

# The State of Modern Korean Literary Studies and Its Problems: A Focus on Theoretical Issues in Korea

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## Introduction

In 1995, Korea celebrated its Fiftieth Anniversary of Liberation of Chosŏn (or Korea, before the North-South division) from the Japanese occupation. Many events were held in the Republic of Korea (hereinafter South Korea) to commemorate the anniversary. Most of us can probably remember that on August 15 of the same year, the South Korean government started to demolish the former Japanese Government-General Building in Seoul.

At the time, what drew my attention were the successive publications focused on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Liberation, especially the three books listed below. (Unless otherwise noted, the literary works referred to hereinafter were originally published in Korean in Seoul. Also, the English translation of the title of the book will be provided.)

Kim Yŏng-shik, *Abŏji P'ain, Kim Tong-hwan: Kŭi saeng'aewa munhak* [My Father, Kim Tong-hwan: His Life and Literature], Kukhak Community Corp., 1994.

Kim Pok-hŭi, *Abŏji P'albong, Kim Ki-jin'gwa naŭi shinang* [My Father P'albong, Kim Ki-jin and My Faith], Chŏng'usa, 1995.

Kim Se-wŏn, *Naŭi abŏji Kim Sun-nam* [Our Father, Kim Sun-nam], Nanam Publishing House, 1995.<sup>1</sup>

Both Kim Tong-hwan and Kim Ki-jin were literary figures, and Kim Sun-nam was an active composer in the South right after the Liberation but had crossed over the North in 1948. He composed the music for "Inmin hangjaengga" (People's Song of Struggle) written by Im Hwa. All the books listed above were written by the authors' children. Two of the writers mentioned above, however, are classified as pro-Japanese (collaborators or sympathizers), or proletariat writers. The composer is a

cultural personality who defected to the North. Since the labels *ch'inilp'a* or *shin-nichi-ha* (pro-Japanese), the discussion of “proletariat literature,” and “Northern defector,” were for a long time considered taboo in South Korea. The descendents and families of these artists were forced to keep a low profile, and lead quiet lives.

More specifically, Kim Tong-hwan was a poet and a journalist. One of his well known poems entitled, “Kukkyōng'ūi pam” [Night on the Country's Border] (Hansōng Publishing House, 1925), was the first full-length epic poem in the history of modern Korean poetry. Towards the end of the colonial period, Kim complied with the *sōshi kaimei* (the Japanization of Korean names, ordered by the Japanese colonial government) and changed his name to “Shiroyama Seiju” and left many pro-Japanese literature and writings. During the Korean War, he was abducted to the North and since then, what became of him is unknown. Kim Sun-nam was a cultural figure within the South Korean Communist Party (Namjosōn nodongdang) who was purged later by the North for having collaborated with the Japanese government before the Korean War.

Kim Ki-jin was the only one who remained in the South until his death. From 1921–22, he studied at Rikkyo University in Japan where he was strongly influenced by Asō Hisashi and became interested in the Japanese labor movement. While in Japan, he learned of the Clarté Movement through the journal *Tane maku hitobito* [The Sowers]. Since he returned to Korea in 1923, he became an instrumental figure in spreading the knowledge of this movement. He was also involved in the founding of KAPF (in Esperanto, Korea Artista Protela Federatio; and in English, Korean Proletariat Artist Federation).

Of these three writers, Kim Ki-jin was the only one who was able to protect his social standing within the literary circle throughout his life. Towards the end of the colonial period, however, even he complied with the *sōshi kaimei* and changed his name to Kanemura Happō and remained active in literary circle. As a result, his name appears in the *Ch'inil munhagin 42 in* [Forty-Two *Ch'inilp'a* (Pro-Japanese) Intellectuals], published on August 14, 2002, by some nationalist groups, such as the Korean National Literary Writers Conference and Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities.<sup>2</sup>

The descendents of these writers tried to regain the social honor of

their fathers and began to publish various biographies and posthumous reminiscences of their fathers who were ostracized from the South Korean society for their pro-Japanese activities, defection to the North, or involvement with the Proletariat literature movement. People couldn't even mention their name or their works. Their life and their works were all conditioned and defined by their "collaboration" with the Japanese colonizers.<sup>3</sup>

Among the writers who defected to the North, some lent themselves to pro-Japanese behavior towards the end of the colonial period. As a result, they were unable to stay in the South after the Liberation and had to defect to the North. For these people, defection to the North was an extension, or unavoidable consequence, to their previous pro-Japanese acts and stance as Japan sympathizers.

Having suffered the stigma of *ch'inilp'a* all their life, it is only understandable that the families of these writers wanted to take the opportunity of the fiftieth year celebration since the Liberation to beg forgiveness for their fathers' "sins" and restore honor to their works.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, some measures were taken by the South Korean government between 1987 and 1988 to reexamine and re-evaluate the "Northern defectors" and abductees. It was around this time that some literatures devoted to the memory of their father appeared in printing. When I saw these publications, I reflected on the meaning of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Liberation and thought again about the significance of the words, such as "pro-Japan / *ch'inilp'a* / *shin-nichi*" and "Northern defectors."

Any scholarly research on modern Korean literature cannot be discussed without taking Korea's political history into account. Due to the Japanese oppression and the division of Korea into North and South Korea after the Liberation, the two national entities have struggled to come to terms with the past. Many studies concerning modern Korean literature at present are, of course, being pursued in both South and North Korea. They can be also found in Japan, China, and North America, while showing a steady growth in other parts of the world as well. The center of research is still located in South Korea. Therefore, this paper will be mainly based on the South Korean scholarship of modern Korean Literature.

My paper's title promises to introduce the "state" and "problems" of

modern Korean literature. By using the term “state,” one must at the outset consider what time frame is demarcated to define the “state.” As already mentioned above, 1987–1988 marked the almost-complete lifting of the proscriptions placed on Korean literature written before the Liberation by authors who had defected or were abducted to the North. This event for me represents the turning point in the research of modern Korean literature, and one of the greatest changes in recent years in the field. This change has made it possible for the modern literary research in South Korea to gain ability to reconstruct the history of modern Korean literature. After the Liberation and especially the Korean War, it was only “flying on one engine.” For these reasons, the “state” of research will refer broadly to the period after 1987 and 1988 during which some of the major changes occurred in South Korea.

Also, this paper focuses on the two great “taboos” or problems, namely, literature written by the “Northern defectors, abductees, and residents” as well as the literature that are viewed as “pro-Japanese” (*ch'inilp'a* or *shin-nichi*). The reasons for the former have already been discussed above as being part of the “state” of research. Concerning the latter, although the issues relating to *ch'inilp'a* have not been recognized fully as an object of research by the South Korean academe, it still continues to cast a deep shadow over the society. I thus hope to discuss some literary works that are considered to be pro-Japanese in order to engage in a discussion with the historical theme of this symposium.

When viewing the changes in the studies of the Northern defectors, abductees and North Korean resident writers (from hereon, “defector literature” or “defector writer” will be used inclusively, unless otherwise specified) in the past ten years or so, one feels a passing of an era. Focusing on such topics and surveying the socio-historical background that has resulted in the present “state” will help us to better understand the structural tendencies in the field of Korean Studies today. I will start with a general overview of the past research dealing with these themes, and then proceed to the discussion of a new trend, which emerged after 1987–1988, and finally touch on the current state of modern Korean literature studies.

The studies of modern Korean literature are not limited to the two themes raised in this paper. There are other important subjects and incidents that also demand further investigation. In the section dealing with

the present state of research, some of the pertinent scholarships and published works dealing with the issues of *ch'inilp'a* will be discussed along with the new trend of studies in modern Korean literature in other parts of the world.

## 1. Overview of Scholarships on Modern Korean Literature before 1987

The studies of modern Korean literature had its beginning in the colonial period when Kim Tae-jun and Im Hwa introduced their research on the new literary genre called, New Novel. It started in earnest, however, only after the Liberation.<sup>5</sup> The scholarship on modern literature in Korea after the Liberation was constantly placed under the regulations dictated by political conditions. Considering these circumstances, the studies of modern literature in South Korea can be divided into the following four periods: Period 1: August 15, 1945–June 25, 1950, from the Liberation to the beginning of the Korean War (1950–1953); Period 2: from after the Korean War to 1965; Period 3: the period after 1965, when the “Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea” was established; and Period 4: the years that have followed since 1987–1988. Period 1 can also be subdivided by two major events of time: (a) the period from the Liberation until August 15, 1948, marking the end of the American military government, and (b) the period after August 15, 1948 when the Republic of Korea was founded. By using this periodization, one can find within the divisions the particular characteristics of each period. Examining these characteristics will allow the problems involving “pro-Japanese literature” and “defector literature” to be brought into focus. Of the four periods defined here, Periods 1–3 will be discussed below.

### (1) Period 1

With the long-awaited independence and the ensuing rise of the spirit to create a new society and nation, South Korea was swept away by the arguments concerning the problem of “pro-Japanese” or *ch'inilp'a*. Although differing in expression, the manifestoes of all the political parties touched on how to deal with the so called collaborators or “pro-Japanese.” Some groups also proposed that some of the writers should conduct

self-criticisms. The famous “Munhaksauï chagibip’an chwadamhoe” (The Round Table Discussion on Writers’ Self-criticism) meeting was held in the *Ponghwanggak* in Seoul at the end of December 1945 and was published in *Inminyoesul* [The People’s Art], no. 2, Oct. 1946. Kim Yöng-sök also wrote an essay entitled, “Chakkaüi chagibip’an” [A Writer’s Self-criticism], *Chung’ang shinmun*, Nov. 21–22, 1945, and another penned by Han Hyo called, “Munhakkauï chagibip’an” [Self-criticism of a Novelist], *Uri munhak*, Jan. 1946. However, the discourse on this issue failed to gain any depth, and such initial activities were discontinued as the political situation in South Korea changed.

The first literary histories of modern Korean literature were also written and published at this time. They include *Chosön shinmunhak sajosa* [History of New Literary Trend in Korea], Susönsa, 1948, and *Chosön shinmunhak sajosa hyöndaep’yön* [History of the New Literary Trend in Korea; Modern Version], Paegyandang, 1949, both written by Paek Ch’öl. In these volumes, many names of writers who defected to North Korea appear, but were omitted in later editions. I will discuss more about this in my overview of Period 2.

