YELLOW OVER BLACK:
THE PRECOLONIAL AND COLONIAL HISTORY OF RACE IN KOREA, 1883-1945

BY
JAE KYUN KIM

DISSERTATION
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2017

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:
Professor Moon-Kie Jung, Chair
Associate Professor Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi
Associate Professor Brian Dill
Assistant Professor Jungwon Kim
ABSTRACT

This dissertation discloses that anti-Blackness and other deeply held notions of race in precolonial and colonial Korea (1883-1945) were pivotal in how Koreans made sense of their vulnerability and, later, subjection to colonization and of their supposed "temporary" backwardness on the path to civilization as well as independence. First, during the precolonial period (1883-1910), Koreans constructed imagined racial inferiors, especially Blacks and American Indians, without their corporeal presence, and in doing so centrally shaped Korean racial identity from its beginning. By proposing the concept of the colonially vulnerable to call attention to the positions and outlooks of peoples and states that were susceptible to foreign rule in the age of empire, as well as drawing on the insights of W.E.B. Du Bois, this dissertation thereby reveals how Koreans rendered Blacks and American Indians peoples without history, along with the subsequent relation to racial slavery and its afterlife. Second, under the militaristic rules (1910–1919) of the Japanese Empire, in contrast to the assumption that race was not significant in colonial Korea due to racial akin-ness between the colonizer and the colonized, the Japanese colonial regime was forced to embrace the racial similarity discourse, risking their imagined superiority, and to criticize anti-Blackness in the United States in order to establish the colonial legitimacy over the pro-U.S. sentiment of the colonized leading back to the precolonial period. Meanwhile, though colonization put Koreans on the same footing as their imagined racial inferiors who were destined to be enslaved or extinct per their imagined construction, Koreans’ anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy persisted as revealed, for instance, in the unnoticed racial subtext of the Declaration of Independence. Third, even though colonial Korea under the cultural rules (1919–1937) has often been regarded as a period of discursive shift since anti-racism
discourse seemed to prevail on the surface, this dissertation further reveals that the period should be examined through the "deep schemas" of racism even without racial contestations and policies. As opposed to shallow anti-racism ideology, the deep schemas of anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy were transposed into different extra-racial schemas. From the most controversial discourse of national reconstruction to aspects of everyday life such as intimate desire and intra-Korean relationships, these schemas of anti-Blackness provided Koreans with the guidelines for perceiving and interacting with their perceived racial inferiors, especially Blacks, as well as the symbolic inferiority of Blackness. Fourth, during the wartime empire (1937-1945) which has often been characterized by the "polite racism" of the Japanese Empire mainly due to the wartime needs and the tenet of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere against white supremacy, Koreans, who would have internalized the colonial tenet, persistently relied on anti-Blackness. Furthermore, though the current racism against Southeast Asians in South Korea has been considered as something new independent of anti-Blackness, this dissertation further reveals how anti-Blackness in colonial Korea was transposed into racism against Southeast Asians as the Japanese Empire annexed the region by demonstrating how their imagined backwardness was constructed vis-à-vis that of Blacks by Koreans. Finally, this dissertation concludes with several post-independence stories of anti-Blackness leading up to contemporary Korea by implying the continuing significance of anti-Blackness beyond the precolonial and colonial eras.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 1

CHAPTER 1: THE PRECOLONIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACIAL INFERIORS IN KOREA, 1883 – 1910 ................................................................................................................... 22

CHAPTER 2: RACE AND BLACKNESS IN COLONIAL KOREA, 1910-1919 ...................... 48

CHAPTER 3: THE DEEP SCHEMAS OF ANTI-BLACKNESS IN COLONIAL KOREA, 1919-1937 ..................................................................................................................................... 76

CHAPTER 4: TRANSPOSITION OF ANTI-BLACKNESS: RACISM AGAINST SOUTHEAST ASIANS IN LATE COLONIAL KOREA, 1937-1945............................................... 108

EPILOGUE ......................................................................................................................................... 135

APPENDIX: METHODOLOGY................................................................................................ 147

NOTES ........................................................................................................................................ 160

REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................... 187
Among all the races, since whites are the most brilliant, diligent, and courageous, they have gradually defeated other inferior races all around the world and acquired land and forests. Therefore, some races among the inferior, who cannot learn whites’ knowledge and customs, should be gradually extinct.\(^2\)

Once used to be the most used fuel for heating in the 1980s, only less than 0.5 percent of households, mostly poor, use heating coal in South Korea and delivering it to the poor has become one of the popular charities. In the middle of delivery, the chair of Korea’s ruling Saenuri Party made a racist joke at the expense of one of the volunteers. "Your face color is the same as the briquettes’ color." Kim Moo-sung, who led the poll at the time to succeed President Park Guen-hye, was addressing a Nigerian exchange student. Though many people were initially disturbed, public interest dissipated after a quick apology ("Rep. Kim Moo-sung" 2015; "S. Korean Presidential Frontrunner" 2015; Yoon 2015).

Perhaps better-known, North Korea had also received an uncommonly public denouncement from Washington in May 2014 after a piece from a North Korean worker, Kang Hyeok, on *Rodongsinmun* (Workers’ Newspaper), the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, referred to Obama as "a wicked black monkey" and "a crossbreed with unclear blood." The Korean-language edition elaborated in even less restrained rhetoric—to roughly translate one sentence from the original, "Blackish body, bleary gray eyes, gaping nostrils, thickly swollen mouth, and pointed ears with rough hair, the more [you] look at [him], [he is] literally a monkey kind in the African primeval forest" (Kang 2014). Nevertheless, in its analysis of the rant, the Washington Post somehow found "some clear
contradictions in North Korea's stereotyping," noting that "the North maintains active ties with several African countries and just signed a cooperation agreement with Nigeria" (Fish 2014; Harlan and Goldfarb 2014; "North Korea Media" 2014; Saul 2014).

Despite significant differences between the two Koreas, this dissertation focuses on something rarely noticed, the origin of an underlying parallel: anti-Black racism. In contemporary South Korea, racial expressions such as Kim’s remark do not seem to be isolated occurrences but something not difficult to be heard. According to a report from the National Human Rights Commission of Korea (NHRCK, hereafter):

Migrants are avoided as they were "dirty," "noisy," and "smelly" and despised as "savage," "ignorant," "lazy," and "greedy." Migrants workers from less-developed countries are considered as a group "who come to a country they do not belong and steal works" thereby harming the Korean economy. Muslims are potential "terrorists" who are open to commit crimes. Marriage migrants are "sold to be a pathetic child bearer" as well as "prostitutes." Hate speeches toward migrants go beyond simply yelling "go back to your country" as they lead to the instigation of discrimination that urges to control and deport them for the sake of "protecting Koreans and preventing crimes" (2016: 108).

A statement from the commission also lifts a racial remark toward Blacks. Titled "Have you smelled blacks," a post from the Internet goes on to rant "Two blacks from Sudan in our dorm smell ewe the **** (laughter)" (NHRCK 2011). To Blacks in Korea, anti-Blackness even seems to be extremely overt. When a young African American man, Ashanti Lee, shows up as a substitute teacher at a kindergarten, in contrast to the prior amicable phone interview, the owner stutters and then says, "Oh, no, no. Black ugly, white okay" (Hazzan 2014). Meanwhile, along with the racial remarks about Obama, mob attacks on Black Cuban diplomats in North Korea
reveal similar anti-Black racism that resonates with its populace (Myers 2010). A following question would be, then, in what context do the two Koreas’ racisms share a common genealogy. Granted that foreign population in South Korea has been known to "create" racial problems, racism may track their increased presence. However, given the small Black, Nigerian, or Sudanese population in South Korea, let alone in the North, the manifest anti-Blackness in both Koreas begs a question that race may not be unprecedented. When Dongnipsinmun, the very first private-led Korean newspaper founded in 1896, asserted that some races among the inferior should gradually become extinct, who were those racial inferiors? Given that Blacks as well as other "racial inferiors" mattered to the history of Korea as early as the late nineteenth century, in what context has this simply become unthought and, indeed, unthinkable? More important, how did the construction of anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy matter?

In contrast to the long-standing notion of racial homogeneity that often leads to the marginalization or even erasure of race in Korea, this dissertation reveals that anti-Blackness and other deeply held notions of race in precolonial and colonial Korea were pivotal in how Koreans made sense of their vulnerability and, later, subjection to colonization and of their supposed "temporary" backwardness on the path to civilization and independence. Koreans continually projected various meanings onto African Americans and other Blacks, long before any actual contact with them, as they negotiated their way in the modern world, one in which race—and the threat and actuality of colonial domination—figured centrally.

No race problem or racial discourse has been regarded as occurring in Korea except for the dominant discourse of hanminjok (uni-ethnicity). Whether it has been viewed as self-evident or peripheral, studies on race and empire has rarely paid attention to race in Korea; instead, it has been considered only a topic for regional study implying assumed lack of theoretical
significance. It has not been much different within Korea. Imaginary racial absence has been embedded in many aspects of Korean culture; therefore, most Koreans seem to believe it to be true. However, an influx of foreign laborers and brides in the past few decades, along with a dramatic decline in "Korean" birth rates, has suddenly unsettled this state of affairs. From 1990 to 2015, the number of foreign-born persons rose from fewer than 50,000 to nearly 2 million and is projected to compose 10 percent of the population by 2030 (Moon 2015: 2-3). Accordingly, migration studies and discourse on "multi-culturalism" has quickly become one of the most burgeoning fields in Korean studies as the process toward a "multi-cultural" society is conceived to be "inevitable and irreversible" due to the influx of labor migration, rapidly aging population, low fertility rate, and lack of brides (A. Kim 2009). In a similar context, in 2008, half of a volume of the Korean Journal of Sociology 42(2) was dedicated to empirical articles discussing racial issues. However, with few exceptions, scholars in Korea have also exclusively focused their discourse on cultural diversity while neglecting how their racism has been historically constructed. Because they view race as unprecedented and therefore a new social phenomenon, they believe that the colorblind contact hypothesis would come true, as "racially innocent" Koreans might ultimately become less prejudiced through contacts with and "proper" education about different cultures. The NHRCK has also recently made a series of efforts to intervene in racial discrimination. With a reminder that the United Nations once gave advice to "overcome racial superiority of uni-ethnic nation" in 2007, the commission adds that lack of economically successful foreigners in South Korea can be another reason for derogatory racial remarks (NHRCK 2011). By regarding race as temporary or reducible, the existing scholarship on Korea offers less guidance for in-depth analysis of race, especially anti-Blackness.
STUDY OF RACE

Classical social thinkers did not pay much attention to race. Though race has been occasionally mentioned, it was not treated as part of the fundamental structure of society. Contrary to the contact hypothesis, which assumes natural racial melting, persistent racism and racial differences in the United States eventually drew attention from scholars and became indispensable topics in today’s American sociology.3 Rather than treating race as superstructure of economy (e.g., Bonacich 1972), Omi and Winant (1994) demonstrate that race is not a mere byproduct of economic structure and elevate race to a status as one of the major social structures. King and Smith (2005) similarly argue that analysis on almost all American politics has to be viewed through a racial lens with two evolving and competing racial orders: a white supremacist order and an egalitarian transformative order. Rather than being a temporary and non-fundamental social phenomenon, they argue that race cannot be reduced to elements of social structure, such as class, and should instead be treated as a fundamental type of structure in American society. As Omi and Winant term this socio-historical process as "racial formation," they define it as "the process by which social, economic, and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings" (Omi and Winant 1994: 61-62).

Against the hegemonic belief of the U.S. as a melting pot, as well as the existing scholarship on assimilation, one-way toward Anglo-conformity4, the sociology of race has cogently demonstrated the "hidden" structure of racism in the U.S. by showing the ongoing significance of race in contemporary society (e.g., Bonilla-Silva 2006; Feagin 2006; Feagin and Cobas 2013). However, it has often overly emphasized the binary between whites and non-whites and how white supremacy has oppressed and racialized non-whites. This is far from
downplaying white supremacy and oppression of non-whites. However, in this binary model, non-whites are lumped together into one entity that has suffered equally from white supremacy. While the coalition of people of color is not uncommon and often conceived as desirable, the binary model tends to marginalize different aspects of struggle along the racial and ethnic lines of minority groups. More importantly, it fails to account for the possibility that minority groups can also participate in constructing and maintaining white supremacy. Examining one of the most well-known racial conflicts between racial minorities in the U.S., Blacks and Koreans, C. Kim (2000) critiques an approach that often renders anti-Black racism among Korean Americans into an aracial "American dreams" (e.g., Ablemann and Lie 1995; Min 1996) and theorizes "racial triangulation," which can be explained as two axes: "relative valorization" and processes of "civic ostracism." According to her concept of racial triangulation, Asian Americans are relatively more valorized than Blacks, but they are still treated as foreign outsiders. Moreover, she emphasizes how people of color—Korean Americans, in this case—participate in racial triangulation rather than being passively oppressed. Interestingly, while she raises another question (i.e., under what conditions they reacted in a certain way), she does not provide much analysis on the historical background from which racial triangulation emerged.

The reason that Kim has failed to delve into this question should be accounted for an implicit tendency that sociology of race has conceived of people of color, especially who are non-Blacks, as "empty vessels" or "passive receptacles." In this framework, immigrants who come to the U.S. eventually become racialized due to the racial specificity of the U.S. Since immigrants (especially East Asians) are considered as people without structure of white supremacy and collective corporeal racial contacts, therefore racially innocent (or often ignorant) before they entered the United States, scholars have often implicitly assumed that those people
can be lumped together as racial others who equally and passively suffer from white supremacy in the U.S., regardless of their diverse backgrounds. Thus, while her work is informative in the important regard that Korean Americans have often actively participated in the construction of racial triangulation and maintenance of the status quo, it still begs a question why Korean Americans have reacted in a certain racial way.

Rather than severing the tie between immigrants and their origin, Chan (1990) indicates the importance of the historical, political, and economic contexts of the sending countries and the international political context beyond the contexts of the receiving countries. She argues that colonization and nationalization affected immigrants' negotiation with white supremacy and racialization. Moreover, she shows how U.S. international policy affected peoples of color differentially according to home country. While her analysis is not directly related to race or racism in the sending countries, it provides an important lesson that many scholars have overlooked. Azuma's (2005) more detailed approach, termed as "an inter-National perspective," demonstrates how international racial contexts matter. In order to show more in-depth analysis of the second generation’s transnational past, he claims a perspective that "stresses the interstitial (not transcendental) nature of their lives between the two nation states" (Azuma 2005: 5). His analysis on how both nations’ governmental policy and history affected Japanese descendants in America shows the propensity of analysis bounded within national boundaries to overlook important aspects of race and racism. According to him, the colonial intentions of the Japanese government with respect to Japanese immigrants’ intentions to maintain their Japanese culture indicate that Japanese immigrants never simply accepted racialization from the U.S. government or succumbed to white supremacy. In other words, their already-constructed racial hierarchy and
its ongoing influence were crucial in understanding how Japanese people made sense of their racial surroundings in the United States.

Though historical study of race has overlooked race in East Asia, the trend has gradually been overturned since the 1990s. For example, Dikötter (1994) articulates how the concept of race had changed throughout the nineteenth century in China. Further, Weiner (1997a; 1997b) shows how the concept of Japanese race had been constructed from the Meiji era through the period of imperialism in Japan. On the other hand, as K. Park (1997) acknowledges, systematic analysis on the history of race in Korea has not yet been done. Evidently, Koreans have racial preferences before they enter the United States; for example, Ablemann and Lie (1995) contend that Koreans who immigrated or intended to immigrate to the U.S. preferred whites to Blacks. Further, N. Kim (2008) reveals that the construction of racial image through presence of American soldiers after the Korean War and Hollywood movies have contributed to Koreans’ view on Blacks. While those studies remind that Koreans are not racially innocent or ignorant, historical analysis on racism in Korea remains to be filled.

Nevertheless, writing in the age of empire, W.E.B. Du Bois, whose contribution has been deliberately marginalized by the social sciences, proclaimed famously that "the problem of twentieth century is the problem of the color-line" ([1903] 1965:221). Unlike Robert Park and Ernest Burgess ([1921] 1969) who claimed the irreversible cycle of race relation would lead to eventual racial assimilation, known as the contact hypothesis, persistent racism in the contemporary U.S. seems to make his proclamation almost self-evident. However, what is less known is that the color line did not stop at the borders of the United States, as Du Bois added after the famous proclamation: "the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea" ([1903] 1965: 221). What Du Bois envisioned
therefore urges us to embark on analyzing how far the color-line has traveled and how much it has mattered. Blinkered by theoretical and methodological nationalism, the social sciences long ignored what Du Bois had taken to be obvious.\textsuperscript{6} Only in the last quarter century has it become, if not quite legitimate, at least intelligible to speak of the long and ongoing existence of "global white supremacy."

Global white supremacy—a "system, a particular kind of polity, so structured as to advantage whites" (Mills, 1998: 100)—is an alternative theoretical framework that aims to supplement previous theories that overlooked race as a fundamental political philosophy. Beyond the borders of the U.S. global white supremacy has taken different forms around the world throughout history (Winant 2001). To deconstruct global white supremacy, as his book title suggests, the most important task is making Blackness visible (Mills 1998). Indeed, while many assume anti-Blackness is limited within the U.S., Bashi (2004) shows how anti-Blackness has been prevalent in transnational immigration law, policy, and practice not only in the U.S. but also in United Kingdom and Canada. Again, much earlier, Du Bois acknowledged not only global white supremacy but also global anti-Blackness:

And still this widening of the idea of common Humanity is of slow growth and today but dimly realized. We grant full citizenship in the World-Commonwealth to the "Anglo-Saxon" (whatever that may mean), the Teuton and the Latin; then with just a shade of reluctance we extend it to the Celt and Slav. We half deny it to the yellow races of Asia, admit the brown Indians to an ante-room only on the strength of an undeniable past; \textit{but with the Negroes of Africa we come to a full stop}, and in its heart the civilized world with one accord denies that these come within the pale of nineteenth century Humanity (Du Bois [1899] 1996:386, emphases added).
Racial construction of whiteness was impossible without racial otherness, especially anti-Blackness, through the unique condition of chattel slavery (Patterson 1982; Sexton 2010, 2011, 2016; Wilderson 2010). Beyond primitive accumulation of capital, through racial slavery, the very idea of humans as free and rational subjects was developed alongside whiteness and in contrast to Blackness as sub-humans (or even non-human) who are enslaved and incapable of being rational (Sorentino 2016). Emancipation of civil society, therefore, does not free Blacks, as they are regarded as "cows" and not human beings (Wilderson 2003). "The pale of nineteenth century Humanity," the construction of unconditional exclusion of Blacks, and the "full stop" therefore go beyond the borders. Indeed, Sexton (2016) asserts that the status of social death based on racial slavery must be extended to all diasporic Blacks.

However, how the "half-denied" Koreans navigated the "color-line" and "full stop" during the age of empire remains unanswered. Were they people of color who suffered from global white supremacy or, though in a different register, non-Blacks who participated in reproducing social death? During the Black-Korean conflict, according to the theory of racial triangulation, C. Kim (2000) would argue that regarding Korean Americans as people of color might not reflect the whole picture. Perhaps, the new anti-Black racial hierarchy was in the making (e.g., Gans 1999). However, to the thinkers of Afro-pessimism, though it certainly intersects with white supremacy, anti-Blackness has always been in place with its own agenda of dehumanizing Blacks (Ray et al. 2017). Revisiting the first quote of this introduction, whom did Dongnipsinmun refer to? In other words, the quote implies more than aspirations for western civilization or whiteness. As will be seen later, those racial inferiors were mostly Blacks as well as "natives." In other words, racial slavery, social death, and its afterlife go beyond the borders of the United States, and anti-Blackness can be hidden in an unexpected location.
Without the corporeal presence of Blacks and their imagined racial inferiors, Koreans navigated the age of empire in racial terms—not only under global white supremacy but also global anti-Blackness. In other words, as will be seen throughout these chapters, construction of anti-Blackness, even without physical violence toward Blacks, was vital in construction of "Korean-ness" prior to the era of globalization or labor and marriage migration. That said, it has been hardly visible in the existing race studies. If reiterating the goal of the theories on global white supremacy, this "hidden" Blackness must be addressed. How far do the color-line and full-stop belt the world? Furthermore, what can this racial history in a location where Blackness is least expected contribute to Afro-pessimism? Rather than clinging to the contact hypothesis—the idea that contact between races would eventually lead to deracialized, harmonious relations—and racial progress narratives represented as "color-blindness" or "multi-culturalism," an answer to the question would expand the horizon of the existing theories on global white supremacy and anti-Blackness.

