. The maternity that she shows is the maternity extended to the meaning of social care based on love toward life aside from biological parity and reproduces original maternal values. There, we can see the aspect of a great mother showing original love toward the whole life that bears and nurtures all things. It is of great significance that the realization of Pil-sun's indiscriminative maternity not to adhere to blood relation but to care devotedly for her friend O Eun-ja suggests a concrete possibility that maternal values are extending to a social phase. Owing to such a power, her maternity could work even as a power embracing historical injuries (Kim 1995:118-24).

Maternal Values and the Prospect for Family Culture

In the works of women writers since the 1990s, there appears a new type of female character who listens to her own thoughts and seriously searches for feminist desires free from maternal mythology and the ideology of chastity. Meanwhile, how does the relation between this kind of woman and maternity coexist? It seems that literary works don't fully realize such an alternative aspect yet. The expectations toward romantic love and romantic familial mythology are still reproduced.

If maternity is the central axis constituting the home, a protective shelter from uncertain worldly confusion, how can maternal values be reproduced and pursued in a situation where the changes in sexual roles and the forms of family are diversified? Can't maternal values be established as universal human values aside from the distinction of sexes? The so-called course of learning paternal can be understood as a clue to concrete changes. Becoming a different type of father from traditional paternity along with the new aspects of fatherhood like house-husband is creating a paternity that approaches the traditional roles of maternity. After all, a husband, a wife, and all the members of a family should be accustomed to humanistic values that emphasize such relations as consideration, understanding, and love while practicing such values in actuality. Will it be a

method to solve the problem? When the social recognition and condition that the reciprocal roles are respected and practiced in spontaneous light, how admirable it will be if they are practiced at home!

Nowadays, the forms of family are changing. It becomes difficult to say that the notion of a family composed of parents and sons and daughters through marriage is unique. In the case of Western Europe, various communal forms of family including a homosexual couple, a family with adopted sons and daughters, and a family of single father or mother appear and exist without premising blood homogeneity through marriage or childbirth. The roles of the sexes that have been distinguishable traditionally are also collapsing. Though such changes are perceived in literary works, they appear conspicuously in the artistic works of the screen media. In the film *Mister jubu quiz wang* (Mr. Househusband King of Quiz) (2005) that deals with a full-time househusband, there appears a father who is good at housekeeping and is taking good care of children instead of the busy mother who is working outside the home. It provides the momentum to reconsider the fixed idea about traditional sex roles. It is not a strange situation that the traditional roles of mother are realized through fathers. The comic picture *Banjjogi* (Mr. Half), published in the late 1990s, embodies the aspect of a father sharing household affairs and childcare.

These phenomena are examples showing that the changes of family culture have already been visualized. Then, how can the ‘maternity,’ which took charge of childbirth and childcare in the traditional family culture and played an important role in the formation of familial relations, respond to the changing family culture? In the examples above, we can see a father who is playing the role of mother. Instead of the mother, who is working outside of the home, the father takes charge of solving daily familial problems, and protecting and nurturing children. The maternity that has been accomplished traditionally by mothers have been roles imposed on other women irrespective of childbirth or men like fathers. The maternal role related to childcare, even within the changing family culture, is necessary and the ‘maternal role’ Sara Ruddick suggested is very suggestive (Ruddick 2002:21). The roles of mother are necessary. However, they are not imposed on a particular sex or women who have special experiences but are the roles that everybody can do.

Gajokui tansaeng (Birth of a Family), directed by Kim Tae-yong in 2006, is a film showing a new possibility of discourse on family culture and is worth noting. This movie shows a new type of family constituted by people who are not blood related. Centering on the house of Mira, the new family is a matrilineal

family not of blood relation, composed of a daughter, Chae-hyeon, and two mothers. Their relations are not connected through marriage or biological childbirth. The relationship of this non-blood family is compared to the relation between Mira and her real younger brother, Hyeong-cheol. Complications begin when Hyeong-cheol suddenly visits the house. Meanwhile, the family had no news from him for five years after his discharge from the military. Hyeong-cheol introduces Musin as his wife who seems older than him by twenty years and begins an uncomfortable living arrangement with Mira. When Chae-hyeon, the daughter of the former wife of Musin's former husband, comes to see her mother, dormant conflicts arise. Mira, Musin, and Chae-hyeon, all connected by Hyeong-cheol, live together after Hyeong-cheol runs away from home, and they come to form a familial relationship because they are all lonely persons with injuries and need reciprocal care.

The process that persons with different experiences form a familial community is omitted and their complications begin after Chae-hyeon leaves. The story of another family, the brother Gyeong-seok and the sister Seon-gyeong is not a common affair. Seon-gyeong, who has complicated emotions toward her mother and half brother, tries to go abroad to escape from her mother and comes to nurture Gyeong-seok after her mother's death. The love between Gyeong-seok and Chae-hyeon becomes a medium and the story of two families develops.

In spite of a considerable discrepancy in age and a difference of character and experience, Musin and Mira confirm sisterly love on an equivalent basis. It is possible when recognizing mutual differences. Also, the maternity shown in the process of caring for Chae-hyeon may have been realized in the form of mutual care. At the end of the film, when Hyeong-cheol returns with a pregnant woman, Mira drives him away and locks the gate. With the gate as a border, the scene where the non-blood relation of the three women and Gyeong-seok are inside the house and the blood relation of Hyeong-cheol and the pregnant woman he brought home are outside the gate distinguishes the familial relation. The comparative structure between Hyeong-cheol outside the house, trying to live upon Mira under the pretext of blood relation, and the persons inside the house, caring for one another with affection despite the non-blood relation, raises the question 'What is a true family?' It shows a new familial notion based on love and sympathy aside from the blood-centered familial idea.

In this movie, the female characters don't have any parity. Gyeong-seok's sister, Seon-gyeong, is unmarried and Chae-hyeon's two mothers don't have childbirth experience. However, they realize maternal values through nurturing

themselves and extend their horizon. The process is also remarkable that Seon-gyeong, who had a strong partiality toward her mother, comes to understand her mother with time while nurturing Gyeong-seok. It is the process of reinterpreting the history of the mother through maternity and to also find out the history of the daughter Seon-gyeong. It is embodied in the passage reinterpreting the contents of memory about Gyeong-seok's mother. The expression 'filthy' of Gyeong-seok was just the expression of Seon-gyeong's hatred against her mother. In Seon-gyeong's reinterpretation 'She was warm-hearted,' there contains the changing process of her perception, while understanding the history of her mother's life through maternal experience and also finding out her own history and identity as a daughter. The story of Seon-gyeong and her mother shows the transition from 'the narrative of daughter' to 'the narrative of communication between mother and daughter.'

The narrative tradition of absence of father is also reproduced in this film. Irrespective of parity, the fact that women are playing the role of mother in both families can be understood as signifying that maternity is a unique attribute of women. Nevertheless, this movie provides us with an opportunity to question the conviction, i.e., the relativity of family and blood relation, which is rooted deeply in us. Among the problems caused by a blood-centered familial ideology adhering to blood relations, our topic, 'Hindrance to extension to the social phase of maternal values', will be indicated.

As stated above, we can confirm that the main virtues constituting various forms of family are maternal values, and appear as forms of love and care irrespective of childbirth, sex or blood relations. In order that these maternal virtues may work positively in the modern family culture, it seems that the following alternatives must be provided. First, it is necessary to understand that the so-called notions of maternal characteristics—care, consideration, understanding, love, and others—are the values that not only women but also humans should have. The so-called maternal values are not exclusively female but are the values that should be generalized as human values. Second, it is necessary to provide a unified value system to cultivate mature humans to realize the character of both sexes at a time when the traditional sex roles are dissolving. Third, since the change of familial types is an unavoidable phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss openly and agree on the family roles in order to prepare for the emergence of various types of family. Maternal values that worked as the foundation, that made familial solidarity possible, should not be confined to mothers, i.e., women. The positive aspects that such values have should be learned irrespec-

tive of being a man and woman.

Conclusion

Together with paternity, maternity is not only the foundation for forming a family but also a basic element to guarantee the continuity of life. This maternal figuration has been reproduced as important material from mythology through ancient novels to modern novels. This research aimed to review how maternal figuration in Korean narrative literature has been reproduced in relation to anti-maternal figuration. Through this, it has been confirmed that maternity and its opposite quality, anti-maternity, have reflected the socio-cultural context respectively, according to the times and genre, and have become newly significant.

Samseung halmang bonpuri (Myth of the Three Goddesses Governing Childbirth) is a shamanist myth of the goddesses governing childbirth and nurture that shows the basic principle of life and shows the opposite characters such as life versus death, abundance versus sterility, and health versus illness. These features realize the attribute of maternity versus anti-maternity. Meanwhile, in *Chilseong puri*, maternity and anti-maternity appear through a real mother and a stepmother and also as fecundity (many children) vs. sterility (no children), life (revival) vs. death (punishment), and love vs. jealousy. Through this, it can be known that shamanist mythology takes shamanist imagination, emphasizing abundance and fecundity as a basic quality.

In ancient novels, maternity versus anti-maternity appears through a legitimate wife versus a concubine or a real mother versus a stepmother, and such qualities as virtue vs. vice and modesty vs. obscenity actually result in good versus evil. It is thought that they derive from the character of a person. Moreover, the evil persons are those who are aware of their desires and pursue them and show strong adherence to blood relations and exclusiveness. Here, the then ethical norms, the family system, and familial ideology work as a standard regulating maternity vs. anti-maternity.

In classical narrative literature, the qualities corresponding to maternity vs. anti-maternity are described in the form of conflicting through the figuration of opposite characters; on the contrary, in the post-modern novels, they appear in the way that opposite values coexist and cause conflict in a character. While the figuration of maternity is connected with a socio-historical discourse, the expectations for maternity are reproduced as the mainstay of supporting the house and

family through self-sacrifice and devotion, even in post-modern narrative literature. In Choe Jeong-hi's writings at the end of the 1930s, maternity vs. anti-maternity becomes conspicuous owing to the conflict between maternity and femininity. These characters are intellectual women who practice free love and don't maintain social norms, and they show the change of perception through frustration. The higher the consciousness toward femininity, the stronger the will to idealize and internalize maternity as belief of a religious phase is. In O Jeong-hi's writings from the 1980s, the role of mother and the search for self-identity embody the aspect of maternity vs. anti-maternity. Though the heroine is expelled from the house, owing to mutual keen conflict and is on the brink of being deprived of the role of mother, she restores the first clue to the memory she is searching for and reaches her own basis.

Feminist literature since the 1990s shows various responses to the oppressive mechanism of maternal mythology. In particular, the writings of Gong Seon-ok confirm feminist identity and newly establish that the relations between the world and women are uttered in maternal voices. In her works, femininity and maternity are mutually recognized, unified, and coexisting. Moreover, the maternity of Gong Seon-ok aims for an absolute affirmation toward life itself and shows the figuration of a great mother realizing spontaneous vitality. Such maternal figuration realizes a clue to social care beyond biological maternity that is based on blood relation.

Kim Tae-yong's 2006 film entitled *Gajokui tansaeng* (Birth of a Family) shows a new possibility of discourse on family culture. This movie introduces us to a new type of family that is not constituted by blood relation. The comparative structure between the persons outside the house and the persons inside the house raises the question 'What is a true family?' It shows a new familial notion based on love and sympathy and not a blood-centered familial idea. Also, the process is noticeable that the women without parity are aware of the maternal values through nurture, widen their horizons of perception, and extend it to social care.

The positive side of maternity is not solely a feminist area but should be understood as a universal human virtue. As maternal values can be used as a teaching guide for mature humans of both sexes, it is necessary to provide a value system which unifies both sexes at the present time when the traditional sex roles are dissolving.

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Individuals in Family and Marriage Relations in Confucian Context¹

Kim Heisook

Is the abolition or the dissolution of family necessary for the attainment of individuality and subjectivity of woman? In the Korean cultural context, family has traditionally constituted the integral part of what individuals are to be. Koreans, regardless of gender, have lived, not as individuals, but as members of a family whose roles are finely defined in terms of gender and hierarchical family relations. I argue that, in order to achieve the individual autonomy and the subjectivity of a woman in a society like Korea, where individuals cannot be easily ripped from the family relations, the concept of family must be broadened to include a loosely knit solidarity based upon intimate feeling (親) among people. What is necessary for the attainment of woman subjectivity in the Korean context is not the dissolution of family as a whole, but ridding us of the idea of family essentially mediated by marriage between man and wife, an idea originated from yin-yang ideology.

Keywords: Confucianism, Individuality, Subjectivity, Yin-yang, Marriage, Family Ethics, Social Ethics

Introduction

The way in which an individual relates to another individual is immensely diversified these days. Institutions like nations or even smaller units of society may

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define the relations, or institutions like law, religion, ethical norms or aesthetic culture may also do the job. Among others, however, family has traditionally been the most powerful institution that has defined people's lives, especially the lives of women throughout the East and the West. It is not far-fetched to say that the traditional patriarchal family defined women in an essentialist way as being subject to men in a family and the individuality (individual autonomy) of a woman was an impossible ideal to achieve.

The question I am dealing with in this paper is this: Is the abolition or the dissolution of family necessary for the attainment of individuality and subjectivity of woman? Nowadays family as an institution tends to lose its gripping power and becomes a superfluous unit of society. Contemporary societies have the growing tendency to take individuals as basic units in the aspects of law, economics, and social policies in general. Many people doubt that family cannot be a meaningful category to define the way people interact with each other in our present world and the future world as well. Family has been not only shrunken to a core family composed of husband, wife, and one or two children, but also dissolved into a loose and contingent social unit. We even talk about one member family these days. However, the problem is not that simple in the Korean cultural context where family has traditionally constituted the integral part of what individuals are to be. Koreans, regardless of gender, have lived, not as individuals, but as members of a family whose roles are clearly defined in terms of gender and hierarchical family relations. Gender and the hierarchy of family relations were two fundamental principles on which the traditional Korean society of Confucian culture was based. I argue that, in order to achieve the individual autonomy and the subjectivity of woman in a society like Korea where individuals cannot be easily ripped from the family relations, the concept of family must be broadened to include a loosely knit solidarity based upon intimate feeling (親) among people. What is necessary for the attainment of woman subjectivity in the Korean context is not the dissolution of family as a whole, but ridding us of the idea of family essentially mediated by marriage between man and wife, an idea originated from yin-yang ideology.

In what follows, I will examine the relations among individuals, family, and society (or nation) and the question of achieving the social unity and solidarity. I will contrast a Western model with an East Asian Confucian model of relations, that is, individual→family→society (nation) vs. individual/family→society (nation). In the former, an individual can relate directly (without the mediation

of family) to a society when the family no longer functions as a meaningful socio-cultural institution. Individuals can be basic units that are to be integrated into a social unity, while family remains as superfluous. In the latter, however, it is difficult for an individual to do so because its existence is always mediated through family. Social unity in this kind of society is to be based upon family unity. Things get all the more complicated when family relations become highly contingent upon frequent divorce and remarriage as we witness today. Individuals do not know how to be integrated into a community or a society without the mediation of family-like relations. Korean society also does not know how to achieve social unity without appealing traditional values like filial piety based upon family relations or national royalty based upon quasi-family relations (同胞²). Family, once an indispensable component of a social unity, now becomes a source of social tension and disunity due to its unstable structure in a contemporary society. Individuals, still stuck within family as an idealized entity, experience various levels of discrimination when they belong to non-standard forms of family. Individuals, especially women and children who are considered to be the belongings of family, are suffering in the prison of ideal family that no longer exists in reality. The term “children from lacking family” (缺損家庭), which we have inattentively used until recently, reflects prevailing social discrimination. I argue that one way to flee the prison of Korean Confucian culture where an individual cannot be freed from the idea of family is to extend our concept of family to include diverse forms of family.

1. Unity of Society and the Abolition of Family

What is the function of family in a society where the systems of law, economy, politics, and social policy are based on the existence of individuals, not on the group identity of families as they were in the past traditional society? Family nowadays seems to be relegated to the realm of privacy and no longer serves as a visible social entity even in Korean society that has a long family tradition. Is family superfluous when an individual directly relates to a society to make a social unity? In *Republic V* and *Laws*, Plato claimed that family hinders the nation’s ability to attain single unity and strong solidarity.³ Even in modern total-

2. It is interesting to note that the literal meaning of the Korean word ‘dongpo (同胞)’ is ‘people from the same uterus’ which strongly intimates that we are from one family..

itarian societies, family is often taken to be something that reinforces the idea of belongingness on a parochial level (*my* family, *my* children, *my* spouse, *my* property to be inherited by *my* children, etc.) inducing an exclusive family unity which may cause conflicts among different families. These conflicts keep us from a strong social unity.

If it is difficult to achieve a social unity because of family-centeredness as Plato worried, then how can we explain the phenomenon that a national unity is pursued in an East Asian context by means of the strong institution of family and the overpowering family ethics based on Confucian values? Family as such cannot be seen as an obstacle to the attainment of social unity. For, in a Confucian feudal society, royalty (忠) to enhance a national unity is always made analogous to filial piety to reinforce the family solidarity by considering King to be 'the father of the nation'. Family here is working as an effective means to strengthen a national unity and, in fact, as a national ideology to be fulfilled on the level of personal lives of the people. Family ethics is in principle not distinguished from social or national ethics. They constitute concentric circles.⁴ In a Confucian society, national unity is solidified through something like family solidarity achieved by the idea of nation as an extended family.

Unlike Plato, Aristotle thinks that if a state, contrary to its own nature of being a plurality, pursues the greatest degree of unity, it becomes a family and then eventually an individual so that a state is no longer a state. He says in *Politics* (1261a), "So that we ought not to attain this greatest unity even if we could, for it would be the destruction of the state...a state is not made up only of so many men, but of different kinds of men...It is not like a military alliance"(Aristotle 1941:1147).⁵ By having wives and children in common, relations and ties among men will become weaker as opposed to Plato's intention. If we follow Plato's suggestion, "There is no reason why the so-called father should care about the son, or the son about the father or brothers about one another <1262b>"(Aristotle 1941:1150). Aristotle thinks that crimes, such as assaults, unlawful loves, and homicides, will happen more often. This kind of

3. For more detailed discussion of Plato's position, see Hur 1997.

4. Shimada Genji examines cases where family ethics conflict with social ethics and concludes that a Confucian society is an ellipse that has two focal points, nation and family (Genji 1986:38).

5. For more discussion of Aristotle's position, see Lee 1997.

criticism of the abolition of family is led to the vindication of family institution by being connected with the tendency that views family as a natural unit of human beings. But the family vindicated is the patriarchal family within which women and children are belongings of husbandmen.

The Aristotelian conception of family has prevailed throughout the modern period in the West. Kant also tried to defend the claim of the right that the male head of the household may lay on the members of the household, such as women, children, and servants as well. He conceptualizes the right of the sort as the right to persons: "This Right is that of possession of an external object *as a thing* and use of it *as a person*. What is mine or yours in terms of this Right is what is mine or yours *domestically...*"(Kant 1991:95).⁶ After the French Revolution, the idea that all men are equal had become prevalent among intellectuals in Europe. The right of the head of a household to servants, women, and children, however, seems to go against the idea of the absolute equality among people before God. Accordingly, Kant tried to defend the right of the master of the household in terms of the possession or the acquisition of a person, and using an object as a person. But this defeats his basic moral principle to treat human beings as an end, not as a means. One way to solve this dilemma is to separate the private and the public.

Women and children were equal in God's eyes, but only in a spiritual sense and only if they served God through serving father or husband in a temporal household. There was thus a division created between spiritual and temporal in a way that had not been distinguished before. This was the origin of the concepts of 'public' and 'private', an artificial resolution to a contradiction between individual equality and hierarchical patriarchal authority. (Gittins 1985:40)

After the modern period, the thought that a society is based upon contractual relations of individuals has been widely spread throughout the East and the West. Individual beings as wage laborers, constituting basic social units in the age of industrialization, have acquired social visibility and posit themselves at the social front. In accordance with the development of cities and the change in

6. For more discussion of Kant, see Kim 2005.

the mode of family, the nuclear family has become general. The deepening division of the private and the public has transformed people's modes of being by expanding the sphere of the private. While growing individualism in the West has weakened the social mediation of families, the tendency that women and children, once they acquire the capability of earning wages as independent laborers, go outside of the family has increased. This means that many factors have appeared that break the unity of family. The family as a social engine seems to be no longer effective. Now then, are we closer to the Platonic ideal of the greater unity of society or state?

If we are living in a world where the unity of society or state is achieved through agreement, persuasion, conversation, or contracts among free individuals, family falls into the realm of privacy, a matter of personal choice. In this case, the unity of society and the unity of family are two separate problems. The dissolution of family or the abolition of family would neither strengthen social unification nor accelerate social dissolution. In the same token, the institutionalization of family and family values would not contribute to the strong unity of society.

However, a radically different picture could be drawn in a context where family, whether it is nuclear or large, still essentially defines the life and the being of an individual. Korean traditional society tends to achieve social unity by making the society a large family. Social unity is not separated from the family unity made possible by the effective norms of family ethics. The being of an individual is essentially defined in terms of finely characterized roles within family relations. An individual without family is a non-being. Family, whether it is real or ideal, is still a home for a Korean mind. But contemporary Korean society has undergone the process of radical modernization in which family as an institution is dissolving and losing its grasping power as a significant social category. The problem here is that we cannot make the unity of society and the unity of family separate, making the family question a matter of privacy because an individual is still enclosed within the family. An individual always encounters the society through the mediation of family. Tax systems or social welfare policies still presuppose the family as a viable institution. I think that this peculiarity of Korean society causes lots of pain, conflict, and discrimination in various social arenas. In what follows, I seek a way out of the impasse we are facing. First, I will examine what the family for us Koreans is.

2. What is the family?

To define the family is a difficult task, though everybody thinks it to be a familiar notion. It could be defined as a social unit characterized by the shared habitat, economic co-operation and reproduction, which serves as the foundation of social and economic systems that render possible such various policies as income tax, welfare, youth and seniority, housing, recreation, population, economic development, and labor and production. In general, the family is understood in terms of three types: a nuclear family (man and wife, children, and sometimes with one or two additional members of consanguinity), an extended family (a clustered form of two or more nuclear families) and a polygamy. Among these, a nuclear family is considered the prominent model. A recent survey shows that it is the nuclear family, in 250 different cultures, that works as the most common social unit without exception. Whether the marital status is permanent or temporal, or whether the sexual activity is permitted or forbidden, a husband and a wife together with their children form an independent social unit (Murdock 2003:20).

The nuclear family differs from other social unit forms not only in the aspects of sexual, economical, reproductional, and educational functions, but also in the aspect of space. It differs from others in that each member of a nuclear family claims and occupies a proper space for his/her own use. To be sure, in polygamy too, a separate space is allotted for a wife and her offspring. But the space as a legitimate measure of distinguishing the family better defines the household than the family. For while the household stresses the locality in which people share the same habitat, the family living in the same space is hardly a prerequisite. In fact, a nuclear family living in the same space is conspicuous only among certain age groups; for instance, the family in which both husband and wife are in their thirties and forties fits this model well. But in other age groups, this is not always the case.

Let's consider what could be retained in the notion of family.

1. consanguinity or kinship: ties made through birth and mating
2. household: a group of individuals living in the same habitat
3. pedigree or lineage: institutionalized kinship officialized in terms of common property and registration
4. clan: a large community of people loosely connected in terms of the common family name and marriage relations
5. a group of people living together: people under the same roof with the

same social interests sharing meals for economic, psychological, and sexual needs

It is important to realize that the type of family changes as an individual undergoes a different stage of life. It also takes a different form as the society evolves. The ratio of what many believe to be the standard family, in other words, the family consisting of husband, wife and their offspring, is not high even in Korean society with its strong family tradition. Nevertheless, the nuclear family has claimed itself as a universal form and even as the most natural form of human life. It has been considered as the most fundamental and essential unit that sustains the society by providing emotional ties, self-sufficiency, harmony, and balance. Gittins views the family as an ideology.

The family was ahistorical, class-specific ideology premised on earlier patriarchal religious ideals and beliefs. Its particular strength as an ideology has lain in its presentation as a tangible reality to which all can and should aspire, and which every individual should and does experience. Individuals' concrete experiences and interpretations of 'family' may relate to kin, household, friends or neighbors-indeed to an institution in which they were brought up. But the all-encompassing and yet elusive concept of family makes it appear both as a universally shared experience and a goal which all can, and should, achieve-regardless of economic circumstances-even if its realization remains obscure. (Gittins 1985:158)

The notion of the family escapes an easy definition and invites many different interpretations. It is difficult to identify different meanings in different contexts with consistency. Do human beings, in their nature, require family? Is it necessary for us to live with someone to reaffirm closeness, to share space for an extended period, and to love and be loved? Being a social and interactive creature, a person is in need of another person to relate as an existential condition. When we consider the emptiness of the ideal of Christian universal love, or Mo Tzu's undifferentiated love or Confucian ideal of one family world, it is understandable that we need someone intimate to interact and communicate with. But the ways in which individuals interact together in the contexts of love, affection, caring, reproduction, and sexuality are too varied in time and space to be able to encase these interactions into a standard form, namely, 'the family'. The mode of interaction takes as many forms as there are individuals. Neither is it an easy task to determine which form realizes the mode in the best possible way. It is

one thing to say that human beings need intimate relations with others in various aspects, while it is another thing to say that the relations are insured in the type of family we are familiar with.

Certainly, it might well be that the family, a social unit familiar to us, provides the channel through which a person finds emotional comfort and fulfills her/his need for close relationships with others. But there is always a possibility to develop completely a new form of networking, and this new form of relationship may prove to be in a constant state of flux and change. Because of this flexibility, we may project a family-like relation to a pet or a cyborg to which we may have a strong emotional attachment. Now it is quite clear that simple emotional ties or personal relationships, no matter how strong and solid they appear, are not the conditions for the making of the family. Rather, what really distinguishes the family from other personal ties and relationships is a sense of unity and oneness in which we experience merging of different selves and identities. It is not clear whether it is this unification that breeds closer emotional ties or it is close emotional ties that induce unification. Given the fact that emotional intimacy develops within the (legal and cultural) system of family through familial interactions, and through collective punishments and rewards shared by the members of a clan, emotional ties are the product of an institutional system. We may easily find in Korean society examples of this kind of institutional emotion; the strong emotional attachment a couple from an arranged marriage shows after living together for a long time, the strengthened feeling of close relationship among in-laws created by a marriage, and the fellowship shared by graduates of the same school or people from the same hometown. Among these forms of attachment and closeness, we usually expect the strongest one from the family. Even so, the chilling fact that it is also within family that we often witness extreme hatred and anger expressed in their most direct forms reminds us that attachment and closeness alone do not define the family.