## (2) Period 2

Period 2 spans the duration of the Korean War, whose effects played a decisive role in the division of Korea and until 1965. During this period, the literary scholars’ treatment of writers changed greatly as can be seen in the revision process of the scholarly works, such as *Chosön shinmunhak sajosa* [History of New Literary Trend in Korea] and *Chosön shinmunhak sajosa hyöndaep’yön* [History of New Literary Trend in Korea; Modern Version] by Paek Ch’öl. These two volumes comprise a comprehensive work of research and along with Pak Yöng-hüi’s unpublished *Hyöndaie Chosön munhaksa* [A History of Contemporary Korean Literature].<sup>6</sup> They were the very first histories of modern Korean literature written in Korea before the demarcation. The former published by Susönsa covers the period leading up to the middle of the 1920s and includes the literature of the naturalist writers. The latter volume, published by Paegyandang, takes up the next period and focuses on Proletariat literature. During the Korean War, various preparations were made for the revision of these works, and the former Susönsa volume became the first edition of *Shinmunhak sajosa*

[History of New Literary Trend], Minjung Sögwän, 1953. Later, both the Susönsa and Paegyöngdang volumes were combined and republished in 1955 as *Shinmunhak sajosa* [History of New Literary Trend] by the same publisher. The processes of revision and republication still continue today and are mostly published by Shin'gu Munhwasa.

The most problematic difference between the original and revised editions is the content that was revised in the later reprinted edition, *Shinmunhak sajosa* [History of New Literary Trend; hereinafter "Revised Edition"]. For the purpose of comparison here, the table of contents of the earlier Susönsa and Paegyöngdang editions will be shown below in sequence, with the contents of the Revised Edition correlated with the earlier two volumes.

[Susönsa Edition]

- Preface: The Modern Current and the New Literature of Korea
- Chapter 1: Enlightened Civilization and the Literature of the New Novel
- Chapter 2: Nationalism or Idealism and the Grassroots Beginning of the New Literature Movement
- Chapter 3: Intellectual Currents in Modern Literary Arts and the Pure Literature Movement of New Literature
- Chapter 4: The Period of Degeneration and the Illness in Literature
- Chapter 5: The Golden Age of Romanticism
- Chapter 6: The Standard of New Literature in Korea and the Position of Naturalism
- Chapter 7: Literature with Other Orientations outside the Main Current

[Paegyöngdang Edition]

- Chapter 1: The Second Beginning of New Literature in Korea: The Emergence of the New School of Literature
- Chapter 2: A Decade of Domination by Proletariat Literature, and the Early Years of the Nationalist and Eclectic Literary World
- Chapter 3: The Emergence of Fascism and the World Crisis, Modern Literature at the Period of Juncture
- Chapter 4: Crisis! Failure of the Mainstream after 1936, and the Rise of Unconditional Literature
- Chapter 5: The Storms of World War II and the Dark Years of Modern

Korean Literature

Chapter 6: After Liberation, a Survey of the Literary Movement Starting Again from the Maelstrom of the Two Main Currents

[Revised Edition]

Preface: The Modern Current and the New Literature of Korea

Chapter 1: Enlightened Civilization and the Literature of the New Novel

Chapter 2: Nationalism and the Grassroots Beginning of New Literature

Chapter 3: Intellectual Currents in the Literary Arts and the Pure Literature Movement

Chapter 4: The Period of Degeneration and the Illness in Literature

Chapter 5: Romanticism (The Period of Glory)

Chapter 6: The Standard of New Literature and the Position of Naturalism

Chapter 7: Literature with Other Orientations Outside of the Main Current

Chapter 8: The Decade after the New School of Literature

Chapter 9: Change in Conditions and the New Schools of Art

Chapter 10: The Dark Years and the Rise of Unconditional Literature

From the contents of the various editions shown above, we see that the Revised Edition kept the content of the Susónsa Edition, almost unchanged. The section of the Revised Edition that includes the material of the Paegyandang Edition, however, shows significant editorial changes. In particular, the content dealing with Proletariat literature was completely taken out in the later edition. The discussions related to the pro-Japanese or *ch'inilp'a* problem, which falls within the late colonial period and referred to as the "Dark Years," have been deleted considerably. Although the title of Chapter 10 in the Revised Edition contains the words "Dark Years," the actual content starts from Chapter 4 in the Paegyandang Edition. Also, the content of Chapter 5 in the Paegyandang Edition that discusses the later years of the colonial period has been deleted. And finally, the description of the Literary Movement just after the Liberation disappeared completely.

What caused these changes? It was because the writers participating in the Proletariat literature movement before the Liberation and the literary figures involved in the post-Liberation literary movement had defected to the North. In the aftermath of the Korean War, the subject of the very existence of these writers became taboo in South Korea. The issue of the



pro-Japanese or collaborative behavior by many of the literary figures in the late colonial period was taken up right after the Liberation and some writers had to undergo self-criticism.<sup>7</sup> These incidents, however, ended without sufficient discussion. Those who underwent self-criticism later united together and crossed over to the North and thus their actions at the end of the colonial period were tacitly sealed in silence among those who had remained in the South. Seen in this way, the works of Paek Ch'öl and the changes made to them clearly express the complexities hidden behind the terms, such as “Northern defection” and *ch'inilp'a*.<sup>8</sup>

### (3) Period 3 Recurring Problems: *Ch'inilp'a* and the “Northern Defectors” Literature

The “Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea” in 1965 marks the beginning of the third period in the literary history of modern Korean literature. Since the military coup d'état led by Pak Chŏng-hŭi in 1961 and the exchange of the Ōhira-Kim Chong-p'il memo in 1962 settled the problem of the right to claim legitimacy, the prospect of normal diplomatic relationship between the two countries seemed to pose a great problem. For scholars of literature, these developments gave rise to a strong sense of anxiety and stimulated a re-evaluation of literary history. This resulted in the publication of “Ilche amhŭkkiüi munhaks—1940 nyŏn put'ŏ 45 nyŏn kkajiüi piyangshigüi kungmunhak” [History of Literature during the Dark Years under the Japanese Imperial Rule: The Non-Stylistic National Literature from 1940 to 1945], *Sedae*, 4–7, Sept.–Dec., 1963, by Chang Tök-sun (1921–2000), and *Ch'inil munhangnon* [A Theoretical Study of Pro-Japanese Literature], Pyŏnghwa Publishing, 1966, by Im Chong-guk. The reappearance of Japan in the form of “*ch'inilp'a* literature” was the first attempt at addressing the problem of pro-Japanese writers and works since the earlier debate in the post-Liberation years.<sup>9</sup>

Among these scholars, it was Im Chong-guk who continued to pursue the problem. His study, *Ch'inil munhangnon* [A Theoretical Study of Pro-Japanese Literature] may have had a great impact on the literary circle, but it was largely ignored by the South Korean scholars for a long time. Im Chong-guk continued to delve into the matters of *ch'inil* literature, but it was close to a solitary struggle for a while.<sup>10</sup> Eventually, Im shifted his research from literature to a broader range of disciplines.

It is also possible to understand the large work, *Han'guk munye pip'yöngsa yön'gu* [A Historical Study of Criticisms on Modern Korean Arts and Letters], Hanöl Publishing, 1973, along with the later revised edition from Ilchisa, 1976, by Kim Yun-shik (1936–), who is one of the second generation South Korean scholars,<sup>11</sup> with the same chain of reasoning. The core of this work is based on an article entitled, “Han'guk munye pip'yöngsaüi taehan yön'gu—1923 nyön put'ö 1935 nyön kkaji” [A Study of Korean Literary Art Criticism: 1923 to 1935].<sup>12</sup> This article was the first genealogical account of proletariat literature, a topic hardly pursued at the time. Many of the literary writers dealt with in this article were either Northern defectors or residents in North Korea. Although they comprised the center of modern Korean literature, they were for political reasons exiled to the realm of taboos. However, the resolute stance that Kim showed by using their actual names verifies his academic sincerity and passion. At the same time, the reemergence of Japan with the expiration of the Treaty of Basic Agreement during his life time was to him an epochal crisis. As a scholar struggling to find the best way to deal with the *ch'inil* problem, he began to revise or rewrite the literary history of modern Korean literature.<sup>13</sup>

Although not a scholastic study of modern Korean literature, we also need to take into consideration the historical background of Pak Kyöng-ri's most acclaimed novel, *T'oji* [Land] (1968). The same can be said about the commencement of the journal *Ch'angjakkwa Pip'yöng* [Creativity and Criticism] (1966).

In short, the conclusion of the Treaty of Basic Agreement became the moment when “*ch'inilp'a* literature,” sealed away since the Korean War, was brought to light and the “Northern defectors' literature” was re-evaluated by those scholars who study Proletariat literature.

## **2. Nullification of Taboos and the Broadening of Research: The Post 1987–1988 Situation**

The processes discussed in the previous sections led to the events of 1987–88, which in turn affected the present state of literary studies of modern Korean literature. Here I will discuss the main thesis of this article. To introduce the present state of research in its multilateral dimension, the

transitions over time will be accounted for in the general analysis of “Northern defectors’ literature” and “*ch’inilp’a* literature.” In addition, I will highlight different perspectives so we can better understand the current state of modern Korean literary scholarship.

(1) Literature of the Northern Defectors

(a) Three Stages of the Proscription Removal and Obtaining the Freedom in 1987–1988

Different measures to remove the proscription on the Northern defectors, residents, and abductees as well as their literature were instituted in three stages by the South Korean government. The first measure to remove the proscription was taken on October 19, 1987, followed by the second measure on March 31, 1988, and then the third measure on July 19, 1988.

Similar measures to lift the ban on the writers who defected or were abducted to the North had been introduced before. The earliest one can be dated back to March 13, 1978.<sup>14</sup> This usage of the term, however, only referred to the defected authors who had been active before the Liberation but were deceased and whose works can be classified as *sunsu munhak*, or pure literature. Only those who met these specific conditions were permitted to be discussed in the academic discourse of literary history. The measure was highly conditional and restricted during this period. Although it was institutionalized, the scholarly writings including academic articles were still prohibited from being commercially sold.<sup>15</sup> Another attempt to remove the proscription was made in 1982, but it did not make much headway.<sup>16</sup>

In comparison, the comprehensive measures installed from 1987 to 1988 were as follows:

Measure (1) of October 19, 1987: A total lifting of all proscriptions on the academic discourse concerning Northern defectors and residents. This also meant that people could write and publish literary studies of the Northern defectors and residents’ works. Kim Hak-dong published one of the first ones entitled, *Chōng Chi-yong yōn’gu* [A Study of Chōng-Chi-yong], Minūmsa, 1988.

Measure (2) March 31, 1988: The ban on the literature of

Chǒng-Chi-yong and Kim Ki-rim was lifted, and *Chǒng Chi-yong chǒnjip* [The Complete Works of Chǒng Chi-yong], two volumes, Minŭmsa, 1988, and *Kim Ki-rim chǒnjip* [The Complete Works of Kim Ki-rim], six volumes, Shimsǒldang, 1988, were published.

Measure (3) July 19, 1988: The legal restrictions placed on all Northern defectors and residents from the pre-Liberation period, excluding Hong Myǒng-hŭi, Yi Ki-yǒng, Han Sǒl-ya, Cho Yǒng-ch'ul, and Paek In-jun, were removed.