STUDY OF EMPIRE

As the sociology of race has given special meaning to race in the United States, historical and transnational aspects of racism have been overshadowed. In this manner, the sociology of empire has disclosed important lessons on how the creation of racial inferiors had been vital in the age of empire. Rather than emphasizing how global capitalism or globalization can be traced back to imperial origins, this "new" study of empire focuses on cultural aspects of empire and how these enabled and maintained the empire.

In the article titled "The ‘new’ sociology of empire and colonialism," Go (2009) explains what the recent sociology of empire has examined. According to him, it has examined "social
forms, processes and relations associated with imperialism and colonialism" (Go 2009: 1). By doing so, the new study critically reconstructs the limitations of traditional sociology. He terms this study as "imperial-colonial" and newly articulates its four important characteristics. First, rather than reducing imperialism to economics, it emphasizes its cultural role. As claimed by Dirks (1992), modern colonialism was essentially a cultural project of control. Second, it rejected a monolithic understanding of history. Contextualized within a larger "imperial turn" or "postcolonial turn," it admits that a general theory in history is impossible and turns its emphasis to multiple histories. In other words, if historicism puts the history of non-European countries in a "waiting room" (Chakrabarty 2000), these "imperial-colonial" studies reject the idea that every nation is destined toward the path of one modernism. This notion of multiple histories is directly related to the third characteristic. If we reject the idea of the historical "waiting room," we ought to see how those histories are mutually constituted. Thus, the new study emphasizes how the East and West are mutually constituted. Finally, it sees some of the scientific categories as imagined and created through imperial and colonial relations. Through these lenses, the sociology of empire has cogently demonstrated that the monolithic view on empire has overlooked complicated interests among multiple actors and that colonial legacies and racialized images of colonialism are still valid (Go 2009).

Unlike "nation-states," "empire-states" consist of hierarchically differentiated subjects (Cooper 2005; Jung 2011). Each member of the empire is hierarchized according to the "rule of difference" (Chartterjee 1993); therefore, how they were differentiated—and under what criteria—became important. Rather than simple geographical differences, scholars have emphasized that the differences required the notion of the biological (or racial) inferiority of the colonized. For example, Todorov articulated that the main characteristic of the colonized is "the
display of contempt or aggressiveness toward other people on account of physical differences" (Todorov 1986: 370). Homi Bhabha also argues that the very purpose of colonial-cultural discourse was "to construct the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin in order to justify conquest" (Bhabha [1994] 2004: 70).

While understanding the crucial roles of these imagined racial lines of colonial regimes in empire-states, Steinmetz (2007) raises an important argument that these imagined cultural-racial differences were not invented solely during colonization. Indicating the differences in colonial policies among German colonies, he claims that those imagined differences were invented before official colonization and that such "precolonial cultural familiarization" almost dictated how the colonizer would rule the colonized. According to him, this creation of fixed meaning by the proto-colonizer indeed enabled colonization; this explains why colonial policies varied according to colony from the outset. His work thus reveals that those cultural aspects are not just significant but always historically contingent.

Though the ways in which the colonizer would rule the colonized were almost determined by precolonial cultural familiarization, this does not simultaneously mean that those rules were omnipotent. Those rules of difference were always challenged and negotiated. This very aspect has become one of the major themes of the current historical scholarship on empire (Calhoun et al. 2006). Whether we call it colonial resistance or colonial ambiguity, though those two are conceptually different, we have to delve into how the colonized people made sense of precolonial cultural familiarization or imaginary cultural creation not only under the colonial regime but also prior to official colonization. However, the precolonial cultural familiarization of the colonized has not been investigated in the study of empire.
Scholars’ efforts to emphasize those limits of power have explained why most studies on empire still only investigate what the West did in the East or to the Other. In other words, their interests still lie in how Western colonial power was limited, though those studies also investigate the causal factors of limitations. Rather than treating the colonized and the East (or the Other) as autonomous agents, scholars have merely taken a detour and thus ironically re-centered the western concept of self (Frankenberg and Mani 1996). On the one hand, this trend is congruent with the lopsided emphasis on the colonizer. On the other hand, this tendency might be one of the reasons why the study of empire has only reflected interest in the Western Empire. The Japanese Empire has been treated as no more than a historical anomaly or a mere imitation of the Western Empire; thus, it is seen as less important in the larger academic field. Perhaps, as Schmid (2000) notes, for most scholars of empire, the West still remains the sole locus of external change, progress, and influence. Well-known scholars in the study of empire have hardly even mentioned the Japanese Empire. If the study of empire has paid little interest to the colonized of the Western Empire, it is easy to imagine how the colonized (or the colonially vulnerable) of the Japanese Empire have been conceived.

Since imagined racial lines formed the crucial rules of the difference, the notion of a racially similar empire might be one of the reasons that the Japanese Empire has been overlooked. For example, Peattie (1984) indicates that the Japanese Empire was unique in that its subjects were racially akin to the colonizer. Ching (1998) also notes that the major difference between the Japanese Empire and the Western Empire was the former’s absence of a clear duality—such as white vs. non-white—due to its cultural and racial alikeness. Similarly, Ferro (1997) shares the idea that the difference within the Japanese Empire was a difference of minzoku (民族) rather than jinshu (race, 人種). He states that minzoku "referred to something
broader, that is, a culture represented by a people, with Japan being placed at the summit of this cultural ladder and being accordingly destined to lead the others, as a result of the synthesis it had achieved between the East and the West" (Ferro 1997: 101).

However, minzoku cannot be interpreted without the notion of blood. Minzokusei (characteristic of minzoku, 民族性), which is still a frequently used term in Japan today, was largely defined by blood during the 1920s and 1930s. As J. Park (2009) notes, Asian-led governance of racial proximate Asian populations also required the racialization of its subjects. For example, Siddle (1997) reveals rampant "scientific racism" during the colonial period in Japan. In one instance, colonial anthropologists Furuhata Tanemoto and Furukawa Takeji researched the proportions of the four principal blood types (A, B, O, and AB) among the Taiwanese and Ainu people. After identifying two broad types—active (O and B) and passive (A and AB)—they concluded that high proportions of blood types O and B exist among Taiwanese aborigines and Ainu people, respectively. They wrote that Taiwanese aborigines’ stubborn and energetic natures were caused by a high proportion of blood type O; thus, the aborigines require much energy for civilization. On the other hand, they wrote that the Ainu people—who were on the verge of extinction—were mostly blood type B and were thus satisfied with the present without worry for the past or future (Siddle 1997). Further, as shown by Mizuno (2009), the method by which to define minzoku was a hot issue in "science." While the Japanese Marxists rejected the racialized notion of minzoku, which was based on the current notions of blood or biology circa the 1930s, the existence of this debate signifies that at least, race matters in the Japanese Empire existed alongside minzoku.

The Japanese Empire also understood race through their own cultural categories beyond imitating the West. In order to understand the relations between Japan and others, the empire
only selectively assimilated European ideas. Through their experience of colonialism, they later
developed their own ideas (Takezawa 2005; Young 1997). As used in the Western Empire, racial
ideology in the Japanese Empire was also arbitrary. Sato (1994), for example, demonstrates how
dobundoshu (same language same race, 同文同種) ideology was used and contested at the same
time to show arbitrarily either the racial similarity of "yellows" or the racial superiority of
Japanese.

Imagining the difference between the colonized and the colonizer was also important in
the Japanese Empire, as opposed to the idea of racial similarity. In the study of race and empire,
rather than re-centering the focus on the colonizer, it is important to examine the ways in which
the colonized of the Japanese Empire, or the colonially vulnerable, made sense of those racial
schemes before and during the period of empire.

RACE AND ANTI-BLACKNESS IN (PRE)COLONIAL KOREA

Hilary Conroy’s work was the first to emphasize how a precolonial cultural aspect played a role
in the colonizing Korea (Conroy 1960). For more than 30 years, his work had been the only opus
on how the cultural schema of Seikanron (an argument on conquering Korea) in Meiji Japan
played a pivotal role in colonizing Korea. Though the Meiji Japan had a far superior army and a
bigger economy compared to Korea, scholars have shown that these were not sufficient to regard
the Empire as a given. In order to prove that Japan was the equivalent of the civilized West,
Japanese people believed that they would be treated the same as the West if they were successful
in colonizing Korea. In this hierarchy constructing process, defining Koreans was a pivotal task
to Japan. Rationalizing Koreans’ backwardness and legitimizing their own colonization of the
Koreans, they "defined" Koreans as racially and culturally inferior (Duus 1995). These two brief
but pertinent examples demonstrate the importance of precolonial cultural familiarization in the Japanese Empire, often conceived as an empire of similarity.

Accordingly, as mentioned above, the question of the colonially vulnerable remains. How did Koreans negotiate this imaginary creation and create racial inferiors, especially via anti-Blackness, based on their own racial understanding? It should be noted that a historical record on depicting people as related variations of "blacks," perhaps based on phenotype, did exist prior to the age of empire. For example, the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (Joseon Wangjo Sillok) reveals that people offered as tributes from a Thai envoy to the first King of Joseon were depicted as "black servants" (黑厮, Heuksi) in 1394.\(^{10}\) On the other hand, according to the Annals, the first African Black people in Korea were called Haegwi (sea ghost). A general from China introduced a soldier with "black face, limbs and body" from Portugal to Seonjo, the 14\(^{th}\) King of Joseon, in 1598, the final year of the Japanese invasions of Korea initiated from 1592. The King was very happy to see the battle skills of "different faced intrepid solider" (異面神兵). Probably African slaves taken by the Portuguese, these African soldiers were also feared by Japanese.\(^{11}\) Though severely limited, these anecdotal records demonstrate that anti-Blackness (at least in the sense of unconditional exclusion of Blacks) and imagined racial hierarchy were not articulated prior to the age of empire. However, as Koreans started to face the age of empire prior to colonization, anti-Blackness had become deeply ingrained with their world view. To put it differently, independent of colonial policies, the colonially vulnerable actively participated in making sense of history. Admitting the significance of precolonial cultural familiarization by the colonizer, the bottom-up perspective would shed some light on understanding the dynamics of the age of empire. Therefore, how Koreans made sense of the cultural gaze—not only during the Japanese Empire but also prior to the colonization—should be the starting point of analysis.
Beyond a passive receptacle, in this way, they will be treated as active and autonomous participants in history making.

Unlike the migration studies on "multi-culturalism" in South Korea, however, historical studies on race in Korea have been far from flourishing, presumably because the notion of racial homogeneity is believed to be natural. Facing the age of empire since the late nineteenth century—encroaching West, waning China, and strengthening Japan—Korean reformers continually tried to map out Korea's survival as a sovereign state in this new world through the overlapping racialized discourses of enlightenment (\textit{gaehwa}), civilization (\textit{munmyeong}), and social Darwinism. With Japan's imperialist intentions toward Korea made unequivocally clear by 1905, a pan-East Asian racial outlook, or the "yellow" solidarity, gave way to one that asserted Koreans' racial distinctiveness, derived from a common primordial origin and purity of blood. Further developing and evolving during and after Japanese colonialism, variations of this racialized nationalism have been dominant among Koreans. That said, scholars have revealed how Korean ethnic nationalism, often called \textit{hanminjok} ideology in contemporary Korea, cannot be separated from race in a relation to the Pan-Asianism, Japanese colonialism, and "modern" projects (Em 1999, 2013; Pai 2000; Schmid 2002; G. Shin 2005, 2006, 2013; Tikhonov 2010, 2013, 2016). Especially, focusing on civilization and enlightenment, as well as Korean reformists from 1895, Schmid (2002) examines how the idea became pivotal before and after colonization. While Schmid assumes that the dominant idea was somehow monolithic, Tikhonov (2010) further analyzes its complicated meanings. Rather than highlighting civilization and enlightenment per se, he discloses how social Darwinism significantly shaped the racial identities of Koreans, prior to, therefore independently of, formal colonization.
Granted that race was pivotal in Korea throughout the age of empire, what remains is how Koreans had constructed racism and anti-Blackness in the form of imagining racial inferiors and how it had always been vital to Koreans’ sense of themselves and place in the period and possibly afterward. The history of race in Korea, then, must be analyzed beyond Pan-Asianism or "yellowness." In addition to aspiring for whiteness or Western civilization, Koreans had to justify their racial standing in their imagined racial hierarchy. As will be seen, starting from the precolonial period, the construction of imagined racial inferiors persisted through the colonial era and beyond, variously structuring and inflecting Korean history. Blacks, American Indians, Southeast Asians, and other peoples Koreans deemed to be their racial inferiors have been as critical to Korean identity as peoples they viewed as their equals, mostly "yellows," or superiors, mostly whites. Building upon thorough research on (pre)colonial Korea, with different theoretical emphases, chapter summaries are as follows.

Chapter 1 examines the precolonial history of race in Korea (1883–1910). This chapter argues that the construction of imagined racial inferiors, especially Blacks and American Indians, without their corporeal presence has centrally shaped Korean racial identity from its beginning. The chapter traces this construction and focuses on the precolonial era by proposing the concept of the colonially vulnerable to call attention to the positions and outlooks of peoples and states that were susceptible to foreign rule in the age of empire, as well as drawing on the insights of W.E.B. Du Bois. The chapter thereby discloses how Koreans rendered Blacks and American Indians peoples without history, along with the subsequent relation to racial slavery and its afterlife.

Chapter 2 focuses on the significance of race and anti-Blackness in colonial Korea under the militaristic rules (1910–1919) of the Japanese Empire. In contrast to the assumption that race
was not significant in colonial Korea due to racial akin-ness between the colonizer and the colonized, the chapter discloses how the colonizer was forced to embrace the racial similarity discourse, risking their imagined superiority, and to criticize anti-Blackness in the United States in order to establish the colonial legitimacy over the pro-U.S. sentiment of the colonized leading back to the precolonial period. On the other hand, though colonization put Koreans in the same status as their imagined racial inferiors, the chapter contends that anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy still persisted as revealed, for instance, in the unnoticed racial subtext of the Declaration of Independence.

Chapter 3 investigates how colonial Korea under the cultural rules (1919–1937) can be explained by the "deep schemas" of racism without racial contestations and policies. While the period was often regarded as a discursive shift, as many Koreans opposed racism on the surface, the chapter examines how the deep schemas of anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy were transposed into different extra-racial schemas, as well as the shallowness of anti-racism ideology. From the most controversial discourse of national reconstruction to everyday life such as intimate desire and intra-Korean relationships, these schemas of anti-Blackness provided Koreans with the guidelines for perceiving and interacting with their perceived racial inferiors, especially Blacks, as well as the symbolic inferiority of Blackness.

Chapter 4 focuses on the transposition of racism as well as anti-Blackness during the wartime empire (1937-1945). While Takashi Fujitani (2011) contends that the period can be characterized by "polite" racism as the Japanese Empire proclaimed a war against white supremacy under the tenet of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, the chapter discloses how Koreans, who would have internalized the colonial tenet, persistently relied on anti-Blackness. Furthermore, though the current racism against Southeast Asians in South Korea has
been considered as newly independent of anti-Blackness, the chapter also reveals how anti-
Blackness was transposed into racism against Southeast Asians as the Japanese Empire annexed
the region by demonstrating how their imagined backwardness was constructed vis-à-vis that of
Blacks.
Introducing the concept of race and the people of Africa in 1883, the first Korean-led newspaper, *Hanseongsunbo*, reported "(their) race belongs to blacks and cannot escape from the category of a savage." A hundred years before foreign workers in South Korea were believed to create a "problem" of race in the late 1990s, this chapter reveals that Koreans, who are in general assumed to be uni-ethnic and racially innocent (or ignorant), had already started to construct race without corporeal presence of other races.

While study of empire and race has convincingly revealed how cultural aspects can be pivotal social structure independent of economy, most studies often ignore the precolonial period of the colonially vulnerable—peoples and states that were susceptible to foreign rule in the age of empire, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rather than insisting that the significance of the precolonial period outweighs the actual colonial period and the "rules of difference" (Chatterjee 1993), this chapter argues that investigating the dynamics of the precolonial period of the colonially vulnerable can resolve some aspects that the existing works has been unable to reveal. Such an investigation can show 1) a bigger picture beyond the formation of the colonial state itself; 2) the inseparable relation between Western modernity and anti-Blackness, and 3) the process of essentializing racial inferiors and themselves by the colonially vulnerable who were non-Black and non-white without direct white supremacist power or corporeal and collective racial encounters with their imagined racial inferiors.

The precolonial period perhaps already is a quite familiar topic to the scholars of the modern empire. Rather than focusing on the formation of the colonial state, or what happened
after territorial annexation by the colonizer, Steinmetz (2003, 2007), following Edward Said 1978), redirects our attention to the lingering influence of precolonial European racial or ethnographic discourse. Solving the riddle of why dramatically different strategies were applied within the boundary of empire, his comparative work shows the importance of precolonial ethnographies and how these influenced actual colonial "native policy" (Steinmetz 2003:42). In other words, how Europeans, or the colonizer-to-be, conceived and described non-Western cultures, or the colonially vulnerable, prior to colonial annexation was pivotal in how the colonizer ruled the colonized in different ways, as seen in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa (Steinmetz 2007). In a similar context, shifts in the British representation of the Malay image in the early nineteenth century (Goh 2007) and the French orientalists’ view on the orient vis-à-vis women in the nineteenth century (Lowe 1986) were crucial in making colonialism possible.

However, those works on precolonial cultural familiarization by the West tend to overlook how the colonially vulnerable made sense of the world around them before colonial annexation. While scholars emphasize that the process of the imposed rules of difference cannot be separated from the responses and collaborations by the colonized (Robinson 1986), the existing framework somewhat views the colonized as monolithic in the sense that it often only emphasizes how the essentialized "traditional" culture of the colonized influenced and appropriated the colonial policy. In this context, as for Koreans, colonized by the non-Western Japanese Empire, they are even double-marginalized by the existing overarching framework. By being treated as a mere passive receptacle, the colonized are often deprived of the status of active participants in making history. Unlike Hawai’i am Islanders’ sudden encounter with the colonizer-to-be as seen in Sahlins (1987), in most cases the colonially vulnerable were aware of
colonial threat in the age of modern empire and actively strived to make sense of the new world order. As will be seen later, without enforcement of the colonial regime, Koreans actively imagined and constructed unprecedented racial hierarchy during the short span of their precoloniality. Therefore, this chapter expand the scope of the agency of the colonially vulnerable, in three ways, conceptualizing it as more than reactive, as preexisting colonization (if it were to pass), and in relation not only to would-be colonizers but also other colonially vulnerable, colonized, and otherwise oppressed peoples. While it might not be as overdetermining as the precoloniality of the colonizer-to-be, the agency of the colonially vulnerable cannot be ignored, as it could result in a dramatic change in their world view which then would result in a dramatic change, such as, but not limited to, the formation of the colonial state later. Not only will this expand our understanding of the process of colonial ruling in a colony, but also potentially contribute to understanding of how the formation of metropoles has been affected by the subaltern subjects in a different aspect (Magubane 2005).

If the study of empire is to investigate how forms of knowledge and conception of changes revolve around imperialism (Cooper 2005), even though the production of discourse might be born in Europe originally, we should explore how those productions of knowledge were constructed beyond Europe during the precolonial period. By this, rather than confining the agency of the colonially vulnerable (or the colonized) within the framework of resistance or cooperation, we can achieve better understanding of how different modalities of moral and ethical action bound in specific context contribute to the construction of particular kinds of subjects which we should see as agency (Mahmood 2005).