The family being the oldest institution or symbol in human history, there is a strong tendency to take it to be natural. At the same time, however, we also expect a radical change in the notion of family in the future in which people are easily parted and easily get together. A feminist once said, "To speak in terms of 'the' family is totally misleading. There is no such thing. While everybody at some point will share space, time, skills, sexuality, affection and love with others, the ways in which individuals...interact together are too varied to be able to encase these activities into a term such as 'the family'"(Gittins 1985:167). The notion of family would be dissolved in a Huxlian brave new world where the

government assumes the full responsibility in the matter of birth, breeding, and death of an individual. In such a world, an individual's life would be reduced to a basic unit the state takes control of. Without the mediation of family, an individual directly falls into the management of the state. There has long been discussion about who, the state or the family, should take care of seniors and troubled youths. Recently, the Korean Congress has discussed a revised version of the filial duty law, which attempts to impose the responsibility of caring for the elderly upon the family. It might be an easy way to shake off the financial burden which has long choked the government, but no one is convinced whether the imposition of responsibility under the name of filial piety would work well.

3. Individual, Family, and Society in Confucian culture

In the Western world, there has long been an attempt to weaken the family, to abolish it as an institution. An oath to celibacy has been presented to soldier, priest and sailor and, more often than not, the list has been extended to include public school and university. The practice is obviously originated from a widespread fear that the family tie or its equivalent may weaken people's loyalty toward such public institutions as the church and state. Contrary to the Western practice, the Confucian society has taken an opposite direction to achieve the same effect; they stressed and encouraged family ties in order to solidify and strengthen the state and other public institutions. Its flying motto, 'the whole world is one family (天下一家)', comes to the forefront by taking the state as an extended family.

Faithful to this view, the Confucian society has forged filial piety and loyalty as two cardinal virtues that would buttress the society working as two sides of the same coin. In *The Book of Filial Piety*, we find a phrase characterizing filial piety as 'the unchanging way of heaven, the given law of earth, and the norm of action for the people'. Filial piety constitutes the backbone of personal ethics, but it also poses itself as the prime value to establish social ethics because taking a high ranking position is to dedicate oneself to the state (Kim 2002:41). The Confucian core concept of benevolence is also understood in terms of family ethics based on filial piety and brotherly love. In the first part of *The Analects*, we find the phrase, 'filial piety and brotherly respect are the root of humanity' (*The Analects* 1:2). Confucius thinks that when the root is firmly established, the moral law (Tao) will grow, and the order of the state will be set.

But a question naturally arises: if family ethics and state ethics work on the

same principles, how can one prepare for a situation where the two kinds of ethics collide? Confucius and Mencius lay more stress on family ethics. “Generally speaking,” Kim Soo-Jung remarks, “in the burgeoning period of Confucianism, there had been a tendency to put an individual before the state, but as the society expanded and a single unified empire like Chin and Han dynasties emerged in history, the focus had been shifted to the state ethics with due force”(Kim 2002:41). A fairly interesting example that illustrates the relation between state ethics (忠) and family ethics (孝) could be found in *The Great Book of Laws of the State* (經國大典). When a son brings a charge against his own father for a crime, the law dictates that the state should punish the son, not the father who committed the crime. The only exception is when the father was alleged for conspiracy or treason. One more example is enough to observe how strongly the family ethics of filial piety has worked in traditional society; a soldier was allowed to go home to mourn his departed parent even when he was in the midst of a battle.

Regardless of cultural differences between the East and the West, it has traditionally been the case that the family is created by way of marriage. Among recognized social units, the family has been described by the following characteristics: sharing the same habitat, economic cooperation, sharing a legal right, and biological reproduction. In Confucian culture, the family is more or less a kinship, for kinship is a tie created by birth and marriage. But, no matter how heavily the kinship depends upon the blood relationship for its creation, it is not uniquely a biological relationship. Kinship as something socially constructed is a cultural and institutional concept: for people who are biologically related may not be considered kin and vice versa.

In the Confucian society, the indispensability of the family has been emphasized in the following accounts:

- Economic need: In an agricultural society, the family as a collective unit proves the most effective to achieve the economic goal. Given that agriculture does need collective effort, a strong bond among the family members that makes them heavily interdependent becomes most important. As it is natural for the parent to take care of their children, so it is for the child to bear responsibility to insure the well-being of his aged parents. There is little worry that the family’s wealth may shrink by distribution. In fact, the family could sometimes increase its wealth by a combined effort or by the efficient division of labor among family members.
- Political need: The family has proven most reliable and effective in maintain-

ing the social order and in achieving a unified nation. It provides the most concrete space of everyday lives in which the social norms and state ethics are put into practice and educated. As the notion of 'family power' indicates, the tightly knit family poses itself as a political power in a society. American black people can not have this family power because of the slavery that dissolved family relations. In Korean society, power relations structured through the mediation of the family and marriage can easily be identified. Traditional arranged marriage has contributed to the structuring of power relations.

- Cultural need: The family has also proven effective in transferring the cultural values and educating the members to appreciate them. Home education is, to a great extent, a useful means to prepare a person to adjust oneself to a society. Within the context of family relations finely defined upon consanguineous hierarchy, a person can learn moral norms and the principles that work within the framework of human relations. The family provides the context that makes people's lives meaningful. Women's lives, in particular, were exclusively defined through the family.
- Psychological need: Humans are interactive beings. They recognize their own identities through their relations with others. Love, affection, sexuality, and other kinds of intimate feelings that may arise within the family are important to the psychological stability of the mind. The family can provide psychological protection for family members.

As stated above, matrimony constitutes the very core of what makes the family. In a Confucian culture, man and wife have been considered the origin of everything and even the beginning of the Tao of the man of literati (君子). In *Book of Changes*, there is a phrase saying:

Only after there were Heaven and Earth were there the myriad things.
 Only after there were the myriad things were there male and female.
 Only after there were male and female were there husband and wife.
 Only after there were husband and wife were there father and child. Only
 after there were father and child were there sovereign and minister. Only
 after there were sovereign and minister, were there superiors and subordi-
 nates. Only after there were superiors and subordinates, were there rules
 of propriety and righteousness to operate...Heaven and Earth are the root
 of the myriad things, and husband and wife are the beginning of human
 morality (*Book of Changes: Xian 咸*).⁷

Only after the marriage of man and wife can there be a child, and thus the relation of parents and children. Only then, the family is born. Thus viewed, the contradicting double aspects of family tie, that is, solidarity (among the same family members) and exclusion (of other families), seem to result from the bond and the exclusiveness of the man and wife relation.

In contemporary Korean society, the bond between man and wife is not only legal, but also sexual, psychological, moral, economical, and political. Love between man and wife in the Korean context does not simply indicate a kind of intimacy. It assumes far more diverse forms and functions. The very term, nuptial or spousal affection, coined to describe the mutual attachment, carries a far wider import than it appears. Song Shi-Yeol, in *Book of Admonishing Women* (誠女書), advises a newly wed couple to treat each other as dearly as if they are guests or honorable visitors of each other. In many old texts, we find a married couple living together as if they were fellow soldiers fighting the same battle, their emotional attachment drawn from mutual trust and shared interests. It seems that the emotional bond shown in Korean couples is more likely to be a matter of formality and courtesy. This is mainly because the Confucian tradition has seen that matrimony relied more on moral obligation than emotional intimacy, and hence used the marriage as an occasion to strengthen kinship rather than cultivate passion of the individual. The relation of man and wife is essentially defined in terms of moral duty to each other and to the members of consanguineous relations. In this context, it would be natural to regard that marriage solidifies social norms and social bonds at the expense of the individuality of the married person. Individuality is dissolved in the family relations that are to be consolidated through continuous marriages.

4. Marriage as the Essential Medium of Family

People believe that real life begins with marriage. The belief is so deeply rooted that people in Confucian cultures regard a grown up child who remains unmarried as the worst form of filial impiety. Historical records from the Joseon dynasty show an episode in which the government punished the father for not

7. I used *Jooyeukjeoneui*, translated and annotated into Korean by Sung Bak-Hyo. The English translation is mine.

putting his full-grown daughter into marriage. Sometimes, the government paid the marital expenses.

Seen from the worldview that takes the union of the male and the female as the beginning of the myriad things, the family is not a contingent way in which individuals are related. It is, as essentially mediated by the union of husband and wife, something that reflects the order of the Universe. This explains in part the hideous action of abandoning or giving up with little reluctance children from a previous marriage when a man and a woman remarry. People have traditionally believed that the family begins with marriage. Thus, the family without this proper beginning is viewed as improper and lacking. The term ‘family in deficiency’ serves as a telling example: in our society, its application is strictly reserved to indicate a family where the relationship between husband and wife as parents is missing. We do not call the family without children by that name.

Marriage has served as the vital medium that produces various social relationships. Through the union of two families or two clans, a new social networking and a new social reality consisting of the system of kinship and the recycling of ethical norms has come into being. Marriage viewed in this light, the emotional ties between the couple and their sexual needs are matters of secondary concern. It is rather a matter of moral responsibility and duty to fulfill, to participate, in the order of the Universe. The responsibility does not simply hold between husband and wife, but is defined in a wider context of the complicated relations of consanguinity.

In the Western philosophical tradition, Hegel is one prominent thinker who takes note of the ethical moments in the family and marriage. He thinks that the Kantian ethics abstracted from the concrete reality of human lives is empty and that the ethical system reflects the idea of freedom realized in the actual world. The first stage of ethical life comes in the form of family, which is to be sublimated into the civic community and then into the state as the highest form of substantive reality of ethical spirit. The family as the first and the direct form of realizing ethical spirit finds its unity in the feeling of love, which again realizes its spiritual unity in marriage. Unlike Kant who takes marriage as the legal justification of using another’s body for one’s own interest and pleasure (Kant 1963:162-8), Hegel considers it as “essentially an ethical relation”(Hegel 1996:166). Love is feeling the ethical in the form of the natural because a loving individual is in the unity with another individual through passion and subjective inclination. It first gives rise to a relation in which individuality is sublimated, a beginning of the ethical. But, in order to acquire its consummation and reality, it

must be rationalized (socialized) in the form of marriage and the family. Hegel says,

Marriage leaves behind and transcends the standpoint of contract, occupied by the person who is sufficient for himself....The union of personalities, whereby the family becomes one person, and its members its accidents, is the ethical spirit....In this attitude of mind is found that religious side of marriage and the family, which is called piety. (Hegel 1996:168)⁸

We find a striking similarity between the above Hegelian exposition of marriage and family and the Confucian position in which marriage is taken to be connected with the harmony of the Universe achieved through the union of yin-yang. The family mediated by marriage constitutes the foundation of the Universe and the state transcending the realm of social contract and the natural inclination of different sexes.

5. Family as an Open Concept

Whether we take a Hegelian position or a Confucian position, the ideological aspect of marriage will be enforced to a degree that contemporary society, especially Korean society, cannot cope with. An unmarried individual is considered to be a deficient being who cannot experience the objective form of freedom and the ethical spirit, that is, a being without an inner engine to transcend its individuality for the universal.

We must take note of the oppressive aspects of a society under the strong institution of family and marriage. The family is a very vague notion subject to transition and flexibility. If we define it essentially in terms of marriage, we would thereby marginalize the lives of those people who lead their lives outside the conventional form of marriage by sharing time, space, affection, sexuality and so forth, that is, who live together like a real family. Many kinds of discriminative acts and judgments may prevail against them under the name of defective family. They may be embedded into public policies. For instance, if the filial piety law is actualized as a law, the law itself, by its own existence, will discrim-

8. Hegel thinks that the family must be dissolved into the civic community and, then, into the state because the union of family still remains in the subjective. For a comparative analysis of Hegelian and Confucian contexts on the question of ethicality, see Lee 2002.

inate against the people who are not married, and are without a child.

When an individual cannot find her/his proper place in a society and in a family as in Korean society (with the structure of individual/family→state rather than individual→<family>→state), problems become much more complicated as to cause various social conflicts. For the unity of society in this kind of society would heavily depend upon the unity of family mediated by marriage, and the family no longer exists, at least in a form the society idealizes. Frequent dissolution of marriage relations and equally frequent remarriages in contemporary Korean society will create multilayers in which the modes of social tension, conflicts, prejudice, and discrimination become much more complicated compared to Western society where the individuality of a person is still a viable social factor. With the growing conflicts, not only in the social arenas but also in the inner psychology of the mind, solidarity among people will become a more remote ideal. The family, once an effective means to consolidate the society, now becomes the source of injustice and unhappiness for the people who cannot be freed from the idea of the family. Ironically enough, nowadays it contributes to the disunity of society rather than to the unity of society. Is the family as an institution to be abolished then? That is not the way made possible in Korean society where the idea of family is deeply embedded.

To utilize the traditional organic correlations of individual, family, and society in the Korean context, we must first free ourselves from the idea that the family begins with marriage. From the Hegelian proposition that to achieve the personality of free spirit is to be in relations with others in ethical contexts, it does not follow that the achievement of personality takes place only within marriage and family relations in their conventional forms. Individuality, spontaneity, and autonomy of a person must be presupposed in every human relation. For the family to be a significant social category providing a meaningful component of solidarity for a society, the concept of family must be taken as an open concept which is in an on-going process of change and flux.

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Family Relation and the Philosophy of Emotion¹

Kim Hyu-ryun

The paper aims to establish an alternative concept of family in terms of intimate feelings and affective narrative. Family relation cannot be defined in the way that traditional philosophy posits, for the set of essential properties common to all types of family cannot be found. Family can be formed in diverse manners and for various reasons. In this paper, I offer an alternative way to form family relation by making the claim to family relation by virtue of family language and intentional attitudes. Family language has the self-referring structure in which the speaker identifies himself to be a family member by virtue of making the claim. The ground for such a claim is not necessarily related to hereditary relation or judicial arrangement. Love or affection can function as the ground for the claim to family relation, supported by commitment and relevant behavioral patterns.

I classify family language as a type of speech act, specifically, belonging to the class of behabitives. Behabitives are speech acts which require the speaker to meet the sincerity condition and to perform in accord with a codified pattern of relevant actions. Thus, love or compassion or intimate feelings should be vented in order to make family relation possible and thereby the speaker makes himself a moral agent taking duty and responsibility.

Keywords: family relation, affective narrative, intentionality, sincerity condition, behabitives, speech act, intimacy, emotional structure.

Introduction

Traditionally, philosophical discourse rarely takes family as its subject. When it

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does, however, it does only to refute the universal validity of claims on family matters in the theoretical and practical sense. Fortunately, contemporary philosophy has widened its horizon and has become able to accommodate the familial in its subject matters.² In particular, since individuals cannot be viewed as detached islands anymore, any account of personal identity must include interpersonal relations and an assessment of them. In that regard, the experiences and memory of family relations become pertinent to the problem of identity. At the same time, the form of family has been through a major change, in a significant way, to the point where family is thought to be deconstructed as we live in a global and multicultural milieu. So I will attempt to show an alternative as well as a viable concept of family in terms of affective narrative and moralization.

The aim of the paper is three-fold. First, I will show how family as a concept can be construed to be an affective narrative, the narrator of which must use the identifying family language. Second, I maintain that family language belongs to a category of speech act called *behabitives*. 'Behabitives', coined by J.L. Austin, refer to the group of speech acts requiring both the expression of emotion and the subsequent execution of relevant actions. Third, since I take the affective narrative as the form of long-term intentional commitment, the concept of family understood as affective narrative plays inevitably a constitutive part of a subject's moral character. So I will consider the ways in which family affections can become morally accountable in the Korean family.

Is Family Necessary for Society?

Diverse notions of family or family relation have been current in different ages and societies. The notion of family can be understood as the basic unit comprising a society, the function of which is administrative, political, cultural, and economical. Despite the different connotations and weights, family as a concept generally plays a pivotal role in organizing society. If it is true that family is indispensable to society in one way or the other, what is it that makes family

2. Positive philosophical accounts of family can be found in anthologies like *Kindred Matters: Rethinking the Philosophy of Family* (1993), eds. Diana Tietjens Meyers et. al., Ithaca: Cornell University Press. In Korea, the only available instance, so far, of the philosophical treatment of 'family' as the subject matter, in book form, has been *The Philosophy of Family* (1997) by Kang, Soon-mee, et al.

fundamentally resourceful for society? I suspect that it should be loyalty or solidarity supported by psychological intimacy between family members and their morally privileged status, compared to other neighbor-denizens. Typically, family members are formed on the basis of hereditary relation, shared historical experiences as households, and psychological and economic needs. Naturally, family members form an exclusive world of their own, which makes them special to each other. Intimate feelings, affection, devotion, loyalty, filial piety, solidarity, and so on are regarded as all praiseworthy family virtues. A government can make the most of those special qualities of family relation for a more efficient ministry of state affairs. This could be a typical portrayal of family and family values.

In contrast, there have also been negative assessments of family. Plato was one of the major opponents to the family system, claiming that those seemingly praiseworthy family values are in fact the obstacle to building a rational and moral society. Specifically, natural attachment and partiality towards family members against other citizens tend to make it difficult to keep sound thinking and fair judgment when dealing with issues concerning the interest of the whole community. So Plato decided to deconstruct the family system and to run the state entirely on the basis of the principle of efficiency and impartiality.³ For such a reason and others, there should be no marriage and family allowed in his ideal community. But reproduction and nurture are to be systematically planned and carried out as part of the administrative business of the state.

Regardless of the views of how marriage and family can be assessed and implemented to public policy, one thing is common: That is, family is thought to be a special kind of interpersonal relation, centering on intimate affections and priority status. After all, it turns out that advocates and opponents alike make different assessments on the same qualities attributed to family on different grounds. Moreover, these controversies on the value of family indirectly imply the possibility of a society without families as such. Thus, we can seriously raise the question of whether family relation might well be substituted for friendship or brotherhood or something similar to a fraternity relation. For equal distribution of concern, duty, and responsibility seems to better serve individuals as well

3. Plato is thought to have attempted to dismantle the family system and subsequently labor distribution based on the notion of sex roles, especially in *Republic* and *Law* (Okin 1977:27; Heo 1997; Kang 1997:31-64).

as the whole community, due to freedom from attachment and partiality for an exclusive circle of people.

Family as an Intentional-Affective Concept

I have briefly sketched philosophical debates on the necessity of family as a basic unit of society. I have also examined the possibility of a world without families in the traditional sense and the advantages which can be brought about by such a system. Now that the existence of family as a natural kind may not be required for constituting a society, I would like to offer, in this section, an alternative concept of family. One might think that family and the familial are too familiar and close to us to define in a neat fashion. That is certainly true. Throughout human history, family took divergent forms and there were different reasons for each form. It is hard to point out the set of definitional properties of family common to all types of family. Cognitive as well as normative criteria for individuating family, such as hereditary relation, administrative system of households and the like, cannot be found. The word ‘amily’ cannot be defined in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions, as opposed to intuitive thoughts.

The more fundamental reason for the difficulty to define family is that family as a concept is an inflected or self-referring concept in the sense that the word ‘family’ or family language⁴ are included in a self-identifying utterance made by someone belonging to the family relation in question. For instance, if someone says ‘I am his son’ or ‘she is family to me’, the family relation between the two people may be confirmed only by virtue of the speaker’s self-identifying statement. In other words, the existence of family and family relation must be confirmed by someone who claims to have the family relation with the individual or the group of people. There must be a reasonable explanation for such a claim, because family relation is no more arbitrary than it is preordained.

Let me give an example of the claim to family relation on the basis of friendly feelings and trust. In the novel entitled *Fried Green Tomatoes*, which

4. ‘Family language’ refers to the words used to claim family relation. For instance, ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘sister’, and ‘brother’ are typical family languages for a nuclear family system. In contrast, ‘uncle’, ‘aunt’, ‘grandmother’, ‘kin’, and so on would be included in the list of family languages for a grand family system.

appeared in film version too, Evelyn, a middle-aged woman, suffering from an eating disorder and low self-esteem, goes through some sort of see-change after having conversations with Idgie, an elderly lady living in a nursing home. Finally, Evelyn tells her husband that she feels Idgie is like family to her and so she wants to bring her to their home and take care of her. Her claim to family relation is not grounded by any legitimate and customary foundation. Her only and decisive reason for the claim is that Idgie helped her to find herself and a new vision for her life. The life-long story of love and friendship between Idgie and Ruth opens Evelyn's eyes so as to be able to realize the meaning of life and love. Moreover, Evelyn admires Idgie's sincerity and courage and wants to be with her. In this case, tender feelings, respect, friendship, and caring between Evelyn and Idgie are threads being weaved into a family relation of some sort. But these feelings are not just transient mental states. Emotions, thoughts, and desires altogether form a narrative of its own, to be classified under the heading of 'Family'.

Therefore, contrary to the commonsense beliefs, there can be no extensional boundaries for family relation. Hereditary relation does not warrant intimacy and trust between family members. On top of that, the claim to family relation is, normally, not explicitly made by direct utterances, but is implied by certain attitudes or behavioral patterns identified as proper to family members. From such external characteristics, intentional attitude or stance concerning family relation can be derived. In that sense, family is an intentional and/or implied concept. 'Being intentional and/or implied' indicates that the claim to family relation is of linguistic character and subject to interpretations. Alternatively put, family relation can be codified or conventionalized and thus fundamentally revisable. The so-called 'alternative family' is a newly formed convention of family.

Since intentionality is attributed to an agent who can use linguistic devices, the claim to family relation can be construed as a type of intentional and linguistic act. In the context of the speech act theory, types of linguistic acts amount to illocutionary acts which determine the nature of speech acts and need not be always explicitly uttered. As in 'I promise that-S', 'to promise' as a type of speech act may or may not be uttered with 'I promise that'. Depending on the circumstances, 'I will buy a dress' can imply a promise or a plan or whatever. In the same vein, one can say explicitly 'she is family to me', but sometimes one can just say 'she is my mother' or 'I love her'. The latter, which contains the family language 'mother', implies family relation between the speaker and the one referred to. What is intriguing about family language, such as 'mother' or

‘sister’, is that it contains affective nuance in a unique way. Family language is a language system which is emotionally charged and expressed. Representative feelings contaminating family language are intimacy, warmth, comfort, trustfulness, cooperativeness, loyalty, and the like, spawned by love or compassion. One of the constraints on family language is that some of those feelings should be actually felt and expressed by the speaker. In that regard, family language is intentional and affective at once.

Thus I maintain that claim to family relation can be viewed as a type of speech act in the sense that the claim may or may not be explicitly uttered, and when uttered, intentionality concerning family relation can be derived from the statement. What is more, family language has affective factors which should be felt and expressed by the speaker. In the next section, I will explain the fundamental reason why affective feelings contained in family language should be actually felt and expressed.

Sincerity Condition of Family Language

Love or compassion is usually understood as a morally good feeling and can be spontaneously aroused in the mind of a caring person with an altruistic motive. Still, it is not entirely clear whether love or compassion is founded on the normative ground. Of course, love or compassion is thought to be important in the family relation, friendship, or other personally significant relations. In order to avoid confusion, I use the term ‘family affections’ to sort out the kind of love or compassion relevant to family discourse. Family affections are often understood as synonymous with good intentions, for the intimate feeling of love or compassion can play the role of motive for a benevolent action. Construed thus, family affections can be easily associated with a person who has a natural propensity to care for others as if they are family members, because of spontaneous warm feelings towards them. In particular, family affections tend to be attributed to females rather than to males, and to mother rather than to father. In general, love or compassion is often called a female virtue, especially a mother’s. That is one of the reasons that care ethics, one of the representatives of contemporary ethics, is envisaged to be female ethics. However, I would like to contest the way that both family affections and care ethics are construed as being tied to females. As long as one takes family affections to be mainly associated with female or mothering, s/he should risk to confine family affections within the private-domestic

arena and thus to be incapable of treating it as a moralized and rationalized virtue.

Susan Mendus argues that as long as an emotion such as love remains in the private domain, it cannot be considered moral, because it is not issued by the universal principle (Mendus 2000:13-27). Love as being a transitory or pathological passion must be expanded to the public arena by virtue of transforming itself into a pattern of habituated ordinary affection. The difference between pathological love and habituated affection is that the former is a non-commitment passion, whereas the latter is a part of the regular pattern of behaviors, residing in the domain of moral norms. While love remains in the private and domestic arena, immune from equal and impartial justice, rational affection belongs to the public and political territory. The difference is made possible by the applicability of rational principle.

Then, specifically to which territory does family affections belong, private or public? It depends on the ways that one construes family affections. If one considers family affections such as intimate feeling or caring compassion as a natural impulse, then family affections may belong to the private sector only and thus have no moral bearings. In contrast, if one attempts to moralize loving compassion and thus turns it into 'affection'⁵ governed by moral codes and social conventions, then expressing loving compassion can be part of a moral activity which can issue duty and responsibility based on the fairness of justice.

Now, what is specifically to be done in order to render family affections to be a moralized or rationalized emotion? To claim family relation on the basis of warm feelings does not warrant the moral validity of subsequent actions. In order for family affections to be morally relevant, one must make known his or her feelings in one way or other to the beloved and make sure that his or her intentions are authentic and subsequent actions are meant to be in the best interest of the beloved. Such a requirement has to do with J.L. Austin's sincerity condition for moralizing emotions. In effect, fulfilling the sincerity condition is a way to make an emotion a public entity, not leaving it private. Loving compassion can be conventionalized in such a way that a coded behavior, like giving charity on a regular basis, can be counted as expressing compassion. As for the

5. Oatley distinguishes long-term sentiments from transient emotions. So Mendus's notion of 'affection' is similar to Oatley's 'sentiment' in the sense that sentiment is composed of feelings, beliefs, and behavioral commitment, while transient emotions or feelings do not have to be habituated (Oatley 2000:81).

case of expressing concern or regard, sending a greeting card might be enough. Greeting or even mourning can be an entirely conventionalized act which does not require the authenticity of the agent. But affections associated with family language are somewhat different. Since using family language constitutes an intentional-affective act and what is intended and felt needs to be communicated properly in order for the intention-feeling to be genuine, family language just remains in a non-moral arena unless sincere intentions and affections are communicated and made accountable.

From the foregoing observation, it can be concluded that the loving compassion embedded by family relation integrates both arenas, private and public, intentional and performative. In the next section, I will analyze the structure of family affections spawned by the use of family language in accord with the speech act theory and attempt to show how family affections can be moralized and accountable.