The last measure taken on July 19 almost completely removed all the restrictions. In reality, however, scholars began to write more freely about even those who were still banned from the public sphere.<sup>17</sup> For example, the anthologies of Yi Ki-yǒng and Han Sǒl-ya, who were among the five writers excluded from the third measure, were published around this time.

With the changes brought about in the years of 1987 and 1988, the South Korean scholarship of modern literature gradually gained an almost complete freedom for the first time.

This new situation is even more significant when we consider the historical background of the time. These legal measures to remove the restrictions were not granted from the national political leadership at the top. It actually resulted from the Democratic Movement initiated by the South Korean nationals themselves. In 1986 and 1987, South Korea was in the process of holding its presidential election in December 1987 and getting ready to host the 1988 Seoul Olympics. South Korea was taking on a democratic movement with an enthusiasm that was never seen in the past. It is generally known that this resulted from the election promises made on June 29, 1987, by No T'ae-u, the designated protégé of President Chǒn Tu-hwan. He declared that if he became a president, he will establish a system of direct election for presidential elections and implement new policies to democratize the Korean society. The social mood was ripe for changes and true democratization that in reality, the "June 29th Proclamation" by No T'ae-u was a necessity. The lifting of the proscriptions on writers who had defected, or were abducted, and resided in North Korea was an inevitable outcome of the changes in political situation. In other words, the democratic movement that began in 1972 and extended over the span of years until the measures were taken in 1987 and

1988 succeeded in bringing about the freedom of publication.

The transition in literary studies over time shows a gradual expansion, starting with the studies of the temporal post-World War II Korean art and literature “space” or “Liberation Space,” to the reexamination of literary scholarships from the 1950s as well as North Korea.

Also, the transition opened the floodgates to a publication rush of literary materials that had been prohibited. At the same time, various commemorative symposiums provided an open-discussion forum through which scholars could freely share their researches with others.<sup>18</sup> The following is a list of the major works from this period.

*Paek Sök shi chönjip* [The Complete Poetry Works of Paek Sök], 1987; *O Chang-hwan shi chönjip* [The Complete Poetry Works of O Chang-hwan], two volumes, 1988;

*Yi Yong-ak shi chönjip* [The Complete Poetry Works of Yi Yong-ak], 1988; all these were published by Ch’angjakkwa Pip’yöngsa.

*Ch’oe Sö-hae chönjip* [The Complete Works of Ch’oe Sö-hae], two volumes, Munhakkwa Chisöngsa, 1987. *Ich’öjin chakkawa chakp’um—1930 nyöndae huban’gi sedae* [Forgotten Authors and Their Works: The Late 1930s Generation], Kip’ünsaem Press, 1988.

*Kim P’al-bong munhak chönjip* [The Complete Literary Works of Kim P’al-bong], six volumes, Munhakkwa Chisöngsa, 1988.

*Yi T’ae-jun munhak chönjip* [The Complete Literary Works of Yi T’ae-jun], 18 volumes, Söüm Publishing, 1988.

*Yi T’ae-jun chönjip* [The Complete Works of Yi T’ae-jun], 17 volumes, Kip’ünsaem Press, 1988—; later the title was changed to *Yi T’ae-jun munhak chönjip* [The Complete Literary Works of Yi T’ae-jun] and includes his works written after his defection to North Korea and is now in the process of publication. *Pugüro kan chakka sönjip* [Writers Who Have Gone North and Their Selected Works], ten volumes, Üryu Munhwasa, 1988.

*KAPF shi chönjip* [The Complete Poetry Works of KAPF], two volumes, Shidae P’yöngnon, 1988.

*Han’guk haegüm munhak chönjip* [Korean Literature Freed From Proscription], 18 volumes, Samsöng Ch’ulp’ansa, 1988.

*Wölbuk chakka taep’yo 50 in sön* [Fifty Representative Writers Who

Defected to North Korea], 24 volumes, Söüm Publishing, 1988.

Newly included in the *Korean National Modern and Contemporary Literature Series* are as follows: *Ch'oe Myöng-hüi sönjip* [Selected Works of Ch'oe Myöng-hüi], *Im Hwa chönjip* [Complete Works of Im Hwa], *Han Söl-ya sönjip* [Selected Works of Han Söl-ya], and *Yi Ki-yöng sönjip* [Selected Works of Yi Ki-yöng]; these were all published by P'ulbit Publishing Co. from 1988, but were discontinued soon thereafter.

*Tonggwang minjok munhak chönjip* [The Tonggwang Major Collection of Korean National Literature), Tonggwang Publishing Co., 1989-; now discontinued.

*Pak T'ae-wön chönjip* [Complete Works of Pak T'ae-wön], Kip'ünsaem Press, 1989 and onward; the later editions include his works written after he defected to North Korea and are still in the process of publication.

Book Reproductions :

*Han'guk kündae tanp'yön sosöl taegyë* [A Comprehensive Collection of Modern Korean Short Stories], 35 volumes, 1988.

*Han'guk kündae changp'yön sosöl taegyë* [A Comprehensive Collection of Modern Korean Novels], 30 volumes, 1988.

*Han'guk hyöndae shisa charyo chipsöng* [A Compilation of Documents Concerning the History of Modern Korean Poetry], 46 volumes; vols. 24-46 contain poetry of the poets who defected to North Korea. These three collections and compilation were published by T'ae-haksa Publishers.

Some of the major studies are as follows:

Kim Yun-shik and Chöng Ho-ung, eds., *Han'guk kündae riöllijüm chakka yön'gu* [A Study of Modern Korean Realist Writers], Munhakkwa Chisöngsa, 1988.

Kim Yun-shik and Chöng Ho-ung, eds., *Han'guk munhagüi riöllijüm-gwa modönijüm* [Realism and Modernism in Korean Literature], Minümsa, 1989.

Kim Yun-shik, *Im Hwa yön'gu* [A Study of Im Hwa], Munhak

Sasangsa, 1989.

Kwōn Yōng-min, *Wōlbuk munin yōn'gu* [A Study of Intellectuals Who Defected to North], Munhak Sasangsa, 1989.

Kim Yun-shik, *Han'guk hyōndae hyōnshil juūi sosōl yōn'gu* [A Study of Realist Novels in Korea], Munhakkwa Chisōngsa, 1990.

Sō Kyōng-sōk, “Han Sōl-ya munhak yōn'gu” [A Study of Han Sōl-ya's Works], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1991; later included and published in *Han'guk kūndae riōllijūm munhaksa yōn'gu* [A Study of Realism in Modern Korean Literature], T'aehaksa, 1998.

Kim Hūng-shik, “Yi Ki-yōng sosōl yōn'gu” [A Study of Yi Ki-yōng's Novels], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1991.

Yi Sang-gyōng, “Yi Ki-yōng sosōrūi pyōnmo kwajōng yōn'gu” [The Study of Yi Ki-yōng's Novels], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1992.

Yi Sang-gap, “1930 nyōndae huban'gi ch'angjak pangbōmnon yōn'gu” [Korean Literature from the Late 1930s and the Creative Writing Methodology], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Korea University, 1994; later included and published in *Han'guk kūndae munhakkwa chōnhyang munhak* [Modern Korean Literature and the Literature of “Defected” Writers], Kip'ūnsaem Press, 1995.

Kim Oe-gon, “Kūndae munhagūi chuch'ejōk kyenyōm pip'an—Kim Nam-ch'ōnūl chungshimūro” [A Critical Analysis of Subjective Self in Modern Korean Literature: The Case Study of Kim Nam-ch'ōn], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1995; later published as *Han'guk kūndae riōllijūm munhak pip'an* [A Critical Study of Modern Korean Realism Literature], T'aehaksa, 1995.

Yi Hūi-hwan, “Kim Tong-sōk munhak yōn'gu” [A Study of Kim Tong-sōk's Works], Master's dissertation submitted to Inha University, 1995.

Ch'oe Hun, et al., *Wōlbuk chakka'e taehan cheinshik* [Re-Evaluating the Writers Who Defected to North Korea], Kip'ūnsaem Press, 1995. *Semi chakkaron ch'angsō* [Semi Editions on-Critical Studies of Modern Korean Writers], Tosōch'ulp'an Semi, 1995 and onward; vol.

1: *Yi Ki-yŏng*, 2: *Pak T'ae-wŏn*, 3: *Kim Nam-ch'ŏn*, 4: *Paek Sŏk*, 5: *Yi T'ae-jun*, 6: *Hong Myŏng-hŭi*, 10: *Kim Ki-rim*. *Yi Mi-rim, Wŏlbuk chakka sosŏl yŏn'gu* [A Study of the Novels by Writers Who Defected to the North], Kip'eunsaem Press, 1999.

(b) Literary Research on the “Liberation Space”

Following this period and overlapping with the sub-section (a) above, I will now focus on the discussion of the “Liberation Space.” With the removal of the proscriptions in the late 1980s, those names that had been lost during the colonial period were resurrected. Along with this movement, people began to rediscover the “Liberation Space,” or the lost period. One of the first publications on the studies of the “Liberation Space” was released in 1979 and entitled *Haebang chŏnhusaŭi inshik* [Understanding the Literary History of Before and After the Liberation], six volumes, Han'gilsa. Although this work contributed greatly to the field, the earliest contributor who greatly influenced the literary studies of modern Korean literature was Kim Yun-shik. With his article entitled, “Minjogŭi choein'gwa choeinŭi minjok—Ch'ae Man-shigŭi kyŏng'u” [The Nation's Sinner and the Sinner's Nation: The Study of Ch'ae Man-shik], *Sup'il munhak*, 46, 1976. He also published a book entitled *Han'guk hyŏndae munhaksŏ—1945–75* [A History of Modern Korean Literature: 1945–75], Ilchisa, 1976. The former article was an analysis of Ch'ae Man-shik's “Minjogŭi choein” [The Nation's Sinner], a rare publication of a writer's self-criticism of his own actions taken at the end of the colonial period. These studies of the self-criticisms by writers like Ch'ae Man-shik in the “Liberation Space” were further examined by Chŏng Ho-ung.

Also, Kwŏn Yŏng-min's *Haebang chikhuŭi minjok munhak undong yŏn'gu* [A Study of the National Literature Movement in the Post-Liberation Period] (Seoul University Press, 1986) should be given special attention for its use of a rich body of documentation to reconstruct the dynamism found in the movement at the time.

The anthologies and literary compilations published in this period are listed below:

*Han'guk hyŏndae munhak charyo ch'ongsŏ 1945 nyŏn 8 wŏl—1950 nyŏn 6 wŏl* [A Collection of Modern Korean Literary Works: August



1945–June 1950], 17 volumes, Kōrūm, 1987.

Shin Pōm-sun ed., *Haebang kongganūi munhak, shi* [The Literature and Poetry of the Liberation Space], vols. 1 and 2, Tolbegae, 1988.