Therefore, this chapter is academically situated on a par with the recent challenge on the exclusion of subaltern subjects in sociological framework. The question that would follow
accordingly, then, would be how to view the racial construction, which one might categorize as a part of "modernity," of Koreans in the precolonial period. However, this is not to build upon a long-standing dualism between autogenous and colonial modernity of Koreans.\(^4\) Rather than touching on the classical topics of monolithic "modernity" such as individualism, capitalism, and rationalization, this chapter is concerned with the dark side of "modernity"—anti-Blackness.\(^5\) More important, it focuses on anti-Blackness beyond the West in the age of empire.

Accordingly, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line," one of the well-known proclamation of W.E.B. Du Bois is far more than a rhetoric as it bears historical reality. Though less known, more importantly, "the color line belts the world" as the line did not stop at the borders of the United States in "the relation of the darker to the lighter races...in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea" ([1903] 1965: 221, [1906] 2005: 33). As he further contends, "We half deny it to the yellow races of Asia, admit the brown Indians to an ante-room only on the strength of an undeniable past; but with the Negroes of Africa we come to a full stop" ([1899] 1996: 387). Thinkers of race, especially Afro-pessimism, follow Du Bois in that Western modernity cannot be separated from antagonism toward Blackness (Sexton 2016). Based on a Racial Contract—"not a contract between everybody (‘we the people’), but between just the people who count, the people who really are people (‘we the white people’)" (Mills 1997:3), anti-Blackness in the "modern" world has a specific meaning rather than a monolithic character of victimization under white supremacy, as anti-Blackness seems invariant and limitless (Sexton 2010). However, regarding the color line that "belts the world," overshadowed by theoretical and methodological nationalism, the social sciences had long ignored what Du Bois had taken to be obvious.
Regarding race and East Asia, Frank Dikötter argued, "the importance of racialised identities in East Asia has so far been deliberately ignored. However, far from being a negligible aspect of the contemporary identities, racialised senses of belonging have often been the very foundation of national identity in East Asia in the twentieth century" (1997: 1-2). Korea was by no means an exception. Unlike the conventional uni-ethnicity discourse in Korea, several studies teach us that racial ideology indeed contributed to the myths of hanminjok ideology and nationalism in precolonial and colonial Korea (Em 1999; Pai 2000; N. Pak 2001; S. Pak 2003; Schmid, 2002; Shin, 2006; Tikhonov 2010). Furthermore, along with the recent labor influx since the 1990s, discriminatory practices and negative attitudes towards the migrants, most Southeast Asians, have drawn much attentions from scholars. However, the puzzle of anti-Blackness remains as the existing scholarship has difficulties to explain why Koreans are biased against Blacks at comparable levels to Southeast Asians as well as their favoritism toward Caucasians. To solve the puzzle, some scholars attribute South Koreans' antipathy toward Blacks to the powerful postwar influence of the U.S. military and mass media (N. Kim 2008, 2015; Moon 1997). This explanation certainly obtains but begs the question of why South Koreans, from the moment U.S. soldiers began landing in 1945 or Hollywood movies commenced entertaining the masses, were so readily able and willing to receive and reproduce such an apparently alien worldview. In this article, focusing on the precolonial era, this chapter argues that racism, in the form of imagining racial inferiors, has always been vital to Koreans' sense of themselves and place in the modern world. Alongside Koreans' preoccupation with whites, Japanese, and Chinese, the chapter finds persistent fixation on African Americans and other Blacks and on American Indians and other indigenous peoples, whom Koreans consistently believed to be inferior to themselves. Ironically, similar to the colonizer who had to constantly
reassure their superiority by stereotyping the colonized (Bhabha 2004), the chapter demonstrates how Koreans had constant anxiety in comparison with the imagined backwardness of Blacks and American Indians.

**FACING THE AGE OF EMPIRE**

Before delving into how the idea of *mumnyeong gaehwa*, the penetrating theme during the *gaehwa* period, cannot be separated from construction of inferior races in precolonial Korea, it is necessary to provide a brief historical background of the precolonial period in Korea, so called the *gaehwa* period. Although Koreans encountered a few battleships around their shores from the West in 1850s, they had enjoyed relative peace until the occupation of the capital of China by the England-French Coalition force. Observing the fall of the "central" nation, China, after the Second Opium War in 1860, Koreans started to realize the possibility of Western encroachment. The Russian presence at their border the same year reinforced the threat. Realizing the threat, after his son (Gojong) became the King of Joseon⁷, Heungseon Daewongun, Li Ha-eung, enforced the seclusion policy by isolating Korea from the rest of the world for about a decade. However, through *Haegukdoji* (*Haiguo Tuzhi* in Chinese) by Wei Yuan, a Chinese book on the West, Koreans also strived to strengthen their military power by borrowing the Western technology from the book (G. Yi 1969). As their efforts crumbled during *Byeonginnyangyo* (the French campaign against Korea, 1866) and *Sinmiyangyo* (the United Sates expedition to Korea, 1871), Koreans gradually changed their East-centered view and recognized the looming presence of the West. During this first stage of the *gaehwa* period in the 1870s, Koreans regarded *gaehwa*
as "opening the gate," and the idea of gaehwa was mainly about learning the "foreign" knowledge (G. Yi 1969).

The full-fledged gaehwa period, however, started in the 1880s. In this period, the major task at hand for Korean elites was the advancement of the nation through the "foreign" or Western, ideas and technology (G. Yi 1969). Gaehwa, to Korean elites, could not be successful without enlightening the masses. Accordingly, the reform leaders of the Gaehwa Party, or gaehwapa, determined that a newspaper was the most powerful means of reaching them, following Japan’ example. With continuing efforts from gaehwa leaders, Bangmunguk (the Office of Culture and Information) published first modern Korean newspaper in 1883. Although Hanseongsunbo often cited newspapers from China and Japan, and had a Japanese counselor, all editors and reporters consisted solely of Koreans. Conveying the importance of distant and new things, the newspaper was the only formal channel available to Koreans to learn about the unfamiliar world beyond their borders. Perhaps it was inevitable that the newspaper eventually covered race, one of the most popular topics around the Age of Empire. Without much consideration on how the concept of race would affect themselves in the future, Hanseongsunbo officially introduced race to Koreans for the first time in their history. According to the article titled as "Speaking of Continent and Ocean" in 1883:

Speaking of race, there are approximately three: yellow, white, and brown. Since human beings' appearance and physique vary by locations, however, race is further divided into five kinds – first, Mongol race, so-called yellow race; second, Caucasus race, so-called white race; third, Ethiopia race, so-called black race; fourth, Malay race, so-called brown race; fifth, American race, so-called copper-colored race....In the case of Asia, China, Japan, Joseon, and Siberia fall into yellows; India and Arabia fall into whites; East India
Islands fall into browns. This is because the kinds of species are already different, and thus their colors are different, although different foods and climates are also aspects of the difference. As time changes and [different races] marry each other, the races are gradually mixed. Therefore, nowadays, it is difficult to distinguish which people belong to which color race.9

In contrast to the matter-of-fact, neutral and benign tone of this inaugural piece on race, a pair of articles published a month later clearly articulated race to a normative understanding of civilization. Discussing peoples in the continent of Americas and Africa, the newspaper found in them the antitheses of the civilized:

Since early people of the European empire did not recognize the existence of land in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, they [Europeans and American Indians] could not exchange with each other; thus only aborigines lived together. They are the so-called copper-colored race and fall into the category of savage....Columbus finally discovered the whole continent of America; thus Europeans gradually migrated and flourished to amass their present wealth. Copper-colored race members have hidden themselves in forests and would never again build a nation and stand on their own feet. Alas, the guest is strong, and the host is weak -- sad that they are losing their ancestors' land and cannot recover it.10

The race belongs to blacks and cannot escape from the category of a savage....Seen from the view that they even kill people for religious rites, it is needless to say how lowly their custom is. Their political system is the despotic dictatorship; their custom is brutal and atrocious, and thus every village invades and plunders each other, capturing people into
slavery and often selling them in markets. Even worse, they bury the living with the dead at the funerals of lords, vassals, and their families. They always sacrifice human life in rituals for rain and prosperity; many even decorate their houses and furniture with human skulls; the word savage is for these people.\textsuperscript{11}

These articles, only few in number, might be regarded as anecdotal. Discourse on racial inferiors might not be one of the initial major interests to Koreans. For instance, Pak Jeong-yang, one of gaehwapa leaders and Korea’s ambassador to the United States, mentioned Blacks and American Indians only peripherally once or twice in his travel report between 1889 and 1890 (N. Pak 2001: 279). However, the seem-to-be trivial interests in race of Hanseongsunbo proved to be a harbinger, prefiguring the discourse on race that would soon proliferate. A mere decade after the paper’s initial introduction of race, Yu Gil-jun, another reform leader and diplomat, published a widely popular and influential book, Observations on a Journey to the West (Seoyugyonmun)\textsuperscript{12}. Throughout his book American Indians were depicted as "hopeless" and "soon-to-be extinct" and Blacks as incapable of making use of their resources (Yu [1895] 2004: 85, 101). Far from the seem-to-be initial "ignorance," Such ideas would take firm hold as Korea, surrounded by imperial forces, struggled to hold on to its sovereignty.

**ENTERING THE AGE OF EMPIRE**

*Hanseongsunbo* did not last long. After the failure of the *Gapsin* coup in 1884, *Bangmunguk*, and the newspaper, turned to ashes amidst the violent upheaval. Many radical *gaehwa* leaders and their families fled to Japan, killed themselves, or were killed. As conservatives regained strength, one might assume that Koreans’ aspirations for *munmyeong gaehwa* also waned. However, the conservatives in power decided to reestablish the publication within a few months, increasing
Bangmunguk’s workforce threefold. Renamed as Hanseongjubo, the newspaper was more inclined to enlighten the masses as it was published in Korean and mixed script rather than in Chinese only. With ballooning deficit of Bangmunguk, the lifespan of the newspaper was quite short. However, it signaled that munmyeong gaehwa had indeed became the dominant ideology in the 1880s (G. Yi 1969).

Joseon’s effort for munmyeong gaehwa continued in the midst of the looming foreign powers. However, after the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) and failure of the Donghak peasant revolution (1894), Japan expanded its control over Joseon. Through the Eulmi incident (assassination of the Queen Min, 1895) and agwanpachcheon (Korea royal refuge at the Russian legation, 1896), their sovereignty was severely jeopardized. Different from the 1880s, their goal of munmyeong gaehwa became more crisis-solution oriented. In this context, Yi (1969) categorized the period between the 1890s and 1900s as the third phase of the gaehwa period given that the emphasis of the period was on the independence of the nation and people’s rights. However, in the period of crisis, as will be seen, race came to occupy the front stage.

The first private-led and Korean-only newspaper in Korea, Dongnipsinmun, was published in this context as seen from its name dongnip (independence, 獨立). After the Gabo reform (the reformist movement in 1894), Seo Jae-pil, one of the gaehwapa members who once fled to Japan and then the United States (hereafter, Philip Jaisohn, his legal American name upon acquiring the U. S. citizenship in 1890), came back to Korea and founded the newspaper. Published in Korean-only, his goal was to attract the widest public support for munmyeong gaehwa, as he reasoned the failure of the Gapsin was due to its lack of support from the masses (Yi et al 1993).

According to Dongnipsinmun, the most important thing for the wretched people of Joseon was education, Western education to be specific. In other words, by pursuing the new
knowledge as Japan did – in contrast to China, which continued to center Chinese classics – they believed that one day they could achieve the level of *munmyeong gaehwa* comparable to Japan or even the West. On its face, the assumed superiority of the West in the logic of *munmyeong gaehwa* could be interpreted as temporal and developmental, not racial, civilization and enlightenment being attainable by any nation through education (Schmid 2002). In other words, enlightening the masses was the main goal of *munmyeong gaehwa* and education would do the job just as Japan did. Rather than solidifying racial ideology from the past, one might again conclude that racial ideology in precolonial Korea was short-lived and marginal at best. Alternatively, one could also argue that, different from biological racism, Lamarckian environmentalism that assumes the possibility of advancement of inferior people through proper stimuli and conditions became dominant (Go 2004). However, further examination reveals far more complicated pictures.

*Munmyeong gaehwa* was more than knowledge. Without effort to reach the level of *munmyeong gaehwa*, the nation could not guarantee its survival. More important, Koreans presumed that the possibility of advancement was not equally available to everyone or every race. Although the status of enlightenment could be achieved by education, they assumed that the reason for the success of the West was also dependent on their race. In other words, although the enlightenment was achievable, it varied with different races according to their understanding. On this score, Koreans surmised they would fare well: "If we compare Joseon people with many peoples of the East, we are smarter and more diligent than Chinese people and have a bigger and stronger body than Japanese people. Thus, if we are educated well and behave with knowledge, we would become the best race in the East. Then, we would become the best country in the world." By making another racial subgroup vis-à-vis national ethnic group, they saw
themselves as a racial group and claimed that a certain race would do better in the race for
civilization.

Koreans frequently compared themselves to other East Asians, particularly the Japanese
and the Chinese, but the discourse of Koreans' racial distinctiveness was not yet hegemonic. As
Shin (2006) points out, it coexisted and competed with a pan-East Asian understanding of race
that was more prevalent. Identifying with the "yellows" or "East race," Dongnipsinmun cast its
gaze not only upward to whites, the imagined racial superiors, but also downward to Blacks,
American Indians, and other peoples imagined as racial inferiors:

In the world, there are so many different types of humans like blacks, yellows, reds, and
whites. Northern Europe people have white faces and soft hair, but some have dark faces.
However, usually European people have white skin, straight and soft hair, clear face
lines, straight nose and large eyes. The East race people have yellow skin, black and stiff
hair, slanted eyes, and protruded teeth. Blacks have black skin, curly hair like sheep, a
protruded jaw, and a flat nose. Blacks are stupider than the East race and very inferior to
whites. American Indians have a reddish face similar to the East race. However, in terms
of their size and the degree of enlightenment, they are less than the East race....Among all
the races, since whites are the most brilliant, diligent, and courageous, they have
gradually defeated other inferior races all around the world and acquired land and forests.
Therefore, some races among the inferior, who cannot learn whites' knowledge and
customs, should be gradually extinct. In a country like America, the natives never learned
the whites' knowledge and enlightenment. By not doing so, millions of a race have died
within two hundred years, and only a few thousands are left nowadays. They climbed into
the mountains or moved into the bushes and fed on the food from the American
government. Their numbers are decreasing every year, and they will be extinct within several years. The Australian natives are similar to blacks and no more enlightened than blacks, and thus their lives are not much different from animals. Among these savages, some of them do not even know how to use fire.\textsuperscript{16}

Without any background information, one could even assume this article might be written by the European colonizer or American writers in the past. More than seeing themselves as a racial group, the article reveals how the newspaper or gaehwapa elites conceived racial hierarchy and imagined racial inferiors. Starting to construct a fixed and essentialized image of hopeless Blacks and American Indians, they exhorted fellows Koreans to follow the path of mummyeong gaehwa different from those inferior races whom education cannot rescue.\textsuperscript{17}

A three-tier typology prevailed, with Korea firmly in the middle stage of enlightenment (Schmid 2002): "England, France, Germany in Europe and the United States in America have become the best enlightened nations, and the rest of the nations have been gradually becoming enlightened. Japan in the East has been treated as enlightened since thirty years ago. Korea, China, and Thailand have become half-enlightened. However, Africa and the rest still cannot escape from savagery."\textsuperscript{18} European colonization of Africans and American Indians was justified by their inability to develop their abundant natural resources -- a sin for which they were being punished:

Africa is famous for its wealth. It has precious forests, glittering diamonds, other jewels, ivory, gold, and silver everywhere. However, African natives never knew how to use these treasures and died with gold in their hand. Finally, as God punishes their vice, people from many European nations have shared the continent of Africa and made many useful goods in the world with the treasure. The continent of North America has fertile
lands, various creatures, gorgeous rivers, and mountains. However, the native known as Indian has lived there for thousands of years and made all the riches useless with their savagery. After it became the land of England's race, the country finally became the strongest and richest country in the world. Indeed, people are stupid if they don't understand how God punished the Indians' sin.19

Koreans, as "yellows," belonged to an intermediate category, but the categories were not equidistant, and their trajectories were divergent:

There are five races of human beings. First is Mongolian, second is Caucasian, third is African, fourth is Malay, and fifth is American....If we see these five races, they are all same human beings in the world in spite of their complexions and appearances. All have joy, love, and hatred. However, some races are with much knowledge and assets and thus treated with respect everywhere, while some races have no knowledge and talent and thus treated with contempt....There are also many nations, such as the savage nation, pre-enlightened nation, semi-enlightened nation, and fully enlightened nation. The savage nation, so called the worst, has no knowledge and thus cannot live like humans....Koreans fall into yellows....As we have roughly explained, blacks and reds are no less than human beings. However, they are not worth talking about. Also, savage and pre-enlightened nations are no less than nations, but they are not worth talking about. However, since Koreans are yellows in the East, thus not a bad race at all, let's become an upper nation among the East and West.20

Civilization and enlightenment were beyond acquiring knowledge as they were also about "assets" and "talents." As "yellows," Koreans had the requisite racial potential to become a "fully enlightened" nation that "Blacks and reds" and "savage and pre-enlightened nations" would
never were beyond the pale -- full stop. In this post-Sinocentric world, whites' place at the top of the civilized/savage scale was as taken for granted as China's, and Korea's, paramount position had been on the civilized/barbarian continuum mere decades ago. But Koreans could take solace in believing that they were racially far above Blacks and Indians and therefore could aspire to full enlightenment, however bleak their present circumstances might have been.

In this way, feelings of solidarity with Blacks were out of bounds. Describing the deaths of European colonizers in Africa, one article stated, "The black race viciously killed the Europeans in Africa. Wherever you go, a vulgar and ignorant race obliterates foreign people with barbaric law. How can they not be treated with contempt in the world?"\(^{21}\) Although those Africans might have been fighting for their land, just as Koreans were trying to defend against Western domination, Koreans, blinded by Blacks' imagined backwardness, could not draw the parallel. On the same day, another article informed its readers of how miserable their fellow Koreans' lives were at the Japanese-owned factories in Korea: they were treated worse than "Black slaves." The point of the comparison was to generate outrage for their own, not empathy or sympathy for Blacks.

Joseon continued the effort for *munmyeong gaehwa* as the King Gojong declared the new name for the nation as *Daehanjeguk* (the Greater Korean Empire, hereafter Korea) in 1897 after he came back from the Russian legation. In the meantime, Philip Jaisohn also founded *Dongnipyeopoe* (The Independence Club) in 1896 and the club gained huge popularity throughout the classes. Following its success, *Manningongdonghoe* (People’s Joint Association) – something like "street parliaments" – was organized and achieved some level of political influence (Em 2103:74). However, swayed by conservative factions that accused *Dongnipyeopoe* of wanting to replace the monarchy with a president-led republic, Gojong cracked down on its
leaders by instigated peddlers and shut it down for good in 1898. Under government pressure, Jaisohn returned to the United States the same year, and Dongnipsinmun discontinued publication in 1899.

Encouraged by the success of Dongnipsinmun and Dongnipyeopoe, however, new newspapers succeeded the aspiration. Although many of them were short-lived, Hwangseongsinmun lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1910. One of the members of Dongnipyeopoe, Namgung Eok, was once arrested as the association was dismissed. Upon his release from jail, he established Hwangseongsinmun with help from reform leaders such as Na Su-yeon and Yu Geun in 1898. Different from Dongnipsinmun, it was oriented more toward intellectuals, written in Korean mixed script as well as classical Chinese. While it was less popular than Dongnipsinmun due to its limited approach, it shows how those intellectuals made sense of racial ideology after Dongnipsinmun.