Moralizing Family Affections

Thus far I have dealt with the question of whether or not loving compassion manifested by someone claiming family relation is a moral emotion. The answer turns out to be 'yes and no'. Loving compassion instantiated by family members may be a morally significant feeling, but is not a moral feeling proper unless it is rationalized or moralized? The trouble does not lie with the fact that loving compassion is a feeling state, but with the fact that it remains in the private, domestic, and thus possibly female-mother sector only until it is backed up by relevant moral reasons for subsequent actions. Experiencing loving compassion is subjective in the sense that every emotion can be directly known only to the person who experiences it. However, experiencing love can also be a public matter, for we have a set of established codes of behaviors counted as the expression of genuine love. In virtue of those conventions, the appropriateness or inappropriateness of a compassionate or caring behavior or an attitude can be assessed in a given situation.

Now, let me talk about the act of expressing loving compassion in terms of types of speech act. Approaching moral feelings from the perspective of speech act theory can shed light on the rule, or governness of them. But 'rule' here is not meant to be something like 'principle' or 'law', like 'Categorical Imperative'. Rather, it is more like a legislated norm designed to be working for interpersonal

matters. The rules concerning the act of expressing loving compassion dictate what conditions an utterance or a behavior or an attitude can be counted as the proper expression of it. Thereby the feeling can be properly identified as morally accountable and attributed to the family member in question.

Bernard Williams discusses the function of emotion in moral judgment when he re-evaluated the weight of emotivism as a moral theory. According to the thesis of emotivism, the function and nature of moral judgment is to express the emotion of the speaker and to arouse a similar emotion in the hearer. Interestingly enough, the thesis of emotivism is only to be mentioned to be refuted by normative ethicists. However, Williams maintains that, in some cases, the agent's emotion must be felt and directly expressed to the audience in order to have moral relevance (Williams 1973:210). It is because, for some emotions, if not all, the sincerity condition has to be met in order for the emotion to be identified as such. In other words, expressing a moral emotion directly, or making certain somehow of the right source of an emotion, constitutes the moral act itself. For instance, saying sweet words is part of the manifestation of love, but it alone cannot comprise love. Insincere love is not love. In contrast, a promise uttered without intention to keep it is still a promise with bad prospects. Regardless of insincerity, the person making a bogus promise is subject to the conventional rule concerning promise making. That is to say, like it or not, one must keep one's promise once one utters words counted as a promise. But in the case of family affections showing intimacy or warmth, the sincerity condition has to be met in order to make 'the relevant emotion' possible in the first place. Generally, morally relevant and 'real' emotions are subject to the sincerity condition and family affections are one of them.⁶

Williams notes that expressing emotion is not required by every moral judgment. But he maintains that in some cases, proper moral judgment must be backed up by the expression of emotion (Williams 1973:218). Emotions like contempt, praise, compassion, and the like must be expressed for a relevant moral judgment, together with relevant actions. In cases like these, we can see some unified structure among emotion, moral judgment, and action. This could

6. The reason I specify 'real emotion' here is that we can experience an emotion but need not always express it, like when we appreciate a work of art, say, a novel. Such emotions that we experience in that case should be called 'art-emotion'. Art-emotion is not a bogus emotion, but it is not subject to the sincerity condition. For art-emotion does not have to be connected to a subsequent act. Cf. Feagin 1996:190-204.

imply that a general disposition must be established for a moral agent. Such disposition is often identified with moral character, which can in turn support the sincerity condition of moral judgment and emotion. Williams calls such a unified structure or disposition 'emotional structure' (Williams 1973:222), underlying the agent's linguistic and behavioral manifestations. In virtue of such an emotional structure, can we make sure of the sincerity of his moral judgment?

If the unified relation between emotion, moral judgment, and relevant action can be thought to comprise a specific moral act, the unity requirement amounts to the rule-following for the establishment of an act of expressing moral emotions. Saying this much, I think, sufficiently shows the rule-governed nature of family affections, the prime instances of which are love or compassion. J.L. Austin uses different terms in classifying divergent speech acts. According to his terminology, expressing emotion belongs to the group of *behabitives* (Austin 1965:79, 159). 'Behabitives' are utterances that are not merely conventional. They need to be performed with a sincere intention. Behabitives include reactions to other people's behaviors or attitudes, and their fortunes, as well as venting feelings. Here, we can see some sort of unity similar to Williams' notion of 'emotional structure'. I think that the term, emotional structure, can be exchangeable with 'moral virtue' in that a morally virtuous person develops a behavioral pattern, based on good intentions. As such, the emotional structure of a moral agent reflects the depth of his understanding, his attitude towards the situation or people concerned, and the keenness of sensitivity.

Drawing on the sincerity condition of a moral emotion informs us that moral judgment cannot be made in terms of principles or universal validity only. Merely abstract, categorical imperatives or the principle of utility cannot accommodate diverse human needs or conflicts. In a culturally diverse society, cultural tradition, religious beliefs, personal preferences, and gender differences can make a big difference when a moral agent willingly issues love-bound actions to other people. One cannot rely on a general and abstract formal guideline when dealing with practical problems, such as nurturing children, preparing for a career, giving birth to a child, and the like. Cognitive and psychological sensitivity to contextual and individual particulars are needed. The reason that loving compassion is often required for interpersonal or inter-communal conflicts is, I think, not because a good intention itself helps, but because beneficiaries of morally good acts need to know the sincerity of such an intention. Otherwise, the seemingly benevolent actions can cause more conflicts and intrusions. Hence, making known to the beneficiary the sincerity of intentions of the com-

passionate agent is a constitutive part of the act of expressing moral emotion. If the condition is not met, then subsequent acts may not be counted as compassionate acts.

Moral Significance of Family Relation

I have examined the constitutive components of expressing moral emotions as a type of speech act and concluded that the sincerity condition must be met in order for a loving or compassionate act to be made possible at the outset and also to be identified as such. To a certain degree, expressing love or compassion is shown to be bound to some implicit but coded rules. Such findings can open the possibility of enacting family affections, exhibited by ‘caring acts’, as morally relevant. However, care ethicists seem to oppose the prospect of generalizing ‘caring’. Stressing on the particularity of the issues and contexts of moral judgment, for instance, Virginia Held suggests that feminists adopt the model of the Mother-Child relationship rather than that of Male Ruler-State relation in interpersonal relations. She even suggests ‘a division of moral labor’ (Held 1987:110) which refers to the divided domains assigned by the different models of morality. The Male Ruler-State model treats individuals as isolated strangers and pursues the best outcome from a rational choice under the guidance of universalizable principles. She thinks that the model prefers the state to individuals and family. In other words, the so-called justice-governed society is in fact run by the principle of the marketplace. Such an approach tends to disregard the individuality of people and contexts, on behalf of abstract principles and an ultimate outcome. To make it worse, principle-centered ethics can dispose the nature of morality itself. Held says, in a different place, that moral experience is “the experience of consciously choosing, of voluntarily accepting or rejecting, of willingly approving or disapproving, of living with these choices, and above all of acting and of living with these actions and their outcomes” (Held 1984:343). Any ethical accounts or claims cannot be moral unless it is detached from human experiences.

Despite her emphasis on particulars, Held tries to keep a balance between theory and practice. In that regard, she is distanced from Nel Noddings’ version of care ethics. While Noddings emphasizes caring practices in a situated context, Held vindicates theory as indispensable. I won’t go into the specific arguments on the validity of care ethics. My concern lies in the possibility to moralize fami-

ly affections, which are usually viewed as the personal virtue of caring persons. As I have shown above, family affections like a mother's caring love may or may not be rationalized or moralized, depending on whether or not the sincerity condition is met. As lamentable as it may be, caring love or compassion has a peculiar backsliding. For instance, when a compassionate person observes the disastrous living states of the less fortunate, he or she may feel totally disabled and thus desire to become indifferent (Berlant 2004:9). The desire to turn around in that case amounts to the denial of one's moral accountability. The unified structure of a moral emotion can thereby be broken. So a would-be loving intention may turn into sadism of some sort. Therefore, a compassionate agent must remind himself or herself of the obligation not to turn (Berlant 2004:7), which is needed to moralize his or her own compassionate feeling.

I expand on Williams' sincerity condition and add two auxiliary conditions for family affections. First, love expressed by a family member must be sincere, that is, the agent must be aware of his or her own affections. Second, affections must be communicated properly to the beloved and identified as such. What is intriguing about expressing moral emotion is that the expressiveness of affection itself can make rules for affectionate behaviors—for instance, by spending time with elderly people. Moreover, externalizing affections into a socially accountable form makes the agent a moral agent, not just a compassionate person. For, by expressing love or compassion and thus making his or her intention known to the beloved, the agent makes himself or herself morally accountable in terms of duty and responsibility. In other words, expressing compassionate love generates moral rules.

Then, how can the foregoing account of love or compassion be relevant to family relation? What is going to happen after a loving or compassionate agent makes known that his or her intention is sincere and he or she is going to devote himself or herself to caring or benevolent actions for the beloved? What makes his or her actions morally valid? I think that at this point, it is useful to look at Katzenstein and Laitin's suggestion. Basically, they are convinced of the notion of moral progress. They present three criteria to assure the moral soundness of caring. First, moral claims must "portray the group's social and political role in a dynamic, not static manner." Second, a moral agent must "seek to nurture and promote diversity across its ranks and to remedy differences in mobility prospects vertically among its members." Third, the political project of the group must involve "entry into alliance or historical bloc that is committed to the expansion of opportunities and political power for other disadvantaged classes

or groups” (Katzenstein and Laitin 1987:265).

Also, Martha Nussbaum’s therapeutic model in regard to the practical goal of philosophy is spawned from a similar motive. In order for the account of compassionate love for family members to be morally relevant, it must pursue the ways to promote the remedy from human suffering of any kind. In order to achieve such goals, a loving or compassionate agent must be aware of the needs of intimate interpersonal relations and mutual support of various kinds. In particular, family members must find the ways to develop human capabilities of every kind, including moral deliberation, self-determination, and emotional responsiveness. The sincerity condition of love or compassion must be expanded to that point.

How Can the Sincerity Condition Be Met in Family Relation in Korea?

Typically, Koreans are reticent and reserved in front of people. Contrary to that, the younger generations (those who do not necessarily commit themselves to Confucian behavioral norms) seem to be very good at expressing themselves. They want to communicate their own thoughts and feelings and to be received well. One of the reasons the older generations (those who more or less follow Confucian behavioral norms) do not tell about themselves to family members is that they assume their affections are somehow known to be true or understood by other family members. In the traditional Korean family, Confucian codes of conduct are presumed to be working and so do not have to be expressed often on the interpersonal level. In a global and multicultural society, however, family can be formed for divergent reasons. Today, psychological factors like intimate feelings, the sense of belongingness, the need to be safe, and so on, play the major role in forming family relations. Interpersonal relation as family members based on such dispositions are the products of individual choice and commitment. Therefore, the sincerity of favorable intentions needs to be communicated and identified as such. Given that divergent codes of conduct are working underneath external behaviors these days, the authenticity of affectionate feelings needs to be explicitly reconfirmed more than ever. Saying ‘because I love you’ or ‘you are my darling Mom’ would be enough for that, sometimes.

Conclusion

I have attempted to portray love or compassion as a central point of family relation as well as the need to moralize or codify love or compassion in order to make it morally relevant. To specify the rule-governedness of love or compassion as a moral emotion, I use the speech act theory and locate the expression of love or compassion in the group of habitives, as coined by J.L. Austin. The rules or codes for expressing compassion are not like pure principles, detached from the actual contexts. They are more like recipes or remedies for the betterment of human conditions. Moral accounts of family relation need to be equipped with therapeutic means of some sort as well as good intentions.

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Family as a Philosophical Issue from a Japanese Perspective¹

Sakiko Kitagawa

The Japanese family has been used as a channel through which Japanese modernization has been carried out. In the process, the notion of the family state has been enforced to institute Japanese nationalism. The Japanese family in its early modern form was a social institution that coped with the state and conformed in a dubious way with Japanese nationalism. In this type of moral discourse the concept of the family has always been used as mediation between the private moral life of one's intimate circle and the public morality of social issues. The most dangerous characteristic of Japanese modernity has been that the social norms were sought mostly in the sphere of intimacy and its emotionality, and thereby people were emotionally engaged in national affairs, devoting themselves to the nation as to the family. It is necessary to rethink the meaning of the family for our moral life. And this rethinking must be based on a critical reflection of the history of the misuse of the family relationship.

Keywords: Japanese family, Nationalism, the Public, the Private, Modernization, Ethics of Intimacy, Family Ideology

Meaning of the Modern Family

Family is a highly political issue today. The typical phenomena that characterize the family in a postindustrial society like low birth rate, increased divorce rate, and increased singles are regarded as indicators of a change in the whole social

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Myth of the Japanese Family and Feminist Criticism of the Ideology of the Family

Sociological analysis of the family in Japan has been mainly interested in the socio-historical changes in the form of the family. The main aim of prewar Japanese family ideology was to establish the modern nation state on the base of traditional communities by transforming a variety of traditional family forms to one patriarchal system. But also in the postwar period, Japanese discussion focused on the formal aspect of the family and nearly never asked philosophical questions about the concept of the family. Family was always presupposed as a stable natural form of coexistence.

To give some examples of this type of family discourse, there was an intense discussion about the formation of the typical modern nuclear family in the 1960s, the phenomenon of the separated family life between man and wife with children (*tanshin funin*) in the 1970s, and the so-called DINKS family form in the 1980s. In the background of such analysis, family was always understood as a form of natural and stable coexistence for individuals.

However, recent discussion focuses on the concept of family rather than the form of the family. The main reason for this paradigm shift is the disappearance of the family as a stable social structure. The life course of contemporary young people is not necessarily bound to marriage and family. Individual choice of lifestyle is establishing the single as a permanent life form and the long life expectancy of Japanese women makes serious consideration of 'the association after family' necessary. The collapse of the family caused by family pressures like divorce, expensive cost for children's education and for the care of old people at home is not a specific phenomenon of special social groups anymore, but a matter for every one's concern. All these developments suggest that the family is only one form of human association and not the essential one.

Nonetheless, the idea of the family has not changed so much as the reality of family life. Family as the prototype of human community, a necessary evolution from the traditional extended family to a modern nuclear family and heterosexuality as the basis for the family- such elements remain still powerful in the mainstream image of the family. The idea of the family as the natural and primordial form of coexistence is still strongly determining in our social politics and also in the 'standard average' image of successful individual life.

The essential feature of the modern family is the web of affective relations among its members. The family is founded on love between man and woman.

reality of Japanese family life. Ochiai Kumiko notices, for example, that the housewife role in Japanese society is a relatively new and limited phenomenon which emerged during Japan's rapid economic growth. Using statistical data, she argues that the housewife role is a typical female lifestyle only for women who were born between 1936 and 1950.

With the structural transformation of the economy that took place during the era of rapid growth from the late 1950s to 1973, the base of Japan's social structure shifted from the farmer and the small business operator to the white-collar company employee or 'salaryman'. Women born in the 1920s had typically married into a household which either farmed or owned a small shop or factory, where they worked alongside other members of the extended family. But since salarymen's wives generally became full-time housewives, during the high-growth era the increase in families headed by white-collar workers was accompanied by a shift for women toward full-time domestic duties. (Ochiai 1997:16)

Ochiai points out that there is no historical background for the idea of a 'traditional housewife role' and wants to warn young Japanese women of the danger of basing their lives on the idea of a 'normal housewife' or 'normal family'.

Another Japanese feminist sociologist, Ueno Chizuko, speaks of 'family consciousness', and tries to correct the general identification of the family with its social form. Modern family consciousness does not necessarily strengthen the modern nuclear family. Ueno points out that there is a gap between consciousness and form in the contemporary Japanese family. She regards the contemporary Japanese family as a queer phenomenon trapped between tradition and modernity. Many young people in a big city like Tokyo live with their parents or grandparents in the same house; they live in the form of a kind of traditional extended family. In reality, however, this extended family has nothing to do with the traditional family consciousness that understands family as an institution based on blood, sexuality, and reproduction. In many cases, young Japanese women chose this form of extended family to maintain their jobs in the expectation that the parents would help them to do the housework and take care of the children.

Such feminist analysis of the family challenges the traditional definition of family as the primal and natural form of coexistence. For example, Ueno concludes that the family is not necessarily natural and sees its identity in danger.

That peculiar sociological double role of family: on the one hand, being an extension of one's own personality, a unit which enables one to feel one's own blood circling, appears as one body against all other social units and with regard to us as an including link; on the other hand, epitomizing a complex which separates the individual from all others and developing its identity and difference in contrast to them. This double role causes inevitably a sociological ambiguity of family, now it lets family appear as a unitary entity that acts as an individual and thus takes a characteristic position in larger and in the largest circles, now as a circle of middle range (a medium-sized circle) that inserts itself between the individual and the larger circle comprising it. (Simmel 1992: 804)

Family is on one hand a private sphere the individual is emotionally identified with. It is a kind of 'extended personality'. The individual needs the 'extended personality' shared by intimate family members in order to assert her or his interest and integrity, and can therefore never abandon the feeling of belonging to a family. Especially in a modern society, this family identity works as an 'extended personality' and helps the individual to maintain her or his own independence against surrounding institutions. Yet family functions on the other hand as a public sphere where the individual establishes her or his personal independence by learning to distinguish her/himself from other members. Simmel therefore characterizes family as a social unit of middle scale and sees in the family a dynamic crossing of private and public spheres. According to him, belonging to a family is a mixture of private intimacy and public social function. It can integrate the public as well as the private.

In the history of Japanese modernization, this double role inherent in the modern family has functioned as the essential background for moral discourse. Family as an undoubted affective unit has been used as the mental background for modern moral philosophy.

Inoue Tetujiro published *The Outline of National Morals* in 1912. The aim of this 'national morality' was the education of Japanese people into a nation with clear national consciousness, especially to prepare people for nationalism and militarism. In this project of inventing a modern state, the concept of the family has played the main role. Inoue, who studied in Germany, was very conscious of the necessity of modern moral education. The project of moral modernization

the first arena in which care, respect, and deference to authority are learned, the family plays a much more principled role for Japanese moral theory.

Kyoikuchokugo is the most impressive and problematic example for such an ethical role of affectivity. A large part of this text was for ordinary Japanese people not understandable, especially for young children who were forced to read this text every day at school. The language used in *Kyoikuchokugo* reveals, however, the hidden intention of this text. Only the part describing filial piety as the basic duty is written in relatively understandable Japanese. This part played the key role to grasp the meaning of the whole text. If one reads it, one is tempted to interpret the required loyalty to the Emperor by referring to one's own family.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters: as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should an emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. (*Kyoikuchokugo*, 1890)

As this passage is written in one sentence, the Japanese morality was conceived as a consistent loyal attitude to the whole of human relationships. The strong stress on the family relationship should substitute the lacking legitimacy of the Japanese modern nation state. The concept of the public is also charged with strong affectivity. It is the primordial mother-child relationship that constitutes the basic model for this affective public sphere.

Watsuji Tetsuro who conceived an ethics of betweenness, for example, grasps the mother-child relationship as the prototype of the collective ethical body.³ In the case of the nursing mother, there is no separation between the body of the mother and that of the child. They are combined into the same identical body that feels joy and pain simultaneously. The subject of feeling is for Watsuji always this collective body. Emotion has an involving power. As a feeling person, one is always referred to as a common world with other people, and opens

3. Especially p. 65 ff. in the first volume of *Ethics*.

A Korean Shaman and a Catholic Bishop: Two Cognitive Narrative Frameworks for Making Sense of Life

Unsok Pek

This philosophical essay addresses the semantic process of meaning-making in two autobiographical narratives: one of a Korean shaman and another of a Catholic bishop. Both can be commonly classified under the label of religious professionals, though they were situated in quite different contexts. The Korean shaman lived in twentieth-century Korea and the Catholic bishop, St. Augustine, lived in the fourth and fifth-century Roman empire. Their stories are told in retrospect, after their religious identity was resolutely determined. By analyzing the two life stories, I will provide an account on how a shaman and a Christian can conceive/interact with other people and with her or his non-human surroundings, and above all, how each differentiates her or his own life from others. Considering that both Shamanism and Christianity are thriving in today's Korea, this study of comparative epistemology will contribute to our understanding of the lives of contemporary religious people.

Keywords: comparative epistemology, semantic cognition, narrative framework, Christianity, Korean Shamanism, Korean culture.

Introduction

In this essay, I would like to examine the meaning of life conceived in two autobiographical narratives: one of a Korean shaman and the other of a Roman Catholic bishop. The two share in common the status of religious professional, though they were situated in quite different historical, social, and cultural contexts. The Korean shaman (Yongsu's mother) lived in twentieth-century Korea and her story was told to and rendered into English by an American anthropologist (Kendall 1988). The Roman Catholic bishop St. Augustine lived in the

fourth and fifth-century Roman Empire and composed his own story as a confession directed primarily towards his God (Augustine 1998). Both stories were told in retrospect, after the subject's religious identity was resolutely determined. So when we read their stories, we can see how a shaman and a Christian can tell her or his life from others, interact with other people and with her or his non-human surroundings, and above all how each construes what constitutes a meaningful life.

In analyzing the two stories, one should keep in mind the following questions: What kinds of frameworks are being introduced in the religious, as well as in the everyday, cognitive semantic process of making sense of life? How does such a framework, if any, function in one's orientation in her or his life story? How is such an orientation embedded in interpreting life? And, what does this mean for religious life in contemporary Korean culture? Considering that both Shamanism and Christianity are thriving religions in today's Korea, this study of comparative epistemology will be useful to our understanding of current Korean religious character from a broadened perspective. Indeed St. Augustine has become an exemplary Christian role-model in Korea, emulated by many Korean Catholics and Protestants. This is one of the reasons why I chose St. Augustine for my comparison. However, I will focus more on the shamanic story in this discussion simply because Christianity is relatively new in the Korean context of religious culture and because Augustine's *The Confessions* is better known to us.¹

Before proceeding I should make clear that my attempt here is not to answer such questions as 'What is Korean Shamanism?' and 'What is Christianity (in Korea)?' Rather, it is to understand more clearly 'When is a person a shaman?' and 'When is a person a Christian?' In other words, my task here is to answer, with my cases, the questions of 'How does one become a shaman or a Christian?' and 'How does one identify and signify oneself as a shaman or a Christian?'² As a preparatory measure for understanding autobiographical narra-

1. The first Korean Christian community was established in the late 18th century. For a brief history of Christianity in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Korea, see Baker 1999. For the diversity of contemporary religious cultures in Korea, see Lancaster and Payne 1997.

2. I first learned this style of questioning (i.e., reconceptions of the problem itself) from the American philosopher Nelson Goodman's way of addressing art and the aesthetic. See Goodman 1978, especially pages 57-70. As I believe any attempts to answer "What is Korean Shamanism?" might end in frustration, I won't venture to make any hasty generalizations about Korean Shamanism or Christianity. There might be many other ways of being a Korean shaman

tives, I will start my discussion with a brief account of how experience and interpretation can be weaved together into a narrative.

Life Experience and its Interpretation

A life story is constructed out of the welter of one's life experiences, by the use of signs and symbols. Expectedly, all that one has experienced is not to be recognized, remembered and represented, but only something relevant (positive or negative) to one's life. What is relevant must be selected in accordance with one's frame of meaning and value or one's orientation toward the world, which can be seen as regulative or constitutive in forming a life story as well as in leading a life. So '*lived* experience' is by no means the same as '*interpreted* experience'. And any life story should, no doubt, be placed under the category of interpreted experience. In this manner, interpreted life will function as a frame of reference or semantic framework when one has to deal with and express experiences, old and new. In other words, this will dictate one's cognitive and emotional orientation and form one's narrative model in a process of story telling.³

Especially in the case of an autobiographical narrative, the storyteller's self-representation is required not only for self-understanding but also for public dissemination of one's version of her or his life story. Through self-representation we can see a personality or an identity that is produced conjointly from many different sources. For this reason, the self represented in one's life story is a useful guide in locating who one is. Here the narrated self is our focal point. "The

or a Christian that are not addressed in the present work. My impression on Korean Shamanism is that it can be much harder to capture some general patterns from Korean shaman cases than Christian ones. The lack of defining formal frameworks (e.g., the Bible, dogmas, and organizational traditions) is one of the unique characteristics of Korean Shamanism. This may be at the same time advantageous and disadvantageous for Korean shamans and students of Korean Shamanism. In this respect, the comparison between Christianity and Korean Shamanism can be seen akin structurally to the one between Western medical science and Eastern medicine in contemporary East Asia. We can see some similar trajectories of Shamanism history and Eastern medical history in modern times. For an account of Chinese medicine in modern China, see Scheid 2002.

3. In fact, the interaction between experience, memory, and storytelling is too complex to address here in detail. Memory consists of such a process of continual construction that it can change, depending on the context of the immediate experience. The interaction between experience and memory is at work in bidirectional ways. For some detailed accounts on memory and experience in cognitive science, see Modell 2003:25-48 and Hirstein 2006:43-69.

self that is the center of narrative gravity,” as Owen Flanagan succinctly states, “is constructed not only out of real-life materials; it is also organized around a set of aims, ideals, and aspirations of the self” (Flanagan 2002:251).

However, it is not our business here to determine whether the represented self in our case trades in fact or fiction. Sometimes, the self may express ideals of what one tries to be but has not yet achieved. At any rate, our main concern is what their story is *about*. Our aim is, in analyzing the construction of the narrative self, to arrive at an understanding of how one organizes and structures one’s (especially religious) experiences and symbolic devices into a single story or multiple versions. In a sense, the process of telling a life from others and making a certain sense of life is a sort of complex, strenuous practice of constructing a meaningful text or its evolving versions, whether told to others or not.

In addition to such a text, we should take into consideration the setting since there must be some context in which a text can be signified and made sense of. As our life cannot but be situated in human and non-human surroundings, our text is destined to be constructed and interpreted within a certain context. For this reason, context is no less significant than text. Moreover, the semantic structure and organization of a text is, in most cases, dictated by which context one tries to fit it into. So we should not miss noticing the interdependent and interactive relationship between the text and its context.

Different Frames of Narration

To begin with, I would like to cite a passage from Stanley Fish’s helpful discussion of master narrative models of biography:

Once upon a time, biographers didn’t have to invent connections because they came ready made in the form of master narrative models. The two most durable were the providential model (everyone lives out the pattern of mistakes bequeathed to us by the original sin of Adam and Eve) and the wheel of fortune model (every life worth chronicling is an example of the general rule that what goes up must come down). The great advantage of these models was that they supplied in advance the meaning... (Fish 1999:19).