Kim Sūng-hwan ed., *Haebang kongganūi munhak, sosōl* [The Literature and Poetry of the Liberation Space], vols. 1 and 2, Tolbegae, 1988.

Shin Hyōng-gi ed., *Haebang 3 nyōnūi pip'yōng munhak* [Critical Literature from the Three Years after the Liberation], Segye, 1988.

Some of the more significant researches done on this literature are as follows:

Kim Yun-shik, *Haebang kongganūi munhaksaron* [Literary Studies of Modern Korean Literature from the Liberation Space], Seoul National University Press, 1989.

Kim Yong-jik, *Haebanggiūi han'guk shimunhaksa* [Modern Korean Poetry from the Liberation Space], Minūmsa, 1989.

Kim Sūng-hwan, “Haebang kongganūi nongmin sosōl yōn'gu” [Studies of Novels Written by Rural Writers in the Liberation Space], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1990; later published as *Haebang kongganūi hyōnshiljuūi munhak yōn'gu* [A Study of Modern Realism Literature of the Liberation Space], Ilchisa, 1991.

Shin Pōm-sōn, “Haebanggi shiūi riōllijūm yōn'gu” [A Study of Realism Poetry during the Liberation Period], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1990.

Yi U-Yong, *Haebang kongganūi minjok munhaksaron* [Theoretical Study of Nationalist Literature of the Liberation Space], T'aehaksa, 1991.

Shin Hyōng-gi, *Haebanggi sosōl yōn'gu* [A Study of the Novels during the Liberation Period], T'aehaksa, 1992.

Chōng Ho-ung, “Haebang kongganūi chagi pip'an sosōl yōn'gu” [The Self Critical Novel of the Liberation Space], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1993; later published as *Han'guk hyōndae sosōlsaron* [Theoretical Study of the Contemporary Korean Novel], Semi Publishers, 1996.

As we have seen so far, the lifting of the proscription on the works of those writers who have defected to North Korea led to the expansion of the research field, which eventually included the works from the "Liberation Space." With the normalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and China in 1992, many of the North Korean documents streamed in to South Korea. Following the North-South Korea Summit meeting in June 2000, many literary researches pertaining to North Korea were given a great impetus and thereby wiped away any lingering taboos on the works and lives of the writers who have defected or were abducted to North Korea.

As the documentary restraints were loosened, the breakup of the Soviet Union and East European nations caused a shift in the focus of research from Realism to Modernism literature. This is another characteristic of the period (discussion on this point will be continued in Section (3): "General Trends in Literary Studies of Modern Korean Literature").

## (2) Pro-Japanese or *Ch'inilp'a* Literature

During this time, more and more people began to address the "*ch'inilp'a* problem" and the scholarship broadened beyond the limits of Im Chong-guk who was one of the very few scholars working on the problems of "*ch'inilp'a*" in the past.<sup>19</sup> He was now able to establish the Institute for Research on the Anti-National Problem. After Im passed away in 1991, his successors renamed the organization as the Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities, and continued their research. Many more books started to get published in relation to this topic.<sup>20</sup> However, the number of a good scholarship is surprisingly small.<sup>21</sup>

The same can be said about the field of modern Korean literature as well. The literary debate concerning "*ch'inilp'a* problem" began comparatively close to the time when proscription on the "Northern Defectors Literature" was lifted. The *ch'inilp'a* literature might have stimulated a brisk production of documentary materials and publication of articles but strangely enough, this did not happen. It was because the real problem with the "Northern Defectors Literature" was the legal restrictions.

By limiting the material to pre-Liberation, or again to the activities in South Korea before defection in the post-Liberation phase of the author's career, studying the "Northern Defectors Literature" become less sensitive issue in political term. More complex and difficult issue rose from the labeling of the so called, "*ch'inilp'a* literature,"<sup>22</sup> and the small number of literary works, the lack of a clear definition, and the existence of the family or descendents of the writers. Despite these circumstances, many scholars like Yi Kyōng-hun continued to study and publish books on the "*ch'inilp'a* literature." Some of the major works of research on the topic during the period are as follows:

Sō Yōn-ho, "Ch'inil yōn'gūk undong'ūi chōn'gae yangsang" [A Study of the Pro-Japanese Theatrical Movement], vols. 1 and 2, *Munhak chōngshin*, 1989.

Song Min-ho, *Ilchemal amhūkki munhak yōn'gu* [A Study of the Dark Period Literature in the Late Colonial Period], Saemunsa, 1991.

Yi Hūi-gyo, "Ilche malgi sosōl yōn'gu—Ōyongsōnggwa sunsu ch'wihyang'ūi tugaji ch'ūngmyōne taehaeso" [A Study of the Novel in the Late Japanese Occupation: Concerning the Two Aspects of Servitude and Pure Directivity], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Korea University, 1992.

Yi Kyōng-hun, "Tenkō shōsetsu ron" [A Study of Conversion Novels], *Sōng Ki-jo sōnsaeng hwan'gap kinyōm nonmunjip* [Papers on the 'Revised Novel' collected in celebration of Professor Sōng Ki-jo's 61st Birthday], Shinwōn Munhwasa Publishers, 1993.

Yi Kyōng-hun, "Paek Ch'ōrūi ch'inil munhangnon" [Paek Ch'ōl's Theoretical View of Pro-Japanese Literature], *Yōnuronjip*, 1994.

Yi Kyōng-hun, "Yi Kwang-suūi ch'inil munhak yōn'gu—Kūūi chōngch'ijōk inyōmgwa kwallyōnhayō" [A Study of Yi Kwang-su's Pro-Japanese Literature: In Relation to His Political Views], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Yonsei University, 1995.

Furthermore, the National Literary Writers Conference hosted a Commemorative Symposium on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Liberation in 1995.<sup>23</sup>

Many Japanese scholars have also studied and published books and

articles on the *ch'inilp'a* literature.<sup>24</sup> Their research is characterized by the compilation of bibliographies and related materials. They are as follows:

Ōmura Masuo ed, *Kokumin bungaku* [National Literature], reproductions in 39 volumes, Ryokuin Shobō, 2000.

*Kindai Chōsen bungaku Nihongo sakuhinshū: 1939–1945* [Modern Korean Literature: A Japanese Bibliography 1939–1945], nine volumes, Ryokuin Shobō, 2001 and 2002, *Chōsen bungaku kankei Nihongo bunken mokuroku—1882.4–1945.8* [Bibliography of Japanese Language Documents Related to Korean Literature: April 1882–August 1945], Ōmura Masuo Research Room, Waseda University, 1997; “*Mainichi shinpō*” *bungaku kankei kiji sakuin—1939.1–1945.12.31* [Index of Literature Related Articles in “Mainichi Shinpō”: January 1939–December 31, 1945], Ōmura Masuo Research Room, Waseda University, 2002. This and the above are co-edited by Ōmura Masuo and Hotei Toshihiro.

Shirakawa Yutaka supervised, *Nihon shokuminchi bungaku seisenshū Chōsen-hen* [Selected Literary Works Written in Japanese Colonial Territory: Korea], 12 volumes, Yumani Shobō, 2000 and 2001.

Some Japanese scholars tend to consider the *ch'inilp'a*, or *shin-nichi* literature as part of the “Japanese language” literature. Recently, China also has started to consider Korean literature written in the former Manchu region as the Chinese language literature. Among such Japanese and Chinese scholarships on the topic, some of the most significant studies are as follows. (Where no special reference is made, all are published in Tokyo.)

Ōmura Masuo, “Daitōa bungakusha taikai to Chōsen” [The Writers’ Meetings of the Greater East Asia and Korea], *The Social Sciences Review*, vol. 100, 1989.

Ōmura Masuo, “*Seinen sakka* to Saishutō shussin no sakka” [“Young Writers” and Writers from Cheju Island], *Goken fōramu*, no. 4, Waseda University, 1996.

Im Chōn-hye, *Nihon ni okeru Chōsenjin no bungaku no rekishi* [The History of Literature Written by Koreans in Japan], Hōsei University

Press, 1994.

Shirakawa Yutaka, “Chang Hyök-ju yŏn’gu” [A Study of Chang Hyök-ju], Doctoral dissertation submitted to Dongguk University, Seoul, 1989 and other studies on Chang Hyök-ju.

Shirakawa Yutaka, *Shokuminchiki Chōsen no sakka to Nippon* [Korean Writers and Japan during the Colonial Period], Okayama: Daigaku Kyōiku Shuppan, 1995.

Shirakawa Haruko, “Yi Kwang-su no Nihongo shōsetsu ni tsuite” [The Japanese Language Novels by Yi Kwang-su], *Nenpō Chōsen gaku*, no. 5, Fukuoka, July 1995.

Fujiishi Takayo, “Kim Chong-han” [A Theoretical Study of Kim Chong-han], *Tōyōshi ronshū*, no.17, Fukuoka, January 1989.

Hotei Toshihiro, “Nittemakki Nihongo shōsetsu kenkyū” [Later Period of Imperial Japan and Novels Written in Japanese], Master’s dissertation submitted to Seoul National University, 1996.

Nakayama Kazuko, “Shokuminchi makki no Chōsen bundan to Nihongo bungaku (1)” [The Korean Literary Circle at the End of the Colonial Period and Literature, part 1], *Bungaku kenkyū*, no. 69, Meiji University, February 1993.

Okada Hideki, “Kyū ‘Manshūkoku’ no Chōsenjin sakka ni tsuite” [The Korean Writers in Former “Manchukuo”], *Shōwa bungaku kenkyū*, no. 25, 1992.

The change of the academic climate in South Korea allowed scholars to study those novels written in Japanese during the late colonial period. Also, Korean writers’ works written in Japanese have become a part of “bi-lingual” literature and gained more literary recognition. It should be noted that subjects of these literary studies are not limited to those written during the colonial period. The following are some of the South Korean books, which deal with “bi-lingual” literature.

Chōng Paek-su, *Han’guk kundaeüi shingminji ch’ehōmgwa ijung ōnō munhak* [The Colonial Experience of Modern Korea and Bi-lingual Literature], Asea Munhwasa, 2000.

Kim Yun-shik, *Hanil kūndae munhagüi kwallyōn yangsang shinnon* [New Arguments on the Relationship between Korean and Japanese

Modern Literatures], Seoul University Press, 2001.

Japanese literature specialists nowadays often take a comparative literary approach. For example, Nam Pu-jin wrote *Kindaibungaku no <Chōsen> taiken* [The “Korean” Experience of Modern Literature], 2001; and *Kindainippon to Chōsenjinjō no keisei* [The Image of Koreans and Modern Japan], 2002. Both were published by Bensei Publishing Inc.