While the dreams of Dongnipyeopoe were shattered, the newspaper maintained a similar racial ideology and sense of hierarchy. According to an article from the newspaper, if "natives" are not enlightened, they will become extinct per natural law. Following Lamarckian environmentalism, proper education and patriotism provided the path toward civilization. Stemming from regret for an uncivilized and barbaric past, emphasizing the possibility of advancement for Koreans was one of the major themes of mummyeong gaehwa. However, a narrative of Korean redemption was not enough. "Those blacks there [in Transvaal], who are stupid savages, are deprived of sovereignty by guests." Here and elsewhere, recurrently described as peoples being on the verge of extinction, Blacks and "reds" were practically interchangeable with "savage race" and "inferior race."
Immersed with racial ideology, the writers of *Hwangseongsinmun* also viewed the world as a racial battleground. In contrast to *Dongnipsinmun*, which tended to show only admiration for whites, *Hwangseongsinmun* often saw them as adversaries, who could annihilate "yellows" as they had exterminated Blacks and American Indians. But there was a distinction. The reason for the extinction of Blacks and American Indians was their essential racial traits. They were peoples without history. Marked by their unchanging racial inferiority, they did not qualify as combatants in *Hwangseongsinmun*'s racial war: "reds and blacks are not even close to being powers in the world." By contrast, the current backwardness of Koreans -- and, inversely, the supremacy of the West -- was a matter of *munmyeong gaehwa* or education: "The reason the West is called the civilized is not [because they are] innately a special race, but [they have] built schools and educated the talented in their country." Koreans could suffer the fate of Blacks and Indians but not necessarily. They were a people of history. Their suffering, unlike Blacks' and American Indians', was historically contingent. Koreans' being "yellow" was a necessary, though insufficient, condition for future progress. They were of a race that had belonged among "the civilized in the past" and, as "the government and people work in their duties," are again "soon to be advanced." The newspaper encouraged Koreans to inspire fellow "yellows" who may be giving up.

"Yellow" solidarity was the dominant racial theme, but Japan as a colonial threat loomed, a tension which an exchange between *Hwangseongsinmun* and *Chosonsinbo*, a Korea-based Japanese newspaper, illustrated. When Japan urged Korea to enforce its law allowing the free entry of Japanese, *Hwangseongsinmun* related the issue to what it saw as an eventual Japanese settlement plan that would "drive out Koreans and gradually lead to extermination" and "definitely turn [Koreans] into American reds." As translated and published in
Hwangseongsinmun, Chosonsinbo responded with condescending accusations of unwarranted self-hatred and self-doubt:

In general, when an inferior race interacts with a superior race, it is clear that the real examples of gradual extermination are not only the reds in America but also the Ainu race in Japan. However, is it not too much self-hatred to conclude that Koreans are an inferior race that is to be defeated in the racial competition? In our opinion, we cannot even momentarily believe that Koreans would be an inferior race that would lose its procreative power on the field of racial competition. And when we inquire into the recent case of [the city of] Incheon, as the population in Incheon grows alongside the foreign settlement, it proves that there is a group [Koreans] who can endure the competition with a superior race.33

Hwangseongsinmun replied that Koreans did not doubt themselves to be an inferior race but, rather, sincerely believed in and desired peace.34 In a more elaborate rejoinder three months later, the paper reminded the Japanese that Japan's recent advancement started merely 30 years ago and that Korea had once taught civilization to Japan, while rejecting the assumed racial dichotomy between the two peoples.35 Historically based bluster notwithstanding, Koreans' sense of insecurity was real. Different from the rather hopeful perspective of Dongnipsinmun, Hwangseongsinmun allowed that Koreans could potentially fall into a situation similar to those of Blacks and American Indians. Seeking for a reason, the newspaper worried that Koreans' devotion to the pen rather than the sword disadvantaged them in the social Darwinian contest of survival of the fittest.36

While they were threatened by the looming Japanese presence and the marching West, the "yellow" racial identity predominated. When South Africa allowed the entry of Japanese
workers, *Hwanseongsinmun* interpreted it through race: physically big but without substance, Black workers there were no match for the superior Japanese "yellows."\(^3^7\) In a similar vein of "yellow" pride, racial discrimination against Japanese and Chinese workers in Hawai'i and Australia triggered outrage.\(^3^8\) They assumed "yellows" were in the same boat thus shared the same destiny. In a way, the Russo-Japanese War, which would eventually turn Koreans against the Japanese and the idea of a pan-East Asian "race," would decide the rise and fall of "yellows" necessarily including Koreans.\(^3^9\) However, they lamented that although Japan proved the superiority of "yellows" by beating Russians, Koreans were insulted like slaves and hence on the verge of downfall.\(^4^0\)

If Koreans continued to make a living only after selling their children and wives as slaves, Koreans would become naturally extinct like "reds."\(^4^1\) Fears like this only expanded after the *Eulsa* Treaty in 1905 which conveyed the Korean diplomatic right to Japan. Beyond the borders of Korea, Koreans in Russia also expressed a grave concern: "How mortifying it is that we could gradually become extinct, like American reds and African blacks."\(^4^2\) The biggest theme of the last phase of the *gaehwa* period, not to be slaves (like those imagined racial inferiors or, ultimately in most cases, Blacks), was born in this context.

**SUCCUMBING TO THE AGE OF EMPIRE**

America once belonged to reds, but they are not seen anywhere. After seeking the reason, [I found out that] they lived like beasts...then lost their beautiful and fertile lands. What caused their loss, beggar-like lives, and gradual extinction?...The peace treaty between Japan and Russia could be the moment that Korea might be ruled by Japan or become a nonaligned country....The situation of those pathetic and pitiful reds is my situation of
today. People around the world would look at me the way I insulted reds. How painful
and pitiful it would be....Hence,...please act now -- not to be the same as reds.43

After the First Sino-Japan war in 1895, Japan extended its power in Korea. Though Upon
its decisive -- and, to the world, racially shocking -- defeat, Russia recognized, in the Treaty of
Portsmouth, Japan's preeminence in Korea. In separate treaties, the United States and Britain
likewise endorsed Japan's supremacy there. Unfettered by rivals, Japan promptly claimed Korea
as a protectorate through the 
Eulsa Treaty in 1905. Japan gradually infringed on Korea's
sovereignty, culminating in formal annexation in 1910. With Japan's colonial intentions patent
by the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, Korea's hoped-for "yellow brother" turned into the
greatest threat to the survival of the Korean "race." Its destiny seemed to be following those of
their imagined racial inferiors, Blacks and Indians, and becoming "slaves," not unlike "cattle," of
foreigners.44

One recurring word, "slave," requires more investigation not only because of the sudden
surge of usage but because of its potential theoretical relation to the so-called Afro-pessimist
school of thoughts. As previously mentioned, strongly believing their possibility of mummyeong
gaeohwa and racial superiority over their racial inferiors, Koreans did not seem to seriously
consider their chances of becoming "slaves" of others in the 1880s and 1890s. Although it is hard
to directly compare how often the word appeared in the different newspapers due to their
different periods and length, during the paper's entire existence, from 1896 to 1899,
Dongnipsinmun contained only fourteen items that used the word. For the later paper
Hwangseongsinmun (1898-1910), the number was 384, of which only 70, or less than 20 percent,
were from before 1905.45 The other popular newspaper of the period, Daehanmaeilsinbo (1904-
1910) published 616 pieces with the word during its run.46

In this context, one of the most well-
known, if not the most, text regarding the Eulsa Treaty, text, "I Wail Bitterly Today"
(Siillyabangseongdaegok, 是日也放聲大哭), a 1905 editorial in Hwangseongsinmun by Jang Ji-
yeon, the chief editor, should be read in a relation to slavery. "Alas, four-thousand-year-old
territory and five hundred years of sovereignty were given over to the other, forcing twenty
million souls to become slaves of others....Alas, bitter. Alas, resentful. Our twenty million
brethren, enslaved brethren!"\textsuperscript{47}

While independence and munmyeong gaehwa are the major themes of the entire gaehwa
period, the sudden surge of the usage of the word "slave" certainly implies the dismal outlook of
Korea in general. While often interchangeably used, "enslavement," usually associated with
Blacks, and "extinction," usually associated with American Indians. These were the key
metaphors that Koreans made sense of the unfamiliar threat of colonization which brings
"extermination" to the defeated unlike threats in the past. Upon the imminent threat, "slavery,"
especially, found a particular resonance. Joseon might have been "slave society" as one third of
its population was indeed "enslaved" (Palais 1996). Why, then, did falling into "slavery" become
the worst thing possible to Koreans? In a similar context, why did Jang use the word "enslaved"
when he bitterly wailed? Although both Korean terms for "slave" were used, noye (奴隸)
predominated over nobi (奴婢). Nobi referred to enslaved people of Korea who still had property
rights, while noye was reserved for enslaved people in other contexts, such as Blacks in the
Americas (Yi and Yang 1998). Noye was thus both familiar and foreign, and as a metaphor for
colonialism, it familiarized a doubly foreign form of domination -- foreign to Korean history and
enacted by a foreign power. Relatedly, unlike nobi slavery, noye slavery also reflected Koreans'
understanding of colonialism as a form of racial domination. At the same time, Koreans did not
believe they were or would be literally chattel. As a metaphor to reinscribe the gap between
themselves and Blacks (as well as their imagined racial inferiors), Blackness indeed served as the basis of enslavement perhaps beyond transnational political and legal culture (Sexton 2010:46). Not to "become slaves of others" was therefore not to be colonized. According to Pak Eun-sik, one of the prominent gaehwapa elites who, similar to his colleagues, later participated in the independence movement under the colonial regime, "survival of the fittest" is the natural law. After humans vanquished all other animals, the world became more connected, and competition turned to the next chapter: the struggle between human "races," wherein the superior "race" with superior intelligence and power viewed the inferior "race" as "savages" and was not afraid to annihilate them. Pak thought that examples of inferior races were African "black slaves" and American "red savages." He then argued that fellow Koreans were about to lose their superior status -- that is, on the verge of "becoming slaves of others" and being killed. In other words, the inferior (or savage) race, i.e., Blacks and "reds", whether through their inability to work as a group, disunified religions, or lack of education, would become slaves of others. As an effective warning due to Koreans’ strong belief of their racial superiority, the slogan "not to be slaves of others" implied efforts to encourage fellow Koreans not to fall into the status of Blacks and American Indians. Unlike them, Koreans can retain their right to freedom by pursuing the "new learning." According to another writer, the biggest sin in the world is losing freedom, hence one who abandons one’s freedom is therefore guilty of action that would result in becoming a slave. To those who would doubt him, he pointed to the extinction of the American "copper-colored race" and the collapse of the African continent.

The cruel reality of the age of empire continued to corner Koreans. They, at times, dared to compare themselves unfavorably to Blacks and American Indians. For example, learning that Koreans were displayed as animals at an exhibition in Japan, Daehanmaeilsinbo desponded that
Korean "yellows" had become worse than Blacks who had been sold as slaves. But in these moments, Koreans were not identifying with Blacks nor actually admitting that they were as inferior as, or inferior to, Blacks and Indians. The purpose was to incite fellow Koreans into action, to collectively, patriotically elevate the "four-thousand-year-old nation." Relaying reports from the United States, Pak Eun-sik wrote about "an American Ph.D., Dr. Stone[, who] extolled Korean workers as far superior to American workers." Likening Koreans to "Americans ancestors from England," he supposedly ranked Koreans "the highest among the races in the world in intelligence." From this Western, and thus tacitly authoritative, assessment, Pak concluded that Koreans' "original traits were in fact superior to others." Sure, this "good people became stupid, ignorant, vulgar, and inferior, turning...into animals without spirit and vigor thus at last experiencing the humiliation of slaves." Still, Koreans assumed that if they were located in a better environment, they would certainly outperform other races. Therefore, similar to their justification of backwardness in the early gaehwa period, Koreans also believed that their sufferings were rather temporary unlike inferior peoples whose humiliation was a constant. In contrast to "African savages" who were unable to progress, hence lived with wild animals and insects, and remained slaves, Koreans with their sacred history and incomparable patriotism could overcome their temporary slave status.

The idea of a distinctive Korean race had not fully taken hold, and the notion of a pan-East Asian "yellow race" lingered, which only deepened the sense of betrayal toward the Japanese: "How could Japanese call Koreans savages and even worse than dogs and pigs. If you despise and insult the same race in the East, you do not deserve to be human." In other words, they did not question their membership of "yellows" and still believed in the idea that the competition of the new age would be between "yellows" and whites. Among five different
races—"yellows", whites, Blacks, copper-coloreds, and "reds"—only "yellows" and whites were listed as competitors while others were not worth mentioning.  

Aside from numerous Koreans’ struggles against Japanese encroachment, Koreans’ idea of racial superiority over the racial inferiors, especially Blacks and American Indians, was the pivotal part of agency of Koreans, at least until the end of the precolonial period:

In the America, blacks and reds have become slaves to whites and violated by them. The reason they have reached the verge of extinction is natural selection because the brain power of the race is indeed inferior to whites. However, talking about the intelligence of our nation, there are many more superior [Korean] people than others at any given field of study or art in the past.

Regardless of their efforts, Blacks and American Indians were predestined to enslavement due to their innately inferior nature. On the other hand, Koreans believed their generic and cultural superiority would lead them in the opposite direction. Similar to their understating in the early gaehwa period that the opportunity for munmyeong gaehwa was not equally open to every race, the imagined backwardness of racial inferiors was pivotal in justifying their dire situation in the age of modern empire while most Koreans in the gaehwa period might not even have encountered Blacks and American Indians. Between themselves and their imagined racial inferiors, Koreans never lost their racist faith that there would and should always a gap.

**CONCLUSION**

This chapter has shown how investigating the colonially vulnerable could reveal many untold significant stories. Drawing a specific conclusion at this point might be too early. However, through the Korean cases, this chapter has demonstrated that the racially isolated colonially
vulnerable whose uni-ethnicity has been assumed as given could still be racial during the precolicial period in the age of modern empire—hardly imaginable within the existing assumptions.

In the early gaehwa period in the 1880s, immersed in learning Western ideas, Koreans did not try much to construct racial inferiors. However, along with introducing the concept of race, some articles started to show the binary between civilization and savage vis-à-vis the superior race and inferior race, mainly Blacks and American Indians (in their term, "reds"). In the 1890s and early 1900s, with publication of Dongnipsinmun and later Hwangseongsinmun, Koreans started to construct full-fledged racial ideology. Locating Blacks and "reds" in tandem with the savage and inferior race, they solidified their semi-enlightened position based on the assumption that the semi-enlightened could always advance with efforts as opposed to the racial inferiors, who were incapable of munmyeong gaehwa in nature and thus destined to racial extinction. Being quite hopeful amidst precolicial hardships, they hardly pictured the possibility of falling into the similar status of Blacks and American Indians based on the imagined superiority of "yellows." Also, this led to an idea of racial competition between "yellows" and whites. However, around the Eulsa Treaty in 1905, realizing the reality of falling into the racial inferiors who became slaves of others, many writers started to use the word slaves. Whether they admitted their slave-like status or merely used it as a warning, the word implied Blacks and "reds," who were assumed to be destined as slaves of others due to their innate racial inferiority. While the Japanese encroachment was peaking, they could not escape from the ideology of yellow superiority over racial inferiors, and it was their anesthesia that made them still believe in the temporariness of their slave-like status until the official colonization.
Anti-Blackness has been more than monolithic oppression from white supremacists. The case of precolonial Korea evinces how critical and complicated anti-Blackness can be in one of the least expected locations in the age of modern empire. As will be seen in the later chapters, anti-Blackness of the colonially vulnerable continued to play a significant role in Koreans’ later subjection to the Japanese Empire.
CHAPTER 2: RACE AND BLACKNESS IN COLONIAL KOREA, 1910-1919

When annexing Taiwan, Hara Takashi [Japanese diplomat and journalist during the colonial regime] noted that, as not ruling different race, no special policy is required to govern Taiwanese thus the ruling has to be not distinctive from the metropole. In the same sense, in the Korean peninsula, the idea of "same ancestor, same nation" prevailed thus no antagonism between the colonized and the foreign colonizer was emergent at all (Yamamuro Shinichi; as quoted in Komakome [{1996} 2008:31-32]).

Different from the West, the reason for demanding the annexation of Korea was that the status of Korea completely differs from the Western colonies. The Western colonies are disconnected to the metropole and native’s race and customs cannot be negotiated with the people in metropole. Solving this problem belongs to impossibility, thus they are destined to be colonized for good. However, the relation between Japan and Korea is quite different due to geographical closeness and racial equivalence. Almost no obstacle exists in assimilation (The Report on three Years of Government-General in Joseon [1914:10] as quoted in Sin [2004:250]).

This chapter argues that race was pivotal in early colonial Korea. The two quotes above, one from a contemporary Japanese scholar and the other from a colonial official, might make the argument quite perplexing or even absurd. The first quote perhaps can be regarded as political propaganda which justifies the colonial annexation. However, even the official colonial regime, as seen from the second quote, written after four years of colonial annexation, appears to downplay race as insignificant. On a related note, the existing scholarship shares a similar view.
For instance, Peattie (1984) notes that racial akin-ness and the sense of cultural affinity between the colonized and the colonizer are the unique characteristics of the Japanese Empire (1984:7). While many certainly recognize the colonial regime’s effort to establish the superiority of the "Japanese Yamato race" over Koreans (or other Asians), race in the Empire has been seen in a qualitatively different context from the Western counterpart, as Burbank and Cooper stress that Japan’s subjects "were not altogether ‘others’ either" (2010:303). Considering these scholarly remarks, the argument that race was pivotal in early colonial Korea might not be tenable.

Yet, the purpose of this chapter is to make a further argument: Blackness, as well as race in general, was pivotal at least in the early stage of colonial Korea where no Blacks resided. As will be seen, not only was it critical to the process of constructing the colonizer’s legitimacy, it was also significant to the negotiation of the colonized even in the March First Movement, the largest anti-colonial movement in colonial Korea. Accordingly, beyond unearthing the unheard isolated local history, this chapter will demonstrate how this seemingly unimaginable story can contribute to the study of empire.

Admittedly, this chapter will only delve into the relation between culture and colonialism in Korea under the militaristic rule (1910-1919) so called budan seiji. As Go (2009) notes, the existing scholarship on colonialism’s cultural impact tends to be case specific, and this study might not be the exception. However, it might be no exaggeration to say that scholarship on the Japanese Empire cannot go beyond the category of "case specific." Not only has scholarship on empire in general considered the Japanese Empire as "abnormal" without much scrutiny, but also many specific studies on the Empire have had relatively greater focus on its unique characteristics. Along with the well-known notion of racial similarity within the Empire, its lack of imperial intention at the initial stage unlike European counterparts has also captured attention.
from scholars (Conroy 1960; Duus 1995). Whether its colonial expansion was truly coincidental or not, the Empire, termed as "defensive colonialism" (Cumings 1981) or "imperialism of the weak" (D. Kim 2006), was constantly pressured from the Western great powers due to their relative weakness, which led them to endless wars and external conflicts. Because this differed from the unmediated dyadic Western colonial structure between the colonizer and the colonized, Chae (2013) contends that the colonial structure in Korea under the Japanese colonial regime is unique in that the structure required the cultural mediation of the West, thereby triadic. Since the existing scholarship has viewed the colonial structure of the Japanese Empire as something fundamentally different, findings from the Empire have not been much appreciated from sociology of empire.

However, no empire-state was omnipotent, not only within the dyadic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized but also within the international (or inter-imperial) relationship. To some extent, any empire can be vulnerable at some point. For instance, the Spanish Empire in Cuba became vulnerable after Cubans once believed the United States to be their liberator (Perez 2003). Similarly, the British Empire became further vulnerable under the hegemonic battle against the U.S. Empire (Go 2011). After all, the triadic colonial structure of the Japanese Empire cannot be the unique characteristic. Rather, sociology of empire needs to consider the triadic structure beyond the geographic boundary of one empire as a significant aspect in the age of the modern empire.