Besides the two antithetical master models of the providential and the wheel of

fortune, Fish indicates another option available to modern-day biographers which can be named the minutia-without-meaning model. Though all this is about biography and biographers, the narrative models offered here can hold true for autobiography as well. Autobiographical narrators can adopt, intentionally or unknowingly, such models to interpret or invent and fabricate a certain meaning in their own life story. Given that our cases are successful in publishing their story meaningfully and our aim is to understand their ways of signification of life, we should eliminate the third option from our discussion.

Let us start with the one that is easier to address. The providential model is pervasive in any Christian life story, which characterizes the Christian tradition based on confessional commitments to the belief in the Bible as God's word or as the true, foundational testimony. The theological term "God's providence" means that the Lord God created the world and His people, and He did not abandon His creatures to live on their own. God's continual care, as the loving Father, for what he has made is designated by His providence in the Christian context. In short, being a Christian means first of all believing in His providence. Hence it is tautological that expression of God's providence is an essential element of Christian narrative. For this reason, we can often see the image of God as the Creator and as the loving Father, when reading such stories written with the providential model framework.

Augustine's *The Confessions* is a good example of this model; in a sense, it has to a great extent contributed to forming such a style of providential narrative. Granted that Augustine came to believe in 'no happenings by chance' after his conversion to Christianity at Milan in 387; the wheel of fortune model might not be proper for his life story that was written when he was a Catholic bishop from 397 to 400. He says: "You are God and Lord of all you have created. In you are the constant causes of inconstant things. All mutable things have in you their immutable origins. In you all irrational and temporal things have the everlasting causes of their life" (*The Confessions I. vi*). In this train of reasoning, those who attribute an event to 'chance' are certainly ignorant of the true cause. Nothing but God is the true cause of everything every time. Here we meet a monotheistic model of the providential narrative.?

Now we will look at the structure of Augustine's narration. Just browsing *The Confessions*, we can easily notice that passages from the Bible occupy significant and privileged places in his story: telling his Christian life from others and making a certain Christian sense of life. His narration begins and ends with some passages from the Bible: the first verse is to praise God, "You are great,

Lord and highly to be praised (Ps. 47:2): great is your power and your wisdom is immeasurable” (Ps. 146:5) and the last verse is to confess to God that He is the one and only Master of providence, “Only you can be asked, only you can be begged, only on your door can we knock” (Matt. 7:7-8).

Thus the organized structure of narration itself might reflect the narrator’s steadfast faith in God as the single Master of even his own life. In this way, God is represented as the alpha and the omega of his story. Put another way, this implies that his life is amorphous and meaningless without God. As a consequence, the Bible is placed as the frame of meaning and thereby his life experiences are interpreted and organized into a single story in a tight connection with that frame. In this respect, the Bible provides Augustine with a model and a vocabulary for his quest that is directed to the meaningful life in his conception. Here we can see one way of making sense of life: signification of life in terms of the master model of the Bible.

Another point to note in *The Confessions* is its principal leitmotif—the ‘parable of the prodigal son’. Augustine found his personal quest and pilgrimage symbolized in St. Luke’s account and rephrased it in narrating his past experiences. It is in the form of a master model, especially in *Confessions III. vi*. And this prodigal son parable represents allegorically the belief that “the story of the soul wandering from God and then in torment and tears finding its way home through conversion is also the story of the entire created order” (*The Confessions, xxiv*). We can see here once more Augustine’s conviction that the Bible is the single redemptive truth for the salvation of fallen souls. Following such a faith, fallen souls cannot but live out “the pattern of mistakes bequeathed to us by the original sin of Adam and Eve.” Salvation or redemption of human beings from original sin is possible by God’s grace alone, and by no means by their own efforts. The meaning Augustine sought in life fits quite well into the single master model of providential narrative.

Then what about atheistic or irreligious people? Many adopted the wheel of fortune model in their practice of making sense of life, as we can observe in the expression *amor fati* (love toward one’s fate) by Nietzsche and ancient Greeks, as well as by many Asians.⁴ Then, what about those who are not committed to the Christian faith but still theistic and religious people like Yongsu’s mother? It is tempting but mistaken to believe that they also use the wheel of fortune model

4. Scientific determinism can be considered another modern version of this model.

in the construction of the meaning of life, simply because they do not accept the providential model.

Let us now examine the Korean shaman story. First of all, there are several elements of the story and the way in which it was told that we should be aware of. First, we cannot attribute the full authorship of her own story to Yongsu's mother herself, unlike in the case of Augustine. This shaman story is a sort of discourse evolved through the cooperation of two women—an American anthropologist and a Korean shaman. Therefore each chapter consists of two parts: Yongsu's mother's own narration of her story ('interpreting life') and Laurel Kendall's explanatory annotation ('interpreting interpreted life'). Moreover, the finalized English rendering of her story available to us was not produced under the shaman's control. Second, and related to this first caution, this story was not written consistently in the form of a single unified version by the autographical narrator, unlike Augustine's story which is organized in chronological order. Adding more difficulty is the fact that there are different versions of the same episode. Third, we should also consider who Yongsu's mother's target audience for her story was. Unlike God in Augustine's case, the shaman's narration was primarily toward her human in-groups (friends, colleagues, relatives, and neighbors). This is one of the reasons why she was reluctant when she first heard about the plan to publish her story: "But in America, what if Koreans read it? They'll think it's shameful" (Kendall 1988:126).⁵ If she had intended to publish her story at its conception in the form of a book, she might have provided a different version. Keeping in mind such background features, let us return to our discussion about narrative models.

The most obvious difference in the Korean shaman story is that the shaman does not take the Bible as a model for creating a narrative, nor does the shaman share the concern of Augustine for a confessional commitment. This deprives the shaman's story of the sort of readymade structure that would tell us as soon as we start reading it what the underlying theme of her story is going to be or what sort of framework she will use to link the many twists and turns in her life into a coherent narrative.

5. Another thing to note is the dynamic character of storytelling itself: "Storytelling is a group activity: the presence and assistance of an audience ensures that there will always be a number of persons to bear witness to the contents of the story and to quell any accusation that the storyteller may have erred or touched on matters which were improper" (Hoffman 2001:241). This description can apply as well to Yongsu's mother's narrative performance in our case.

At first glance, Yongsu's mother seems to accept the wheel of fortune model. She occasionally uses words such as 'horoscope' and 'fate' in interpreting her life and the lives of others, locating causal conditions of what has happened. Moreover, she attributes the cause of mishaps in her life and her troubled life as a whole ultimately to her birth at an unlucky hour:

I was born at seven in the morning on the eighth day of the third lunar month. I should have been born in the evening, and so my fate is wretched (*p'alchaga sanapta*). They told me I should marry late, but even that didn't help because my husband died anyway (Kendall 1988:31).

She acknowledges that there are external, influential forces on her life which are not in her own control. Seen from the utterance above, the concept of fortune, or broadly the wheel of fortune model of narrative, is used in understanding her life experiences and the telling of her life story as a frame of meaning and signification. The self-image of Yongsu's mother as 'a women of wretched fate' is constructed in connection with the framework of fortune—*saju* (the horoscope determined by the four units of timing: year, month, day, and hour of birth). In this style of thinking, human beings can know what will happen but cannot control it. This is contrary to Augustine's skeptical attitude toward the human capability to know God's providence. In one way or another, this *saju* framework dictates the meaning of life in our shaman story.

However, it is noteworthy here that such a style of astrological thinking is not unique to Yongsu's mother; rather, it is more or less popular and pervasive in the Korean cultural context, both past and present. That is clearly no marker of telling a shaman life from others. Many figures in her story make reference casually to that explanatory framework in their daily discourse. For example, her sister said to her, arguing about the matter of her marriage: "With your wretched bad fate, you should marry an older man, someone who's already been married once" (Kendall 1988:21). This must be taken as a standing cultural matrix shared between Yongsu's mother (a shaman) and her audience (actual or latent clients), in a form of cultural common sense.

Then, is this frame of meaning identical with the wheel of fortune model that was suggested at the beginning of this section? Yongsu's mother would not accept such a standard model that "every life worth chronicling is an example of the general rule that what goes up must come down," though she *used* some

similar version. If she had had a strong fatalistic attitude toward her life, she would not have cried out for what had happened, whether bad or good for her. If so, she should have accepted in silence whatever happened/happening/will happen, as her husband advised: “What’s done is done. You won’t get anywhere by crying about it” (Kendall 1988:23). Her husband looks like a strong fatalist, but she does not. The fact that she cried so often at some critical events in her interpretation indicates, at least symbolically, that she strived to find some solution to life problems, even by intervening in fortune’s unfolding. To Yongsu’s mother and anyone else, crying out is the first basic skill acquired, usually mastered in infancy, in struggling with and solving life problems.

However, if she had not mastered any skills other than crying, she would have remained under the bondage of a wretched fate. And yet, somehow, this ill-fated woman became a shaman! Then, what do shamans do? What distinguishes shamans from other people? Yongsu’s mother describes herself as *mansin* (shaman) but does not provide any precise definition of who is a shaman. So our business now is to delineate some aspects or features of being a shaman and to identify what a shaman does.

According to Kendall’s introduction, Yongsu’s mother is “a Korean shaman [*mansin*], one who invokes the gods and [spirits of dead] ancestors, speaks with their voice, and claims their power to interpret dreams and visions” (Kendall 1988:1). From this description, we can see one feature—belief in a kind of supernatural being (like Augustine and unlike atheists). Yongsu’s mother is certainly theistic and believes that supernatural powers exert substantial influence on human lives and world affairs. She can be seen as accepting a certain version of the providential narrative, though her version is not as clearly defined as Augustine’s. Why and how she became a shaman is to be explained by this providential model of hers.

Kendall describes it thusly: “When she was down on her luck, the gods lifted up and chose her for a shaman” (Kendall 1988:3). In this respect, “a white-haired grandfather” in Yongsu’s mother story plays a role no different from God in Augustine’s. She sometimes calls that grandfather “Grandfather Mountain God” and believes that the Mountain God saved her life during the Korean War. When she talks about that Mountain God, it is always with gratitude for his grace. This special relationship of Yongsu’s mother’s with that grandfather God is a unique framework positively constructive and constitutive in making her own shamanic sense of life. This must be a distinct marker in conceiving and expressing her life as a destined shaman. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that there

are also other supernatural agents of a different character and power in her story. As usual in shamanic stories, the unlucky dead cause trouble and restless spirits are held as causal agents of unfortunate events. At any rate, this feature can be seen in others as well as in shamans.

Next, another feature is the skill of communication with such supernatural agents, with which she can track down the source of trouble, whether human or supernatural. This is more or less a special talent of shamans, though not a uniquely shamanic one. One of the unique features of being a shaman is her role as *mediator*. Shamans claim they are capable of managing the relationship and even striking bargains between supernatural agents and human agents. Let us look at Kendall's personal observational account of Yongsu's mother:

By virtue of the powerful gods who possess her, she can summon up divination visions and probe the source of a client's misfortunes, exorcise the sick and chronically unlucky, remove ill humors from those who have difficulty in finding mates, and coax a reluctant birth spirit into an infertile womb. The professional shaman makes the gods and ancestors a vivid presence in the home; she spots them in her visions and gives them voice in trance. In *kut*, her most elaborate ritual, she grabs herself in their costumes and in their person scolds, banters, advises, and commiserates with the mortal members of household and community (Kendall 1988:6).

This shows clearly what a shaman does. According to this account, Yongsu's mother can know not only what will happen in advance, but can also intervene in ordinary or extraordinary human events and world affairs through the use of supernatural forces. This then is an essential marker for telling a shaman life from the lives of others. Here we can see another framework—a version of the interventionist model—utilized in expressing and interpreting her life experiences. Some human agents (competent shamans in our case) can channel and manipulate supernatural powers for some human benefits: an asymmetrical but bidirectional relationship between the supernatural and the natural. No doubt, this is not permitted in Augustine's conception of God's providence. According to Augustine, God (the supernatural agent) can intervene occasionally, with no constraints, in the natural process and human affairs, but human beings are too weak to influence God to do something for them. The relationship between the supernatural and the natural in Augustine's conception is asymmetrical and fairly unidirectional. In contrast, our shaman claims that she can do such and so and

her clients also believe her capability to do such and so for them. Adopting such a frame, she may participate to some extent in making sense of not only her own life but also others' lives (i.e., her clients'), even though this is not done solely through her own power.

Due to the absence of any single binding frame of narration, it was harder for us to track down what kinds of frameworks are at work in the meaning-making practice of life in the shaman story. As seen so far, Yongsu's mother alternatively or concurrently uses three frameworks—the fortune, the providential, and the interventionist, each in her own way—in constructing her life story. Thanks to there being no formal constraints in her story from the outset, narrating that story can be more inventive and improvisational. For this reason, we can find no precisely defined meaning of life that is used to regulate the whole story of her life. As her experience or her situation changes, she can adopt another framework and express another meaning. Her mode of signification of life and narration of her life story is plural, pragmatic, and flexible. This we can designate as a *complex adaptive model* of cognition and narration.⁶ Next, let us look briefly at how such frameworks are embedded in conceiving life problems.

Ways of Conceiving and Solving Life Problems

In *The Confessions*, Augustine's life from his birth to his becoming a Catholic bishop is conceived as a linear and continuous progression toward God, thanks to His providence. But the evolving story from a girl named Changmi, to a woman called Yongsu's mother, and to a shaman with the title of *mansin* is not linear but complex, continuous but not accumulative. Thus each story reflects the main features of its underlying master narrative model. If Augustine's autobiographical narration means for him finding evidence of God's providence in his life, then the story of Yongsu's mother means for her and her audience the discovery of demonstrative reasons for why and how she became a shaman, and at times advertises what a competent shaman she is.

6. Those who adopt this model can borrow some elements or even some frames easily from other religions, as we can see in our shaman case. See the shaman's ties to Buddha in the fifth chapter (Kendall 1988:68-84). This kind of flexibility is one distinct characteristic of Chinese medicine (Scheid 2002). My model suggested for the shaman story is developed from some cognitive psychologists' comparative study. See Nisbett 2003.

In Augustine's story, the meaning of life in this world is instrumental and provisional at best, by no means an end to itself. It is meaningful only when it is right on the way towards God. And his final destination is aimed at the Sabbath rest of eternal life, as he confesses again and again, "our heart is restless until it rests in you" (*The Confessions I. i*). Resting in God is held to be the true happiness that is possible only in the afterlife and that can be given by God's grace alone, never achieved by human efforts: "Who will enable me to find rest in you? Who will grant me that you come to my heart and intoxicate it, so that I forget my evils and embrace my one and only good, yourself?" (*The Confessions I. v*). This orientation is shown in his determined attitude toward loving the incorporeal, in attempting to transcend this-worldly material things — physical pleasures, secular ambitions, and so on. So faith and will to understand God's truth are valued as essential elements in a meaningful life in this world. The life problem taken seriously by Augustine is anything but a matter of this-worldly affairs. In short, Augustine's life problem is not to be solved within this provisional life.

If there is no place in the Korean shaman's story for such concepts as salvation and happiness in the afterlife, then what makes life valuable for Yongsu's mother? Unlike Augustine, she is certainly oriented toward this-worldly matters. She values nothing other than living well in this world and flourishing in this life. Ordinary and normal life may be her ideal life, though its conception and imagery are changeable as her situated society changes. Let us then see how she describes her ideal life. She says: "People should be born, marry, and grow old, reach their sixty-first and seventy-first years" and "When I die, I want to be reborn in a rich family. I wasn't able to study. I never had the love of parents, of siblings, of husband, none of it, none of it" (Kendall 1988:29, 126). Think about the expression 'a woman of wretched fate'! The degree of wretchedness is measured by how far one is away from society's standard of living well and flourishing.

Having and raising one's own children is one of the essential elements of a normal life conceived by Yongsu's mother or expected by the society in which she lived. Before becoming a shaman, she was told: "To raise up your children, use Kam'ak Mountain" (Kendall 1988:29). So she went to Kam'ak Mountain to use its supernatural force and prayed there that her sons would turn out well. She succeeded in raising her sons, but her sisters-in-law, who had no shamanic capacities, were unable to bring any sons into the world. Perhaps she became a shaman, so as to lead her life and to maintain her own family. Then, being a

shaman can be seen as one way of leading and reaping a certain ordinary life in this world, as seen in the case of Yongsu's mother.

Concluding Remarks

From our two cases, we have learned that both religious professionals had a belief in the existence of some extra-human agent or agents exerting influence to a significant extent on human affairs. Is such a belief indispensable for endowing some 'religious' meaning to life? Maybe, or maybe not! At any rate, our study of these two life stories shows clearly the relevance of such a belief to their conception of the religious sense of life. No matter what commonalities are shared between the two, a major difference to note is direction. A set of aims, ideals, and aspirations of the self is directed at things this-worldly in the shaman's case, contrary to the Christian's orientation toward the afterlife. This is no trivial matter!

Another issue to take seriously is the binding problem. We have observed the presence of some formal constraints in Christian stories that life becomes meaningful only within the single master framework of God's providence. But no such definite constraints are to be seen in shamanic stories. Christianity is monistic but Korean Shamanism is pluralistic, in the dimension of epistemology. As I have discussed earlier, the absence of any single master framework for binding all shaman practitioners together could become a distinct feature of Korean Shamanism and shamans could use a sort of complex adaptive model for life experience and its interpretation. The implication of adaptability, complexity, and plurality is that what is identified as an essential marker of being a shaman in one story need not remain the same over time and in other stories. This may explain one of the reasons why we have difficulty in describing, representing, or even recognizing any single identifying feature of Korean Shamanism in general. In that case, we should direct our attention to the diversity and variety of shaman practitioners and their clients, rather than to finding a neat formula for differentiating shamans from others.

Now let us think about some possible applications of our study to religious cultures in Korea. Considering some characteristics of Korean shamans and the fact that Shamanism is still robust in Korea, we may ask: 1) whether Koreans might demand that religious professionals provide some solutions to this-worldly matters, even when that kind of business is not proper for their own religious

tradition: 2) if it might be possible to divide those identified in surveys as Christians (or as Buddhists, for that matter) into two more refined categories: those who share Augustine's other-worldly orientation and those who share the this-worldly concerns of shamans. We should not let a common label (such as "Christian") blind us to the diversity within the group to whom that label is applied. Instead, we should look at lots of little things individual religious Koreans say and do and let the data provided by such observations generate the categories we use in describing Korean religious culture. That will give us a more informative and accurate picture than one we would get through highly abstract and general categories. The stories individual Koreans tell can offer diverse lenses and perspectives to us viewing in and out of the broad concepts and categories of the schema that has been used to describe religions in Korea. As here and elsewhere, we should be aware that our established habits of classification lead us fairly often to apply an old scheme when the case it is applied to is new, even when the case does call for us to devise a novel way of understanding. Taking a closer look at stories, or cases is one of the few ways available for us to go beyond our entrenched scheme of concepts and categories.⁷

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7. I learned this historicist way of doing philosophy (i.e., "taking a look") from the Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking's project of 'historical ontology'. See Hacking 2002, especially pages 51-72.

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Marxism, Stalinism, and the *Juche* Speech of 1955: On the Theoretical De-Stalinization of North Korea

Alzo David-West

This essay responds to the argument of Brian Myers that late North Korean leader Kim Il Sung's *Juche* speech of 1955 is not nationalist (or Stalinist) in any meaningful sense of the term. The author examines the literary formalist method of interpretation that leads Myers to that conclusion, considers the programmatic differences of orthodox Marxism and its development as "Marxism-Leninism" under Stalinism, and explains that the North Korean *Juche* speech is not only nationalist, but also grounded in the Stalinist political tradition inaugurated in the Soviet Union in 1924.

Keywords: *Juche*, Nationalism, North Korean Stalinism, Soviet Stalinism, Socialism in One Country

Introduction

Brian Myers, a specialist in North Korean literature and advocate of the view that North Korea is not a Stalinist state, has advanced the argument in his *Acta Koreana* essay, "The Watershed that Wasn't" (2006), that late North Korean leader Kim Il Sung's *Juche* speech of 1955, a landmark document of North Korean Stalinism authored two years after the Korean War, "is not nationalist in any meaningful sense of the term" (Myers 2006:89). That proposition has far-reaching historical and theoretical implications. North Korean studies scholars such as Charles K. Armstrong, Adrian Buzo, Seong-Chang Cheong, Andrei N. Lankov, Chong-Sik Lee, and Balázs Szalontai have explained that North Korea adhered to the tactically unreformed and unreconstructed model of nationalist

Stalinism in the era of the so-called Soviet “de-Stalinization” campaign, which was initiated after the all-powerful dictator Joseph Stalin died in 1953. Particular differences of historiographic approach notwithstanding, their works constitute a formidable corpus of historical knowledge against which Myers’ fundamental argument comes across as problematic. The point here, however, is not to juxtapose the perspectives of the specialists, but to consider the Stalinist historical, political, and programmatic factors behind the *Juche* speech, which contradict the formalist reading that says it is not a nationalist document.

Formalist Method

The claim that the *Juche* speech is not nationalist is an interpretation that results from the methodological perspective of formalism, whose empirical mode of literary analysis essentially takes form for content and appearance for reality. Myers’ first and most decisive use of this method appears in his 1994 book *Han Sōrya and North Korean Literature*, a biography of the state-sanctioned writer who was an architect of the Kim Il Sung personality cult. (The second major use is in his 2002 polemic against American postmodern novels, *A Reader’s Manifesto*, which sees the literature in purely abstract structural terms without a sociohistorical component.) Notwithstanding that *Han Sōrya and North Korean Literature* is a useful work that emerged as the first Western study of its kind a decade ago, it advanced the exaggerated and erroneous thesis that the Soviet Stalinist doctrine of *socialist realism* failed in North Korea. South Korean scholar Hyun-Soo Lim (1989) has already shown that North Korean literary control policy was thoroughly influenced and pervaded by Zhdanovism (Stalinist cultural nationalism in the arts) and Soviet *socialist realism* from 1946 to 1950. Tatiana Gabroussenko (2004) has also written an instructive, but hitherto unpublished, doctoral dissertation about the rapid and successful implementation of Stalinist *socialist realism* in North Korean literary politics and literature in the period of 1945 to 1960. One can thus say that although Soviet *socialist realist* narrative design was not, nor could it be, *simply replicated* in the North Korean sociocultural environment, the North Korean regime remained faithful to Soviet “cultural czar” Andrei Zhdanov’s essential, paradigmatic demand at the 1934 First Soviet Writers’ Congress for a heroic *socialist realist* fiction infused with didacticism, ethnocentrism, populism, and glorification of party control of literature (Zhdanov 1950). Moreover, North

Korean cultural authorities retained the three cardinal political tenets of *socialist realism*—*partiinost* (party spirit), *narodnost* (national character), and *ideinost* (ideological expression)—fostering a state-controlled national literature that was and remains subordinated to the changing tactical line and policies that flow from Stalin’s nationalist economic-political program of *socialism in one country*, which was implemented in postcolonial North Korea.

The formalist claim that socialist realism failed in North Korea does not accord with what the doctrine and style meant in practice in that country or the other *deformed workers’ states* that upheld the Stalinist program of *socialism in one country* (e.g., China, Cuba, Vietnam, and the Eastern Bloc countries). Myers lays out a scenario where North Korean literature is incompatible with Russian *socialist realism* because one official author does not reproduce the narrative style of the Soviet *socialist realist* classics. But this is not an indication that *socialist realism* failed in North Korea. There is bound to be narratological difference in all literature for cultural, ethnographical, historical, and sociological reasons. So-called national literatures can belong to the same *literary tradition*, in any case. One cannot declare, for example, that Romanticism failed in the United States because one writer, say, Henry David Thoreau, departed in some particular respect from the style of the British Romantics—Byron, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, and Wordsworth. Not only would such a claim be seen by the experts in American and British Romanticism as a rhetorical fallacy, it would be generally dismissed as an oversimplification and hasty generalization.

Suffice it to say that the social-political content of North Korean *socialist realism* incarnates the *populist-Bonapartist* spirit of the Stalinist 1930s and 1940s. Besides, the Pyongyang regime rejected the Soviet bureaucratic-reformist “de-Stalinization” campaign initiated in the 1950s. Stalinism is the political and cultural heritage North Korea adopted and assimilated after the Soviet Red Army liberation of northern Korea on 15 August 1945, following the agreements at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. Even the cultural xenophobia and racist caricatures that Myers formalistically points out in Han Sŏrya’s fiction, as being yet another departure from Soviet *socialist realism*, are not unique or exclusive to North Korean narrative texts. They have an ideological precedent in the anti-foreignism, Great Russian chauvinism, “Soviet patriotism,” and anti-Semitism—a subtext of the Moscow Trials (1936–1938) that culminated in the state campaign against so-called “rootless cosmopolitans” (1949–1953)—during the dark age of Zhdanovism in 1946 to 1953

(Azadovskii and Egorov 2002; Rogovin 1998:154–63; Rubenstein and Naumov 2001; Vickery 1963). Emerging writers in North Korea fed off this political-cultural influence and, ostensibly, the nationalist petty-bourgeois (i.e., middle-class) social values that permeated Soviet Stalinist *socialist realist* literature (Dunham 1990; Daniels 1993:93). The Soviet cultural apparatus had, after all, made successful inroads into the Red Army-occupied North in 1945; Korean translations of Soviet literary, historical, and technical works were available in overwhelming abundance; and the Pyongyang leadership was pursuing a policy of “absorbing the advanced Soviet culture [in order] to develop our national culture,” as Minister of Culture and Propaganda Pae Chong Son said in 1949 (Department of State Bulletin 1951:795).

With the arguments that *socialist realism* failed in North Korea and that the *Juche* speech of 1955 is not a nationalist document, this inexorably renders a theoretical “de-Stalinization” of the North Korean regime. Myers claims that he has read Kim Il Sung’s speech in “the context of its own time” (italics in the original), but later says that his proposition is based on “an analysis of *the text itself*,” on “a close reading of the text” (Myers 2006:89, 92; emphasis added). Something here is amiss. Any historical document taken in itself in textological analysis is, more often than not, read outside of history and falls in line with the subjectively determined interpretation of the individual who reads that text. This is a classical methodological problem of literary formalism. If North Korea is not a Stalinist state and if the *Juche* speech is not an assertion of political nationalism, what else can they be? Brian Myers says the speech represents a “‘creative’ application of Marxism-Leninism to national conditions” (Myers 2006:89).