One of the greatest changes in the study of *ch'inilp'a* literature is the scholars' redefinition of the genre. In a recent article written by Kim Chae-yong entitled, “Ch'inil munhagūi sōnggyōk kyumyōng” [An Attempt to Clarify the Characteristics of *Shin-nichi* (Pro-Japanese) Literature], *Silch'on nunhak*, no. 65, Spring 2002, he points out the importance of distinguishing between the pro-Japanese collaboration found at the time of Japan's annexation of Korea and what is seen after the war between Japan and the Republic of China. It is crucial that we fully understand what was happening at that time. Writers were under much greater pressure from the ruling political power after the war, and this situation should be taken into consideration when discussing the issue. This observation by Kim is a new and significant contribution to understanding the problem of categorizing certain works as “*ch'inilp'a*” literature (ibid., pp. 162–3).

In other words, Korean writers should not be labeled as *ch'inilp'a* or *shin-nichi* simply because they wrote their works in Japanese, belonged to a pro-Japanese organization, or changed their names in accordance to *sōshi kaimei*. Doing so leads to a very “naïve understanding” of *shin-nichi* implication. There are two basic criteria in judging what constitutes *shin-nichi* behavior, according to Kim mentioned above. They are: (1) Soliciting and collaborating with the Japanese government in the recruitment of Korean soldiers for the war effort of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and; (2) Promoting the *naisen ittai* (unity of Japan and Korea) ideology, and complying to become a subject of the Japanese emperor. If a literary work expresses or propagates one or both of these positions, then it becomes a *shin-nichi* literature and its writer thereby becomes *shin-nichi*, a Pro-Japanese collaborator (ibid., pp.168–170).

Similar method was used to list pro-Japanese writers in *Ch'inil munhagin 42 in* [Forty-two *Ch'inilp'a* Intellectuals] that was published on August 14, 2002.<sup>25</sup>

In my opinion, however, we need to take more issues into consideration when reevaluating literary writers and their works. This topic therefore requires further study in the future.

In Sections (1) and (2), I focused on the changes in the political situation and their affect on literary studies. I will now discuss current trend in literary studies of modern Korean literature in South Korea.

### (3) General Trends in Literary Studies of Modern Korean Literature

The following are some of the common traits we see in the literary studies of modern Korean literature: (1) compilation of complete collections of individual writers and the reorganization of the texts; (2) publication of hand written manuscripts; (3) publication of critical biographies; (4) a shift in scholars perspective; (5) publication of the North Korean documents and original sources; and (6) organizing of new research groups. I will try to re-group them as follows:

#### (a) Organizing and Re-evaluating the Texts

One of the characteristics in the South Korean scholarship of modern Korean literature since 1987–1988 is the increasing publication of the compilation of the individual writers' complete literary works. This is due to the fact that the writer and their works that were banned earlier became accessible after the removal of the proscription placed on the writers who defected to the North. At the same time, many scholars were also organizing and re-organizing works of those writers who were not in this group. This is well illustrated in the fact that many unpublished works have been set to print in recent years. For example, Yöm Sang-söp's unpublished epic novel, *Samdae* [Three Generations], and Yi Kwang-su's revised edition of the newspaper serial novel, *Mujöng* [Heartlessness], were made into a book. In addition, the following are some of the other major publications:

*Yöm Sang-söp chönjip* [Complete Works of Yöm Sang-söp], 12 volumes and 1 special edition, Minŭmsa, 1987.

*Wönbön Kim Yu-jöng chönjip* [Complete Works of Kim Yu-jöng in

- their Original Version], Hallyim University Publishing House, 1987.
- Ch'ae Man-shik chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Ch'ae Man-shik], 10 volumes, Ch'angjakkwā Pip'yŏngsa, 1987.
- Hyŏn Chin-gŏn chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Hyŏn Chin-gŏn], published from 1988 but discontinued after four volumes.
- Pak No-gap chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Pak No-gap], three volumes, Kip'ŭnsaem Press, 1989.
- Kim T'ae-jun chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Kim T'ae-jun; reproduction], four volumes, Pogosa, 1990.
- Yi Tong-yŏng ed., *Onŭrŭi munhakkwa munhagŭi onŭl: Yi Wŏn-jo munhak p'yŏngnonjip* [The Literature of Today, the Today of Literature: Collection of Yi Wŏn-jo's Critical Essays on Literature], Hyŏngsŏl Publishing, 1990.
- K'apŭ pip'yŏng charyo ch'ongsŏ* [Critical Documents of KAPF Series], eight volumes, Yeungnam University Press, 1990.
- Chŏn Yŏng-t'aek chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Chŏn Yŏng-t'aek], five volumes, Mokwon University Press, 1994.
- Han'gŭk kŭndae misurŭi sajang Kim Pok-jin chŏnjip* [The Master of Modern Korean Art: The Complete Works of Kim Pok-jin], Ch'ŏngnyŏnsa, 1995.
- Ham Se-dŏk munhak chŏnjip* [The Complete Literary Works of Ham Se-dŏk], two volumes, Chishik Sanŏpsa, 1996.
- Yi Tong-hŭi and No Sang-rae, eds., *Pak Yŏng-hŭi chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Pak Yŏng-hŭi], four volumes, Yeungnam University Press, 1997.
- Hong Hye-sŏng yŏn'gŭngnon chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Hong Hye-sŏng's Essays on Theatrical Plays], two volumes, Yeungnam University Press, 1998.
- Yi Sang-gyŏng ed., *Kang Kyŏng-ae chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Kang Kyŏng-ae], Somyŏng Publishing, 1999.
- Yi Sang-gyŏng ed., *Na Hye-sŏk chŏnjip* [Complete Works of Na Hye-sŏk], T'aehaksa, 2000. Sŏ Chŏng-ja ed., *Wŏnbon Chŏng'wŏl Na Hye-sŏk chŏnjip* [Complete Works of the Original Manuscripts of Chŏng'wŏl Na Hye-sŏk], Kukhak Community Co., 2001.
- Chŏng Ho-ung and Son Chŏng-su, eds., *Kim Nam-ch'ŏn chŏnjip p'yŏngnon 1, 2* [Complete Works of Kim Nam-ch'ŏn's Critical Essays I and II], Pagijŏng, 2000; The volume containing his fiction is scheduled for publication.
- Kim Oe-gon ed., *Im Hwa chŏnjip 1, 2* [Complete Works of Im Hwa, 1



and 2], Pagijöng, 2000 (continues to be published).

*Pak Süng-gük chönjip, che 1 kwön* [Complete Works of Pak Süng-gük], vol. 1, Hanminsa, 2001.

*No Ch'ön-myöng chönjip* [Complete Works of No Ch'ön-myöng], vols. 1 and 2, Sol Publishing Co., 1997.

*Yi Sang chönjip* [Complete Works of Yi Sang], five volumes, Munhak Sasangsa, 1997–2001.

*Paek Sök chönjip* [Complete Works of Paek Sök], Shilch'ön Munhaksa, 1997. Yi Sang-gyu ed., *Yi Sang-hwa shi chönjip* [Complete Works of Yi Sang-hwa's Poetry], Chöngnimsa Publishing, 1998.

*O Chang-hwan chönjip* [Complete Works of O Chang-hwan], Shilch'ön Munhaksa, 2002.

Yöm Sang-söp: *Kwangbun* [Frantic Efforts], 1996; *Puryönsoksöng* [The Broken Line], 1997, both published by Press 21. *Hyop'ung* [Dawn Breeze], Shilch'ön Munhaksa, 1998.

Newspaper Sequel Novels: *Mujöng* [Heartlessness], *Samdae* [Three Generations], *Muhwagwa* [Fig Tree], all three novels included in *Han'guk sosöl munhak taegyë* [The Collection of Korean Fiction], Tong'a-Communication, 1995.

Magazines: *Samch'ölli* [Three Thousand Ri], 32 volumes, Hanbit Publishing, 1995.

In the last ten years, many scholars began to study the texts from a new perspective and publish their works to commemorate authors' centennial birthdays. Some of these publications are as follows:

Munhakkwa Sasang Yön'guhoe ed., *Yöm Sang-söp munhagüi chaeinshik* [Re-evaluating Yöm Sang-söp's Works], Kip'ünsaem Press, 1998.

Munhakkwa Pip'yöng Yön'guhoe ed., *Yöm Sang-söp munhagüi chaejomyöng: 'Yöm Sang-söp sönsaeng t'ansaeng 100 chunyön kinyöm nonmunjip* [Rediscovering Yöm Sang-söp's Literature: Commemorative Volume on the Centennial Anniversary of Yöm Sang-söp's Birth], Semi, 1998.

Kim Kyöng-su, *Yöm Sang-söp changp'yön sosöl yön'gu* [A Study of Yöm Sang-söp's Novels], Ilchogak, 1999.

U Han-yong, *Ch'ae Man-shik sosŏl tamnonŭi shihak* [The Novels of Ch'ae Man-shik: The Poetics of Dialogue], Kyemunsa, 1992.

Munhakkwa Sasang Yŏn'guhoe ed., *Ch'ae Man-shik munhagŭi chaeinshik* [Rediscovering Ch'ae Man-shik's Literature], Somyŏng Publishing, 1999.

Munhakkwa Sasang Yŏn'guhoe ed., *Han Sŏl-ya munhagŭi chaeinshik* [Rediscovering Han Sŏl-ya's Literature], Somyŏng Publishing, 2000.

(b) Photographic Reproductions of Hand-written Original Manuscripts and Other Materials

Recently, some scholars have put together all the photographs of the hand-written original manuscripts of Yun Tong-ju whose works were never collected and published in his life time until after the Liberation, when Yun Il-ju collected Yun Tong-ju's poems and made them into a book under the title of, *Hanŭlgwa paramgwa pyŏlgwa shi* [The Sky, the Wind, the Stars, and Poetry] in 1948. Its expanded edition, published by Chŏng'ŭmsa in 1955, has been widely distributed as the standard compilation until recently.

Because of the political situations, not many original manuscripts survived in Korea. Yun Tong-ju is a rare example of the opposite case. The original reproduction of his manuscripts of poetry will contribute greatly to the studies of Yun Tong-ju and his works in the future.

Perhaps encouraged by this publication, a number of photo plate reproductions have been released recently. They are as follows:

Ōmura Masuo et al, eds., *Sajin p'an Yun Tong-ju chap'il shiga chŏnjip* [Collection of the Original Manuscripts of Poetry by Yun Tong-ju: Photographic Reproduction], Minŭmsa, 1999.

Kim Yŏng-shik ed., *Chakko munin 48 in yukp'il sŏhanjip* [Manuscripts of Forty-eight Literati: Selections of the Original Hand-written Holograms], Manyŏng, 2001.

*Cho Chi-hun chŏnjip pyŏlgwŏn (Yukp'il wŏn'go sajin p'an)* [Complete Works of Cho Chi-hun, Special Volume (Photographic Reproductions of the Original Hand-written Manuscripts)], Nanam Publishing House, 2001.