Perhaps Homi Bhabha’s foundational cultural study on colonialism could be ironically one of the reasons why the existing scholarship has been trapped in the dyadic colonial structure. Against the Manichean worldview, Bhabha (2004) shows how the gray zone in the dyadic colonial structure can be the key dynamic. To put his abstruse theory in simple words, if
possible, the colonizer cannot escape from constant anxiety as they have to assure their superiority over the colonized. This is the reason why they have to constantly create stereotypes of the colonized. However, this in turn restricts not only the colonized but also the colonizer themselves. In the meantime, through mimicry, the colonized attenuates the superiority of the colonizer, which would lead to illegitimacy of colonialism. Although Bhabha does not limit his theory within the territorial boundary of empire as his theory is also oriented toward the post-colonial world, the existing scholarship on culture and empire tends to only emphasize the dyadic colonial structure within the territory of empire. In this context, as many recent works aim at denaturalizing the nation-state (e.g., Wimmer and Schiller 2002), sociology of empire also requires denaturalizing the empire-state.

As Chae (2013) articulates, the formation of colonial ideology and policy was mediated by the Western cultural influence in colonial Korea. More importantly, the varying responses of the colonized, the Korean elites, were also under the influence of the West in a different aspect (Chae 2013). In other words, rather than complete colonial transformation, local meanings of the colonized also played a significant role in colonial Korea. Whereas many works have described local cultural system as malleable or easily penetrable (e.g., Mitchell [1991]; Dirks [1992]), a different branch of scholarship shows that accepting colonial transformation or not in a varying degree was also contingent on local cultural systems (e.g., Sahlins [1987]; Rafael [1993]). Therefore, acknowledging the significance of local cultural systems of Korea would be the first step. Considering the Western influence on Koreans prior to colonization, however, the picture becomes quite complicated since we cannot simply regard the "local meaning" as traditional or monolithic, untouched by foreign influences.
In the meantime, this complicated picture is hardly unique. For instance, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos had been already exposed to Western ideology before U.S. arrival and this played a key role in "domesticating" American value (Go 2008). Idea and discourse can circulate before the arrival of the colonizer. Furthermore, colonization cannot be an overnight project, which can yield opportunities to the colonially vulnerable. Therefore, as much as precolonial cultural discourse by the presumptive colonizer was significant (Steinmetz 2007), sociology of empire needs to further investigate how precolonial cultural familiarization of the colonially vulnerable played a role. Rather than essentializing local meaning and arguing locals can only react either based on the colonial power or the monolithic tradition, we need to assume that any subjects can create, change, negotiate, and domesticate meaning that can delineate what would happen afterward.

As will be seen, due to their precoloniality, Koreans did not simply accept the Japanese colonizer as the only or highest bearer of enlightenment and civilization, which pressured the colonizer into dual anxiety – one against the colonized and the other against other great powers, especially the U.S. In doing so, the colonizer was forced to constantly imagine and construct not only the subtle differences between the colonizer and colonized but also racial sameness that could jeopardize the symbolic superiority of the colonizer. Furthermore, as seen from the previous chapter, Koreans during the precolonial period, the colonially vulnerable, had constant anxiety in comparison with Blacks and American Indians. As such, how did it transfer into the colonial structure consisting of the colonizer and colonized who seemingly belong to the same race? In what way, without the corporeal presence of their racial inferiors did discourse on anti-Blackness come to the central stage of argument? Accordingly, how did this aspect affect colonial resistance? This chapter will answer this series of questions.
Therefore, this chapter is not about one isolated "abnormal" case. Rather, it is to analyze colonial Korea under Japanese colonialism through the lens of sociology of empire as well as contributing to its theoretical discussion. Rather than enumerating something abnormal and unique, this chapter intends to identify a pattern that could be found throughout the modern empire in general.

**AFTER THE COLONIAL ANNEXATION**

On August 29, 1910, the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty was made, proclaiming the formal annexation of Korea by the Japanese colonial regime. Not different from "racially extinct" Blacks or American Indians, Koreans seemed to fall into the same situation of their imagined racial inferiors. As seen from the previous chapter, looming colonial presence in Korea was frequently accompanied by constant anxiety of Koreans in comparison with Blacks or American Indians. The question that would follow accordingly, then, would regard the ways in which the formal colonization affected their understanding of race and the idea of *munmyeong gaehwa* that was the major theme prior to colonization.

The day after announcing annexation, most newspapers published by Koreans were shut down by the colonial authorities. After stripping the word *daehan* (great Korea) from *Daehanmaeilsinbo*, *Maeilsinbo*, sponsored and censored by the colonial regime, became the only Korean-language daily newspaper in the Korean peninsula. For this reason, while *Maeilsinbo* was one of the most important channels of the colonial regime, as most Koreans were not able to read Japanese, especially in the early colonial period, it might be necessary to examine other newspapers published by Koreans outside the territory of empire in order to fully understand how Koreans made sense of the world after being colonized. Those newspapers were published
in different locations such as Hawaii (Gungminbo and Sinhangukbo) and Vladivostok (Gwoneopsinmun). Although their perspective might not be the same as the ones in Korea and migration was not an option for everyone, they could at least provide a partial picture of how Koreans negotiated with colonization in racial terms. On the other hand, Maeilsinbo will be analyzed as voices from the colonizer, based on the aspect that those writers were hardly independent from the colonial regime, though many writings were written by Koreans.

In 1910, a few months before the formal colonization, a Korean writer in Hawaii warned that Japan was trying spiritual annexation as well as a territorial one. He then urged his fellows to act: "Will you just avoid as such [contending that] we are not reds¹ or will you still be just patient [contending that] we are not blacks."² In a different Korean newspaper in Hawaii, lamenting the miserable situation of Korean mail-order brides, another writer conveyed a letter from one of his friends: "What on earth we can treat this as marriage because this is rather bargaining away in reality. In a civilized world, even trade of Black slaves is banned, let alone atrociously selling a girl of our people. This should not be the way it is."³ In a similar vein, by arguing that holding a baby in one’s arms is the way of enlightened people, another article denounced how American "reds", African Blacks, and Japanese women carried their baby on their backs.⁴ Perhaps including Japanese women might be one way of showing Koreans’ ongoing national pride over the Japanese colonizer. As these passages could have been lifted from the Korean newspapers before the colonial censorship, the imagined racial hierarchy and use of constructed anti-Blackness and racial otherness as their status yardstick do not seem to significantly differ.

Gungminbo in Hawaii later printed a letter from An Yeong-chan, who until the 1920s had been one of the closest comrades of Syngman Rhee, who later became the first president of South Korea. Titled "From a compatriot who knows duty to a compatriot who do not know," he
addressed that ebb and flow of race and country depend on knowing and fulfilling duties. He went on to lament:

Oh my people! Oh my brothers and sisters! Stop your duty if you want to follow the trace of the American reds. Stop your duty if you want to follow the footsteps of the African Blacks. Stop your duty if you want to be a slave of Waenom\textsuperscript{5} for good. Fulfill your duty if you want to recover samhan. Fulfill your duty if you want to rebuild Joseon. Fulfill your duty if you want to become a robust race of a prosperous nation.\textsuperscript{6}

Along with the Korean newspapers in Hawaii, a Korean newspaper in Vladivostok maintained a similar attitude. An article from Gwoneopsinmun informed that North American "reds" who had not known how to make a society or group recently became zealous about having a social life. The author then lamented, "Shame on [my] minjok who has far superior morale, knowledge, and many more to reds if you do not love [your] group and do not participate in a meeting."\textsuperscript{7}

One might argue that living in a foreign land would make those Koreans more racially sensitive, as they were no longer surrounded by people with the same racial background. However, Hawaii in the 1910s was not known for having a Black population or American Indians, to say nothing of Vladivostok. While their new racial encounter in foreign lands might have changed Korean migrants’ understanding of race, the imagined racial hierarchy and place-ensuring in comparison with Blacks and American Indians cannot be independent of the precoloniality of Koreans.

In a similar vein, Pak Eun-sik, who wrote many racially oriented articles during the precolonial period, maintained a similar tone. Criticizing corporal punishment of the Japanese colonial regime in his well-known book, Hanguktongsa (the agonizing history of Korea)\textsuperscript{8}, he
bemoaned that "the re-institutionalized cruel and inhumane corporal punishment is as bad as African toin’s (土人, native) punishment" (E. Pak [1915] 2002: [194] 438). The book was about Korean history and Africans were only mentioned once. However, this clearly reveals how his anti-Blackness had not differed much from his writings during the precolonial period.

Besides anti-Blackness, "yellow" solidarity continuously played a significant role even in critique on Japanese colonialism. In his unfinished book, On Peace to Asia, An Jung-geun, who assassinated Ito Hirobumi, four-time Prime Minister of Japan, stated the significance of "yellow" solidarity among Korea, China, and Japan against whites in the coming racial war. According to him, successful solidarity is only possible through cooperation as an equal subject rather than inhumane colonization (An [1910] 2010).

Likewise, the idea of munmyeong gaehwa continued to be the main goal of Koreans under the colonial regime. However, if munmyeong gaehwa was required for national advancement during the precolonial period in Korea, with colonial censorship that left only one Korean-language daily newspaper, the discourse of munmyeong gaehwa in Maeilsinbo lost any linkage to national sovereignty (Schmid 2002). "The principle that rules the world is not justice but might. ‘Might-is-justice’ is the only god in the world," as Yun Chi-ho, an avid supporter of munmyeong gaehwa during the precolonial period, once wrote in his journal, survival of the strongest was indeed one of the natural laws in munmyeong gaehwa. In other words, it was the natural law that Korea needed guidance from a strong nation since Korea failed to advance on its own. In this context, Maeilsinbo, censored and sponsored by the colonial regime, was able to find leeway to maintain the discourse of munmyeong gaehwa while promoting the acceptance of colonization at the same time. The colonizer, accordingly, could take advantage of Korea’s failure, hijacking the discourse of munmyeong gaehwa (Schmid 2002). Given this backdrop, one
might assume the precolonial cultural construction rather facilitated colonial ruling. However, as will be seen later, the precoloniality of Koreans and *munmyeong gaehwa* also became one of the major factors that threatened the legitimacy of the colonization, which forced the colonizer to construct and emphasize the racial sameness between the colonizer and the colonized that could potentially destroy the whole dynamic of colonialism.

**ASSIMILATION POLICY, THE COLONIZER, AND THE COLONIZED**

Before examining how *munmyeong gaehwa* was the doubled-edged sword to the colonial regime, it is necessary to briefly describe how colonial assimilation of Koreans was imagined, negotiated, and institutionalized by the colonizer. According to Caprio (2008), it seems that most Japanese anticipated easy assimilation though there were debates between gradual (because of differences) and radical (because of similarities) assimilation. At the same time, both sides believed Korea first had to demonstrate the ability to rise to the Japanese standard. The colonial regime wanted Koreans to be educated as loyal imperial subjects by gradual assimilation (Caprio 2008).

However, Komakome (2008) shows more complicated pictures. Since Japan had learned from an unexpected colony, Taiwan, he argues that Japan did not treat Korea as continuation of *naeji* (metropole) based on the fact that the metropole appointed the military viceroy, which implies a colony for profit or military strategy rather than eventual unification. As seen from the *Opinion on Edification*, a report made for the colonial governor-general in Korea, Komakome contends that Japan viewed Koreans as much more integrated people with their pride and nationalism than Taiwanese, which led to the conclusion that assimilation is impossible. Based on this, a contradicting but well-suited idea of free-for-all competition for everyone, yet
periphery status for Koreans, emerged. While educators in Japan preferred using the idea of assimilation instead of placing Koreans in the periphery status in order to gain more authority, Japanese officials in Korea downplayed the assimilation discourse as completely non-practical. Komakome argues, therefore, that rather than creating a loyal subject (chungnyanghan sinmin), the colonial regime wanted to create an obedient subject (sullyanghan sinmin) (Komakome 2008). Reminding that Lamarckian environmentalism cannot be separated from colonial "rules of difference" based on racism (Go 2004), the ruling of the colonial regime in Korea was far from unique. Koreans were, after all, "same but not quite."

**PRECOLONIALITY OF THE COLONIALLY VULNERABLE**

Briefly going back to 1905, according to Komakome (2008), the colonial educational policy was partially originated from the *Eulsa* restriction treaty as Japan dispatched a government official to Korea in charge of education and diplomacy. Still, Korea was, at least, legally independent prior to the annexation treaty. Since the major goal of Japan was to oust China from the Korean peninsula, Japan did not explicitly reject Korean nationalism. Promoting *munmyeong gaehwa* in disguise, Japan established a free school in Korea for setting up the background of colonialism. Given that many Koreans were eager to learn *munmyeong gaehwa*, and given that other schools founded by Western missionaries required tuition, Japanese schools were expected to be quite popular. On the contrary, the schools failed miserably. Perhaps, *yangbans*’ unwillingness to abandon studying Chinese classics and Koreans’ hostility toward Japan were the reasons. However, the other reason Koreans chose to pay tuition was, according to a German newspaper in Shanghai, Koreans did not welcome Japanese schools because they wanted to learn "Western" knowledge and art (Komakome [1996] 2008:118). While both schools promoted *munmyeong*
gaehwa, Koreans’ attention was directed to the "original" source of civilization and enlightenment.

Among those original sources of civilization, the U.S. drew Koreans’ interest the most. A Chinese book titled *Strategy on Joseon (Joseonchaengnyak, 朝鮮策略)*[^13], written by Huang Zunxian and translated by Kim Hong-jip in 1880s, particularly impressed the Joseon government as the book that introduced the U.S. as a rich and huge country which only helped weak countries without intervention. Accordingly, the Joseon government published many articles on *Hanseongsunbo* introducing the U.S. as the best country in the world. As a result, the intellectuals in Korea, in general, recognized the U.S. as the country of benevolence, righteousness, justice, wealth, and strength (Y. Yu 1994). On the other hand, the missionaries from the U.S. also contributed to the pro-US sentiment of Koreans who promoted *munmyeong gaehwa* and Protestantism. As a result, many Koreans started to believe that becoming Protestants would strengthen the solidarity with the U.S. In addition, many Korean Protestants claimed that Protestantism was the only religion that could lead them to *munmyeong gaehwa*. With looming Japanese encroachment, they started to believe in the U.S. as the savior against Japan (Hong 2001). Obviously, *Dongnipsinmun*, the avid supporter of *munmyeong gaehwa* founded by the first Korean American Philip Jaisohn, also fueled the sentiment. Later, as a rumor of US-Japan[^14] war started to spread since 1907, the pro-US sentiment escalated even more (Y. Kim 1972). Certainly, it is true that many Koreans were pro-Japanese and claimed "yellow" solidarity during the precolonial Korea. However, "yellow" solidarity did not directly mean pro-Japanese, as seen from An Jung-guen’s *On Peace to Asia*. Yellowness was, after all, meaningful and necessary in that it located Koreans in the middle rung of racial hierarchy rather than reflecting pro-Japanese sentiment. With the presence of the U.S., meaning "righteous" whites,
Koreas were not willing to welcome Japanese, whom Koreans thought to be historically inferior as the colonizer, supposedly the sole bearer of civilization in the mind of the colonized.

**BEYOND THE DYAD**

Although Conroy (1960) and Duus (1995) do not directly argue as such, they imply that how Japan acquired colonies was not based on a typical relation between the colonizer and the colonized. Instead, it was the West that influenced Japan to conceive of colonies as necessary in the global setting in which Japan was recognized as one of the powers while at the same time threatened by the West. In other words, the Japanese Empire can be called "imperialism of the weak" (D. Kim 2006:30). According to Kim (2006), Japan had to consistently consider the security problem caused by their relative weakness as followed by endless war and external conflicts which drove them into constant insecurity. From the onset, assumed superiority of the colonizer was indeed vulnerable by something beyond the Japanese Empire.

This triadic structure cannot only be seen in the Japanese Empire; rather, this aspect is hardly unique as no Modern Western Empire was impervious from the global context. Instead, investigating how this triadic structure affected various empires to different degrees would offer broader understanding in sociology of Empire. Besides the cases mentioned above (e.g., Cuba [Perez 2003] and a hegemonic battle between the U.S. and U.K. Empire [Go 2011]), the well-known rhetoric of the White Man’s Burden emerged beyond the relation between the U.S. and Philippines.

Returning to the Korean context, as the colonizer, Japan was also in need of constant reassurance through comparison with the colonized. As mentioned above, they assumed that creation of an obedient subject would fulfill the task. It seemed that, as a superior achiever of
munmyeong gaehwa, they could easily hijack the discourse and place the colonized in the slot of the stagnated achiever since the colonized had already paved the way of munmyeong gaehwa; moreover, Maeilsinbo, the only newspaper in Korean, as well as the educational system both doggedly followed the intention of the colonial regime. It is certainly true that not every Korean accepted the discourse as it used to be. Against the hijacked discourse, many Korean nationalists abandoned the material aspect of munmyeong gaehwa and moved on to the spiritual domain emphasizing the national spirit (Schmid 2002).

Still, even for those who accepted the justification from the colonial regime and thereby maintained the support for munmyeong gaehwa, the colonized were already aware that their colonizer was not the sole provider. To the many eyes of the colonized, instead of their own colonizer, the U.S. was still acknowledged as the righteous guide to civilization. On Hagjigwang, a journal published by Korean students in Japan, one writer enumerated virtues of the recent students studying abroad, perhaps mostly in Japan. Among those, he wrote, they have "so much passion for English and therefore pursue the source of civilization."15 It is noteworthy that those students were in the metropole in order to learn munmyeong gaehwa. However, it was not the language of metropole but English that would guide them to civilization and enlightenment.

Being placed as the second-colonizer, the colonizer could not be bothered more. On August 20th, 1914, Maeilsinbo published comments from one colonial official who was irritated by a recent rumor by Koreans on a possible war between Japan and the U.S.:

The issue between Japan and the U.S. is a totally unfounded rumor and no need to bring up again. Even if it could happen in the near future, how would it affect the people of Joseon? As I researched those who mention the war, some anticipate and some fear. Comparing the numbers, the first are in some part of Seoul but the later are
indeed all people of Joseon. In other words, those who anticipate the war are Joseon people in San Francisco who meaninglessly revere the U.S. only because of religion. They often circulate the rumor and aggravate the misunderstanding by groundlessly saying that people of Joseon would certainly become independent if the U.S. wins the war since the U.S. is founded on the world humanity and justice. They, their blind followers, and those few jobless who cannot keep pace with the transformation of the world are the ones who abandon themselves to despair... Also, those who fear have yet to know the current of the universe and the great power of the Empires... The cause of this war in the European continent is certainly related to conflicting interests between countries. However, the biggest cause is a race problem that no one can disagree with. Regardless time and places, it is inevitably true that differences in race and religion have been the most frequent cause of wars.... Those yellows who reside in the East should predict a possible war against whites in the near future. Further, one same family members such as Japanese and people of Joseon certainly crush those misunderstandings as everything goes well with harmonious family, which would lead us to the bright light in the future.¹⁶

Because the Japanese colonial regime was deemed as the inferior colonizer not only by the colonized, its first task would be quite straightforward: emphasizing the great power of the Empire as "the current of the universe." Exalting the sense of belonging to the Empire, the regime also highlighted the sameness between themselves and the colonized. As the colonizer was able to hijack the discourse of munmyeong gaehwa, the pre-constructed Yellowness of Koreans prior to colonization certainly helped the colonizer facilitate the racial discourse of Yellowness. Along with anti-Blackness, Yellowness was indeed indispensable during
precolonial Korea. While most colonial officials did not agree with the idea of assimilation and realized that emphasizing the racial sameness could jeopardize the imagined superiority of the colonizer, the continuing pro-US sentiment and the idea of the second colonizer among the colonized seem to force the colonizer to be dependent on the discourse of race. As study of empire reveals, creation of racial differences was critical in creating a colonial subject who is almost the same but not quite. However, to the Japanese colonial regime in Korea, race and the sense of racial belonging was pivotal in order to convince Koreans who did not regard their colonizer as the only guidance to munmyeong gaehwa. In other words, rather than treating the racial sameness as given, it is necessary to examine how the discourse on racial sameness became necessary and thus accordingly imagined.