Socialism in One Country

The phrase “Marxism-Leninism” made its first appearance in the summer of 1924 in documents produced by the Stalin-dominated Comintern (Van Ree 2002:256). Joseph Stalin himself made one of his first official uses of the term in a 1928 speech that can be found in his *Works* (Stain 1954b: 315), and the designation was popularized soon thereafter under his absolute dictatorship in the Soviet Union. Politically, this compound noun was and is used in the Stalinist movement as a codeword for a host of nationalist policies constituted in the autarkic economic program of *socialism in one country*, which Stalin and

Nikolai Bukharin (murdered in 1938 during Stalin's Great Terror) advanced after Vladimir Lenin's fatal stroke in January 1924. Representing a fundamental break with the orthodox Marxist perspective of internationalism and co-leader of the Russian Revolution Leon Trotsky's theory of *permanent revolution* (i.e., world socialist revolution)—which Lenin adopted in April 1917 as the political program of the October Russian Revolution—*socialism in one country* was based on the utopian conception that the classless socialist society could be built upon the national reserves of a geographically confined nation-state. The theory of *socialism in one country* made a fetish of the uneven aspect of the classical Marxist economic law of *unequal and combined development*, and, consequently, held the idea that a self-sufficient national-socialist state could develop in isolation from the world economy and the pressures of the capitalist profit system. Writing in *The Third International After Lenin* in 1928, Trotsky, now the leader of the Marxist Left Opposition against Stalinism, explained:

Linking up countries and continents that stand on different levels of development into a system of mutual dependence and antagonism, leveling out the various stages of their development and at the same time immediately enhancing the differences between them, and ruthlessly counterposing one country to another, world economy has become a mighty reality which holds sway over the economic life of individual countries and continents. This basic fact alone invests the idea of a world communist party with a supreme reality. Bringing world economy as a whole to the highest phase of development generally attainable on the basis of private property, imperialism [. . .] 'aggravates to an extreme tension the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces of world economy and the national-state barriers.'

Without grasping the meaning of this proposition, which was vividly revealed to mankind for the first time during the last imperialist war [i.e., the First World War], we cannot take a single step towards the solution of the major problems of world politics and revolutionary struggle.

[. . .]

Marx and Engels, even prior to the imperialist epoch, had arrived at the conclusion that on the one hand, unevenness, i.e., sporadic historical development, stretches the proletarian revolution through an entire epoch in the course of which nations will enter the revolutionary flood one after another; while, on the other hand, the organic interdependence of the

several countries, developing toward an international division of labor, excludes the possibility of building socialism in one country. This means that the Marxian doctrine, which posits that the socialist revolution can begin only on a national basis, while the building of socialism in one country is impossible, has been rendered *doubly and trebly true*, all the more so now, in the modern epoch when imperialism has developed, deepened, and sharpened both, of these antagonistic tendencies. On this point, Lenin merely developed and concretized Marx's own formulation and Marx's own answer to this question. (Trotsky 2003: italics in the original)

That is to say, the orthodox Marxist conception of socialism/communism, a globally integrated classless society, needs internationalism and can issue only on the basis of a level of world economic development higher than the most advanced capitalism. Socialism, moreover, following a national transitional period of working-class rule (i.e., the *dictatorship of the proletariat*), requires democratic control of the means of production and international planning to satisfy human needs. As Trotsky says in his classic *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1936 and published in English in 1937:

The material premise of communism should be so high a development of the productive forces that productive labor, having ceased to be a burden, will not require any goad, and the distribution of life's goods, existing in continual abundance, will not demand—as it does not now in any well-off family or “decent” boardinghouse—any control except that of education, habit and social opinion. Speaking frankly, I think it would be pretty dull-witted to consider such a really modest perspective “utopian.” (Trotsky 1996)

By pursuing a policy of self-contained socialist development in an isolated backward country, the Stalinist bureaucracy was laying the objective preconditions for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Since the nation-state form had, according to orthodox Marxist analysis, outlived its historical usefulness with the onset of the twentieth century—as confirmed by the global economic breakdown that led to the First World War—the task of constructing *socialism in one country* could only mean that, despite a limited period of successes, the autarkic national-socialist state would eventually put a

break on economic development and be unable to compete with the advanced capitalist countries. As Trotsky and his supporters had foreseen, that is what finally happened when the Soviet Union was juridically liquidated in 1991, a process overseen by its until-then-ruling Communist Party. The program of the international revolution or the program of *socialism in one country*? That was the fundamental question Trotsky posed in *The Third International After Lenin*. Despite the intractable struggle of the Marxist Left Opposition, Stalin and his followers defeated them through the period of 1925 to 1929 and, still fearing their political influence, perpetrated the Great Terror of 1937, a mass bloodletting which the late Russian historian and sociologist Vadim Z. Rogovin has suggested was, in actuality, an antisocialist genocide. (Robert C. Tucker, a non-Marxist historian, has, if somewhat abstractly, described the Terror as the Russian version of the Nazi holocaust.) The rightwing nature of national-Stalinism, while differing from the Hitlerite methods of ethnic genocide, is clear when one sees that Stalin and his executioners in the Politburo and NKVD targeted and murdered more Soviet and foreign Marxists “than all the world’s fascist dictators together” (Daniels 1993:95). With the physical extermination of the socialist working class and the Old Bolshevik generation of 1917 under the trumped-up charge of “Trotskyism,” orthodox Marxism and socialist internationalism were erased from Soviet political life.

Stalinism in North Korea

The emergence of Stalinism in North Korea is inextricably bound up with the historical experience of the Soviet Union, particularly, with the isolation of the workers’ state and the bureaucratization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist International (Comintern or Third International) after thousands of working-class cadre perished in the Russian Civil War (1918–1921), men and women who were replaced by alien class elements drawn in from the lower urban middle class. Struggling against this new layer of middle-class bureaucrats in the workers’ party, the program advanced by the Marxist Left Opposition under Trotsky’s leadership defended the fundamental class interests of the Russian proletariat, who, in the aftermath of the Civil War, was a politically exhausted social force. The Soviet working class was now susceptible to the promise of a national solution as offered in Stalin’s theory of *socialism in one country* (North 1995, 1998, 2001; Van Auken

2005). Some two decades later, when the Soviet Red Army liberated northern Korea in 1945—after the Korean Peninsula had experienced thirty-five years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule—the Soviet Union was thoroughly unrecognizable from the standpoint of classical Marxism and the workers' state established in 1917. World capitalism proved stronger than Lenin had foreseen, and it successfully isolated the Russian Revolution in conditions of economic and cultural backwardness. Material poverty, isolation, civil war, foreign intervention, and the masses unfamiliarity with self-government laid the groundwork for bureaucracy and dictatorship. By the 1940s, the Soviet regime had degenerated into a totalitarian monstrosity, a Bonapartist police state ruled by the all-powerful Stalin, a despot wielding unlimited power and rendered in the official propaganda as the beloved, sagacious, and wise “father” and “friend” of the Soviet people, the leader of their great “socialist motherland,” and the head of the “monolithic party” (i.e., an ultra-centralist dictatorial political party). The emergence of the Kim Il Sung personality cult in North Korea would employ the same patricentric discourse and comparable iconography, even if expressed in indigenous symbolic form.

The 1940s was also the height of the *Zhdanovschina* (Zhdanovism, or, Stalinist cultural nationalism), named after the aforesaid Andrei Zhdanov, who was also a Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. According to one North Korean source, Kim Il Sung (1912–1994)—a former Korean member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), guerilla commander in the CCP's anti-Japanese Manchurian campaigns of 1931–1941, and now a captain in the Soviet 88th Brigade—was conferring with Zhdanov one day before Korean liberation from Japan. The subject of their discussion was the prospect of state-building in Korea (Korean News 1998). There is no doubt that Kim was a faithful and trusted disciple of Stalinism. He received his political training in the CCP and the Soviet Army and, furthermore, had a deep-seated admiration for Stalin. Although this relatively young partisan was eventually installed by the Soviet occupation authorities as the strongman of the North Korean government, he was not the initial candidate for that position. Soviet military personnel initially expressed interest in the famous rightwing nationalist leader Cho Man-Sik, also known as the “Korean Gandhi” (Lankov 2002:14). Like the United States military in the South, the Soviets were interested in building a pliant client state on the Korean Peninsula that would be amenable to and obediently serve their national interests. Cho, however, was uncompromising in his demands for autonomy from the Soviet Union. He

would eventually be arrested by the Soviet authorities, shot, and buried in an unmarked grave (Lankov 2002:23–4).

North Korea was founded as the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) on 9 September 1948, three weeks after the U.S.-endorsed declaration of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South on 15 August. Stalin himself edited and approved the first North Korean Constitution of 1948 (Lankov 2002:42–7). The division of the Korean Peninsula, implemented in 1945 as the outcome of political deals between Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill, was fundamentally a unilateral decision by the United States government, whose demands the conservative Soviet government simply acceded to. The Kremlin bureaucracy, coming out of the Second World War, wanted to avoid a military confrontation with American imperialism at all costs. Despite plans for peninsula-wide elections overseen by the United Nations, irreconcilable policy differences between the United States and Soviet Union made the division of Korea permanent. Soviet occupation forces were withdrawn from North Korea in December 1948. U.S. combat troops also left the South, but a contingent of military advisers remained. Notably, Stalin’s conception of the “monolithic party” was not entirely characteristic of the DPRK when it was proclaimed three years after the Soviet liberation. Rather, North Korea was ruled by a leftwing “united front” coalition government under the faction-riven Workers’ Party of Korea (WPK), a creation of the Soviet military in 1946. The WPK was also a “mass party” and the vast majority of its membership were “poor peasant” in class composition (Armstrong 2004:109–10, 242). North Korea was functioning, nonetheless, on the Stalinist program of *socialism in one country* and the Stalinist-Menshevik theory of stages, the mid-1940s development of which held that a national-socialist state would be achieved by first passing through a “people’s democracy.” This political conception, foreign to all the Marxist literature, made socialism possible without the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, that is, without a government of the self-ruling working class. Stalin reconceived the formula in 1948, saying that the “people’s democracy” is a “form of the dictatorship of the proletariat” (Pablo 2005). Kim Il Sung adhered to these formulations.

With the dismantlement of the Japanese fascist-colonial state apparatus in North Korea, a series of agricultural and labor reforms, gender equality laws, anti-illiteracy campaigns, and cultural assimilation programs were implemented with the auspices of Soviet advisers, who were operating behind native government staffs and civil servants from 1945 to 1950. In contrast to the

intensifying social crisis in the South under the pro-American rightwing military-police dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, the radical changes in North Korean social life were carried out, according to Charles Armstrong, with the popular support of the poor peasantry and, in comparison to land reform in the Soviet Union, China, and Vietnam, with a relative lack of bloodshed and violence (Armstrong 2004:77, 80–1, 149, 242), despite North Korea being a budding authoritarian Stalinist state. But tensions between the mutually opposed regimes in the North and South were reaching a boiling point.

The Korean War

Under conditions of forced national division of which the United States government played a decisive role, Stalinist North Korea and autocratic South Korea sought to unite the Korean Peninsula by military force. Border fighting and small-scale incursions were already occurring in 1946, and popular uprisings were also sparked in South Korea. The ultrarightist Syngman Rhee was now particularly vocal about a campaign to “march North” and hoped to obtain U.S. military assistance in his invasion plans. Kim Il Sung was not yet in a position to respond to these provocations. The Korean People’s Army (KPA) was fighting with Mao Zedong’s CCP guerrilla armies in the Chinese Civil War until the victory of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. On 25 June 1950, Kim, with permission from Stalin and Mao, launched an all-out offensive against South Korea.

Experienced KPA troops returning from China and armed with Soviet tanks, aircraft, and artillery swept through Southern defenses. Seoul was taken in three days. But the tide turned when the United States Armed Forces, under a United Nations flag, intervened in the civil war between the two Korean regimes. Northern forces were pushed back above the 38th parallel. Thereafter, General Douglas MacArthur led an invasion into the North in what was an almost unlimited colonial-style war of conquest. When the U.S. military approached the Chinese border, Mao dispatched “volunteer” units of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army that November to save the Pyongyang regime. The Truman administration, in response, came close to authorizing the use of nuclear weapons against China and North Korea. General MacArthur even demanded that thirty to fifty atomic bombs be dropped on the Manchurian-Korean border to spread “a belt of radioactive cobalt” from the East Sea/Sea of Japan to the

Yellow Sea. This proposal was dropped in fear of Soviet nuclear retaliation.

The Korean War reached a stalemate and ended with the signing of the Joint Armistice Agreement on 27 July 1953. All of North Korea was in ruins and at least two million Korean civilians were dead after three years of fighting. This staggering death toll is equivalent to that of *twelve years* of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, a conflict which involved more than 6.1 million tons of American bombs. Some 678,000 tons of bombs were dropped in the Korean War (Kohn and Harahan 1988:129n152). On North Korea proper, the U.S. Air Force averaged eighteen bombs per square kilometer of the country, or, more specifically, 97,000 tons of bombs and 7.8 million gallons of a new weapon, napalm (Park 2001). A jellied gasoline, napalm cannot be extinguished with water, burns at 900–1,300 degrees Celsius, and causes asphyxiation from carbon monoxide poisoning. U.S. Air Force General Curtis LeMay, whose proposal to drop incendiaries on North Korean towns was initially rejected by the Pentagon, later recalled:

[W]e went over there and fought the war and burned down every town in North Korea anyway, some way or another, and some in South Korea, too. We even burned down Pusan—an accident, but we burned it down anyway. The Marines started a battle down there with no enemy in sight. Over a period of three years or so, we killed off—what—twenty percent of the population of Korea as direct casualties of war, or from starvation and exposure. (Kohn and Harahan 1988:88)

The North Korean leaders and people have not yet overcome the deep sociopsychological trauma and hardened, militant nationalism that resulted from this experience, which apparently reinforced all the more the nationalist and patriotic sentiments that were already formed and encrusted under the tragedy and terror of Imperial Japanese fascist barbarism in the 1930s and 1940s.

The North Korean plan for a swift military takeover of South Korea was, in any case, catastrophically miscalculated, and it compromised Kim Il Sung's position in the WPK to a certain extent. But during the wartime years, Soviet influence had diminished considerably in North Korea and an inner party struggle was raging. Taking advantage of the confusion created by the war, Kim, who was pursuing his own national-Stalinist tactical line within the strategic orientation of *socialism in one country*, began to oust his political rivals, including the Soviet Korean Ho Ka-I (Alexei Ivanovich Hegai), the most

prominent and influential Russian Korean in North Korea. Rivals for party leadership, their central dispute concerned the class character of the WPK. Kim favored the (Maoist) conception of a mass peasant party and Ho favored a smaller, less heterogeneous organization of less than 60,000 members consisting in the main of industrial workers. The WPK had 700,000 members in 1948; however, 52 percent were classified as “poor peasant” and 21 percent as “workers” (Armstrong 2004:110). Ho was also critical of the growing personality cult around Kim. Ho Ka-I was purged in 1951 and reportedly committed suicide in 1953. A political assassination cannot be ruled out (Lankov 2002:150–2). Events of this sort worked towards Kim’s increasing domination of the WPK and its movement in the direction of a truly “monolithic party.”

***Juche* Speech of 1955**

Kim Il Sung’s 28 December 1955 speech to WPK propagandists and agitators officially translated as “On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing *Juche* in Ideological Work” (Sasang saeop-eseo kyojochuui-wa hyeongsikchuui-reol toechi hago juche-reol hwangnip-hal te taehayeo) was made against the recent political experiences and human catastrophes of the Korean War and the inner party struggles that were exacerbated in the WPK. The word *Juche* literally means “subject.” But it has also been defined in North Korean sources as “independent stand” (Baik 1969:132), “independent line” (Baik 1970a:190), the “spirit of self-reliance” (Baik 1970a:412), and the “principle of self-reliance” (Baik 1970b:132). These definitions are faithful summaries of Stalin’s national autarkic economic program, which the Soviet tyrant described at the Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU in 1925 as follows: “There is another general line, which takes as its starting point that we must exert all efforts to make our country *an economically self-reliant, independent country based on the home market*” (Stalin 1954a: 306; emphasis added). Myers has noted that North Korean sources in English begin to render “*Juche*” in transliterated, as opposed to translated form, from around 1965 onwards (Myers 2006:95, 110). The significance of the *Juche* speech is seen both in what is said about North Korean domestic and foreign policy—prioritizing autarkic national-socialist interests and not the post-Stalin “Soviet [tactical-reformist] way” (Kim 1972a:28)—and in the events that immediately followed it: namely, the

denunciations against Kim by leaders of the August opposition (1956), the North Korean Great Purge (1956–1960), and the rapid industrialization and forced collectivization campaign called the Cheollima Movement (1956–1961).

When the *Juche* speech was made, Stalin was dead two years and bureaucratic self-reform from above—that is, without the full democratic participation of the Soviet people—was gradually making its way through the Soviet Union. This so-called “de-Stalinization” campaign was finally confirmed in Nikita Khrushchev’s “secret speech” at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, during which Stalin’s personality cult was officially repudiated. Responding to the Soviet “thaw” and to the political developments that culminated in the speech—Kim had already recognized the implications and dangers of these developments in mid-1953 (Szalontai 2005:57–8)—and to the threatening pro-Soviet reformist platform in his party and government, he advanced the tactically unreformed Stalinist program of *socialism in one country* in North Korea on North Korean terms. Not insignificantly, the *Juche* speech was preceded by the return of North Korean writers who attended the Second Soviet Writers’ Congress in December 1954 and had come, or were coming, under the influence of the corresponding “thaw” in Soviet *socialist realist* literary policy. While the decisiveness of this event may be in debate (Myers 1994:89), it would have had certain exploitable political implications, nevertheless. Kim’s nationalist *Juche* campaign thus materialized in the form of an attack on the “literary front” aimed at the Soviet Korean faction in the WPK, that is, he used national cultural policy as a pretext against internal allies and informants of the post-Stalin Soviet government. The individuals concerned were denounced for Russifying North Korean cultural life and for now holding reactionary political views (Szalontai 2005:78–81). Russian literature was also slandered when Kim condemned the Romantic and Futurist poets Alexander Pushkin and Vladimir Mayakovksy as “foreigners” who were useless for instilling feelings of “national pride” (*minjokjeok jabusim*) in elementary school children. Despite the official translation, the Korean words for this “national pride” also mean *ethnic pride and racial pride*, and the phrase would easily have been understood as such by the WPK audience. Moreover, for *Juche* to be presented by Kim in 1955 as the ideological program of the “Korean revolution” itself and not “any other country’s revolution” is an even more striking confirmation that his ethnic nationalism was adhering to the ultranationalist requirements of Stalin’s 1924 policy of *socialism in one country* (Kim 1972a:19,

23; Kim 1960:326, 330). That is to say, Kim was being a consistent and faithful Stalinist. Like his deceased hero, Kim Il Sung consolidated his totalitarian dictatorship in the party and government after the Korean War (Stalin had done so after the Russian Civil War) and put forward the equivalent of Stalin's brutal ultraleftist policies in the First Five-Year Plan (1928–1932), as well as those in Mao's First Five-Year Plan (1953–1957), which consisted of a series of now termed "little leaps," and the disastrous Great Leap Forward (1958–1962). The tactically reformist Khrushchev regime denounced the North Korean Five-Year Plan (1956–1961) as a "useless fantasy" and regarded the Maoist Great Leap Forward and People's Communes as dangerous political experiments (Hun 1966:134, 155).

Mao, like Kim, opposed the changes in Soviet Stalinist tactical orientation as constituted in the "de-Stalinization" campaign, and the Chinese influence in North Korea is not surprising. Kim had a ten-year history as a CCP member and partisan guerrilla beginning in 1931, though having actually associated with the party since 1926, and he was fluent in Chinese. After the Korean War, North Korea and China also established the joint Economic and Cultural Agreement of November 1953, and the Chinese army occupied the country until 1958. That is the year the Maoist government officially made autarkic "self-reliance" its principal economic policy orientation (Mao 2004). This period coincided with the middle of the North Korean Five-Year Plan (1956–1961), and Kim began to use his slogan of "self-reliance" with increasing emphasis (Hun 1966:134). China, no doubt, had a direct influence on North Korea and, consequently, a distinctly Chinese Stalinist style found its way into North Korean political culture. One should add that from 1958 to 1959, the "debate" on subjectivity was underway in China, and the Maoists began vigorously promoting the "theory of subjective activity" in the country (Altaisky and Georgiyev 1971:67). The contemporaneous emphasis on voluntarism in Kim Il Sung's speeches during the Chinese occupation—and, subsequently, in the crude populist anthropocentric slogan "man is the master of everything and decides everything" that would become the core principle of the *Juche* doctrine—is an ostensible reflection of developments in Maoist ideology. The role of man as "the decisive factor" (Mao's words) has actually been a mainstay of Maoism since the 1930s, that is, when Kim was a member of the Manchurian section of the CCP. Maoism, however, is not openly acknowledged in North Korea, as Soviet Stalinism was in the preceding period.

When the unfolding Sino-Soviet split was decisively worsened after the

Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU in October and November 1961, North Korea was already in the process of distancing itself from the Soviet Union and China, officially claiming neutrality in the diplomatic conflict, but leaning closer to the Mao Zedong regime, nevertheless. Within a decade, the revised North Korean Constitution of 1972 declared formal political independence from both countries and made *Juche* the official state ideology. But state-controlled literature published in North Korea would continue making obligatory references to so-called “Marxism-Leninism” for the next two decades. The Soviet Union, after all, was the country’s greatest economic benefactor. After the collapse of the USSR, *Juche* ideology, systemized by WPK ideologues such as the Soviet-educated theoreticians Hwang Chang-yop and Yang Hyong-so since the 1960s (Petrov 2003; Suh 1996:18), took center stage. Politically, *Juche* is an unremarkable variation of the national-Stalinist program of *socialism in one country* defined in Kim’s slogans “independence in politics” (*jaju*; first use 1957), “self-sustenance in the economy” (*jarip*; first use 1956), and “self-defense in national defense” (*jawi*; first use 1962), which formally appeared in a 1965 speech he delivered at the Ali Archam Academy of Social Sciences in Indonesia (Kim 1968:38; Waldenström 2005:12). The crude reasoning behind this policy is that economic autarky is a precondition for political autonomy. That Stalinist formulation is theoretically and practically false and is resulting in the restoration of capitalism in North Korea today—confirming Trotsky’s analysis of Stalinism in *The Revolution Betrayed*—as evidenced by the implementation of capitalist market methods through gradual economic “reforms,” such as the July 2002 price and wage reforms (Lee and Yoon 2004:40; Seliger 2005:35). Philosophically, the *Juche* ideology is an eclectic idealist doctrine of *national subjectivism* that has more in common with a state religion and the platitudes of Maoism. Kim Il Sung’s son-successor Kim Jong Il emerged as the undisputed interpreter and defender of *Juche*-Stalinism in the 1980s.

Nationalism and Internationalism

Brian Myers observes that *Juche* was not advanced in 1955 as an attempt to create an original or new ideological system (Myers 2006:103–4). But that is not especially revelatory. In an interview with the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun* on 17 September 1972, Kim Il Sung acknowledged the unoriginality of

the *Juche* program, saying “we are not the author of this idea,” adding that he merely put “special emphasis” on the tactically unreformed policies of *socialism in one country* in the post-Stalin era (Kim 1972b: 1). Previously, in the 1965 Ali Archam Academy lecture, he said:

The year 1955 marked a turning-point in our Party’s consistent struggle against dogmatism [i.e., subordination to Soviet foreign policy]. In fact, our struggle against modern revisionism [i.e., the Soviet “de-Stalinization” campaign] that had emerged within the socialist camp [i.e., the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries] began at that time. Our struggle against dogmatism was thus linked with the struggle against modern revisionism. (Kim 1968:40-1)

The *Juche* speech, to be sure, does not signal the advent of a *new* ideology. Rather, in the epoch of Soviet tactical “de-Stalinization,” Kim’s speech on *Juche* signaled a regression to the *old* ideology and tactics of 1930s nationalist Stalinism to secure the interests and privileges of the North Korean state bureaucracy. Therefore, it is incorrect to argue that there is nothing nationalist about the *Juche* ideology. The North Korean doctrine and the speech that preceded its systematic formulation are idiosyncratically nationalist and Stalinist. By the conclusion of “The Watershed that Wasn’t,” Myers poses the question as to why Kim Il Sung said little about the *Juche* ideology until a decade after its 1955 inauguration before WPK propagandists and agitators. “There can be no logical explanation,” he remarks (Myers 2006:109). This is misleading. Professor Dae-Sook Suh, a long-established authority on North Korean political history, answers the question in the 1988 biography *Kim Il Sung*:

For the next eight years, from December 1955 to February 1963, Kim did not speak often about the idea of *chuch’e*. When he shuttled back and forth from Moscow to Beijing [to solicit funds, technical assistance, and material aid] like a man without *chuch’e*, trying to ascertain his own place in the intensifying Sino-Soviet dispute, he was silent about the subject and anything concerning the self-reliance of his party or government. [. . .]. It was not until he clearly understood the implications of the Sino-Soviet dispute for North Korea and had chosen sides that he began to elaborate on the subject of *chuch’e*. More important, it was after

the Soviet Union had stopped its economic and military assistance to the North [as punishment for supporting China] that Kim began to speak about self-sustenance and self-defense. [. . .] During the latter half of the 1960s, his woes increased with the coming of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The Chinese disowned him and branded him a revisionist, and it is was through this Chinese push that he was finally able to justify the claim that he was self-reliant, the founder and subscriber of the great idea of *chuch'e*. (Suh 1988:307–8)

Kim Il Sung, in other words, said little about *Juche* and his contempt for Khrushchev's "modern revisionism" for almost a decade because, in the wake of the economic and humanitarian catastrophes of the Korean War, he could not afford to alienate North Korea as a beneficiary of Soviet and Chinese postwar assistance. Nevertheless, the objectively changed world political situation, compounded all the more by declining foreign aid inflows, and the worsening of the Sino-Soviet split in 1960 to 1963 eventually necessitated the elaboration of *Juche* as a nationalist and Stalinist "independent" line. Myers, however, proceeds to claim that American and South Korean scholars such as Chang-Boh Chee, Dong Jun Lee (a Pyongyang-based *Pravda* writer who fled to the South in 1959), Glenn D. Paige, and Key P. Yang were effectively co-creators of the *Juche* ideology because they in particular transliterated and defined the Korean word as "national individuality" and "independence" in the 1963 book *North Korea Today*, when North Korean sources at the time had not done so (Scalapino 1963; Myers 2006:109–10). An examination of the relevant essays confirms how relatively discerning these definitions were in the early 1960s. Conversely, the 1966 publication titled *Study of North Korea* was somehow unable to fully identify the political significance of Kim's 1955 speech, with his reference to *Juche*, and thus made no direct mention of it. Myers, nevertheless, has one consider that North Korean authorities may have been so impressed by *North Korea Today*, especially to the focus it gave to *Juche*, that they, in turn, transliterated the term and transformed it into a full-blown ideology in 1965. That hypothesis, however, appears untenable. Professor Kwang-Shick Kang has already explained that the formal term *Juche Sasang* (*Juche* ideology or subject ideology) was first used in 1962 in the aggravated circumstances of the Sino-Soviet split (Kang 2001:363). Conceptualization of *Juche* as an ideology proper preceded publication of *North Korea Today*, and that is more likely what motivated transliteration instead of translation.