A special attention should be given to the recent expanded edition of

*The Complete Works of Kim U-jin* (three Volumes), which is a valuable photographic reproduction of his hand-written Japanese manuscripts. It is my hope that we will discover more of these “sleeping” documents and bring them into light.

(c) Critical Biographies and Autobiographical Materials

Some of the earlier critical biographies of writers are: Cho Yong-man, *Yuktang Ch'oe Nam-sön* [Yuktang Ch'oe Nam-sön], Samjungdang, 1964; and Pak Kye-ju and Kwak Hak-song, *Ch'unwön Yi Kwang-su* [Ch'unwön Yi Kwang-su], Samjungdang, 1962. Many works like Kim Yun-shik's biography of Yi Kwang-su entitled, *Yi Kwang-suwa küüi shidae* [Yi Kwang-su and His Time] started to appear in the 1980s.<sup>26</sup> Other important works are listed below:

Kim Yun-shik, *Im Hwa yön'gu* [A Study of Im Hwa], Munhak Sasangsa, 1989.

Kim Yun-shik, *Kim Tong-riwa küüi shidae* [Kim Tong-ri and His Time], three volumes, Minūmsa, 1995–97.

Yi Sang-ok, *Yi Hyo-sök munhakkwa saeng'ae* [Yi Hyo-sök's Literature and His Life], Minūmsa, 1992.

Kang Yōng-ju, *Pyōkch'o Hong Myōng-hūi yōn'gu* [A Study of Pyōkch'o Hong Myōng-hūi], Ch'angjakkwa Pip'yōngsa, 1999.

Yi Sang-gyōng, *Inganūro salgo shipta—Yōngwōnhan shin yōsōng Na Hye-sök* [I Want to Live as a Human Being: The Eternal New Woman Na Hye-sök], Han'gilsa, 2000.

Ōmura Masuo, *Aisuru tairiku yo—Shiin Kim Yong-je* [Love for the Continent: A Study of the Poet Kim Yong-je], Daiwashobō, 1992.

(d) Changes in Perspective: From Realism to Modernism

Along with the growing democratic movement in South Korea, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the breakup of the Soviet Union and Eastern European Sphere, and the end of the US-Soviet Cold War, all contributed to changing the international community. It also transformed the foundation of modern Korean literature in South Korea.

More specifically, the study of literature, which used to focus on realism literature started to turn to modern and then postmodern literary research. Kim Yun-shik and Chōng Ho-ung put together three volumes of

articles relating to these new topics. They were: *Han'guk riöllijūm sosŏl yŏn'gu* [A Study of Realism Novels in Korea], Munhakkwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1987; *Han'guk kŭndae riöllijūm chakkwa yŏn'gu* [A Study of Realism Writers in Modern Korea], Munhakkwa Chisŏngsa 1988; and *Han'guk munhagŭi riöllijūmgwa modŏnijūm* [Realism and Modernism in Korean Literature], Minūmsa, 1989. The contents of these volumes show rapid transformation of the scholarly environment and the changes in the objects of research in South Korea. Also, Yi Sang has recently become one of the most popular topics of research. An establishment of scholarly association that is dedicated to his work attests to his popularity and today's new intellectual climate.

Furthermore, the literary scholars in South Korea have shifted from macroscopic perspective to the microscopic perspective. The following is some of the new research, which reflects such trend:

Ch'ae Ho-sŏk, "1934 nyŏn kyŏngsŏng, haengbok ch'atki: Pak T'ae-wŏnŭi 'Sosŏlga Kubossŭi iril'" [1934 Kyŏngsŏng, Looking for Happiness: Pak T'ae-wŏn's "A Day in the Life of the Novelist Mr. Kubo"] in *Han'guk kŭndae munhakkwa kyemong'ui sŏsa* [Modern Korean Literature and the Writings of Enlightenment], Somyŏng Publishers, 1999.

Yi Kyŏng-hun, "Missŭk'oshi, kŭndaeŭi syouwindou—Munhakkwa p'ungsok 1" [Mitsukoshi, the Modern Show Window: Literature and Tradition, part 1] in *Han'guk kŭndae munhakkwa ilbon munhak*, Kukhak Community Co., 2001.

#### (e) New Archival Documents from North Korea and the Publication of Bibliographies and Primary Sources

The academic environment of South Korea was also affected by the new primary sources from North Korea. This has been the most prominent feature of the scholarship trend in the past decade since 1988. It also played one of the most important roles in changing our understanding of the colonial history.

After the ban was lifted from those works of writers who had defected to the North, many scholars began to study their activities after the Liberation. Then their interest turned to the kind of activities, which the

writers were involved in after they had crossed over to the North. In this case, the normalization of South Korean and Chinese diplomatic relations on August 24, 1992 played a very important role. With the normalization, the summit talks between North and South Korea became active with the ethnic Korean population residing in the Yangji region of northeast China. South Korean scholars were now able to access many archival materials related to North Korea housed in institutions, such as the Yanbian University Library and the Yanbian Provincial libraries in northeast China. Therefore, many books on the writers who defected to the North were published. With the presidency of Kim Tae-jung and the realization of the North-South Korea Summit, the topic of the “North Korean” writers became more popular. So great was the excitement that even those who had had no interest in North Korean literature wrote articles and books about it.

The reproduction and publication of *Chosŏn Literature*, in other words, North Korean Literature, should also be noted when we examine the surge of interest in North Korean literature. The first publication contains many literary works by writers who had been active during the colonial period. There is no doubt that the documentation served as an important link in the study of colonial literature. Again, this phenomenon only became possible because of the June 15, 2000, North-South Summit.

*The Nodong Shinmun* [Worker’s Newspaper] microfilm used to be only available at the U.S. Library of Congress with some portions missing. Last year, however, China released its microfilms that included all the missing portions as well. It has now become possible to read the original article from *The Nodong Shinmun* of the August 7, 1953 issue, which describes the court sentence of the group of people, including Im Hwa who belonged to the Namchosŏn Labor Party. Significant publications resulting from this development are listed below:

Yi Sŏn-yŏng et al., eds., *Hyŏndae munhak pip’yŏng charyojip, ibuk p’yŏn* [Collection of Sources in Contemporary Literary Criticism: North Korean Sources], eight volumes, T’aehaksa, 1993.

Kim Sŏng-su ed., *Pukhan Munhak shinmun’gisa mongnok (1956–1993)* [Article Index for North Korean “Munhak Shinmun” (1956–1993)], Hallym University Asia Research Center, 1994.

*Chosŏn munhak, 1947 ch'angganho-2000. 12* [Chosŏn Literature, 1947–December, 2000], Yŏnbyŏn Munhak Wŏlgansa, Taehun Sŏjŏk, 2001. Yi Sŏn-yŏng, eds., *Nambuk Chosŏn t'ong'il munhak chŏnjip chŏn* [South and North Chosŏns' "Collection of Unification Literature"], 100 volumes, organized by Bungei Shinkoin; The CD-Rom has been published in 2003.

(f) The Organization of the New Research Groups

Most research groups or organizations in South Korea were formerly organized by the university professors or affiliates. For example, the History of Literature and Criticism Research Society was founded by Seoul National University faculty members. The Research Association for Korean Literature as well as the Research Society for Literature and Intellectual Thoughts were founded by Yonsei University. Many young researchers have grown dissatisfied with the hegemonic structure of these associations and have recently established their own literary studies organizations that cross over the boundaries of academic institutions. They are as follows:

Minjok Munhaksa Yŏn'gu (Studies of National Literary History): Organization Journal *Minjok munhaksa yŏn'gu kigwanji*, first published in 1992.

Sanghŏhakhoe established in December 1992: *Kŭndae muhak kwa kuinhoe* [Modern Literature and the Nine Members' Club], Kip'ŭnsaem Press, 1996. They have published many joint research volumes.

Yi Sang Munhakhoe (Yi Sang Literature Society): established in September 2001: Society journal *Yi Sang ribyu* [Yi Sang Review], first published in 2001.

The Learned Society of Korean Drama and Theatre (L.S.K.D.T) established in April 1987: Society journal *Han'guk kŭk yesul yŏn'gu* [The Study of Korean Drama and Theatre].

(g) Other Developments

In this section, I will briefly discuss other developments in the studies of modern Korean literature that were not included in the discussion above.

(1) Kim Yŏng-min, *Han'guk kŭndae sosŏlsa* [History of Modern Korean Novels], Sol Publishing Co., 1997; later republished by Somyŏng

Publishers.

This work has two main characteristics. The first is its concern with the problem of locating the beginning or origin of modern literature. Kim argues that it can be located in the final conclusion of Yi Kwang-su's novel entitled, *Mujŏng* [Heartlessness] and the modern novel was further developed by the next generation of writers, such as Kim Tong-in and his peers. Such view, however, was already expressed earlier by Ha Tong-ho and Chu Chong-yŏn. The second characteristic of Kim's work is that he discusses epic literature by analyzing the social editorials found in newspapers printed in the colonial period.

However, the route to discovering or locating the origin of "modern" in Korean literature should not be limited to one or two. There may be, in fact, more than just several possibilities. For more information, we should consider Chŏng Sŏn-t'ae's *Kaehwagi shinmun nonsŏrŭi sŏsa suyong yangsang* [Various Aspects of Reception of the Korean Newspaper Editorials in the Enlightenment Period], Somyŏng Publishers, 1999.

(2) Tajiri Hiroyuki, "Yi In-jik ūi Miyako Sinmunsa kyonsŭp sijŏl—'Chosŏn munhak Kwabu ūi k'um' tŭng sin charyo ūi sogae rŭr chunsim ūro" [Yi In-jik's Visit to the Miyako Newspaper: 'Chosŏn Literature, The Dream of a Widow' and the Introduction of Other New Materials], *Ŏmun nonjip*, no.32, The Korean Literature Department at Korea University, 1993.

This article introduces the fact that Yi In-jik, while in Japan as an exchange student in 1902, wrote his novel, "The Dream of a Widow," in Japanese. Until then the common belief among scholars of Korean literature was that the first Korean to write a novel in Japanese was Yi Kwang-su in 1909, when he was an exchange student at Meiji Gakuin University and wrote a novel entitled, "Love." This not only dates the first Japanese language novel to be written by a Korean writer earlier but also fills in a large missing portion of Yi Kwang-su's activities in China and Japan.

(3) Kim Chae-yong, *Minjok munhak undong'ŭi yŏksawa iron* [The History and Theory of the National Literary Movement], vols. 1 and 2, Han'gilsa, 1990 and 1996. O Hwang-sŏn, "Nakanishi Inosuke non" [A Study of Nakanishi Inosuke], Master's Thesis submitted to Meiji University, 1992. Kwŏn Yŏng-min, *Han'guk kyegŭp munhak undongsa*

[The History of Korea's Social Class Literature Movement], Munye Publishing Co., Ltd., 1998.