As Japan participated in World War I, Maeilsinbo addressed how the Japanese participation was related to race even though some seemed to believe that racism would be a thing of the past since people of color equally participated in the war. Explaining how whites merely used the people of color for an instrumental reason instead of giving them equal treatment, the newspaper contended that "if racial prejudice permeated in the brain of whites disappears within a few months, it can be said as a superior miracle to the Christian one."17 Addressing the deeply rooted racism among whites, the colonial regime constantly persuaded the colonized that it was the "yellow" colonizer who would benefit the "yellow" colonized, which simultaneously implied the colonial legitimacy. In this context, the newspaper continued to emphasize how the Empire, as "the foundation of yellows whose status is equal to white civilized countries"18 and therefore no longer inferior, had been working for all "yellows" and people of color.
AROUND THE MARCH FIRST MOVEMENT

The war ended with victory for the Japanese Empire and the Allies. Obviously, it was huge news to the Japanese colonial regime because of not only the material acquisitions but also its symbolic meaning of the superiority of the colonizer. However, the Fourteen Points by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson in 1918 caused an unexpected problem to the colonial regime. Although the main intention of the speech was aimed at the U.S. hegemony after the war and the President himself did not fully recognize its potential influence (Lynch 2002), the principle of self-determination was hugely welcomed by the subalterns. Especially, Koreans were highly motivated after the speech and they believed that President Wilson and the Paris Peace Conference would help their independence. Based on their ongoing faith in the U.S., many even believed that the U.S. would send their troops to Korea in order to oust Japan from the Korean peninsula. Although it is true that many Korean intellectuals were skeptical that the great powers of the West including the U.S. would provide substantial help, members of Sinhancheongnyeondang (New Korea Youth Party in Shanghai, China) also agreed that any type of help, whether substantial or not, from the West was crucial. They sent a petition for independence to President Wilson and decided to dispatch Kim Gyu-sik to the Paris Peace Conference with belief that his fluent English would make him a perfect candidate for delivering the message to the great powers of the West. Around that time, the demise of Gojong, the former King of Joseon, was formally announced on January 22, 1919, and speculation that he was killed by poison was spread to the masses. Along with the news that Koreans in Manchuria and Japan declared the independence of Korea, the tension between the colonizer and the colonized became ever more heightened. On the first day of March, the thirty-three independence activists signed and read the Declaration of Independence. The event sparked a nationwide movement that lasted
for three months and was known as the March First Movement. On the same day, Christian leaders in Korea also sent a letter to Christians in the U.S., including the Allies of the West, asking for their help. Although the mission of Kim Gyu-sik in the Paris Peace Conference was snubbed by the West including President Wilson, the pro-US sentiment among Koreans still seemed to be widespread.

Back to the colonizer, the colonial regime obviously was forced to downplay the meaning of the self-determination principle. Delivering the news on President Wilson’s the Fourteen Points, Maeilsinbo stated:

The Fourteen Points based on freedom, equality, and fairness, addressed by the mediator of this peace conference, President Wilson, became the foundation of the conference. Mr. Wilson will propose the League of Nation as the first task of the peace conference… However, if discrimination based on skin color persists, his noble idea respected as the advocate of justice would be severely devalued. The problem of race can be seen vis-à-vis religious discrimination. Europeans and Americans have often religiously discriminated against Asians as well as racially. Although Japan had had the prejudice, Japan nowadays respects religious freedom and right thus never discriminate against different religion. Therefore, if one wants to completely maintain and expand the League of Nation, not only legal instructions but also it has to be based on the spirit of tolerance from every nation… Even if the League of Nation is not founded, this peace conference is an opportunity for eliminate the existing religious and racial discrimination. In short, eradicating the discrimination between Euro-Americans and Asians, thus impartially dealing and deciding the conditions of peace based on equality of all people is the thing that the Japanese delegates have to
put the most effort. Only so, the American President will earn support. Otherwise, their impartial equality must be directed only at Euro-Americans.22

"Eradicating racial discrimination, as the most important issue of the Empire,"23 the Racial Equality Proposal became one of the most frequent topics of Maeilsinbo in the early 1919, ironically around the March First Movement. As the representative of nine hundred million "yellows", Blacks, and "reds" against six hundred million whites, the colonial regime continued to accentuate the inevitable duty of the Japanese Empire to abolish the unfair racism against the four white great powers in the Paris Peace Conference.24 Maeilsinbo somehow even tediously reported whether the proposal would be accepted or not over several months, accentuating how the colonizer had been working for better treatment of the colonized. Perhaps the reasons that the Japanese Empire raised the Racial Equality Proposal were not directly related to the colonized, as can be seen from Shimazu (1998): immigration, universal principle, great power status, domestic politics, and politics of bargaining at the peace conference. According to her, the Empire did not even want to propose the universalistic approach, as the Foreign Minister of Japan even told the opposition political party that the proposal was only for members of the League of Nations. However, how and why the process of the proposal was sugar-coated in Korea by the colonial regime still requires specific attention, as the regime had to, at least partially, jeopardize their racial superiority over the colonized by emphasizing racial sameness. According to Shimazu (1998), Japan did not even appreciate being called the leader of the subalterns due to their desire to be integrated with the West; however, in order to gain more leverage as the only non-white great power in the conference, the Empire had to reluctantly endure the hail. However, this might not be sufficient when examining how the colonizer had to
emphasize the same racial root in order to dissipate the inclination of the colonized toward the West.

For example, Torii Ryuzo, one of the most well-known Japanese anthropologists during the Japanese Empire, wrote a series of articles on *Maeilsinbo*. Titled "The zone of same race in East Asia," the articles criticized the irrationality of the self-determination movement in Korea based on his anthropological research in the East Asia. He argued that annexation of Korea is completely different from the ruling of the U.K. over India and conquest of the Philippines by the U.S. Calling it unification rather than annexation, he claimed that the racial and linguistic root of Koreans and Japanese is not different and therefore it was necessary to save the same *minjok*, implying that Koreans should follow Japanese.25

Although the colonizer devalued the self-determination principle of the colonized, this certainly does not mean that *Maeilsinbo* did not report the March First Movement. As well as the news on the Racial Equality Proposal in the Paris Peace Conference, stories on the movement, titled "Incidence of Local Riot" (各地騷擾事件) or "Later Report on Riot Incidence" (騷擾事件의 後報), were another topic that the newspaper delivered almost every day from March to May in 1919. As expected, by highlighting violent aspects of the movement, the newspaper constructed the backwardness and uncivilized aspect of the colonized. An editorial written by a Korean writer also warned Koreans that Korea, an extremely small peninsula country in the East, would be disastrously colonized again by the great powers even if the Paris Peace Conference granted independence.26

It is certain that the colonial regime’s coercive militaristic rule, led by the Government-General of Korea, was one of the major reasons for discontent of the colonized that resulted in the March First Movement. As the colonized were also bound by colonial decrees and
promulgation as well as the law of metropole, in contrast to the colonizer within the colony who were only bound by the latter (Eckert et al. 1990), the colonized clearly sensed how the colonizer treated them differently. Even teachers were required to wear swords just like all other uniformed officials, as this was symbolic of militaristic colonial authority. With increasing numbers of arrests made by the colonial regime during the early colonial years, it might not be surprising that more prisons were built than any other buildings in the capital (Choy 1971). Also, based on the Joseon Whipping Order (朝鮮笞刑令)\textsuperscript{27}, only Koreas were legally allowed to be whipped. As seen above, perhaps these corporal punishments including other types of torture were the reason that Pak criticized the Japanese regime as being as bad as African natives (E. Pak [1915] 2002). The colonizer also continually imagined backwardness of the colonized in many different aspects such as hygiene and therefore justified their colonial intervention (Henry 2005).

Still, as seen above, one of the reasons that the colonizer was not welcomed was the discourse of munmyeong gaehwa during precolonial Korea, which identified the source of civilization outside the colonizer. Perhaps one can certainly argue that Koreans frequently despised Japanese as waenom before the gaehwa period. Indeed, Korean intellectuals frequently emphasized how Japan learned civilization from Korea in the past and this was one of the reasons that Koreans saw themselves as superior "yellows" during the gaehwa period. However, if this was the only dominant cause, the colonizer certainly had not much reason to address the racial sameness between themselves and the colonized because emphasizing sameness could be potentially dangerous as a double-edged sword. While it might have been partially effective to solidify the legitimacy of the colonizer as a head of a family of one race, its contradicting effects
could certainly overwhelm the rules of differences by jeopardizing the given superiority of the colonizer.

**BLACKS, THE COLONIZER, AND WHITE PERIL**

Perhaps, in order to more effectively deal with the lingering effect of the precoloniality of the colonized and a nationwide independence movement, the colonizer had to do something more than imagining "same but not quite" and accentuating the great power status of the colonizer as the leader of "yellows." Against the ongoing pro-US sentiment, the colonizer decided to use racism against Blacks in the U.S. According to the diary of Yun Chi-Ho, the colonial regime seemed to start talking about the issue around March 1919, as he wrote that "Japan wholeheartedly opposes the racism in the U.S."28 *Maeilsinbo*, as an effective tool for colonial propaganda, also started to criticize anti-Black racism in order to decry the U.S. Along with many photos of Blacks suffering from racial violence, the titles of articles alone clearly show the intention of the colonizer as follows: "Does the U.S. known as the leader of justice and humanity discriminate against race? – Ludicrous battle between Blacks and whites. Crying Blacks from discrimination and mistreatment,"29 "Destiny of pitiful Blacks – Crying Blacks under the U.S. whose talk and behavior are different,"30 "Massacre of Blacks in the U.S., private punishment on a bright day,"31 and "What? A country praising justice and humanity. The U.S. with ghostly sound. Don’t be surprised by American violence as killing Blacks becomes a daily routine."32

Most articles on racism against Blacks in the U.S. have similar themes, first describing cruel violence against Blacks, then objurgate the hypocrisy of the U.S. Excerpts from those articles are as follows:
…Originally, the private punishment in the U.S. is a cruel custom that kills Blacks who had sex with whites by hanging Blacks upside down. However, because no one cares about white men who abuse and have sex with black women, millions of mulattos (toegi) between Blacks and whites are in the U.S. This proves sins of Americans who claims justice with tongue in cheek. How contradicting it is to Americans who claim humanity and sing justice.33

…And the location of the cruelest scene is somewhere in the Western region. Crowds of whites beat Blacks like a dog then burn them to death with toxic called gasoline. How this could happen in a big city of a civilized country. Alas, poor destiny of Blacks. This is indeed disgrace that the lynching like this happened sixty years after the day slavery was abolished. Although it is true that life of Blacks and level of education are generally inferior to whites, the data cannot justify the mistreatment. Capital punishment against morals is still abundant and numbers of slaughtered Blacks are increasing year by year. Alas, Blacks might just have to faint. Alas, Blacks might just have to lament the destiny of being black. Although Mr. Taft recently discussed with a few elites and tried to abolish the private punishment, there seems to be no sense of equality in the brain of whites. Blacks participated in the last war. They only wanted to move upward. Among those 2.5 million soldiers in the war, four hundred thousand were Blacks. They were the bravest soldiers in the battlefield of France. However, Americans never look back their services and still mistreat them. How unthinkable it would be.34

Asking for apologies for hypocrisy and arrogance from whites, the colonial regime called for the unity of people of color.35 As well as the U.S., whites in general also became the target.
Pointing out abundant racial problems, not only with Blacks but also the colonized in general, in the Christian lands while whites claimed self-determination\textsuperscript{36}, the newspaper continually reported mistreatment of the weak by whites. Although the U.S. was revered by people of color all around the world as the country of humanity after the American Civil War was won by the abolitionists, the newspaper contended that the U.S. was not much different from other whites by enumerating incidences of colonization by the U.S.—Mexico, Spain, and Hawaii—and describing how the U.S. rejected the idea of racial equality.\textsuperscript{37} Some Blacks even wanted a war between Japan and the U.S. as they were willing to support Japan, the newspaper reported.\textsuperscript{38} Taking advantage of racism against Blacks in the U.S., the colonizer strived to win over the colonized.

Amidst these anti-U.S. projects, \textit{Maeilsinbo} carried a long series of eleven articles titled "Argument on White Peril" (\textit{Baekwaron}; 白禍論)\textsuperscript{39}. Written by Baek Dae-jin, a Korean writer who became a journalist for \textit{Maeilsinbo} in 1919, the series severely criticized arrogant and shameless whites and advocated unity of people of color. Sympathizing with piteous Blacks in the U.S., he went on to argue that the Paris Peace Conference exposed the real intention of cold-hearted whites who only valued the strong and superior.\textsuperscript{40} He identified that inferior whites in the fifteenth century, who merely desired good clothes and food because they lacked benefits from nature, sought wealth from Asia with ambition, desiring Asians to freeze to death or die of hunger.\textsuperscript{41} According to him, as their lack of natural resources made them more dynamic and diligent, whites full of material ambition viewed the East as the land of wealth after Marco Polo came from China, which ignited the colonial invasion of the current time.\textsuperscript{42} He claimed that Japan defeated greedy white Russians in saving East Asia, which made the German Emperor declare yellow peril. He then asked how "yellows" could survive surrounded by strong and
superior whites. Different from Russia, whose invasion could be considered as economic and political, the U.K., the U.S., and France had a very cunning way of invasion by using Jesus and the bible as a spear and shield, he claimed. Therefore, he asserted, "we regard the whites’ propaganda book (the bible) as a pitiful invasionist rather than a messenger of love." According to him, those whites, at first, strived to conciliate other peoples as soon as they stepped on other peoples’ land by establishing philanthropic organizations and building educational institutions. As those Christian missionaries learned the customs and degree of culture of East Asia, then reported them back to their countries, those ambitious businesspersons and rulers eventually intervened in other peoples’ sovereignty, he wrote. He then lamented that those who were mesmerized by the missionaries worshiped and respected them as if they were messiahs. Only Japanese were able to localize Christianity; therefore, the religion only spiritually affected Japanese instead being a tool for colonial invasion, he explained. However, according to him, almost being spiritually whites, Korean Christians merely became worshippers of whites, which luckily was stopped by the annexation by Japan. When the East was about to fall by white Russians, heaven sent Japan to the rescue, he said. Therefore, more than anything, he claimed that "yellow" solidarity was required in order to save their homeland and annihilate whites rather than competing with the same race. Although written by a Korean, this series of articles clearly reveal how the idea of munmyeong gaehwa during the precolonial Korea backfired on the colonial regime and thus made them accentuate the same race.

RACIAL HIERARCHY OF THE COLONIZED

One more aspect has yet to be fully examined. As seen from the previous chapter, if Koreans’ national pride during the gaehwa period was at least partially constructed from the discourse
that, so to speak, "we are not blacks nor reds therefore we can make it," it is a legitimate question to ask that how this aspect played a role in their response to the colonizer in Korea. For this matter, Maeilsinbo might not be an adequate source due to the colonial censorship and lack of Korean sources in Korea during the early colonial period, which makes this task even harder. However, an anecdote from Yun Chi-ho’s diary hints at how the aspect unfolded under the colonial regime when he attended a conference at the Central Council:

Mr. Yamagata Isoo addressed the meeting on "The Condition of the World Today." He said that the annexation of Korea was the union of two peoples of equal standing and not a conquest by force. He mentioned the horrible race discriminations of the whites against the Blacks in Chicago and asked the people if the Japanese ever treated the Koreans in a like manner. The (Korean) people were very much offended at the comparison. Mr. Yamagata should have remembered that the difference between the Japanese and Koreans is not so fundamental and *** the difference between the White and Black. Isso’s comment certainly complements articles from Maeilsinbo. Not only did criticizing racism in the U.S. undermine the pro-US sentiment among Koreans, it also was also intended to solidify the legitimacy of the colonizer. Whether the colonial regime indeed treated Koreans better than Blacks or not, it seems that what made Korean participants feel offended was the mere comparison between Koreans and Blacks, as they had constructed and believed the profound difference between themselves and Blacks.

The gap persisted even in the March First Movement, the most shining moment of nationalism perhaps throughout the history of Korea, which precipitated a significant shift in colonial policies. A decade into Japan's harshly coercive occupation, as many as a million Koreans took the streets in marches and demonstrations, starting on March 1, 1919, and
extending into the summer, despite a notoriously bloody crackdown. The movement was begun by a group of 33 activists—"The Declaration of Independence"—proclaimed "Korea...an independent state" and "Koreans...a self-governing people." However, the unnoticed racial subtext discloses something beyond. For instance, the sentence—"The enslavement of twenty million resentful people by force does not contribute to lasting peace in the East"—drew on countless other such utterances about slavery, since the precolonial era, that had formed the condition of its intelligibility and resonance. Likewise, consider the statement: "We do not intend to accuse Japan of infidelity for its violation of various solemn treaty obligations since the Treaty of Amity of 1876. Japan's scholars and officials, indulging in a conqueror's exuberance, have denigrated the accomplishments of our ancestors and treated our civilized people like barbarians" (H. Kim 1989: 2-3). The more direct translation of the final predicate would be "treated our minjok of culture like ignorant natives."50 With the interpolating modifier mae (ignorant), the word tomaein (土昧人) was a variation of toin (native), which had long been used to refer to Blacks (African toin), American Indians (American toin), and other so-called inferior and savage "natives."51 This momentous proclamation for Korean freedom, then, was not only an explicit "affirmation of the principle of the equality of all nations" and "the demand of our people for justice, humanity, survival, and dignity" (H. Kim 1989: 2-3) but also an implicit assertion of unquestioned superiority over those beyond the pale of justice, survival, dignity, and, indeed, humanity.

CONCLUSION
Overshadowed by dualism between the West and the East, the Japanese Empire has been treated as an abnormal empire that lacks essential characteristics of the modern empire. Other than its geographic orientation, the existing scholarship tends to agree that lack of racial discourse is one of the most significant peculiarities. By denaturalizing the empire-state, this chapter has demonstrated the ways in which racial discourse played a pivotal role in colonial practices of both the colonizer and the colonized in colonial Korea. Rather than taking racial akin-ness as given, this chapter has detailed how the racial similarity had to be imagined in order to achieve legitimacy of the colonizer in spite of the possibility of jeopardizing their imagined superiority. More importantly, the colonizer was forced to risk their imagined superiority because Koreans had not regarded Japan as the true source of civilization even prior to colonialism. By imagining the U.S. as their liberator, Koreans, whether intentionally or not, pushed the colonizer to critique anti-Blackness in the U.S. as well as discourse of racial similarity. In the meantime, Koreans did not welcome colonial policy based not only on its unfairness and cruelty but also on belief that they could not be treated the way Blacks or other natives were treated. After all, against the pro-US sentiment among Koreans, the colonial regime claimed racial war against whites and advocated "yellow" solidarity.
CHAPTER 3: THE DEEP SCHEMAS OF ANTI-BLACKNESS IN COLONIAL KOREA, 1919-1937

"[T]he schema of presuming the inferiority of Blackness is extremely deep and transposable, with a long history and a global reach" (Jung 2015:47).

Though the March First Movement failed to bring independence to Korea, the post-impact of the movement was far more than trivial. On the side of the colonized, nationalism was no longer monopolized by Westernized intellectual elites as it had reached the mass population (Robinson 1988). After acknowledging that endless militaristic police repression was not always effective, the Japanese Empire reorganized the colonial rules and dispatched the new Government-General, Admiral Saito Makoto, in 1919. Dubbed as bunka seiji (the cultural rule), the colonial regime allowed Koreans to exercise culture on their own terms by allowing publications in the Korean language. Reflecting Koreans’ passion for their own cultural space, many Korean newspapers and magazines were published as they competed for the attention of diversified masses. Unlike the early colonial period, budan seiji, the cultural rule thus offers a valuable opportunity to more comprehensively examine how the colonized made sense of the anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy that they had constructed since the precolonial period beyond relying on the other Korean-written newspaper, Maeilsinbo, sponsored by the colonizer and a few individual writings.1 Furthermore, as Robinson (1998) notes, if those nationalists, and therefore the contents of the Korean-written publications, prior to the March First Movement had been homogenous to a certain degree, different sources under the cultural rule strived to draw Korean readers’ attention with diversified content.
In continuation with the precious chapters, this chapter examines race in Korea based on the diversified Korean publications during the cultural rule. Nevertheless, the purpose of this chapter is greater than prolonging the discussion from the previous chapters, as this chapter ultimately aims at examining the processes of how the underprivileged colonized without the corporeal presence of Blacks constructed the "deep schema" of anti-Blackness in colonial Korea by emphasizing its extreme durability and depth (Jung 2015). First, this chapter focuses on the anti-racism that captured Koreans under the cultural rule with four possible factors. Second, regardless of many critiques on racism on the surface in the 1920s and 1930s, this chapter then contends that anti-Blackness was deeply ingrained in two most notable nationalist groups in the 1920s, the cultural nationalists and radicals, based on a debate over one of the most controversial writings of the time, Yi Gwang-su’s "Treatise on the Reconstruction of Nation." Third, beyond abstract anti-Blackness, the subsequent empirical sections of the chapter reveal how Koreans under the cultural rule were ready to immediately put anti-Blackness into practice whenever chances were given. Fourth, in a related but different aspect, the chapter then discloses how anti-Blackness was adapted to different cultural logics including the intra-Korean relations and thereby argues how the deep racial schemas were adapted to construct racial structure by using a more complicated concept of structure (Jung 2015; Sewell 1996).