Compounding the formalistic problems in the arguments that the *Juche* speech is not nationalist and that its real creators are Western or Western-based scholars, “The Watershed that Wasn’t” does not draw a programmatic distinction between Marxism and Stalinism. Moreover, Brian Myers characterizes *Juche* as a “farrago of Marxist and humanist banalities” and he seems to generally accept the official post-1924 Soviet Stalinist interpretation of classical Marxism (Myers 2006:91). This underscores his view that the *Juche* speech is not nationalist and that “foreigners” are responsible for that opinion. He asserts further:

This assumption [about nationalism in the “*Juche* Speech”] is incorrect. In the 1920s Lenin had called on his party to preserve what was valuable in pre-revolutionary cultural traditions, and Stalin’s ideologues had emphasized the need for popular spirit (*narodnost*) when applying Marxism-Leninism to a given cultural sphere. Parties were expected to exploit national traditions to make propaganda effective. (Myers 2006:102)

This passage makes the argument of Leninist (orthodox Marxist) adaptationism and presumes an identification of Bolshevik internationalism and Stalinist nationalism. That, however, is the old political mythos first introduced by Stalin in the infamous second edition of his “The Foundations of Leninism” and in articles like “Trotskyism or Leninism?” and “The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists” (all written in 1924), in which the dictator mendaciously identified his nationalist conceptions à la *socialism in one country* as “Leninist theory” or “Lenin’s theory.” The political discrepancies between Leninism and Stalinism have already been discussed by authoritative Soviet studies scholars such as Moshe Lewin, a senior historian of the Soviet Union, who has documented Lenin’s struggle against Stalin; Robert C. Tucker, another senior Sovietologist, who has explained that Stalin feigned orthodoxy and transmuted Lenin’s internationalist Bolshevism into a chauvinistic Russian National Bolshevism; Neil Harding, who has described Leninism, contra Stalin’s nationalist corruptions, as authentic Marxism; and David Brandenberger, who has characterized the ethnocentric nationalism, populism, and chauvinism of Stalinist *kulturpolitik* as an ideological about-face from Bolshevik internationalism. Notably, when Stalin’s nationalist-socialist political program and mythos were inaugurated in the 1920s, they were subjected to all-round

comprehensive attack by Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the Russian Revolution and Lenin's second-in-command. One of Trotsky's influential, subsequent appraisals of the Stalinist bureaucratic mythology appears in the 1937 essay "Stalinism and Bolshevism" and is most elaborately rendered in his enduring political masterwork, *The Revolution Betrayed*, published in translation in the same year. Stalinism may thus be seen not so much as the product of Marxism, but as the conservative political reaction against it, the fulfillment of Stalin's conservative nationalist aims requiring moreover the murder of all the leaders of the October Revolution in his Great Terror. There is, one should note, an opposing body of academic opinion, represented by figures such as Robert Conquest, Leszek Kolakowski, Martin Malia, Daniel Pipes, Robert Service, Erik Van Ree, and others, that emphasizes political and ideological continuity between Lenin's orthodox Marxism and Stalinism. The author contends that this view, which repeats the old Soviet Stalinist party line, is based on a misreading or misrepresentation of the historical record.

Another matter is that nowhere in the forty-five volumes of Lenin's *Collected Works* will one find any reference to emphasizing *narodnost* or exploiting "national traditions" for the sake of propaganda. Even a close reading of Lenin's 1914 article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians" reveals that neither is this particular document an adaptationist concession to Great Russian chauvinism, but an attempt to exert an antiwar, revolutionary influence on the deep-going nationalist sentiments of the laboring Russian masses, in order to mobilize them against the First World War (Lenin 2005; North 2001). The political record confirms that Lenin was an intransigent, lifelong opponent of nationalism and chauvinism, and he made it a matter of policy that the Bolshevik Party "combat all nationalism of every kind and, above all, Great-Russian nationalism" (Lenin 2000). There is no shortage of quotes in this regard. As the socialist leader emphasized in his "Critical Remarks on the National Question," which was written a year earlier in 1913, "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just,' 'purest,' most refined and civilized brand. In place of nationalism, Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity" (Lenin 2004a). One thus finds that counterrevolution and nationalism are denoted as synonyms in Lenin's highly consistent writings in defense of classical Marxism—a fact seen most decisively in his struggle against the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, notably, in his famous "Last Testament" in which he denounces Stalin's reactionary "nationalist-socialism" (Lenin 1999).

Patriotism, or, Anti-Internationalism

In the argument that the *Juche* speech is not nationalist, Myers also opposes “nationalism” to “patriotism” and suggests that the latter merely means pride in the traditions of one’s country (Myers 2006:101). Therefore, the *Juche* speech is not nationalistic, it is patriotic. That is an untenable distinction and a restatement of Kim Il Sung’s illogical Stalinist proposition that “internationalism and patriotism are inseparably linked” (Kim 1972a: 30). Here Myers’ reference to Lenin and nationalism is instructive in antithesis—for Lenin’s hostility to “patriotism” was relentless and profound throughout his career as a professional revolutionary. Contrary to the historical falsifications of Stalinism, Lenin also never advanced a “thesis on Soviet patriotism,” as is purported by the editors of volume forty-two of the *Collected Works* (Lenin 2007). Rather, one finds that the word “patriotism” is used in an overwhelmingly negative sense in Lenin’s orthodox Marxist writings, particularly during his early struggle against the Narodniks (Russian populists) and in the struggle against the Mensheviks, Social Democrats, and Socialist Revolutionaries during the First World War and Russian Revolution. The Bolshevik program, in point of fact, rejected and combated “patriotism” in the effort to foster internationalism in light of the “fundamental truth” (Lenin’s words) that, in the modern socialist movement, the international working class has no fatherland, i.e., country or nation, as had been explained by Marx and Engels in their *Communist Manifesto* in 1847. (Their original German words are “Die Arbeiter haben kein Vaterland.”) For Lenin, as with the cofounders of Marxism, “patriotism” is false and hypocritical, associated with political charlatanry and hucksterism; with economic romanticism and nationalism; with bourgeois chauvinism and petty-bourgeois (small proprietor) sentiments; with philistinism, opportunism, and class collaborationism; with subjectivism, provincialism, populist demagoguery, and localism; with the repudiation of the class struggle and socialist revolution. “Patriotism,” in a word, is anti-internationalist and runs counter to the fundamental political interests of the international working class.

The post-bellum Soviet Stalinist counterrevolution in 1924 resurrected the nationalist ideology of “patriotism” to further the nationalist economic program of *socialism in one country*. Stalin, in particular, began to use the phrase “Soviet patriotism” in the 1930s and 1940s shortly before and during the Second World War in the struggle against German fascism (Stalin 1978:394, 397; Stalin 2003). Brandenberger has identified “Soviet patriotism” and its populist references to a

fatherland/motherland as an abandonment of the “1920s orthodox [Marxist] view of a class-based internationalist loyalty” to the workers’ state (Brandenberger 1999:85). “Soviet patriotism” was a form of Russian nationalism and national chauvinism dressed up as a class-oriented patriotism in defense of the achievements of the October Revolution. The slogan, however, actually represented the outlook and sureties of the privileged Soviet Stalinist bureaucratic caste. Another variation of the term “Soviet patriotism” is “socialist patriotism,” the latter being the one Kim Il Sung preferred in the North Korean context. One must note that such word combinations make no political sense from a classical Marxist perspective.

Writing in the 1908 article “Lessons of the Commune,” Lenin dismissed patriotism as a political illusion and explained that “combining contradictory tasks—patriotism and socialism—was the fatal mistake of the French socialists. In the Manifesto of the International, issued in September 1870, Marx had warned the French proletariat against being misled by a false national idea” (Lenin 2004b). The Stalinist political outlook, including that of North Korean national-Stalinism, thus upholds a “fatal mistake” and a “false national idea.” Political reality is contrary to the separation of nationalism and patriotism. Nationalism is the source of patriotism; internationalism is the source of socialism; and never the twain shall meet. Revealingly, the words North Korean sources use for “patriotism” (*aegukjuui* or *aegukssim*) and “nationalism” (*minjokjuui*) are found in the political and lexicological context of anti-internationalist and organicist blood-kinship terms. While Myers employs the English equivalents of these words, one finds, nonetheless, that the Greek etymological roots of “patriotism,” for instance, are equally telling: *patr* (father), *patris* (fatherland), *patrios* (of one’s father), and *patriotes* (of the same father or fatherland). Even the Latin roots of the word “nationalism,” *nasci* and *natus* (to be born) and *nationem* (breed or race) pertain to a condition of birth and blood relatedness. Patriotism and nationalism thus invoke consanguine, familial, and lineal imagery, and according to the Princeton University lexical database *WordNet*, they are synonyms. The same may be said of the corresponding North Korean terms, which are connotatively close enough to be understood as semantic equivalents and which, in Stalinist political practice, reinforce the outlook of ethnocentric national solipsism (if one may adopt Bruce Cumings’ phrase) that is emblematic of the *Juche* doctrine in its past and present articulations.

Conclusion

Kim Il Sung's *Juche* speech of 28 December 1955 was a turning point in North Korean political history, a watershed *that was*, for the fundamental reason that it outlined the politically unreformed nationalist Stalinist program of *socialism in one country* in the era of the tactically motivated Soviet "de-Stalinization" campaign. Confronted with increasingly unfavorable objective conditions in the world political situation after the Korean War, the speech by the North Korean dictator was tantamount to an emergency writ of mandamus, commanding the party and government not to abandon the autarkic economic policies and political program upon which the DPRK regime was founded in 1948. When pro-reformist factions in the WPK disputed the unreformed tactical orientation of that program and opposed Kim, they were exterminated in the Great Purge. Thereafter, with the intensifying political pressures of the Sino-Soviet split, the North Korean bureaucracy was compelled to gradually develop *Juche* into a systematic ideological doctrine, and that is what it became from the mid-1960s onwards. Despite its internationalist pretensions, because the *Juche* speech was programmatically nationalist and Stalinist from the start, its political outcome has been the more open and unabashed embrace of ultranationalist and even racist rhetoric in contemporary North Korea in tandem with the ongoing, structurally predetermined restoration of capitalism in the country. Such vulgar and reactionary political attitudes can be found in present-day North Korean leader Kim Jong Il's officially designated "classic works," such as *On Preserving the Juche Character and National Character of the Revolution and Construction* and *On Having a Correct Understanding of Nationalism*. Furthermore, recent *Korean Central News Agency* articles denounce the concept of a "multiethnic, multiracial society" for rendering national destruction in South Korea (Leppänen 2006), and declare that the "*Juche*-based theory of nationalism" holds the view that "true nationalism is immediately patriotism" and that one must be a "true nationalist before being a revolutionary." These are the political inheritances of unreconstructed national-Stalinism and Kim Il Sung's programmatic reassertion of *socialism in one country* in the watershed of 1955.

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Documents of Survival and Trauma: Memories of the Korean War in Korean Novels of the 1960s

Kim Jong-soo

This article aims at rethinking how novels represented by battlefield scenes and published in the 1960s are important linking works between “novels of postwar” and “novels of division” in the history of modern Korean novels. The three novels, *Long day’s Journey into Night* by Kang Yong-jun, *The Revolution at Bangat-gol* by Oh Yu-Gueon, and *Market and Battlefield* by Park Kyung-ri, have been relatively neglected in the history of modern Korean novels although the literary acceptance of war experiences has been understood as an important research theme.

Writers in the 1950s showed a sense of doubt, defiance, and despair in “novels of postwar,” which reflected the fact that they could not be relieved of their war experience oppression. In “novels of division” writers in the 1970-80s presented the present lives of the nation after the war and attempted to deal with the sharp contradiction of a divided nation. In concretizing war experiences, novels published in the 1960s used battlefields for fictional time-space in an attempt to gain distance from the trauma of war. Namely, it gained the distance to see the historical war as fictional material as well as began to understand what the war was and why it had happened, resulting in full-scale scenes of the battlefields being fictionalized in a long story form in the 1960s.

Most Koreans experienced that they could make new historical situations during the April Revolution (4.19 Revolution) of 1960. Having escaped from the feeling of being victimized by the war, the novels seriously began with a reasonable understanding of the war in the 1960s. It should be considered that these novels concretized battlefields of the war are important linking works between “novels of postwar” and “novels of division” beyond the division era in the history of modern Korean novels.

Keywords: Korean War, 1960s, Concretizing experiences of battlefields,
Distancing from trauma of the war, Vision against the age of national
division

Novels Korean Literary History Forgot

In the history of modern Korean literature many studies have dealt with the Korean War and many war experiences have been reported. Generally, these studies can be divided into two: “novels of postwar” (*joenhu sosoel*) from the 1950s and “novels of division” (*pundan sosoel*) which focused on the end of the division through unification of the Korean nation. Of course it’s not clear that “novels of postwar” have been distinguished from “novels of division” in the history of modern Korean literature. If the first is considered to be related to the period of publishing (in general it is applied to works published in the 1950s), the second has been more emphasized for its recognition of the divided Korean nation (Song 1993:14), including the reasons for the war’s start in 1950. It’s very important to distinguish between “novels of postwar” and “novels of division” in the history of modern Korean literature using the criteria of whether or not the novel explores the reasons for the war, the unconditional famine of subsistence goods, the collapse of traditional morals, and even the degradation of humans in Korea in the 1950s.

In the argument presented in this paper, the historic event of the April Revolution (the civil revolution in April 1960) was essential as a political and historical turning point in South Korea and for the release of the monumental novel, *Square* (*Gwangjang*), written by Choi In-hun. As a new vision of the nation and the national history appeared in Korean society, a powerful literary consciousness of a social movement arose in the literary community after the April Revolution. Based on a critical recognition of the situation of a divided nation, many writers and critics debated a new literary vision which moved against the political situation as well. Especially, practitioners for the “national literature” (*minjok munhak*) movement in the 1970s actively insisted on the recovery of the whole Korean national community through peaceful unification, which was injured by the situation of the divided nation. Therefore, “novels of division” became similar to “national literature” in dealing with the situation of the divided nation.

Meanwhile, in the context of “novels of postwar” the Korean War has ideologically been represented by a narrator who lived at the home front during the war and in a dark and gloomy daily life after the war. Among the senior novelists of the war generation, a few novelists joined the army and wrote two types of stories in magazines like *Literature of the Front* (*Joensoen munhak*), *New World* (*Sinchoenji*), and *Art and Literature* (*Munye*). The first type of story was

propaganda to encourage patriotism among discharged soldiers or injured soldiers, and the other encouraged a fighting spirit among soldiers in the battlefields. Nevertheless, both merely portrayed conventional battlefield scenes that were enumerated for victory (Jung 1998:321). As they did not experience the war personally, their works couldn't provide lively descriptions of battlefields and only depicted passive impressions of the general war situation, i.e., they only experienced the war through the news.

But in the case of junior novelists, known as the “new generation novelists” (*sinsedae jakga*) in the history of modern Korean literature, the moment they understood that urgent daily life and tragic reality were basic conditions of Korean lives caused by the war, their works became representative of disillusion with the emptiness and despair of real lives. As the new generation novelists perceived Korean society after the war to be a stern and tragic space with whole orders of lives having been destroyed by the war, they investigated the human existential conditions, or asked “How can I live in Korea?” in their works. They were captured by the ideology of existentialism that pervaded Korea at that time, for they believed it could provide an explanation to improve the lives of depressed individuals by the war. But in the process of accepting existentialism, they couldn't base their view completely on it because of the urgent national situation, yet nor could they develop any interest in the historical and social context, and so they only devoted themselves to exploring the meaning of an “individual unintentionally entered in the situation” (Kim 1991:108). For that reason, the new generation novelists wrote stories with high ideals and abstracted methods for representing the real world, and further emphasized the themes of “there was no more vision in Korea (the case of Son Chang-seop's works),” “after the war it was impossible for better lives in Korea (the case of Oh Sang-won's works),” and “it was a lie for the struggle between left and right wings (the case of Jang Yong-hak's works)” (Jung 1998:337).

This article proposes to study “novels of postwar” that concretized the war experience, especially the battlefields at the time of narration. As noted above, although “novels of postwar” expressed radical skepticism and hostility of the real world and included the despair and nihilism of human lives after the war, it did not represent battlefield scenes as the story time-space. The writers of “novels of postwar” could not concretize the battlefields as historical facts, for they had little experience of battlefields or their consciousness and unconscious-

ness remained under the heavy oppression of the war;¹ thus, they were inclined to write only short stories to embody their themes. Naturally, it took time for the trauma of the war to be expelled and the battlefields to be expressed objectively, and this became possible in the 1960s.

They embodied the experience of the war, especially battlefield scenes, not as a short form showing intensively a section of reality in a simple situation but rather as a long piece concretizing the whole of the object in transition of characters lives, for their trial to explain the substance of the war in the 1960s. Namely, they gained the perspective to be able to watch the historical war as fictional material and to begin to understand what the war was and why it started. This was only possible with estrangement from the war, which allowed the full-scale scenes of the battlefields to be fictionalized in long novel form in the 1960s. Therefore, novels concretizing the experiences of battlefields in the 1960s signified the opening period of “novels of division” that tried hard to gain some distance from the trauma of the war, until the recovery of the whole Korean national community was achieved through peaceful unification.

This article, with reference to the novels of the 1960s, discusses the method of concretizing the war experiences and understanding what the war was for Korea, among the novels which are relatively indifferent in the studies on the history of modern Korean novels on the Korean War.² It is a meaningful work for building up a solid context of history of “novels of postwar” and for studies on conventions of concretizing experiences of the war and describing battlefields in “novels of division” and some *roman fleuve* (*daeha soseol*) that dealt

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1. The major “ew generation novelists” were born mostly in the northern region of the Korea Peninsula, which allowed them to continue writing after the war during their arrest. Because of their social position arising from their roots in the northern region, their ideals and political positions were always under public scrutiny in South Korea. Therefore, they could not help representing the war as the materials of their own fragmental experiences in document form of an individual or by limiting the depiction of the periphery of daily lives in postwar Korean society (Kim 1991:214).
 2. Many young novelists published novels concretizing the war experiences, especially on battlefields, in the 1960s. In addition to the three that will be analyzed in this paper, see Jung Hansook, *Broken Bridge (Keuneojin dari)*, Eulyu-Munhwasa, 1962.; Hong Sung-won, *A Camp of D-day (Didei ui pyeongchon)*, Donga Ilbo, 1964.; Yi Beom-seon, *Under the Daybreak (Dongteuneun haneul miteseo)*, Kukmin-Mungosa, 1969.; and Song Byoeng-soo, *Glacial Period (Ping-a sidae)*, Samsung-Mungo, 1969. Most of them wrote novels vigorously after the war, which focused on the war experiences in Korean society. They are different from novels from the 1950s since the above mentioned novels concretized and narrated the battlefields realistically.

with the war as material or backdrop in the 1970-80s, which is how they viewed and represented the war with the temporal perspective of ten years.

With this intention, this article examines how the Korean War wounded individuals, communities, and the nation, as well as how people and the South Korean polity attempted to escape physical and mental trauma in concretized novels depicting Korean War battlefields. The novels that will be analyzed in this article are *Long day's Journey into Night* written by Kang Yong-jun, *The Revolution at Bangat-gol* written by Oh Yu-Gueon, and *Market and Battlefield* written by Park Kyung-ri.

Exposing Trauma: Memories of an Internalized War

First, *Long day's Journey into Night* written by Kang Yong-jun, originally published serially as a trilogy in the monthly magazine *Shindonga* in 1967, depicts the carnage that took place in the Nakdong River combat and Geoje prisoner of war camp, which were two very violent battlefields during the Korean War. The narrator in this novel describes the battlefield experiences by releasing his own memories. We can perceive the acute tension of battlefields as the main theme of this work, which puts the reader not at the rear but at the front line during the war.

We were in some mountain 20 kilometers southeast of Hapcheon, on August 31, 1950. The river, in front of our place 2000 meters away, long lie just like a very slim string and American soldiers fired their field guns like a killing time once in a while at this side valley of the highland over the river where we called there "*piuikang*" [the blood river] or "Yosahwatgoljjagi" [Yosahwat valley]. Although we could not even imagine how many soldiers from both sides let their blood flow between this river, at least we did know that the 4th division of the puppet army was defeated at this river and at "Daebongri-Gyegok" [Daebongri valley]. (Kang 1972:7)

The narrator was thrown into Nakdong River combat as a recruit of the North Korean Army and suffered a brutal struggle for survival to become a prisoner at Geoje prisoner of war camp. He witnessed Shin Chang-ho who complained of himself in the battlefields as a "bull pulled in a butchery," Bong-su who "was a

soldier of the North Korean Army but had been a descendant of an unearned landowner, so was arrested as the son of a reactionary two months ago,”(Kang 1972:54) and Bae Young-geol who was a sensual People’s actor. All were wretchedly killed in Nakdong River combat by American soldiers’ field guns. “Accidentally” recruited and arranged in the battleline, all of them were ceaselessly troubled with the fear of the battlefield and considered themselves to be “a victim” of the war until they were miserably dead. Also in the second and third part of this novel, characters at the prisoner of war camp were chagrined that they had been a prisoner because of a black American soldier’s ignorance. There was no information about why a black American soldier arrested them as prisoners of war in the story. Having thought that everything was caused by “accident,” they could not find clear reasons why they were in such terrible troubles, and they believed that they were victims themselves. The feeling of being victimized held by the characters that died tragically in the war clearly appeared in the murder scene of Taeheung who lived in the camp with them.

The narrator thinks that Taeheung’s father, an illiterate man, could not raise himself from the lowest class by hard-earned money. Providing himself with a horse-cart to overcome his poverty, he lived in “a colony in the beginning of capitalism” before the war. The narrator believes that Taeheung chose to be a puppet army officer, inheriting the rule of life from his father; “only for his own profits, he can utterly look away from honor or anything like that” (Kang 1972:66). Consequently, Taeheung’s choice meant not an ideal selection but survival. Becoming a double agent for survival because his father could not escape from the lowest class in spite of hard-earned money, he was cruelly killed by the camp’s left-wing group. He represented the enervative individual who was victimized by the violence of war in the story. Whatever idea he chose, he could not help being killed by the violence of war, similar to the young who were accidentally dragged to the battlefields and brutally died. In addition, Han Min-ho’s wife and the women from the northern region were victims of the war, prostituting themselves to South Korean soldiers or P.O.W.s near the camp for their survival. The narrator perceived all of them as victims of the war, as the narrator was the only survivor in that situation, which made him feel guilty. Nevertheless, as you know, there is no reason for the survivors of the war to experience a guilty complex. He did accidentally survive in the madness of that carnage, and in memory he was very sorry to the dead for having survived. All his reactions to the situation of the war were abstract and ideal proceedings.

When one watches himself dying piece by piece, glancing at his interior of a damaged body without any light appearing in the end for raising one's confidence, can you appreciate the press of eternal time that is maintained till the end of the Earth? That is, the fact that the idea of eternal time pressing on man's soul! Whenever it is very real that even the melancholic remark "God is dead," who can maintain one's own existence in that situation? (Kang 1972:204)

By chance, it hit me that the phrase in Revelation, "they slander the Lord whose power causes this disaster and do not attribute the glory to the Lord, reforming themselves." In this world some people argue that we should live with dead bodies in reason rather than in error. They are fucking communists. I don't know what the reason is, but a reason that exists surrounded with dead bodies cannot truly be the reason, at least? (Kang 1972:96)

It's the unique reaction to the war that the narrator directed a long and boring interior monologue at the survivors of the war, while Byunggil spoke disruptively and Han Min-ho, who was a captain of the camp guards, preached. As the reference to Revelation revealed in the character's monologue and dialogue, the men understood that they could not comprehend the situation caused by the war. The excess of abstract talkativeness derived from the worldview was a form of a helpless reaction as the Koreans could not comprehend the war and the world at that time. It means that the trauma of the war in a survivor's interior led to a long interior monologue in the absence of anybody to talk to, while another preached tediously to somebody.

In the story the survivors were troubled by their guilty complex, which was the internal trauma of the survivors, without a break. Byunggil, who witnessed the misery of multiple deaths and the ruin of humanity caused by the war, committed suicide due to his fixation on atoning for his guilt and delusional sufferings. However, the narrator expressed the trauma of the war through an interesting dream.

As I breathed to the peak and discharged sperm like throwing away after I had lain down with her, my partner was not Agnesina but ridiculously a leghorn hen. Also the fucking place which I had known to be her room was actually some straw matting of my house barn... What, I copulated

with a hen!... It's a dishonor, really a dishonor!... the image of the hen let me call the wife of Han Min-ho who had been a prostitute for foreigners and a woman who had prostituted herself with the battalion's sanitary inspector. And the image made my cock erect, after which I was soon very depressed due to the disgust of my animal instinct. (Kang 1972:240-1)

We can find that the narrator could not escape from the trauma of the war. Even in the dream, he could freely imagine beyond the watch of the camp system. It means the shameless violence of the war that a 20-year-old young man's sexual desire was represented as being transformed into copulating with a hen in the dream. It also reflected the survivor's sense of guilt that the image of his sex partner appeared as Han's wife or the northern woman one by one. As the narrator could not clearly recognize why the war broke out and why the young could not help being condemned and dying in the battlefields, he always suffered a sense of guilt that was an inevitable result, as every survivor was thought to have been responsible for the tragic war. For the process of healing the narrator reminisced about the memory of the battlefields, the root of his trauma, and could not commit suicide like Byunggil or endure the inhuman situation in a cynical manner like Han Min-ho.