The books mentioned above are some of the major works, which have contributed to the field of modern Korean literature.

### **Conclusion: Unresolved Problems and More Possible Themes**

As has been discussed so far, the South Korean scholarship on modern literature today was greatly affected by the political and social changes in 1987 and 1988 during which the proscription on writers who have defected to the North was lifted. Since then, the field of research became much more expansive and versatile. Also by organizing and reexamining the original texts, the scholarship of modern Korean literature began to reflect rich diversity which was never seen before.<sup>27</sup>

It is, however, necessary to remember that there are still some obstacles left, which need our examination. An epitaph in the Province of Ch'ungch'ōngbuk-do dedicated to Hong Myōng-hŭi used to have a description on the back. It was actually carved off by the monument's erection committee in order to compromise with the right-wing groups who protested violently against building a monument for the poet Hong. In addition, publishing the works of Han Sōl-ya is still not an easy matter. A literary study of Yu Chin-u is also well overdue, but is still to be realized because he was involved in the *ch'inilp'a* movement. There is also an issue involving his family, which further complicates the publication process.

Aside from the stereotypes that people have of some writers who have either defected to the North or were involved in *ch'inilp'a* movement, we also need to address some of the issues in the literary or academic fields. They are as follows:

(1) The Need for Clarification of the Concept *Ch'inilp'a* or *Shin-nichi*  
We mentioned the book entitled, *Ch'inil munhagin 42 in* [The Forty-two *Ch'inilp'a* Intellectuals] earlier in the discussion. The names of Kim Sa-ryang and Kim Chong-han were removed from the list in this book. However, the criteria for removing some names and maintaining others still need to be clarified.

(2) Conducting Textual Analysis or Criticism of the Writers' Works  
(a) A literature should bridge the gap between the end of the colonial



period and the start of the Korean War unlike *Yi Kwang-su chŏnjip* [The Complete Collection of Yi Kwang-su's Works], (b) the literary study should cover both South and North Korea if the writer was active in both locations, (c) concerning the problem of language, if the writer has written and published literature in Japanese, such work should be included as well, and (d) both the Japanese and Korean originals should be included in the research.

(3) If one wishes to put into practice the points addressed in part (2), it is necessary to investigate the documents and make them accessible to public. This fundamental work must be done in the collection process.

(4) The literary studies and researches must be based on the factual information of the authors and their works.

(5) The archival materials need to be preserved better.

Public or private facilities, which preserves and exhibits materials on Korean literature like the Museum of Modern Japanese Literature, should be established in Korea.

Pointing out these five points may be redundant since they seem like a common knowledge. I bring up the issues (3) and (4) because they are closely related to my faith as a non-Korean scholar whose mother tongue is not Korean. Respecting the materials for my research has been the first priority. I always try to find a best method of approaching the object of study. I also try to think of other approaches and how they may lead to a possibly different or same conclusion. Through this process, I often confront my own limitations of understanding or biased readings of a text or writer.

Ultimately, I believe that both the Korean and Japanese scholars cannot be excused of their shortcomings because some documents are inaccessible or difficult to obtain.<sup>28</sup> We need to acknowledge the fact that we are all in a position to demand the best effort of the others. With the complete removal of restriction in 1987–88 on the writers who have defected to the North, the Korean and Japanese scholars can now utilize the same documents. In the past, it was the Japanese scholars who could obtain and present materials on the defected writers, while Korean colleagues were not allowed to handle or publish such articles or books at all. Now, at last, we all have the same accessibility to these materials so we can work together to advance the field of Korean Studies.

## NOTES

- 1) Of these three, the introduction of the book, *Abōji p'ain Kim Tong-hwan—Kūūi saeng'aewa munhak* [My Father, Kim Tong-hwan: His Life and Literature] is dated August 15, 1994, the day of the Forty-ninth Anniversary of Korea's Liberation. The author may not have intended to stress the Fiftieth Anniversary, but he ended up doing so. At the same time, the complete dismissal of the historical event seems to represent the author's personal feelings. The literary works mentioned in this paper, unless otherwise noted, were written in Korean. The English translations of the titles are provided for readers.
- 2) The journalist Kim Chi-un wrote an essay entitled, "When I Accuse My Father,' Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities, *Ch'inil munhagin 42 in* [Forty-two *Ch'inilp'a* Intellectuals] publication announcement," *Oh My News*, August 14, 2002. <<http://banmin.or.kr>>
- 3) In the case of Kim Ki-jin, the six-volume collection was published by Munhakkwa Chisōngsa publishers in 1988. There are some passages that seem to support the Japanese government. Although Kim kept his position as an elder in the literary circle, some of the reasons for his collected works not being published were due to his position within literary history, and the *ch'inilp'a* activities he took part in at the end of the colonial period. The main reason, however, may be because he had a record of being a proletariat writer. In 1987–88, when the ban on the defected writers and their works were lifted, the proletariat writers also became a topic of study and they were no longer a taboo. For Kim, especially, this removed many obstacles. However, it is still too difficult to say that the *ch'inilp'a* problem has finally reached its conclusion. It still remains as a taboo but different one.
- 4) Kim Yōng-shik writes: "My father, who regretted his momentary lapse and gettinginvolved with the shameful acts of *ch'inilp'a* movement, confessed to his apostasy and admitted to being a 'sinner who committed treachery to my own nation.' I have repeatedly thought this over, and on behalf of my family, I bowed my head low and apologized to my nation and my countrymen. Now the heart of the people has softened and my father's literature has been allowed to depict more than just his family. I am happy because our people have spared the nation's men of words, literati, and journalists who have been allowed to leave

their footprints on the road.” (pref., *Abŏji p’ain Kim Tong-hwan—Kŭŭi saeng’aewa munhak* [The Life and Literature of My Father, Kim Tong-hwan], pp. 6–7.)

- 5) It was much later that they were able to appear as the “defected” writers, but the influence of Im Hwa on his successors was great. The topic of the “defected writers” and *ch’inilp’a* writers is the subject matter here, so I will briefly overview the scholarship on the subject published before the Liberation. The first literary history written in Korea was: Chasan An-gwak, *Chosŏn munhaksa* [The History of Korean Literature], Hanil Publishing, 1922. The content covers the period up to the Chosŏn dynasty but it does not reach the era of the so called, *shin sosŏl* (i.e. New Novel). In *Chosŏn sosŏlsa* [The History of Korean Fiction], Ch’ŏngjin Sŏgwan, 1933, and its expanded version in 1939, Kim T’ae-jun addressed the new literary genre *shin sosŏl*. This was the first work to address such new genre and thus marks the point in Korean literary history that is worthy of our special attention. Im Hwa after the disbanding of KAPF, also writes on several occasions about the history of Korean literature in the following works: (1) “Chosŏn shinmunhaksaron sasŏl” [The Introduction to the History of New Korean Literature], *Chosŏn Ilbo* and *Joongang Ilbo*, October 9–November 13, 1935. (2a) “Kaesŏl shinmunhaksa” [A General Overview of the History of New Literature], *Chosŏn Ilbo*, September 2–November 25, 1939. (b) “Shinmunhaksa” [The History of the New Literature], *Chosŏn Ilbo*, December 5–27, 1939. (c) “Sok shinmunhaksa” [The History of the New Literature (Sequel)], *Chosŏn Ilbo*, February 2–May 10, 1940. (d) “Kaesŏl Chosŏn shinmunhaksa” [A General Overview of the History of New Literature in Chosŏn], *Inmun p’yŏngnon* [Humanities Review], November 1940–April 1941. (3) “Sosŏl munhak 20 nyŏn” [Twenty Years of the Novel], *Dong-a Ilbo*, April 12–20, 1940. He also wrote in *Dong-a Ilbo*, January 13–20, 1940, about the method of writing literary history in a sequel article, “Chosŏn munhak yŏn’guŭi ilgwaje—Shinmunhaksauŭi pangbŏmnon” [A Problem in the Study of Korean Literature: The Methodology of the New Literary History]. Im Hwa, in his arguments, refer to the concept of “transplant literature,” and from this literary framework touches on a number of problematic issues. Im Hwa’s study to this day continues to

have an influence on scholars of modern Korean literature. Im's articles have been reprinted in Im Kyu-ch'an and Han Chin-il, eds., *Shin munhaksa* [A History of New Literature], Han'gilsa, 1993. This one-volume publication is relatively easy to purchase.

- 6) This was completed around 1948. Because Pak Yŏng-hŭi was abducted during the Korean War, the work was left in its manuscript form. The Introduction, Chapter 1, and Chapter 2, were given the title, "Hyŏndae Han'guk munhaksa" [The History of Contemporary South Korean Literature] and was published in *Sasanggye* in April 1958 to April 1959. The final Chapter 3 in hand written form was discovered and published as an appendix to Kim Yun-shik, *Pak Yŏng-hŭi yŏn'gu* [The Study of Pak Yŏng-hŭi], Yŏrŭmsa, 1989 (ibid., pp. 251–315).
- 7) Representative of this is the already-mentioned "Munhaksau'i chagi pip'an chwadamhoe" (Round Table for the Writers' Self-criticism) held at the Ponghwanggak in Seoul (*Inmin yesul*, no. 2, October 1946). All eight scholars who participated in the round table discussion, excepting the three residing in the North, defected to the North later.
- 8) In this atmosphere the first period of research on modern literature was led by the first generation of the post Liberation scholars. One of the representatives of this generation is Chŏn Kwang-yong (1919–1988) who specialized in novels. He started his study on the modern Korean novels after Kim T'ae-jun and Im Hwa from the colonial period. He raised the research up to a high standard and his researches are considered to be the first significant contribution to the study of modern Korean literature. "Shin sosŏl yŏn'gu" [A New Study of New Novel], *Sasanggye*, January, 1955–November, 1956. "I In-jik yŏn'gu" [A study of I In-jik], *Seouldae nonmunjip* [Seoul National University Collected Papers], no.6, 1957. These were later published in *Shinsosŏl yŏn'gu* [A New Study of the Novel], Saemunsa, 1968.
- 9) A short time later they encountered the same dark period. Some writers were said to have protected the dignity of the people and a number of articles taking this perspective started to appear. An example is Song Minho's (1922–) article, "Ilchemal amhŭkki munhagŭi chŏhang" [The End of the Japanese Empire: Resistance in the Dark Period Literature], Tongbang Hakchi, 1968. For a general overview of the literary studies during the colonial period, refer to Kim Yong-jik and Yŏm Mu-ung's

*Ilche shidaeüi hang'il munhak* [The Resistance Literature during the Japanese Imperial Period], Shin'gumun'go, 1974.