ANTI-RACISM IN COLONIAL KOREA

Hitherto, racial discrimination has been extremely severe. People have committed injustice taking it for granted that inferior race are ruled or oppressed by superior race either between whites and yellows or yellows and blacks. In this context, if
permanent world peace is to achieve, it is indeed a sure thing to claim abolishing racial discrimination.  

Recalling how Koreans created the image of Blacks (and their racial inferiors, mainly American Indians) and regarded racial domination by whites as the natural law, the quote above from *Gaehyeok*, the most popular magazine in colonial Korea under the cultural rule, reveals a drastic difference. Admittedly, sympathetic anti-racism articles did appear in precolonial Korea while anti-Blackness was quite dominant. In contrast, the general tone of *Gaehyeok* during the 1920s was mostly in continuation with anti-racism discourse. Articles on anti-racism certainly were not limited to one popular magazine around the period. Similar toned articles in different magazines can easily be found. According to an article from *Hakijigwang*:

> In the past, many images such as the right of the strongest or survival of the fittest were created. [We have] worshiped the strong and might. It was widespread that the weak do not have a right for survival in the nineteenth century... See what happened after everyone slaughtered and oppressed the weak. Five years of the world war is exemplary. Indeed, people around the world realized that oppressing the weak by the strong is happiness for neither the first nor the later.

Furthermore, in what Tikhonov (2016) calls a "discursive shift," in the 1930s Koreans became even more critical. Identifying the KKK as one of the three conspiracies, a reporter from *Byeolgeongon* investigated the "white-clad assassins." Arguing about "savaging whites," an emotional article from the same magazine described a cruel scene of private punishment by whites and warned whites that it would be too late to regret as the transition of savagery between whites and Black would come soon. Choe Yun-ho, a doctor in philosophy, also opposed the familiar racial theme during the precolonial Korea
that lack of the "brain power" or intelligence of Blacks determined their fate. He then went on to argue that "Intelligence of whites are not superior to that of yellows as well as intelligence of Blacks are not inferior to that of other races. Rather, the studies predict that it is a matter of education." Accordingly, not only from periodicals, many articles on Blacks in Chosunilbo that were interested in different aspects of their lives from their struggles to literature also seem to reflect the "discursive shift."6

While what caused this seemingly drastic change is not the main purpose of this chapter, it is certainly necessary to delve into some plausible factors. Those possible factors, though complicatedly interconnected in reality and not exhaustive, are 1) influence from Maeilsinbo or the colonial regime in general, 2) World War I, 3) Marxism, and 4) indifference from the West. First, although Maeilsinbo was published by the colonial regime and thus its influence is often downplayed, the newspaper was certainly in keeping with Korea’s quest toward civilization and enlightenment (Schmid 2002). Given that Koreans’ pro-US (and West) sentiment during the early colonial period was quite significant, it is difficult to conclude that Koreans all of sudden concurred with the idea of the superiority of the Japanese Empire over the Western ones and anti-US sentiment. Nevertheless, it would be even nonsensical to argue that the colonized are impervious to colonial discourse. Furthermore, Japan’s racial appeal as the beacon of "yellows" certainly gained much support even prior to colonization, as seen from the previous chapters. Indeed, an article from Gaebyeok credited Japan’s racial equality proposal at the Paris Peace Conference as the bearer of anti-racism discourse.7

Second, post-war reflection cannot be downplayed. As seen from the previous chapters, Koreans strived to keep up with the world and absorb the dominant ideas of the West. Their aspiration to know the world did not wane as many new publications under the cultural regime
were also focused on knowing the world. Perhaps, not many Koreans were physically involved in the war and only a few observed the actual war site. However, the wave of democracy in Europe after World War I and related ideas certainly motivated many Koreans. Unlike the might and wealth prior to the war that could be represented as military power and money, an article from *Gaebyeok* contended that their contemporary’s might and wealth required art and morale.\(^8\)

Claiming the end of the worldview with endless competition and survival of the fittest, another article even went further by advocating animal ethics in order to show how their contemporary world cherished humanism and morale.\(^9\) In a similar context, a different article advocated cultural relativism unlike the past in which Americans treated Blacks as animals.\(^10\) In a similar context, *Donggwang*, a popular magazine that advocated cultural nationalism, introduced H. G. Well’s idea that supports racial equality.\(^11\) While many Koreans might not have observed the war in person, the impact of post-war discussions affected their world view.

Third, the rise of young left wing radicals cannot be overlooked as the Korean nationalist movement had been divided along ideological lines since the 1920s. Unlike the moderate nationalist group who emphasized education, national consciousness-raising, and capitalist development, younger radicals were attracted to social revolutionary thought inspired by the Russian revolution (Robinson 1988). If the first group opposed racism based on the post-war cultural idea of democracy and humanism, the latter, who supported Marx’s materialism, viewed economic factors as the main dynamic of historical evolution and thus downplayed race. Introducing Karl Marx, an article from *Gaebyeok* contended that race, geography, and climate cannot induce a grand evolution, as those rarely change.\(^12\) *Donggwang* also translated an article written by a Japanese Marxist arguing that racism is a mere reflection of labor market competition as cheaper labor power by Blacks threatens white American laborers.\(^13\)
Myeong-sik, one of the well-known radical nationalists, wrote in *Samcheolli* that racial antagonism always originates from material cause whether its purpose is to invade or defend. To those radical nationalists whose goal was centered on proletariat revolution, racism was not the fundamental base of inequality and therefore a mere distraction to their ultimate goal.

Fourth, as seen from the previous chapter, many Koreans admired the West and regarded the U.S. as their savior. However, along with the reasons above, after Kim Gyu-sik’s effort for Korean independence in the Paris Peace Conference was met by indifference from the West including the U.S. whose President proclaimed self-determination, many Koreans became skeptical about the West and the notion of the survival of the fittest. "To summarize, what the Paris Peace Conference did to the principle of self-determination was no more than swindle of a wolf in sheep’s clothing," stated Kim Yang-su, one of the co-signers of the petition for independence submitted to the Western powers at the Conference, in a vehement criticism of whites. Calling for solidarity of "people of the East" or people of color—"yellows, browns, and blacks who are under the ruling of whites"—he claimed that the people of East from Asia and Africa with deeper civilization would rise against whites.

Combined with these reasons above, indeed, though intermittent expressions of sympathy were not new, many Koreans felt sympathetic or even empathetic toward Blacks. *Chosunilbo*, for instance, praised the efforts of Blacks, who are "despised as savages by the civilized," to establish an institution for Blacks around the world and also criticized how whites exploited Blacks, as seen from *Figure 1*. Accordingly, many Koreans lamented the plight of the weak under the West or whites, such as the people of India and Philippines since the 1930s. Even one of the most avid followers of social Darwinism, Yun Chi-ho, felt sympathetic about the plight of Ethiopians and praised the King of Ethiopia who bravely battled against Italian soldiers.
Certainly, not only Yun Chi-ho but most Korean publications’ writers were fascinated by the struggle of the only "black empire" against the Italian Empire, and many juxtaposed their colonized status with their struggle against whites.

Rather than enumerating more possible explanations, saving for the next chapter the transition from the "vulgar" racism to "polite" racism and many Koreans’ patriotism toward the Empire during the late Japanese Empire that Fujitani (2011) discloses, one might conclude that anti-Blackness in (pre)colonial Korea was only skin-deep and did not last more than a few decades. It is certainly true that, as with any other modern empire, race was one of the most significant guidelines for "rules of differences" in the Japanese Empire as it was also built on their imagined racial superiority over the colonized. However, without the "racial contestation" between Koreans and Blacks that is one of the key aspects of "racialized social system," anti-Blackness in colonial Korea may have appeared to lose its material ground as Koreans eventually realized its absurdity (Bonilla-Silva 1996).

On the contrary, as will be seen, amidst anti-racism discourse in the 1920s and 1930s, anti-Blackness not only continued to be persistent but was also transposed into different schemas. Before investigating in detail, to explain this durable and deep anti-Blackness in colonial Korea, this chapter now turns to "deep schemas of racism" that Jung (2015) proposes.

DEEP SCHEMAS OF RACISM

While Bonilla-Silva’s (1996) race theory cogently rejects epiphenomenal theories of racism by prioritizing a structural account of racism, Jung (2015) contends that his approach cannot fully articulate culture as the theory places racism in an uneasy position by positing racism as the dominant ideology of the racial structure. By incorporating Sewell’s concept of structure,
"constituted by mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources" (Sewell 1992:27), Jung redefines racism as the "structures of inequality and domination based on race" and includes the notion of schemas, "the cultural or semiotic dimension of social life," in the concept of racism as a fundamental and explicit constituent. Focusing on durability and depth of schemas of racism that are not necessarily driven by rational and material interests (Bonilla-Silva 1996), he proposes three "deep schemas" of racism that are subconsciously put into practices and cannot be simply "unthought": 1) "race or the mode of categorizing people by some notion of ‘collective heredity’"; 2) "the presumption of suitability/unsuitability for civic inclusion, or belonging, on the base of race"; 3) "the presumption of superiority/inferiority on the bases of race" (Jung 2015:49).

Accordingly, Jung questions ironic coexistence between "colorblindness" and persistent racial inequalities in the United States and thereby contends that the "colorblindness," which Bonilla-Silva (2003) identifies as the dominant racial ideology of the post-Civil Rights era, operates at relatively "shallow" depths as ideology but mostly in public discourse. Conceiving culture in terms of schemas, he then argues that ideology is only a part of culture that cannot adequately deal with culture altogether. In terms of race, according to him, while racial ideologies are "reflective discourses, opinions concerning race," racism is "composed largely of nondiscursive and performa-discursive practices that are enactments of tacit schemas" (Jung 2015:50). Therefore, he asserts that colorblind racial ideologies can be only partial discourses that are not necessarily identical to the tacit schemas, the basis of racial practices and racial status quo. "I can’t believe what you say, because I see what you do." In other words, what you say (or colorblindness) can only reflect partial ideologies. What study of race must analyze is, he contends, what you do and the tacit but deep schemas of racism that lead to what you do.
RACE, RECONSTRUCTING NATION, AND THE RADICALS

After the March First Movement, many Korean nationalists in exile returned with some level of hope. Contrary to the early nationalist movement under the early Japanese colonialism, the voices of the colonized, not only elites but the public, became quite diversified. Amidst this "politics of debate" (H. Kim 2005), different groups of nationalists had to compete for support from the masses through Korean publications allowed under the cultural rule. As mentioned above, the nationalist movement was divided into mainly two different ideological lines between 1920 and 1925. The first group, the moderate nationalist group, assumed gradual development within colony prior to independence while the second group, the radicals, challenged gradualism and offered radical and militaristic paths inspired by social revolutionary thought after the Russian revolution. The schism between the left and right was so deep that it continued to affect the Korean peninsula even after the independence in 1945 (Robinson 1988).

However, beneath the conflict between two drastically different groups, they shared one unacknowledged commonality – anti-Blackness. Since most cultural nationalists were the elite group prior to the March First Movement, it might be logical to assume that their anti-Blackness persisted. Nevertheless, as seen above, many cultural nationalists supported anti-racism after the March First Movement, at least on the surface. On the other hand, for those radicals who admired Marxists’ revolutionary ideas based on class struggle, it seems plausible to assume that they regarded race as mere superstructure. On the contrary, as will be seen, the deep schemas of anti-Blackness were found not only in the first group but also in the latter.

Coming from the moderate nationalist group, Yi Gwang-su’s "Treatise on the Reconstruction of Nation" (minjokgaejoron, the Reconstruction, hereafter), published in May
1922, would be one of the most controversial articles during the early cultural rule. Similar to his fellow nationalists, Yi was one of the avid followers of so-called Social Darwinism (Jang 2010; Choe 2011). However, after the colonization, the idea of survival of the fittest could no longer motivate Koreans as it placed Koreans on the predestined path to extinction. The failure of the March First Movement and ongoing national poverty also discouraged Yi. In this context, Yi assumed that reconstruction was the most important national task. According to Yi, reconstruction is the new world ethos of the new era, as he argued "Reconstruct imperialism to democracy, reconstruct capitalism to communism, reconstruct survival of the fittest to mutual cooperation, and reconstruct sexism to gender equality … These are what today’s world of thought is."21 By prioritizing reconstruction of minjokseong (national characteristic) and ethics ahead of simplistic munmyeong gaehwa, the Reconstruction exemplified how the moderate nationalists at least distanced themselves from the old ideas of munmyeong gaehwa or so-called social Darwinism. As Yi prioritized reconstruction within colony ahead of independence, the Reconstruction encountered severe criticism especially from the radicals who prioritized immediate independence.

While racism in (pre)colonial Korea has been much overlooked, as mentioned in the previous chapters, a few studies have already revealed how race played a significant role in Koreans’ world view, as they identify social Darwinism as the main culprit (S. Pak 2003; Shin 2006; Tikhonov 2010, 2016). It is absolutely correct that social Darwinism cannot be separated from racism. However, social Darwinism is not the only necessary and sufficient condition of racism. By circumscribing racism within the realm of social Darwinism, they reproduce the minimization of social Darwinism as an anomaly in the history of European Enlightenment. Per their logic, as those moderate nationalists who once supported social Darwinism no longer
embraced the idea, it appeared somewhat natural that racism in Korea became less meaningful. To some extent, Yi indeed regarded social Darwinism as devil’s thought and advocated harmony as the light of human beings, unlike his old writings which warned that Koreans could fall into the same status of poor and stupid natives in Ainu who are permanently enslaved (Choe 2011). However, the Reconstruction ironically disclosed deep and durable nature of racism that cannot be simply "unthought," as it contained three deep schemas of racism that Jung proposed: 1) race as the mode of dividing humans; 2) the presumption of suitability/unsuitability on the basis of race; 3) the presumption of superiority/inferiority on the basis of race.

According to Yi’s Reconstruction, the most urgent reconstruction for Koreans was reconstruction of Joseon nation (minjok). While every nation constantly changes, he contended that what separates the changes of civilized people from the savage race is that the first follows a projected path with a goal while the latter’s change is no less than a physical and chemical one that happens without a goal and plan. Though he acknowledged the March First Movement accelerated the spirit of Koreans, "it was the same change of stupid and ignorant savage race that just happens without self-awareness." According to him, what failed Koreans was not the lack of knowledge that munmyeong gaehwa constantly emphasized. Instead, the fundamental reason for failure was lack of morality. While he dominantly used the term minjok (nation) instead of race, it is evident that his usage of nation cannot be separated from racial category. Inspired by Gustave Le Bon, who constantly sought what constitutes the superiority of one race over another, Yi followed Le Bon’s idea that most fundamental characteristics of minjok (whether it is anatomical or psychological) cannot change:

While it is difficult to scientifically prove the assumption that psychological characteristics have something immutable based on the fact that anatomical
characteristics do, numerous historical precedents tell it is the truth. The doctor [Gustave Le Bon] already mentioned Anglo-Saxons and his own Latins as examples. As I have never seen a case of complete assimilation, each minjok has one or more fundamental characteristics that are immutable. Especially, in terms of individual psychology, each individual has different anatomical characteristics which grant fundamental personal characteristics that hardly change throughout one’s life. Therefore, minjokseong [characteristics of minjok], the sum of individual characteristics, has something fundamental that is immutable.\\(^\text{23}\)\\

Far from that of Anglo-Saxons and Latins who are predestined to be civilized, according to Yi, Koreans’ condition in Yi’s days implied a depressing fact: the fundamental characteristics of Koreans might not be much different from the inferior savage race. However, Yi suggested two possible cases of reconstruction. If Koreans’ fundamental characteristics are indeed inferior, though no historical precedents exist, he contended that reconstruction of fundamental characteristics can nevertheless start from few individuals, just as corrupted Jews still have a saint like Jesus. However, he then inspired his fellow Koreans by claiming that what requires reconstruction is not the fundamental characteristics but peripheral characteristics that have been fixed by reconstruction throughout history. In other words, not much different from those writings on munmyeong gaehwa, Yi’s Reconstruction still contained racial schemas of suitability/unsuitability and superiority/inferiority. After all, the goal of his Reconstruction was to lead Koreans to the path of the "civilized" that was not allowed to the "savage" race.

While the radicals had fundamental differences in how to achieve independence and therefore did not agree with the cultural nationalists such as Yi, regarding munmyeong gaehwa and survival of the fittest, the distance between the two sides was not far. Instead of military
forces, the radicals claimed that what makes the strong in the new era is justice, humanism, sociality, and mutual cooperation. By ignoring how things circulate, there being no clear predators as nature consumes all animals, they also contended that Darwin’s argument has significant flaws. Instead of worshiping the strong, Sinsaenghwal raised a question:

Do the weak have no life? Rather, the weaker have the larger life. Not only they have life that can sustain their weak status, they have life to consume, oppress, and capture the strong, which makes life of the weak more grandiose and grandeur than that of the strong. Otherwise, the weak would immediately lose their life as soon as they become the weak. As of today, the workers are weaker than the capitalists and feeble minjok is weaker than strong minjok. They do not have no life. In contrast, they have great life that contains and expels strong minjok and the capitalists.

Despite these similarities between the two sides, one of the reasons the Reconstruction became the most controversial writing in the early cultural rule was Yi’s claim which prioritized self-reconstruction ahead of independence. "Since Koreans are able to have qualification and talent that can choose their destiny by their own will only after they, as an individual or minjok, have capability to manage civilized life, there is no shortcut to better destiny of Koreans other than reconstruction of minjok." To those radicals who constantly emphasized immediate independence, Yi’s idea was no more than a baneful colonial trap. Moreover, to those Marxist radicals, individual reconstruction was by no means the answer to independence or even development. Rather, to the radicals, the material base determines the superstructure, which can be exemplified by an article in Sinsaenghwal by Sin Il-yong, the co-founder of the magazine:

"The reason why we are dying in decline and poverty is neither anatomical disability nor psychological defect, so-called inferior national characteristics. At the same time, I assert that the
reason is only because of conquer and exploitation. Without change in the material base, immediate independence and class revolution, the radicals believed reconstruction of national characteristics is bound to be limited.

However, more importantly, the unacknowledged commonality of the two sides was anti-Blackness and the deep racial schemas. Since the opposition from the radicals was based on their interest in materialism and class struggle, race seems to have no place in their argument. However, along with other reasons, one thing that irritated the radicals cannot be separated from race as it was centered around Yi’s evaluation on the March First Movement: "it was the same change of stupid and ignorant savage race that just happens without self-awareness." Against Yi’s evaluation, Sin Il-yong expressed his fury by saying that "my face was bloody-swollen and the whole body tremored." Though he also claimed that socialists support globalism beyond nationalism in the same article, his locating Koreans into the savage race, whom his "globalism" should perhaps embrace, was found to be particularly displeasing. While he also articulated that what Americans did to Hawai’ians and Blacks was not much different from a chief of a savage cannibal race who adorns himself with skulls, it rather reaffirms how much race captures his argument. Other radicals were not much different. Sin Sang-woo and Kim Je-gwan did not hesitate to disclose their anger by saying how dare Yi compared the great minjok to savage race.