In *Long day's Journey into Night* the narrator reminisced successively from the Nakdong River combat on Aug. 31, 1950, to the life of the camp. This memorandum style signifies the way of overcoming his trauma. The writer could depict the realistic scene of wounded soldiers in the battlefields in a memorandum-style story which originated primarily from the writer's own personal experiences,³ for he had gained sufficient temporal perspective from the war.

These wounded soldiers of various and unusual sorts! One had both elbows severed; another with a wholly bloody face spouted a mass of blood from the mouth with every shout. After that he fell down rapidly. Another soldier with a broken neck, dangling freely, went on all fours. Some bit their arms strongly due to the extreme pain. A young soldier

3. The writer, Kang Yong-jun, participated in the war as a North Korean soldier at Nakdong River in 1950, and he became a P.O.W. after deserting his post at that time. He was held at Chungju, Dongrae, and Geoje prisoner of war camps for three years and then set free as an anti-Communist prisoner of war on June 18, 1953 (Jung 1998:151).

cried out, calling his mom fervently. A farmer-style soldier, with his jaw-bone split from his nose which fell apart from him, touched his jaw often with two hands for felling strange, but he died soon. What a mess, really! (Kang 1972:93)

In the paragraph above, as the writer realistically described the terrible scene of bloodshed on the battlefield, he intended to concretize the cruel images of the war that were a real story, improbable as it seemed, at that time through the memorandum style, including the writer's desire to overcome the trauma of the war.

Impossibility of Healing a Community After the War

It was not only at the frontline battlefields that the North and South Korean regular armies took a stand against each other. In the Korean War, irrespective of which army it was, when a military force moved, residents of the occupation zone were killed and wounded wretchedly according to which force was stationed at the village. Such civilian casualties were the most immediate and the greatest injuries suffered during the war. *The Revolution at Bangat-gol*, written by Oh Yu-Gueon, represents the damaged situations in which a rear village, not a frontline village, was swept over by the war.

It is a noticeable creation in this story that the reason for the carnage originated from the conflict among the village people before the war. The conflict between uptown and downtown was expressed in the first part of the story, which was shown as the reason for the carnage during the war. It was a new approach, which had not been shown in the "novels of postwar" from the 1950s, that the writer attempted to find the reason for the tragic war through exploring the internal history of the Korean Peninsula, although the work did not extend to examining the actual facts of the division and the class conflict and contradiction of social structure covered in the historical development.

There was a latent conflict in which the uptown villagers looked down upon the downtown villagers and had "joined in giving them a drubbing for killing time" for generations at Bangat-gol. So the downtown villagers had gotten increasingly angry at the uptown villagers. After the war broke out, a blood bath began as the uptown villagers became the right-wing and the downtown villagers became the left-wing. Deuk-bo and Man-ho, being partisans, intended to

“clean up the uptown villagers first” if it were possible. And Gi-nam, who just barely escaped death for the carnage of a conversion from the communism federation (*bodo-yeonmaeng*), with heartburning listed Sun-tae’s and Geum-sun’s family for execution. Han-su, a South Korean army officer, killed 200 downtown villagers after expelling the North Korean Army and returning to Bangat-gol, not because they were suspected of helping partisans or the North Korean Army but as an act of revenge for the murder of uptown villagers. Because Min-u’s uncle was the chairman of the village People’s committee for communism, he had a “natural hatred” against the excessive greed of his uptown villager friends. The repetition of massive tit-for-tat retaliation caused by individual resentments continued without exception at Bangat-gol.

The members of the community aimed not only at the chosen ideology of each villager, but also at “survival” in the whirlpool of the carnage. The main character Sun-tae showed diverse and even slightly contradictory actions for “survival” during the war, which reflected the inevitable instinct of naïve farmers for “survival.” Sun-tae, the hero in this story, had put South police and North communists to good use for survival and as soon as the war was over, he used them to rebuild the village. He foresaw that the communists “looked very gentle in every procedure but hid a sword inside” (Oh 1962: 27) and found a means for survival. As the North Korean Army was stationed at the village he played an active part as a Partisan for a while by following Deuk-bo to ensure his and his family’s survival. When the South Korean police came back he was questioned and sent to the mountain as a spy. At this time he informed the police of some ‘moderate’ information of the Partisans to the degree that he did not fall into danger. Sun-tae’s aim during the war could be summarized as “pay attention to, otherwise be damaged! Survival, first of all!” (Oh 1962:72)

The naïve farmers did not believe that the reason for the war and the will of recognition about the situation was not solely for survival. Although they understood the tragedy of the village as being related “to the situation” passively and inevitably, they strongly intended to rebuild the damaged village. This indicates that they believed in the sense of a closed village community, and that the individual’s survival equals the existence of the village. As we can see in the case of Sun-tae, members of a rural community who were able to survive by escaping from the violence of the war tried hard to reconstruct their destroyed village for their future. Nevertheless, the novel seems to suggest that they proceeded impractically with the recovery of the village.

The recovery of the village focused on developing a friendly settlement

between the uptown villagers and the downtown villagers as the mass murder was caused by the conflict between the two groups. Nearly the same number of people had been killed at each village during the war so they thought it was unnecessary to try to determine which side was right or wrong. They all insisted that “we need to forget the miserable past for the benefit of the future” in the long run (Oh 1962:233). First, for the friendly settlement and rebuilding of the town, they mixed blood through marriage between uptown and downtown villagers, which increased the population of the village. Sun-tae (downtown villager) married seven uptown widows and Seokman (uptown villager) married five downtown widows. This cross marriage aimed at preventing the town widows from leaving the village and allowed the war orphans to be brought up in a new community. The war destroyed the organization of human relationship and generated serious hatred which broke down the traditional social values in the town and directly caused the tragic experiences suffered by the town members. However, the newly-made family community was designed to fix the tragedy of the war idealistically in this story. Even if the traditional internal conflict retained in the town exploded with massive cross retaliation during the war, the town could be unified by the cross marriages between the uptown and downtown villagers after all. The writer, working in the 1960s, really longed to heal the trauma, even though the way of the recovery was impractical.

It was not presented in “novels of postwar” in the 1950s that the reason for the massive murder originated from the conflicts between villagers before the war or that the survivors eagerly wanted to rebuild the town destroyed during the war by reconstructing a new family community. It was possible that writers had gained some temporal perspective from the war and continuously groped for some creation from the despair. However, in *The Revolution at Bangat-gol* the process of idealistically healing the aftereffects did not include the critical recognition for the situational condition of the war. Even though it was a positive attempt to examine the cause of the tragic war based on the internal conflict that had lain dormant for generations, it could not illuminate the concrete reason based on a complete historical understanding and ended up concretizing an impractical recovery method. As in this story, the idealistic but unrealistic way of recovering the damage could be called emotionalism, and this form was repeated in “novels of division” during and after the 1960s. This approach was closely related to the “novels of division” from the 1970-80s, which dealt with the important issue of North and South Koreans forgiving and making peace with each other rather than obtaining a clear understanding of the historical facts

for the reason of the war.

Discovering the Will to Live: Considering the Ideology of the War

The point at which an individual has been compelled to choose life or death in the battlefield is a moment of existential scare. Therefore, the characters experienced the disaster of the war directly while trembling with fear and groped for only survival in the war stories. But Park Kyung-ri in his book entitled *Market and Battlefield* showed that certain characters underwent a change in their recognition and view of the world due to the tragic war and represented that they dealt with the war by accepting it positively as a part of their life. This novel concretized the main character as he recognized himself and the reason for his existence little by little, by undergoing the war as an historical event.

In the first half of the story Ji-young, being not all open and romantic, realized the reality of life and strengthened her will to live through the experience of the war. She gained a new position as a teacher at Yeon-an near the 38th parallel, but suffered from fastidiousness that originated from her young girl sentiment before the war. She disliked even the word 'love' as well as the trivial mistakes of her husband, Gi-seok. Examples are when he called her in Japanese in the past and cheated on the price in a bookstore or stole potatoes from another's field.

The market is the place where shining lights are glowing and loud voices become merry to the music to let a heart beat high joyfully. Every market-in any country or anywhere and anytime- has that music, even though it is not the Persia market which can take us to the fairytale world. The merry rhythm and the sweet melody are smiling at all. Somebody fights each other at times but when the market is closed they drink with each other loudly for peace, beating the tables cheerfully in a pub where the red lights come down. What is gained when they become enemies? They are just casual businesses who make friends with one another by chance.
(Park 1999:131)

She had a romantic mind inclined toward a young girl's taste and fantasy in fairytale. It was shown in her moral fastidiousness for her to express her dissatisfaction of the real world to her husband with hatred before the war. It was a

preparation to show the tense transition of the character's recognition with the scene of the war in which Ji-young started her new position as a teacher at Yeon-an. Namely, her journey from the front at Yeon-an to the rear at Busan meant that she would find the good will of living in acceptance of the concrete conditions, by escaping from the closed world view of her fastidiousness.

In feeling the actual fear of war until her evacuation to Seoul, she promised that she "would survive even with meanness and commit theft for survival"(Park 1999:201). As she came back home after her refugee life, she changed her character to a strong and sturdy mother and wife. When her disliked husband Gi-seok was imprisoned, she tried to have him released from the prison and devotedly sent private supplies for him. And she piggy-backed her mother and served a funeral for her mother who had been killed by a soldier's gun when she went out to the Han River side to get food. She sold a bunch of cloth at the market for their children as well. Even Ji-young thought herself to be "a stubborn and disgusting, as well as clever and scary, woman for survival."(Park 1962:161) She gained a new will to live by accepting the conditions of the war positively through her personal experiences of the war.

Ji-young strengthened her will to live by accepting the extreme conditions of her life positively through the experiences of the war, while as a communist, Gi-hun found his enthusiasm for ideology to be an untruth and a contradiction of the concrete experiences of the battlefields.

Gi-hun, who was the main character of the concretized battlefields in the story, was criticized by his mentor, Seok-san, and his mate, Jang Deok-sam, and a Partisan woman through each dialogue. This indicates that the ideology of the communists who caused the war took a wrong way at that time. The anarchist Seok-san, who was Gi-hun's mentor and respected Bakunin, insisted that "there were too many people not to be involved in any system, dictatorship of the bourgeois or dictatorship of the proletariat" and that "true liberation of soul" was important, as Gi-hun emphasized class liberation through "fanaticism, expediency and violence"(Park 1999:298). Moreover, Jang Deok-sam criticized the intellectual communists who "had a cruel enthusiasm for revolution" and a Partisan woman insisted that "Communists must gather the power of the revolution based on devotion to the people" while she spoke about the case of Officer Cho who had converted to communism for love (Park 1999:265). As they all insisted above, communists who had stressed the need for the people's liberation were criticized for destroying the dominant principle as well as being absorbed in violence against human rights.

Although Gi-hun criticized those who had pointed out the critique of communism and the blindness of communists, he, as a communist and one who even thought that “Seok-san is wonderful when he said that” and “Jang Deok-sam looks ridiculous like a fool” and “women are hateful,” was ironically revealed to have doubts about his ideology and the aim of the war through the above quotes. Namely the remarks of Seok-san, Jang Deok-sam, and the Partisan woman were not only the voice of the doubts in Gi-hun’s mind but also his understanding of the reason of the war as he suffered the irony of realizing that he could not help experiencing the extreme dehumanization and, in fact, would fail in achieving his aim to liberate the people through the war.

Gi-hun acted externally according to the consciousness of communism but after he met Ga-hwa, who was his lover and became a Partisan in the mountain after meeting him, his internal doubts about communism began to appear in the mountain. He even betrayed his comrades in order to get her out of the mountain. As Ga-hwa was exposed while attempting to flee, Gi-hun shot and killed a chasing man and she was also shot in the last scene, which shows symbolically that Gi-hun had changed his thoughts of communism and his attitude according to this.

Compared with *Square* which presented an inspection of the ideology of the Korean War, *Market and Battlefield* might have been understood as a criticism of communism which did not describe the real North Korean conditions but only the exchange of ideological statements. But the novel has structural powers that concretized the struggle between different class characters, compared with *Square*, and its narration of the interior monologue through Gi-hun, who had acted as a North Korean Army officer in the middle of the war and who had been criticized by each different character concerned. *Market and Battlefield* has been depicted as expounding the transition of the characters’ outlooks on the world during the war. These are the positive sides to the war experience related to the valuable will to live discovered by Ji-young and the falsity of communism realized by Gi-hun, by distancing themselves from the trauma of the war.

Significance of Battlefield Novels

This article has examined three novels which represented battlefield scenes of the Korean War and were published in the 1960s. In that decade, these novels had been relatively neglected in the history of modern Korean novels, although

the acceptance of the literary expressions based on the novelists' war-experiences has come to be recognized as an important research theme.

The Korean War affected Koreans in their lives that were oppressed like nightmares. The writers in the 1950s showed a sense of doubt, defiance, and despair in the 'novels of postwar' which reflected that they could not be relieved of the oppression of their war experiences. Moreover, the writers in the 1970-80s represented the present lives of the nation totally after the war in order to settle the sharp contradiction inherent in the divided nation in "novels of division." The novels published in the 1960s concretized the war experiences with battlefields established in a fictional time-space and attempted to gain some distance from the trauma of the war. Namely, sufficient distance was gained in order to achieve the perspective in which the historical war could be viewed as a fictional backdrop, as well as to begin to understand what the war was and why it occurred. This could only be achieved by a certain estrangement from the war, so that the full-scale battlefield scenes were fictionalized in the long novel form in the 1960s.

In *Long day's Journey into Night* by Kang Yong-Jun, as the narrator could not clearly recognize why the war had broken out and why the young could not help being condemned to death by dying on the battlefields, he always suffered from his sense of guilt that was the inevitable result in which every survivor was thought to have been responsible for the tragic war. As the writer realistically described the terrible scenes of bloodshed on the battlefield, he intended to concretize the cruel images of the war that were not probable, but a real story at that time, through the memorandum style, including the writer's desire to overcome the trauma of the war.

It was not presented in "novels of postwar" in the 1950s that the reason for the massive murder originated from the conflicts between villagers before the war or that the survivors eagerly aimed to rebuild the towns destroyed during the war by reconstructing a new family community. It was possible that writers had gained some temporal perspective from the war and continuously groped for some creation from the despair. However, in *The Revolution at Bangat-gol*, the process of idealistically healing the aftereffects did not include the critical recognition for the situational condition of the war. Even though it was a positive attempt to examine the cause of the tragic war, based on the internal conflict that had lain sleeping for generations, it could not reveal the concrete reason based on a complete historical understanding and ended up concretizing an impractical way of recovery. As in this story, the idealistic but unrealistic way of recovering

the damage could be called emotionalism, a form that was repeatedly shown in “novels of division” during and after the 1960s. This approach was closely related to the “novels of division” from the 1970-80s that dealt with the important issue of North and South Koreans forgiving and making peace with each other rather than obtaining a clear understanding of the historical facts for the reason of the war.

In *Market and Battlefield* Park Kyung-ri showed that certain characters undergoing the tragic war changed their recognition and worldview which was represented by the manner in which they dealt with the war, by accepting it positively as a part of their life. This novel concretized the main character as he recognized himself- and the reason for his existence- little by little, by undergoing the war as an historical event. The novel has structural powers that concretized the struggle between different class characters, compared with *Square* and its narration of the interior monologue, through Gi-hun who had acted as a North Korean Army officer in the middle of the war and who had been criticized by each different character concerned. *Market and Battlefield* has been depicted as showing the transition of the characters’ outlooks on the world during the war.

Most Koreans underwent an advance during the April Revolution of 1960 from which they gained the experience necessary to give them a fresh perspective on the recent historical situations. As they escaped from the feeling of being victimized that was caused by the war, novels seriously started to instigate the important process of developing a reasonable understanding of the war in the 1960s. The novels that concretized the battlefields of the war in the 1960s should be considered valuable as important linking works between “novels of postwar” and “novels of division,” and as extending beyond the division era in the history of modern Korean novels. Also, by depicting battlefield experiences, these novels evoke readers’ sympathies with the protagonist’s “need to survive” and can be understood as allegories of Korean society in the context of the slogan and movement in the 1960s to “Industrialize Korea.”

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Materials on Korean Studies

**Culture in Documents from the Joseon
Dynasty and *Euigwe* (儀軌)**

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Culture in Documents from the Joseon Dynasty and *Euigwe* (儀軌)

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What is *Euigwe*?

During the Joseon dynasty, *euigwe* (儀軌), short for ceremonials (儀式) and standards (軌範), was created as a scripture-standard (典範) for significant national events for use by future generations. By making and referring to a standard model, the royal family and aristocratic people could prevent mistakes from happening at later occasions. *Euigwe* was a ceremonial report; in particular, the documentary paintings function as today's photographs or videotapes, delivering such various visual information that they show us our ancestors' efforts to write and pass on the record of the royal lives at the time.

When there was a significant royal ceremonial, such as a king's marriage, appointment of a Crown Prince, royal court parties, royal funerals or palace construction, the data of the procedures and related information were collected, and a temporal bureau created *euigwe* with the collected information after the significant event was over. The ceremonial was not complete until all the steps had been finished including the set-up of the bureau, the writing of the report, and the report to the king.

Euigwe shows the types of previous ceremonials and the standards so that the descendents could properly carry out any significant national or royal ceremonials. The main ceremonials were general events or ceremonials of the royal household, such as marriages, the appointment of Crown Princes, enthronements, royal funerals, rituals, court parties, royal archery, enshrinement of the king's or prince's placentas, the king's honored leaving of the palace, palace

constructions, the king's or queen's encouragement for agriculture and silkworm growing, and formal receptions for Chinese envoys.

The most outstanding point of *euigwe* is its detailed description. While *euigwe* describes the whole procedure of an event, it contains all information including the list of the people who attended the event and materials which were consumed and not consumed so that they could try to make the event politically and financially clean. Another point is the paintings or pictures included. *Euigwe* is also a picture book which used explanatory pictures of the whole procedure and illustrations of various palace buildings or materials used at the event. The pictures were usually in color, so we can imagine what the real events were like, and we can see the details of the used materials, which is not available in any written documentation now. Therefore, *euigwe* is a master report of an event containing written and drawn information.

According to *The History of the Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮王朝實錄), *euigwe* was first used in the early period of the dynasty. Since most *euigwe* were lost through wars like the Japanese invasion in 1592 and the Qing invasion in 1636, they no longer exist. But some from the later part of the Joseon dynasty are kept at Kyujanggak (奎章閣), Jangseokak (藏書閣), the National Museum at Paris, and the Bureau of the Japanese Royal Palace.

Based on its rarity, elaborateness, and over 300 years of history and consistency, in 2006 the Korean government requested that *euigwe* be listed in the World Record Treasure. On June 14, 2007, *euigwe* from Kyujanggak and Jangseokak became a World Record Treasure, which means the value of *euigwe* is understood around the world.

Making and Safekeeping

1. Making *Euigwe*

A temporal bureau called *dogam* (都監) was first set up in order to create *euigwe*. *Dogam* had many names based on the nature of events: *garye* (嘉禮) *dogam* for a royal marriage, *chaekrye* (册禮) *dogam* for an appointment of a king's enthronement or the Crown Prince, *kukjang* (國葬) *dogam* for a royal funeral, *yungjeop* (迎接) *dogam* for a formal reception for foreign envoys, and *yunggun* (營建) *dogam* for construction of palaces. They were like today's organizing committees for the Olympics or World Cup games.

Dogam was usually, and temporarily by nature, operated and controlled by government officials from other bureaus. The *dogam* system was as follows: *dojejo* (都堤調) was the head appointed among the ministers; three or four *jejo* (提調) appointed among the chiefs of Six Boards; two or three practical managers, or *docheong* (道廳); four to eight *nangcheong* (郎廳); and six *gamjogwan* (鑑造官) who were supervisors. Under them, there were several administrative officials, such as *sanwon* (算員), *noksa* (綠事), *seori* (書吏), *seosa* (書士), *gojiki* (庫直), and *saryeong* (使令). Supervisors and practical managers were distributed fairly and the number of people was flexible for the size of the event.

First, each *dogam* made a master procedure by day (deungrok, 謄錄) to set up *euigwe*. Five to nine copies of *euigwe* were usually made. The one for the king was sent to Kyujangkak (after King Kojong, more than two copies were made for the emperor and the prince) and the other copies were sent to the related institutions like Euijeongbu (議政府), Chunchugwan (春秋館), Yejo (禮造), and historical archives. Jeongjoksansang (鼎足山上) or Odaesansang (五臺山上) are written on the cover of the ones which we see today, telling us that they were sent to the archives on mounts Jeongjok and Odae.

2. Safekeeping *Euigwe*

Historical archives kept important documents such as *The History of the Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮王朝實錄), as well as *euigwe*. The archive had *sunwonbokak* (璿源寶閣) which kept documents on royal family and *sakak* (史閣) which kept historical records. There was always a temple for guarding near the archive. On the 1872 Mujubu map, there is a detailed picture of the historical archive on Mount Juksang. The names and locations of the main buildings of the archive are on the map, such as the guard temple, Chambongjeon, and Gungicheong. The archive building is two stories and the building's double firewall protected it from fire.

Since Joseon era maps always have historical archives, it means that people thought that the archives were very important. It is easy to see this since one of the best painters in the late Joseon era, Kim Hongdo, included the archive of Mount Odae in his painting of landscapes from Korea's middle eastern section. However, no one paid attention to the historical archives during the Japanese colonial period and the period afterwards. Fortunately, the four main historical archives of the late Joseon dynasty are being restored.

Once *euigwe*, just like an authentic record of history (實錄), was made, it was sent to Chunchugwan and four different local historical archives. In fact, the

archives kept not only *The History of Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮王朝實錄), but the royal genealogy, *Sunwonbo* (璿源譜), and history records, geographical books, decorum books such as *Goryeosa* (高麗史), *Dongkuktonggam* (東國通鑑), *Yeojiseungram* (輿地勝覽), and *Dongmunseon* (東文選).

The system of the Joseon historical archives made a radical change after the Japanese invasion. In the early Joseon period, the system had been inherited from Goryeo and there were two archives, one in Seoul's Chunchugwan and the other in Chungju. During King Sejong's reign, two archives were added in Seongju, Kyungsang Province, and Jeonju, Jeolla Province. The four archives of the early Joseon era were located in big cities, like Seoul and Eupchi (邑治), where there was always the possibility of fire and theft. During King Jungjong's reign, most of the books in one archive were lost to a fire caused from an attempt to catch the pigeons.

The probability of damage to the books became clearer during the Japanese invasion. All historical archives located on the Japanese invading routes were lost. Fortunately, with the help of the managing official of the archive, Oh Heegil in Jeonju, and the local Confucianists, Son Hongrok and An Eui, the books and records were carried to Mount Naejang and thereby saved. This experience precipitated the move of the records in the archives to be moved from the cities to the mountains. By separating the locations, the total loss of records could be avoided. The officials built the archives deep in the mountains to protect them from dangers, even though it was much more difficult to do so.

After the Japanese invasion, there were five historical archives, Chunchugwan in Seoul; Mount Mani in Kanghwa Island; Mount Myohyang in Youngbyeon, Pyungan Province; Mount Taebaek in Bonghwa, Kyeongsang Province; and Mount Odae in Pyeongchang, Kangwon Province. All the archives but Chunchugwan were located in the deep mountains for protection. Later the archive at Mount Myohyang was moved to Jeoksangsanseong (Jeoksang Castle) in Mount Jeoksang for protection from invasion of the Late Geum (Qing). After the archive at Mount Mani was badly damaged in the Qing's invasion and had a fire in 1653 (4th year of King Hyojong), it was moved to the archive at Mount Jeongjok in 1660 (1st year of King Hyunjong). Therefore, the local historical archives of the second half of the Joseon dynasty were at the following four mountains: Jeongjok, Jeoksang, Taebaek, and Odae. They remained at these locations until the end of the Joseon dynasty. Most of the *euigwe* at mounts Taebaek, Jeongjok, and Odae were moved to Kyujangkak at Seoul National University, and the records from Mount Jeoksang were moved to Jangseokak at

the Academy of Korean Studies.

The records were moved to protect them from foreign invasions. During several invasions safe places deep in the mountains had to be found. In addition, they placed a guard temple near the archive for protection. The places were not easily accessible, so they could prevent possible damage or accidents. Our ancestor's wisdom has made it possible for us to see the real *euigwe*.

Various Royal Ceremonials Written in *Euigwe*

Euigwe describes every detail of royal and national events or ceremonials for reference by future generations, so there were many kinds of *euigwe*. There were many which described a king's life. For *Taesil euigwe* (胎室儀軌) at first, when they had a newborn prince, the placenta was buried into the ground and the record of the procedures was *Wonja aghisi taesil euigwe* (元子阿只氏胎室儀軌). When they had a newborn prince, a burial place was selected and they made a small room for the burial of the placenta. Later when the prince acceded to the throne, the room was upgraded to a chamber surrounded by stones and the name was changed to *Taesil seoknankan jobae euigwe* (胎室石欄干造排儀軌).

When the baby became Crown Prince, *Saeja chaekryedogam euigwe* (世子册禮都監儀軌) and when the baby became the prime son of the Crown Prince, *Wangsaeson chaekryedogam euigwe* (王世孫册禮都監儀軌) was made respectively. As the appointment ceremony of the Crown Prince was an event for the heir of the throne, the king was formally dressed and the event took place in the main palace. The heir received a bamboo book (竹册) or *jadeseal* (玉印) as a symbol of inheritance.

Since most of the kings in the Joseon dynasty acceded to the throne during the funeral of the previous king, it was hard to find an enthronement *euigwe*. But Gojong had been a king and acceded to emperor, so an enthronement *euigwe* was made, which is *Gojong daerye euigwe* (高宗大禮儀軌) in 1897.

When there was a royal marriage, *Garyedogam euigwe* (嘉禮都監儀軌) was made. When they had a draft for a future queen or prince's wife, marriage throughout the country was prohibited and the draft had three steps, after that, there should be six steps of procedure to the royal marriage. Procedures of the draft, articles for marriage, the king's procedure of going out to take the queen were recorded and a colorful painting of the king's march to the new queen, *banchado* (班次圖), was included. A jade book (玉册) and golden jewelry (金寶)

were made for the symbols of marriage.