- 10) In this situation, the following articles are important. They are: Kim Yun-shik, "Hanil munhagüi kwallyön yangsang" [Aspects of the Relationship between Japanese and Korean Literature]; Kim Yun-shik, "Ilche malgi Han'guk mundanüi kwallyön yangsang" [The Relationship of the Korean Literary World in the Late Japanese Imperial Period] in *Hanil munhagüi kwallyön yangsang*, Ilchisa, 1974; and Saegusa Toshikatsu, "Sanghwanggwa munhakchaüi chase—Ilche malgi ch'inil munhagüi kyöng'u" [The Situation and the Writer's Stance: Studies of Late Imperial Japanese and Pro-Japanese Literature], Kyunghee University Master's thesis, 1977.
- 11) When this generation became the core of the second period, it marks the beginning of a new research on modern literature. From the beginning to the middle of the 1970s, this group of young scholars comprising the second generation competed with each other in making their research known. Shin Tong-uk (1932–), *Han'guk hyöndae munhangnon* [A Theoretical Study of Contemporary Korean Literature], Pagyöngsa, 1972. Kim Yong-jik (1932–), *Han'guk hyöndae shi yön'gu* [A Study of Contemporary Korean Poetry], Ilchisa, 1974. Kim Hak-dong (1935–), *Han'guk munhagüi pigyo munhakjök yön'gu* [A Comparative Study of Korean Literature], Ilchogak, 1972. Yi Chae-sön (1936–), *Han'guk kaehwagi sosöl yön'gu* [A Study of the Novel in the Korean Enlightenment Period], Ilchogak, 1972. Yi Chae-sön, *Han'guk tanp'yön sosöl yön'gu* [A Study of the Korean Short Story], Ilchogak, 1975.

The common characteristic of the new generation is that they mainly focused on either the modern, or the "enlightenment" period literature that excluded proletariat literature. When comparing their works, Kim Yun-shik stands out with his book, *Han'guk munye pip'yöngsa yön'gu* [A Historical Study of Criticisms on Korean Arts and Literatures].

Also, the articles written by the Japanese scholars tended to focus on Im Hwa and Yi T'ae-jun who were rarely touched upon by the Korean scholars at the time because they were still considered "defected writers." In this sense, the following Japanese scholarship was on the cutting edge and their researches were given high praise.

- Ōmura Masuo (1933–), “Kaihō go no Im Hwa” [Im Hwa after the Liberation], *Shakai kagaku tōkyū*, no. 35, Waseda University, 1967. Chō Shōkichi (1941–89), “Yi T’ae-jun,” *Chōsen gakuhō*, Korean Association, Tenri, 1979. Saegusa Toshikatsu (1941–), “Yi T’ae-jun sakuhin ron” [A Study of Works by Yi T’ae-jun], *Shien*, no 117, Kyushu University Faculty of Letters, 1980. Saegusa Toshikatsu, “Kaihō go no Yi T’ae-jun” [Yi T’ae-jun after the Liberation], *Shien*, no.118, 1981.
- 12) *Haksurwŏn nonmunjip (Inmun, sahoegwahakp’yŏn)* [Complete Works of the Academic School], no. 6, Taehanmin’guk Haksurwŏn (The National Academy of Science), Republic of Korea, 1967, pp. 51–130.
  - 13) At the same time that he published *Han’guk munye pip’yŏngsa yŏn’gu* [A Study of the History of Literary Criticism in Korea], Kim Yun-shik also compiled eleven articles in his book, *Kūndae Han’guk munhak yŏn’gu* [A Study of Modern Korean Literature], Ilchisa. Both of these were released on February 25, 1973. They were meant to compliment each other and together provide a new contour of modern Korean literature.
  - 14) A round table meeting was held on the topic of “How to View the Literature of Northern Defectors” (*Shindong’a*, May 1978).
  - 15) Kim Hak-dong’s *Chŏng Chi-yong yŏn’gu* [A Study of Chŏng Chi-yong] was published in 1988 from Minūmsa. The Introduction to this work is dated 1982.
  - 16) Please refer to works like Kim Yun-shik’s *Han’guk hyŏndae munhak pip’yŏngsa* [A Study of the History of Modern Literary Criticism in Korea], Seoul National University Press, 1982, or Kwŏn Yŏng-min’s *Han’guk kūndae munhakkwa shidae chŏngshin* [Modern Korean Literature and the Spirit of the Times], Munye Publishing Co., Ltd., 1983.
  - 17) The representative work of *Hong Myŏng-hŭi* by Im Kŏ-jŏng was published into a nine-volume set by Tosŏ Ch’ulp’an Sagejejŏl Publishing, each volume published every four years since 1985.
  - 18) For example, on September 8, 1989, the Dongguk University Faculty of Buddhism Student Society hosted a conference entitled, “The Mentality of the Korean People, Pyŏkch’o Hong Myŏng-hŭi Sŏnsaeng, the Re-Illumination of Intellectual Thought and Literature,” where Song Kŏn-ho and Yi Ho-ch’ŏl gave lectures.

- 19) See *Shillok ch'inilp'a* [A Record of Factual Information about Japanese Collaborators], Tolbegae, 1991.
- 20) *Ch'inilp'a* [Japanese Collaborators] I–III, Hangminsa, 1990, 1992, and 1993; *Inmullo ponŭn ch'inilp'aŭi yŏksa* [The History of Japanese Collaboration Movement Viewed through the Lives of the Real Figures], Yŏksa Pip'yŏngsa, 1993.
- 21) *Minjok chŏng'ŭiŭi shimp'an* [Judgment by the Justice of the People], *Panminja taegongp'an'gi* [The Grand Public Judgment of the Anti-nationals], *Panminja choesanggi* [The Crimes of the Anti-nationals], and *Ch'inilp'a kunsang yesang tŭngjang inmul* [The Mob of Pro-Japanese, the Predictable Characters] have been reprinted and combined together in *Ch'inilp'a choesanggi* [The Chronicle of the Crimes of the Japanese Collaborators], Hangminsa, 1993.
- 22) See *Ch'inil munhak p'yŏngnonjip* [Studies of the Criticism of Pro-Japanese Literature], Shilch'ŏn Munhaksa, 1987; *Ch'inil munhak chakp'um sŏnjip* [Selected Literature of Pro-Japanese Writers], vols. 1–2, Shilch'ŏn Munhaksa, 1986. In recent years, Yi Kyŏng-hun has translated *Yi Kwang-su, ch'inil sosŏl palguljip—Chinjŏng maŭmi mannasŏyamallo* [Yi Kwang-su's Pro-Japanese Novels Discovered: Only When Our True Hearts Meet], P'yŏngminsa, 1995. If one wishes to participate in the discourse of “*ch'inilp'a* literature,” it is necessary to be fluent in the Japanese language. This is the issue for the present generation of researchers, the third and the fourth as well. Yi Kyŏng-hun's stay in Japan may have been brief but he also studied in Japan as an exchange student.
- 23) “Haebang 50 chunyon kinyŏm ch'inil munhakkwa hang'il munhak pigyo shimp'ojium” (Symposium for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Liberation: Comparing *Ch'inilp'a* and Anti-Japan Resistance Literature), June 17, 1995.
- 24) Concerning the events before 1987, refer to Hotei Toshihiro, “Nittei makki Nihongo shōsetsu kenkyū” [The Japanese Language Novels in the Last Period of Imperial Japan], February 1996.
- 25) The selection process in *Shilch'ŏn munhak*, Fall 2002 (no. 67, August 2002) was undertaken by the National Literary Writers Conference, Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities, and *Shilch'ŏn munhak*. The three parties cooperated in making the “*Ch'inilp'a*”

Literary Bibliography” (organized by Kim Chae-yong) and in the introductory remarks, they explain the criteria for the selection (ibid., pp. 124).

- 26) They are as follows: Kim Yun-shik, *Yi Kwang-suwa kũui shidae* [Yi Kwang-su and his Times], three volumes, Han'gilsa, 1986, later expanded edition published by Sol Publishing Co., 1999. *Kim Tong-in yŏn'gu* [The Study of Kim Tong-in], Minũmsa, 1987, the expanded edition published in 2000. Kim Yun-shik, *Yŏm Sang-sŏp yŏn'gu* [The Study of Yŏm Sang-sŏp], Seoul University Press, 1987, an expanded edition published later. Also refer to Kim Yun-shik, *An Su-gil yŏn'gu* [A Study of An Su-gil], Chŏng'ũmsa, 1986, or Kim Yun-shik, *Pak Yŏng-hũi yŏng'u* [The Study of Pak Yŏng-hũi], Yŏrũmsa, 1989. These may be broadly understood within the same scope.
- 27) Here, the discussion is centered on South Korea, and the state of research in other areas was not addressed. This will be a topic for another study.
- 28) The reason I refer to these things is because I have seen some of the following incidents take place. I will avoid disclosing any names, but will describe two of these incidents.

The first incident is about a scholar doing a research on a “defector literature.” In a study of a defector poet, the person was introduced to a new material by his colleague but he presented the finding under his own name. In the case of this particular author, the poetry of a particular defector poet was made the subject of an article written in the 1990s. This was fine, but about ten years later, using the anthology of poems produced by the poet after he had defected, he wrote another article. The problem was that he used the material found by some one else. One of the greatest problems when studying defector literature is this problem of archival materials. These documents are located in various parts of the world. At present, the situation of literary production in the northern region of Korea after the Liberation is still not clear. In order to clarify this, it is necessary to spend long painstaking hours doing an investigative work. If ever then, a South Korean scholar wishes to write about a defector writer, they should first go to the North Korea Documentary Center to study the available information. If the person mentioned above was serious about



researching the period after the writer had defected, he should have gone to the North Korea Documentary Centre at least once between the time he wrote his first and the second articles. This person never once took the trouble to do so and spent this long time in other ways. It was purely by an accident that he came across the material discovered by someone else. Only after first using it for his own presentation, he finally made a visit to the Centre to create an alibi. This sort of behavior is not that of a researcher, but of someone who is simply looking for a quick way to build a name for himself through publications. Regardless of the quality of the person's articles, his behavior was unethical. Professor Kim Chae-yong from Wonkwang University began to collect materials related to North Korean literature, and he has traveled all over the world to do so. Based on his fieldwork, he compiled a large body of high quality research. While there are people like him who work diligently at their research, we also see people who conduct themselves in a less than acceptable manner.

The second incident involves those scholars who study Korean writers residing in Japan during and after the colonial period. Some are involved in this research without first building a sufficient command of the Japanese language. These people often take someone else's articles and simply rewrite them in their own language. In order to study the literature of Korean residents of Japan, a good Japanese language skill is an absolute necessity. One must spend just as much time in studying the language as his or her own research. But there are those who overlook or dismiss the importance of language study and simply plan a project and apply for funding. In the end, they approach scholars to ask for their help in finding the materials. These people conduct their research by depending on others and yet publish their works under their own name. This way of doing a research merely reflects a desire to build their own credentials. Furthermore, this is a result of assuming that "Koreans residing in Japan" are just like Koreans living in Korea. What we need in an academic scholarship is a steadier stance.