When a king or a queen died, *Kukjangdogam euigwe* (國葬都監儀軌), and when a crown prince or his wife was dead, *Yejangdogam euigwe* (禮葬都監儀軌) was made respectively. Written and described were the funeral procedure and the bier, funeral items and the grave goods in paintings. In addition to *Kukjangdogam euigwe* (國葬都監儀軌), *Binjeonhonjeondogam euigwe* (殯殿魂殿都監儀軌), and *Sanreungdogam euigwe* (山陵都監儀軌) were made, the former was for the procedures and materials from the king's or queen's death to the carriage of the bier and the latter was for the construction of the tomb. After three years of mourning, the king's body was moved to the main tomb (宗廟). The procedures were recorded in *Bumyodogam euigwe* (祔廟都監儀軌).

Hweekyungwon wonsodogam euigwe (繼慶園園所都監儀軌), which was brought from France by the president, was about the death and the funeral of Ms. Park (綏嬪 朴氏) who was the wife of King Yeongjo and mother of King Sunjo. Here, 'Wonso' (園所) refers to a tomb or a grave of a king's concubine, a crown prince or his wife, which is the different term 'reung' (陵) for a king's or queen's tomb.

Joseon was an agricultural country. The king did farming himself and the queen grew silkworms, thus the royal house encouraged more agriculture. *Chingyung euigwe* (親耕儀軌) recorded the king's farming in the field and the royal ladies' silkworms. *Yungjeopdogam euigwe* (迎接都監儀軌) was recorded when the king had a formal reception with Chinese envoys. Throughout the Joseon dynasty, the foreign relationship with China was important and the government paid much attention to the reception. When a Chinese envoy visited Joseon, the temporal bureau Yungjeopdogam (迎接都監) was set up and many managing departments for the reception were operated. For the *euigwe* related to the reception, we have *Dochung euigwe* (都廳儀軌), *Mimyunsaek euigwe* (米麪色儀軌) about food and supplies, and *Sajaechung euigwe* (賜祭廳儀軌) about the funeral address and things to do for the late king.

Euigwe was made when there was a major national publication. *Sillokcheong euigwe* (實錄廳儀軌) for a *sillok* (chronicle, 實錄), *Dongkuksinsoksamganghaengsilchanjipchung euigwe* (東國新續三綱行實撰集廳儀軌) for *Samganghaesildo* (三綱行實圖), *Cheoneisogamchansucheong euigwe* (闡義昭鑑纂修廳儀軌) for *Cheoneusogam* (闡義昭鑑) and *Kukjobogamgamincheong euigwe* (國朝寶鑑鑑印廳儀軌) for *Kukjobogam* (國朝寶鑑). They were all important records for the major publications and a great reference for future generations.

There was also *Yeonggeondogam euigwe* (營建都監儀軌), describing the procedures for the construction of palaces and castles. The construction skills, materials, and method of recruiting were recorded enabling us to restore these palaces and castles. For example, *Hwaseongseongyok euigwe* (華城城役儀軌) was a record of the construction of the castle at Hwaseong (now Suwon). The castle began collapsing during Japanese colonialism and was destroyed during the Korean War. But the Korean government restored the castle using *euigwe* in 1975. In addition, Hwaseonghaenggung was restored at the center of the city, using *euigwe* as the main reference.

Other *euigwe* are *Jinchan euigwe* (進饌儀軌) and *Jinyeon euigwe* (進宴儀軌) for the celebration of royal parties; *Eojindosadogam euigwe* (御眞圖寫都監儀軌) for the painting of the king's portrait; and *Daesarye euigwe* (大射禮儀軌) for the king and subject's archery competition at Sungkyunkwan. Generally when a formal, national, or royal event was held, *euigwe* was made to tell the reality of palace life during the Joseon dynasty.

Recently with the help of information from *euigwe*, royal rituals and ceremonies have been restored by the Bureau of Cultural Assets and local governments. Our ancestor's efforts to record are now recognized and understood.

Glory and Hardship of Oe-kyujangkak *Euigwe*

One *euigwe* that is drawing attention from the public is *Oe-kyujangkak euigwe*, which was once kept at Oe-kyujangkak in Kangwha Island, stolen by the French army in 1866, and now kept at the Paris National Library.

King Jeongjo (22nd Joseon king) ascended to the throne in 1776 when he was 25. The first thing he did as king was build Kyujangkak. He needed an institution for keeping the former kings' writings and books. During King Sejong's reign, Yang Seongji insisted that Kyujangkak be built but the idea was discarded. Later, to keep the former kings' writings and pens, Sukjong had a small building built near Jongbusi (宗簿寺) which controlled royal administrative affairs, and he named it Kyujangkak and wrote the tablet himself and hung it in front of the building.

King Jeongjo had set a motto for governance, saying *gyejisulsa* (inherit the former king's will and solve the problems). Kyujangkak had been set up by the former king's will, so he tried to keep it and make his governing stronger. After a while, King Jeongjo had Oe-kyujangkak built on Kanghwa Island, probably

because he was unsure of the safety of important documents when they were kept in the palaces.

In February 1782, a report of construction completion for ‘Kanghwado Oe-kyujangkak’ was received by the king, thirteen months after the king’s command. From then on, major documents, including royal writings, were systematically kept and arranged. More than 100 years after that, Oe-kyujangkak has been a precious treasury for the royal culture of the second half of the Joseon dynasty. According to *Kyujangkak-ji*, written in 1784, Oe-kyujangkak had six units of rooms and was located at the east of a temporary place (Hanggung, 行宮).

After King Injo, a temporary place and a building for the royal family were built in Kanghwa Island and the royal documents were kept in a separate storage. Oe-kyujangkak was built for better safety. So Oe-kyujangkak was located away from the main palace and functioned as a branch of Kyujangkak. This is why it is called ‘Oe-kyujangkak or Kyujangoekak’.

The importance of Kyujangkak began to be recognized after King Jeongjo because it kept important records and documents from the second half of the Joseon dynasty. Royal documents such as king’s memoirs, king’s pens, and *euigwe* were kept in Oe-kyujanangkak.

Most *euigwe* for the king’s reference were sent to Oe-kyujangkak. After the king’s reference, they were kept in Kyujangkak and moved to Oe-kyujangkak, after it was built in 1781. *Euigwe* for the king’s reference was written on quality paper (草注紙) and *sajagwan* (寫字官) elaborated to make the letters and surround them with red lines to show the king’s authority. The binding was glamorous, too. It was bound by brass hinges, and *wonwhan* (圓環) or five *kukhwadong* (菊花童) were used. The cover was silk. For a normal *euigwe*, normal paper was used and black lines were surrounded and the cover was hemp. For the binding, *jeonchul* (正鐵) and three *bakeuljung* (朴乙丁) were used.

Below are tables with the basic materials used for a king’s *euigwe* and a normal *euigwe*.

After the glory of Jeongjo’s reign, Oe-kyujangkak was totally destroyed during the French Army’s attack in 1866. The French army had once occupied Kanghwa Island and while they retreated from the strong counterattack of the Joseon forces, they stole our cultural treasury from Oe-kyujangkak. The French Army must have been attracted to the colorful and glamorous appearance of *euigwe*. This is probably why they mostly stole documents related to *euigwe*. Over 340 copies of books were stolen and the building was destroyed by a fire. It

Table 1 King's *Euigwe*

	Material	Unit
Cover	green	2 chuk 2 chon
Title	white	length 7 chon, width 1 chon
Honghyup	red	length 7 chon, width 5 phun
Paper	green quality paper	2 jang
Back Cover	jade colored paper	1 jang
Edges	Duseok	
Other	Kukhwadong, Bakcheolwonhwan	

From *Yeongjo jeongsunhu garyedogam euigwe* (英祖貞純后嘉禮都監儀軌), which was made in 1795 (35th year of King Yeongjo).

Table 2 Normal *Euigwe*

	Material	Unit
Cover	hongjungpo	2 chuk 2 chon
Baejogam	white paper	6 jang
Myunjigam	normal paper	2 jang
Back Cover	jade colored paper	1 jang
Other	jeongchul, byunchul, bakchulwonhwan, hapkyomal	hapkyomal 3 seung

is said that 297 *euigwe* are now kept in France.

The stolen *Euigwe* didn't attract public attention until the French president announced that French was returning *Hweekyungwon wonsodogam euigwe* (慶慶園園所都監儀軌) to Korea, which had been stolen by the French Army in 1866. When it was returned, people were surprised by its wonderful appearance and the archival skills of the French. But most of all, the original materials were so great and qualified ones that the life could last long. We can see our ancestor's great skill and efforts to keep documents well.

The French Navy officer, Juber, said that "It is surprising to see these precious documents and most pride hurting thing is that everywhere in Joseon there are books, even if he or she is very poor." The Joseon people loved books and on top of the book-loving culture, we had Kyujangkak and Oe-kyujangkak.

Oe-kyujangkak's restoration has recently been completed. Though it doesn't have the glory and dignity of the old times, we can recognize and understand the

meaning of the place for the late Joseon's documentary culture.

Euigwe's Value as a Document

It is difficult to find a document like *euigwe* even in China or Japan. It is a typical and unique Korean tradition. The purpose of *euigwe* is to help future generations make fewer errors at national events, so they contain information about the events; a list of attendees along with their personal information, materials and items used including their size, color, nature, and more for buildings, location, structure, materials and purchase places were contained in the paintings.

The information in *euigwe* suggests various and detailed historical records to national history scholars. Scholars studying old clothing can investigate the clothing in the paintings of *euigwes* carefully, and scholars studying palace food can pay attention to the food in the *euigwe* paintings. Scholars studying traditional music can get information and architects studying old architecture can study materials and scripts. Official letters and details of materials used can help one study Joseon dynasty life. According to the record of the official letters, it is possible to catch and understand the Joseon bureaus and their functions. It is even possible to figure out the prices at the time through the investigation of the wages and materials.

Original Korean words help Korean language research. Korean words were written in Chinese characters and we can figure out the words at the time. These words were used at that time as well and make us comfortable with the information. Above all, we can see the labor and efforts of writing and recording. Every detail was recorded, even the fact that after an event was over, the left over materials were returned. The material's sizes, colors, and nature were written. The painters' names were written so that they could feel proud. Through this detailed and exhaustive effort to write down everything, they tried to make the event clearer, both politically and financially. A lot of paintings in *euigwe* tell us a more lively Joseon life.

It is possible that *euigwe* can change the prejudice that Joseon people were conservative, or that they were not active to changes. The exhaustiveness of *euigwe* tells us our ancestors' pride and activeness. Additionally, we can see their efforts to be politically transparent by letting people know every step of the event. *Euigwe* can send a big message of implication when, today, we cannot even see the previous president's governing records.

Euigwe is an important and precious documentary treasure showing the essence of the culture. It contains our ancestors' touch and everyday life. We can assume how an event or a ceremonial was and what the people involved were like thanks to their efforts.

In a time of globalization, it is important to have affection and passion for Korean things. *Euigwe* is proof that "the most traditional is the most global" and since they are global, we can show them to the entire world. It is certain that understanding and popularizing traditional treasures will make us more attentive to our traditional culture.

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Waegokdoen hanguk oeroun hanguk—300nyun dongan yureopi bon hanguk (Distorted Korea Lonely Korea—Korea seen by Europe for 300 years). By Lee, Ji-Eun. Seoul: Chaiksesang, 2006. 334 pp., 15,000 won.

Annette Hye Kyung Son Ek

Is it really true that Europeans in the early twentieth century dreamed that Korea was a country full of exotic things as a Western traveler had once described it in his travel account? If so, how had Europeans gotten such a speculative image of Korea? What were the reasons that Korea was internationally isolated around the turn of the last century? How was it possible that Korea became the major object of a power struggle among imperial powers, which could be divided up, all in accordance with their own interests? These are some of the research questions that the author Ji-Eun Lee attempts to provide answers to in his book *Waegokdoen hanguk oeroun hanguk—300nyun dongan yureopi bon hanguk* (Distorted Korea Lonely Korea—Korea seen by Europe for 300 years).

The major argument of Lee's book is that in order to find the answers to these questions it is necessary to go back to the mid-seventeenth century, a time when Europeans began 'preparing' the concept '*Hangukgwan*' (Western perception of Korea or Western image of Korea). In other words Lee analyzes systematically how the Western perception of Korea initially formed and subsequently transformed and finally provided justification to Japan for its colonization of Korea in the early twentieth century. From the start the author makes it clear the aim of his book is two-fold: "firstly, to clarify European imagination and desires, image and the content of knowledge on Korea, and secondly to consider the historical transformation on the perception of Korea that is the collection of the aforementioned elements, that at the same time has functioned as a framework for the Western perception of Korea throughout history" (pp. 21-22). Through this work the author wants to provide an opportunity to establish Korea as an important member in international society and wants us to think about our identity in order to establish our true identity in the future.

His main source of intellectual inspiration for writing this book, according to the author, was the works by the French author Michel Foucault as well as the Palestinian-American author Edward Said, who in turn was inspired for his famous book "Orientalism" by Foucault's works. With inspiration from these

two Western scholars, the author attempts to conduct a genealogical study on the concept of '*Hangukgwan*' by analyzing diverse works (literature, travel accounts, encyclopedias, history books, reports, geography books, and essays) written by Europeans about Korea over the past 300 years. In doing so the author searches for consistency in a discursive entity on Korea, similar to what Said had done in his book "Orientalism." The author, a professor of German language and literature, utilized mostly German sources, although he admits that other Western language sources should also be included in so far as his work concerns the European perception of Korea. In order to strengthen the reliability and objectivity of his arguments, the author frequently refers to drawings and pictures that had been vital for creating the image of Korea, a method used by early European experts on Korea when they attempted to confer reliability and objectivity to their descriptions of Korea.

Overall this book is substantially voluminous, consisting of seven chapters, not including the introduction, the process of finding and selecting data sources, and conclusion. Chapter one is the most important part of the book and covers the short period between 1655 and 1669, during which one can observe an 'impetus' for the formation of the discourse on Korea. The author analyzes in detail the works by three Western authors. They are the Italian Jesuit missionary/geologist Martino Martini who wrote the first European report on Korea in 1655; the German Jesuit missionary/mathematician/astrologist Johann Adam Schall von Bell who met the Korean Crown Prince Sohyun in Beijing; and finally, the Dutch sailor Hendrik Hamel who made an unexpected and involuntary visit to Joseon (as Korea was called at the time) due to a shipwreck and who escaped from Korea after thirteen years of captivity.

The author finds that the description of Korea by Adam Schall is more favorable and serious than the descriptions by Martini and Hamel. Unfortunately for the future image of Korea it is the negative descriptions of Korea by the latter two authors that came to provide the impetus for the formation of the discourse on Korea in later periods. Here we can see some traces of Foucault's influence on the reasoning of the author, which focuses not only on the dominant discourses that come to play a vital source for the discursive formation but also on expelled discourses that never happen to change the discursive formation. The author contends that the majority of subsequent works on Korea by Western writers can be seen as a series of processes that expand and reproduce those negative images of Korea that Martini and Hamel had set forth.

The author develops this thesis further in subsequent chapters. In chapter

two, covering the period from the year 1666 to the mid-eighteenth century, the author shows that the initial statements on Korea introduced by Martini and Hamel became further consolidated and institutionalized as the dominant discourses on Korea. Chapter three is a review of some German literature from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries in which the author wants to see if there is any trace for the discourse on Korea. Though the number of pieces of German literature on Korea in this period is few and far between, the author contends that this literature clearly reveals an image of Korea that is not very different from those that described “uncivilized tribes” in subtropical areas and that the image of Korea is much worse than the one proposed by the writers who initially formed the discourse on Korea.

In chapter four the author focuses on works about Korea by the German Japanologist Philipp Franz von Siebold. It is rather ironic that Siebold never set foot on Korean soil but still could produce an “authoritative” view on Koreans and Korean language by examining Korean immigrants in Japan. At this stage the author discerns an intimate and rich relationship between the perception of Korea as a scientific knowledge and the perception of Korea as a powerful discourse. It is during this period, according to the author, that Western perception of Korea is transformed from an initial imaginative discourse to a more ‘objective’ one. Chapter five covers the decade from 1870 to 1880 when European countries in their search for colonial expansion made a constant effort to open Korea, but without success. The author argues that this is also the period that the speculative image of Korea, created in the earlier period, became transformed into a more concrete discourse on Korea through a series of processes of repletion, revision, addition, and visualization.

Chapter six is the second most important part of the book and covers the period from 1882 to 1904, a time when all kinds of negative characteristic features ascribed to Korea exploded quantitatively and qualitatively due to the influx of Westerners after the opening of Korea for international trade. In order to effectively deal with such abundant sources on Korea, the author presents the discourse on Korea thematically. The themes he touches upon include reversion on object and subject, by which the author means Westerners take the position of observing Koreans and Koreans are presented through the eyes of Westerners; things Korean as an object of measurement by Westerners; backwardness of Korean political and social system and personality; analysis of Korean as a distinctive race; exposed female breasts and discrimination of females and the patriarchal system as a symbol for Korea’s backwardness; and disclosed female

costume as a symbol for Korea's isolationism. Some other themes the author deals with includes pre-modern transportation, currency, educational and military systems; peculiarity and exoticism of Korean daily life; the beauty of Korean nature but the filthiness in surroundings; the outdated medical system; widespread superstition and irrationality; and increasing discourses on militaristic expansion to Korea and colonization of Korea. Through the author's detailed discussion we can see the typical views about non-Western countries by Orientalists, which Said has powerfully argued in his book on Orientalism, that Westerners have the tendency to apply a binary method in describing things not Western. In the final chapter the author draws the conclusion that the long tradition of distorted images of Korea in Western culture effectively served as an implicit justification for Western powers' tacit endorsement of Japan's colonization effort of Korea during the years of 1905-1910.

I am of the opinion that the author was able to show successfully how '*Hangukgwon*' was formed and deformed through the imagination of Westerners for three centuries. However, we should also admit that the statements that the earlier Western writers had made on Korea do not totally lack some of the essences of Korean culture during the time when the Westerner visited Korea; therefore, we cannot say that they are "distorted" as the author of the book has argued. It should be remembered that nowadays temple stays in Korea are one of the most popular programs among Western visitors to Korea. However, Hamel had described temples and monasteries as places where immoral noblemen (*yangbans*) enjoyed themselves with whores and other company. Things certainly can change in the course of historical development. In any case, it is vitally important to remember the "distorted" image of Korea by outsiders is not an end in itself. As the author points out in the book we tend to accept the image created by Westerners as our true image and we are constantly looking at ourselves through the Western conceptual framework, which is similar to what happened to some Korean historians who analyzed Korean history by employing the colonial concept of history (*sikminsagwan*) created by Japanese historians. For this reason the book provides us an important opportunity to take a closer look at ourselves and to deliberate on our true identity.

One can criticize the contents of the book on the grounds that one sees only what one wants to see. Taken as a whole, it is nevertheless undeniable that Lee's book is a product of an extended academic research work and has reached the objectives he has set, drawing our attention to how Westerners have perceived Korea and Koreans during various historical epochs on the basis of what was

actually written during those time periods. I do believe the book can find readers not only among academicians but also among the general public. Lee Ji Eun is to be congratulated on his thought-provoking and interdisciplinary work on the Western perception of Korea.

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Korea in International Politics: 1945-1954. By Yoo Byong-yong. Seoul: Jimoondang, 2003. 234 pp., 25,000 won.

Lee Wan Bom

Since World War II, the problem of Korea has been directly connected with the politics of power states.¹ It is not an exaggeration to say that the problem of Korea is that it has been entrapped in the international politics of power states, and we cannot emphasize too much the influences of these power states on Korea. In this context, *Korea in International Politics: 1945-1954* is a literary effort dealing with the British policy toward the unification of Korea from World War II to the end of the Geneva political conference in 1954.

Britain handed over its position as the world's strongest power to the United States and the U.S.S.R. after World War II. Though Britain was geographically far away from Korea, it had always participated in the wartime summit talks that discussed postwar plans including the independence of Korea and at least indirectly participated in the problem of Korea. If trusteeship had been enforced on Korea after World War II, then Britain would have been one of the trustees along with China, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S. Therefore, the importance of Britain toward the problem of Korea should be highly evaluated even though it cannot be compared with the importance of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and China. Yoo Byong-yong's book is an achievement in arousing an interest in Britain's under-evaluated role by the academic world. Even during the Geneva political conference the argument about the problem of Korea didn't attract the attention of the academic world owing to the problem of Indo-China.² Despite several earlier publications on Britain's role in the problem of Korea, no satisfactory explanation regarding the British role has been offered. Therefore, the publication of Yoo Byong-yong's work can be said to be very valuable and meaningful.

1. For related works, see Kim Hak-jun's *The Problem of Korea and International Politics* (1975) and Cho Soon Sung's *Korea in World Politics, 1940-1950: An Evaluation of American Responsibility* (1967) and "United States Policy toward the Unification of Korea: 1943-1950." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959.

2. For further information, refer to Ra Jong-il's *Geneva jeongchihoedame gwanhan yeongu* (A Study on the Geneva Political Conference) Seongnam: Ilhaeyeonguso, 1988; and "Geneva jeongchihoedam: hoedamui jeongchi, April 26-June 15, 1954" (The Geneva Political Conference, April 26-June 15, 1954) in *Gohwangjeongchihakhoebo* 1 (Gohwang Political Journal 1) December 1997, pp. 65-86.

Each chapter has its own value as a separate thesis. Chapter 1 deals with British policies toward Korea from 1945, the end of World War II, until just before the outbreak of the Korean War. Chapter 2 surveys British policies during the Korean War. Chapter 3 discusses British efforts to accomplish its profits during the truce talks. Chapter 4 addresses the Korean situation just prior to the Geneva political conference and Chapter 5 precisely surveys the process of the Geneva political conference on the unification of Korea, centering on British policies.

Even British leftists, except the extremists, regarded the Korean War as a war incited by the U.S.S.R. Just as it joined in the Iraq War to maintain friendly relations with the United States and the moral authority of the United Nations, Britain participated in the Korean War because it thought it was justifiable to protect Korea from Communist aggression. Also, judging that a new era of the Cold War had begun, the British government wanted to solve the problem of Korea peacefully and avoid the escalation of a conflict between the East and the West. Therefore, Britain wanted the *status quo ante bellum* and persuaded the United States to return to the situation just before the war (the 38th parallel). Britain worried about the loss of its own interests in East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe because of the problem of Korea.

Cabinet members of the Foreign and Commonwealth offices including Ernest Bevin evaluated that China had joined the Korean War for the sole purpose of defense and without the intention of aggression. Thus, Britain maintained its prewar argument continuously even during the Korean War that Taiwan should be returned to the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of China should be admitted to the United Nations. Britain held on to a different position from that of the United States

Because it can explain why the division of the Korean Peninsula hasn't collapsed yet, it is very important to survey why an agreement couldn't be reached on the unification of the Korean Peninsula at the Geneva political conference. During the truce negotiations, the Korean government opposed a cease-fire and made five-item demands including nothing less than the surrender of the Communists. The Korean government was always against the truce talks and preferred increasing conflicts, which was contrary to Britain's desire for the status quo. President Syngman Rhee judged that he could expel the Communists through a war; his unification theory was strongly anti-communistic. He had a firm belief in armed unification and thought that the unification of the Korean Peninsula should be achieved through this war. Nevertheless, President Rhee

couldn't do anything but adapt to the policies of the power states. From the beginning of the Geneva political conference, it didn't seem possible that an agreement could be reached on the problem of the Korean Peninsula. Since both sides had enormous differences of opinion, only the abandonment of negotiations by one side could have ended the conference. Meanwhile, even the United Nations forces were not of one accord. There were a variety of opinions among them and there was a serious discord of opinion between the governments of Britain and Korea. The concern about the organization of the United Nations Commission which was entrusted to watch the withdrawal of foreign forces and the national election in Korea is one such example. South Korea argued that the election should be held only in North Korea, but other countries including Britain maintained that the election should be held in both the North and the South. At the conclusion of the Geneva political conference, Winston Churchill judged that there weren't any changes to British policies. In spite of discussions about the unification of Korea at the Geneva political conference, no fruitful agreement could be reached and British policies remained unchanged. Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary, couldn't solve the problem of the unification of Korea either. However, with British foreign policies aimed at finishing the military confrontation in the Far East, it can be said that the Geneva political conference was a British victory. Pyun Yung Tae, chief of the Korean delegation, criticized Anthony Eden for taking advantage of the Commonwealth states for the benefit of Britain. The Korean delegation tried to solve the problem of Korea contrary to Britain's way.

Reviewing the British policies on the problem of Korea from World War II to 1954, British political leaders didn't want to make an effective policy on the unification of the Korean Peninsula. Britain argued that the United Nations didn't participate in the Korean War for the purpose of armed unification and had to withdraw its forces from Korea after expelling the aggressor and regaining the status quo. Distinguishing a military purpose from a political one, Britain maintained that the unification of Korea should be achieved from a political point of view and not a military one. Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared publicly on July 30, 1953 that the unification of Korea couldn't be achieved in the near future. Britain wanted to prevent the problem of Korea from escalating into a worldwide conflict between the East and the West. Britain regarded the problem of Korea as a partial solution to the conflict and a case of status quo rather than as a task to solve all international conflicts. Britain wanted to localize the Korean War and make it a restrictive conflict, which meant nothing more than an event.

It is a naive view not to recognize the true nature of foreign power and that Britain might have approached the problem of the unification of Korea with an attachment and a pity. Britain intervened in the problem of Korea for its own national profit and approached the problem in its own way. As was indicated by the author, Britain would have always followed its own national profit when its policy makers were forced to choose either an ideal and moral solution to the problem of Korea or a plan faithful to its own national profit. So would the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, and Japan. When investigating foreign influences in international politics, adhering to a closed nationalistic and chauvinistic view would lead to a self-centered and distorted understanding and result in failing to face the grim reality of international politics. Though the process of being a victim of a Cold War between the United States and the U.S.S.R., the process of division from the viewpoint of international politics would be considered very absurd to Koreans, but must be admitted as the grim reality of international politics. Such a deep and objective argument about an individual state like Britain as was shown in this book could be very important to overcoming the division and achieve unification on the Korean Peninsula. The conclusion is a very painful lesson: South Korea couldn't change British policies and was allowed to take advantage of the situation only within the limits of the profits of power states, even though it did its best to have Britain affect the policies of power states. We must not simply deplore this painful lesson. If we study the grim reality of international politics seriously and try to extend national power at the same time, Korea, without a doubt, will play a leading role in 21st century international politics.

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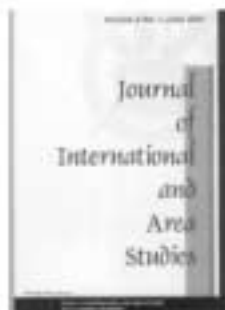
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