Besides their argument against Yi’s Reconstruction, the radicals also revealed the persistent nature of race in their other writings. When Kim Won-byek pointed out contradictions of life in his days, he depicted it as "clothing of whites on body of blacks" and "naked Reds with a pair of shoes." As Yu Gyeong-Sang criticized missionaries in Korea, he contended that a missionary like David Livingston who sacrificed himself in the black and dark
African continent could not be seen in Korea. In other words, to him, African Blacks were innately inferior race who must be guided by a white missionary. In *Joseonjigwang*, the most popular socialist magazine in 1920s in Korea, the familiar racial theme reappeared: "If Joseon *minjok* remains the same, we will become reds, degenerate to savage, and cease to exist." The radicals, though they claimed their philosophy was based on materialism, were not free from the deep racial schemas.

**DEEP SCHEMAS, TRANSPOSABILITY AND RACIAL PRACTICES**

As seen above, many writings started to oppose racism in the 1920s, at least, on the surface. However, as in the precolonial period, writings on anti-Blackness were still prevalent as some were immersed in "scientific" racism and others used anti-Blackness to emphasize Koreans’ superiority. For example, Africa was described as the continent for the lowest degree of human growth; therefore, an article from *Gaebyeok* claimed that treating some tribes in Africa as human beings is the same as raising a fish on a land farm. An article from *Donggwang* introduced many racial taxonomies that placed Blacks and other "natives" on the bottom rung. Titled as "The Exhibition of World Strange Races", an article from *Byeolgeongon*, introduced "cannibal negroes" and "militant negroids" in "Africa, a den of blacks as anyone knows." *Dongailbo* also went on to bring back the recurring schemas of weather, natural resources, and civilization. Contending that natural resources are not a determining factor of civilization as the tropic zone has much more than the temperate zone, the newspaper claimed that "Who would say Polynesian cannibals and African blacks have civilization." Choe Yeo-gu, a teacher of Jungdong school established by Korean nationalists since 1906, also wrote a series of articles titled as "The Past and Future of Human Beings" in the same newspaper. Along with illustrations (*Figure 2*), he
contrasted the civilized and savage by describing similarities between Blacks and chimpanzees as well as differences in brain shapes based on phrenology.40 After all, Koreans continued to render Blacks and their imagined racial inferiors "peoples without history" as opposed to their contingent suffering:

Inferior animals do not know who their father is. They even forget their own mother after breastfeeding. Not only those animals, blacks in Africa and savages in Polynesia neither know their ancestors nor their genealogy. Therefore, they neither have any cultural records nor national consciousness.41

While claiming that superiority of whites who enslaved people of color is not because of their biological or psychological superiority but coincidental difference in historical opportunity42, Blackness continued to be the symbol of backwardness. "Christianity is religion that even enlightened ignorant and savagery African blacks," another article from the same magazine reaffirms that colonial Korea under the cultural rule was far from the "discursive shift."43

Meanwhile, juxtaposing their colonized position as "yakso minjok" (the people with lesser power) with the only "black empire," as briefly noted above, Koreans’ sympathy or even empathy toward in Ethiopia was one of the key aspects of the discursive shift in the 1930s. However, equally notable, the schemas of anti-Blackness were also persistent. Introducing Ethiopia, an article from Samcheolli explained that "Needless to say, people of the country are niggers [geomdungyideul]44 but strangely it is an independent empire" whose life is "yet to receive the benefit of civilization and whose mystifying custom is jaw-dropping."45 Criticizing chasm between major Korean newspapers, Kim Dong-hwan, a main editor of Samcheolli, emphasized how much Koreans are specialized in advancing culture and respecting the newspaper representatives, unlike American Blacks with more newspapers but less popularity.
toward representatives.\textsuperscript{46} As intellectuals discussed the issue in the same magazine, Kim Dong-
hwan also asked opinions from others on supporting Ethiopia as the people with lesser power or people of color. While one hoped Ethiopia would at least maintain the name of country, Yi Gwang-su rejected the idea and contended that it was their fault they did not take advantage of many opportunities for hundreds of years with a persistent slavery system. Kim Gyeong-jae, one of the leading socialists, also questioned how the people of an unenlightened country would cooperate to fight after the king’s declaration of war regardless of their patriotism.\textsuperscript{47} As Yeo Un-hyeong, one of the leading figures of the left-wing nationalists, disclosed the real attitudes of the world powers on the war between Italy and Ethiopia, he contended that "England makes a fuss about it on the surface but in fact they want Italy to win and Ethiopia, a black unenlightened country, to lose."\textsuperscript{48}

Including the debate over the Reconstruction, these writings above imply that the discursive shift was partial, especially when it comes to anti-Blackness. In other words, the anti-racism ideologies were "shallow," while merely scratching the surface of the ideologies reveals deep and durable schemas of anti-Blackness. By contrasting schemas with ideology, it is important to note that anti-Blackness, including construction of racial inferiors, in (pre)colonial Korea was far more than ideology that comprises "reflective discourses, opinions concerning race" as it fundamentally shaped Korean racial identity from the onset and guided how they made sense of the world around through "performa-discursive practices" (Jung 2015:50). If the "deep schemas" are not only durable but transposable, what is still left behind is how the "deep schemas" governed various levels of racial practices beyond the aspects previous chapters demonstrate. Not surprisingly, as will be seen, anti-Blackness shaped Koreans ready to put racism into practice at any given chances. In other words, as opposed to what they say, the
chapter now turns to what they do as well as how the tacit but deep schemas of racism enacted what they do.

On July 30th of 1920, the first concert performed by Blacks was held in Korea. "Not only the first concert by blacks, their performance is known as funny as breaking your back", Dongailbo reported a day before the concert.49 Apart from their popularity as musicians, it is clear that their race became the most important selling point. Perhaps, most audiences had not seen Blacks prior to the concert. However, the concert was quite successful as it was held multiple times and was also promoted as a fundraising event for those affected by flood, and the singers even revisited Korea after two years.50 'Blacks’ blackish skin looks scary but funny as their performance made audience crease up," Dongailbo described after watching the concert.51 As seen from the drawing in the same article (Figure 3), hypervisibility of Blacks reveals the fact that race, at least Blackness, became one of the dominant modes of dividing human beings in Korea. Chosunilbo, the other major newspaper in colonial Korea, also revealed persistent anti-Blackness. By juxtaposing American Black singers with American toin (a derogatory term for natives) singers, the newspaper described their music thusly: "the bizarre and innocent music aroused a sense that does not belong to the complicated twentieth century."52 After the concert, one of the audience noted his impression in a letter to his fellow published in Gaebyeok. Though it appeared to be distant from typical racial remarks with negative connotation, it still disclosed how the fixated imagination of Blacks dictated his social action toward Blacks:

Your little brother went to the Jongro Youth Center to watch American black (Indian) [sic] singers’ concert advertised by a newspaper. Their pure innocence which is in complete accordance with my ideal was deeply impressive. There was no slight deviation against the God’s will in their true acting. They just expose
their black faces, thick lips, and crumbled noses on the podium and naturally, jauntily, and freely show their skill and talent, shoulder dancing, leg dancing, and waist dancing, without minding the response from audience whether they laugh, frown, think ugly, or dirty. I was having hard time to worrying that what if they show artful hypocrisy? However, until the end, they did their very best not to lose the way of nature.53

The fact that he parenthesized "Indian" after "African black" may reveal that his understanding of race was far from accurate. Nevertheless, his depiction of the Black singers disclosed how his "everyday" knowledge on race guided his social action even at the very first moment of inter-racial encounter with Blacks.

Though this might not be directly related to inter-racial encounters and racial practices, hypervisibility of Blacks in sports in Korean newspaper articles under the cultural rule clearly demonstrates how Koreans readily accepted racial views on Black athletes. In numerous reports on sports, though most of them are relatively short, one would easily notice that the race of athletes was almost always added to Black athletes, such as Black Owens, Black Louis, Black Heins, Black Armstrong, and Black baseball players.54 Raising a question regarding why Blacks are good at short sprint and jump, without any further inquiry, Chosunilbo conveyed an opinion from an American scholar that much shorter duration of exposure to modern life is the reason for their athletic ability to sprint and jump, and therefore Blacks are not fit for long-distance running.55

On the other hand, travel pieces also offer valuable insight on actual racial encounter of Koreans. Not only revealing how Koreans were ready to put anti-Blackness into practice, these hint at how the "deep schemas" were "transposed to and articulate with more ‘surface’ structures
of inequality and domination" (Jung 2015). When No Jeong-il, who later became the representative of Joongangilbo, one of three major newspapers in colonial Korea, entered the U.S., "the new world of Washington filled with freedom and happiness, Lincoln’s United States, the beloved home country of missionaries, and the wealthy country of civilization that our friends have admired", one of the first things that captured his attention was how jobs were racially segregated: "It seems that shoe shining at the corner of street is a job for Blacks and laundering and cooking are done by Chinese." At the Golden Gate Park Museum in San Francisco, his feelings were hurt by Korean exhibitions which disclosed characteristics of the savage similar to exhibitions of "reds." On a related note regarding how race became the dividing mode of human beings, Na Hyeo-seok, one of the few female Korean elites during colonial Korea, once wrote how simply meeting "yellows" in Milan, Italy, captured her attention. Not directly related to actual racial encounter, however, Yi Sun-tak, a professor in economics, even described buildings smoky from air pollution in London as the face of Blacks. Perhaps, a story of his own during his short study at Stanford University, Ju Yo-seop, a writer well known for his novel "Loving Mother and a Guest," wrote "Stories on Studying in the United States" (Yumioegi; 留米外記). In this story, the main character, Yi Jeon, complained about a miserable condition of his rented room with stench, formerly occupied by "kkeomdungi." 

Though he was not a traveler, as he had lived in the U.S. for several years, a reminiscence by Han Seung-in on how he sold Korean incense to Blacks while he worked for living and tuition reveals a quite vivid picture of racial interaction with Blacks. As he suffered from financial hardship during his study in the U.S., he decided to sell Korean incense. As he went on:

- The number one buyer of incense in the U.S. is niggers (geomdungideul). Incense sellers here are known for gathering pocket money of niggers. The reason
why niggers burn incense is based on their belief that incense brings luck.

Evolution of civilization should be unequal for a reason, rather than coincidence based on the fact that they still rely on luck remaining as unenlightened and savage although they were benefited from the newest culture in the scientific and civilized country for a few centuries after captured from Africa or elsewhere. The other reason why niggers like incense is to get rid of their body odor. Though why is not known, they always emit bad odor… as often it almost suffocates. To eliminate the odor, they burn incense.

Dealing with niggers rather than whites is easier because they have a habit that spends all the money they have even if it makes them starve tomorrow. Pushing the doorbell of nigger’s house with an incense bag will let a person answer. After telling that I am selling Asian incense, I took out a stick of incense then put it right below nigger’s nostrils. Then, the nigger flares his big nose like a dog and smell the incense. More than six out of ten niggers ask whether the incense brings luck… I claim that the incense is even more necessary in this economic depression when I meet one who believe in luck. If niggers like it and they have money, they clean up their money bag. I often feel somewhat sorry when I see them raking all their coins. Anyway, it is quite a sight.62

As Han was studying for his Ph.D. degree in the U.S. for several years, his anti-Black racism cannot be seen as the initial encounter. Nevertheless, under white supremacy in the U.S., the reason he was readily able and willing to reproduce anti-Black racism cannot be separated from the "deep schemas." Furthermore, the fact that he thought it would draw Korean readers’ attention—and the piece was indeed published in Donggwang—clearly discloses how anti-
Blackness became dominant in colonial Korea. It is not a mere coincidence that another article from the same volume of *Donggwang* claimed that "The reason why America Indians who are reds have failed while Anglo Saxons and Latins who are bright whites have flourished under the same environment in America is the first personal characteristics are inferior to the latter, which is a natural law that everyone knows." Sustained for multiple decades, anti-Blackness in Korea clearly became "common sense" that does not require further explanation (Omi and Winant 2014).

The "deep schemas" were enacted as diverse performa-discursive practices. Especially, travel pieces on Black sex workers disclosed racialized intimate desire. While several articles from magazines described brothels around the world, including the special section titled *Crazy Music on World Human Meat Market* in the forty-sixth volume of *Byeolgeongon* (1931), Black sex workers drew particular attention from the writers. A piece from the special section of *Byeolgeongon* on brothels in the U.S. demonstrated how anti-Blackness guided his observation:

I once went to night clubs for blacks in New York. Men and women were all black. They brewed quality drinks at home or often drank real alcohol. However, due to their black faces, it was hard to tell from their face whether they were drunk or not. It would be good from them as they can keep flirting though rejected without blushing. Dealing with these blacks is quite violent. The women smell bad, spitting, and dancing – it is quite a mess. Whites are more than great. Dressed with silk, they flirt with their pale white skin.

Pieces on brothels in Singapore and Rio de Janeiro also paid specific racial attention to Black sex workers. Regarding a brothel in Singapore, a piece from *Byeolgeongon* emphasized how special it was to have sex with black sex workers as one could never forget once knowing their
passionate "XX" as their "whole blackish body, silky-smooth skin, rising breasts, humping XX, and eyes with burning passion" seduce men like "tropic plants."\textsuperscript{65} "Keep in mind that buying a black whore would melt your internal organs," another piece on a brothel in Rio de Janeiro from \textit{Samcheolli} also revealed racialized desire.\textsuperscript{66}

Attitude on marriage was also influenced by anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy. Upon noticing inter-racial marriage between Black men and white women in the U.S., Hwang Esther, one of the female Christian independence movement leaders vehemently denounced inter-racially married Koreans by saying "refusing marriage with inferior \textit{minjok} should be the duty of our people."\textsuperscript{67} Jeong Chil-seong, another female leader from the radicals, opposed incest between close relatives by comparing it to customs of savage race, such as incest between mother and son.\textsuperscript{68} While incest had been taboo in Korea, note the analogy between incest and savage race as well as how race was seamlessly added to her objection. "[You would] know by looking at those African savages who have a baby with their sister or even have [sexual] relations with their daughter. Their physique has never advanced for hundreds of years and the brain cannot go beyond the boundary of savages as they always get married to their own kin," the first Korean female private clinic doctor, Heo Yeong-suk, also juxtaposed incest with savage race, in this occasion, specifically Blacks.\textsuperscript{69}

\textbf{ANTI-BLACKNESS, INTRA-KOREAN RELATIONSHIPS, AND SKIN COLOR}

Along with sexual desire and marriage, different writings also hinted at how gender was often interpreted through race. When the editors of \textit{Byeolgeongon} asked male and female writers to "dis" at each other, one male writer blamed Korean females by borrowing Schopenhauer’s term of the second sex. Then he went on to argue that "Women are more meaninglessly ostentatious
than cannibal savage race who boast about skulls." Lifting a line of news on the anti-colonial movement by Indian female dancers, an article from *Byeolgeongon* suddenly raised a different question, "Would women in Joseon feel a sort of superiority when they see Indian women with blackish face and flat nose? Wouldn’t they?"

Even while the skin color of Blacks drew attention from Koreans, people with darker complexions were also called Blacks. Due to their tanned skin, women divers in Jeju island were depicted as "similar to blacks." "Faces turn into blacks tanned by the radiant sun as working on a farm field through spring," tanned farm workers were often described as Blacks as well. Certainly, negative connotation often followed darker complexion. Called the Black of Joseon, a nasty guy whom no one wants to be around due to his blackish face was selected to mess around a wedding, an article from *Byeolgeongon* described. In a short novel titled "The Woman" by Kang Gyeong-ae, when the main character, Maria, hesitantly gives a lecture on the Bible at a small church in a farm village, Kang described the situation:

The church auditorium is barely twenty-yard-long but Christians crowded the room. Of course, Maria knows not everyone is a Christian. All of those who enter the room look like Blacks. As well as their clothing, tanned and tanned black faces are quite horrible. As Maria keeps saying something to herself, her mind is occupied with some other thoughts. So to say, she feels as if she is one phoenix among chickens like a White among Blacks… The audience become dead silent and look at Maria’s mouthing lips and rolling eyes. She somewhat looks like a different race as if a cute doll mechanically speaks – when words like workers and peasants are rolled out from her mouth, they feel gratefully awkward and apologetic.
Skin complexion, one of the simplest but most powerful metaphors of anti-Blackness, was adapted and expanded. As seen from a cartoon (Figure 4) from Chosunilbo from an article titled as "Black Face and White Cat," it illustrates a white skin-toned "modern" woman, so called sinyeoseong (新女性), startled by a black-faced chimney worker. Calling the worker geomdungyi ("nigger"), the article then raised the question of why the woman is not startled but rather happy with the snow in winter, implying propensity for pale skin or whiteness.76 Though it is true that the black and white binary preexisted in Korea, the figure further discloses how the schemas of anti-Blackness were rearticulated through extra-racial schemas thereby resulting in transformation of racism (Jung 2015). On a related note, in explaining the sun’s rays and importance of vitamin D, Dongailbo raised the question, "Why Your Beautiful Face Becomes Blacks? The Reason Savages Eat People Is to Acquire the Ultraviolet Rays." To clarify, by blacks, as one can imagine from the word savages, the article did not simply mean black color but Blacks (heuginjong).77 Another article from the same newspaper, "Why Face Blushes When Shy. Do Blacks Don’t Know Shame?", also related inferiority of Blackness to complexion of skin:

Though a foreign newspaper once reported that the reason why blacks do not show their sense of shame on their face and skin is not that their black skin blocks blush but that they do not have the sense at all, do blacks really have no sense of shame?... While savages feel ashamed of something tangible and visible, it is true that they are thick-skinned to psychological aspects. However, racial discrimination so called the civilized or savages is mostly based on skin color… [In case of blush,] much melanin pigment in basal cells prevents blush from appearing on the skin of blacks. While [we] admit that
blacks indeed have thin sense of shame, this explanation cannot be academically overlooked.\textsuperscript{78}

With deeply ingrained anti-Blackness, though the direct relationship may not be clear, along with Figure 4 and Figure 5, which comprises a few examples from newspaper commercials of beauty products, should be seen in relation to the "deep schemas." While it is true that the word *baekbun* (white powder), which designated cosmetic face power in the Korean language during colonial Korea, came from the color of rice or flour powder, those commercials rearticulate something beyond—white skin is beautiful—as one can assume from the name *baeksaengmiansu* (white beauty facial toner) from the first commercial. "For bright and white beautiful face," the third commercial also emphasizes the powerful whitening function of their cleansing cream made from sulfur springs. "Blacks turn into the beautiful," the second commercial further discloses the color binary goes beyond extra-racial schemas. The left side of the second commercial, "*misinbaeksaegeyak* (medicine for beautiful white body), also promotes the "secret of becoming white beautiful face" by contrasting half white and half black face. It is also noteworthy that, as can be seen from the second and third commercials, the word *saekeuk* (color black), as the antithesis of beauty, is used to designate skin blemishes.\textsuperscript{79}

While it might be true that Koreans have historically valorized white color, earning the moniker the "white-clad nation," the "white-clad" was also regarded as symbol of backwardness in colonial Korea. Many Korean nationalists encouraged wearing colored clothes in the 1920s and some counties even prevented people with white clothes from entering government offices in the 1930s (C. Park 2014). Though it is beyond the reach of this chapter to investigate a debate over how Korea had valorized white as opposed to black, Koreans’ propensity for white cannot be simply regarded as monolithic and natural.
Regardless of the debate, the cases above clearly demonstrate high adaptability of the schemas of presuming the inferiority of Blackness as well as the "deep schemas" of anti-Black racism (Jung 2015). Even without "racial contestation" within the borders, anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy in colonial Korea became inseparable with Koreans’ practices of everyday life as it provided "the rules for perceiving and dealing with the ‘other’ in a racialized society" (Bonilla-Silva 1996).

CONCLUSION

Colonial Korea under the cultural rule has been well-known for different voices of nationalist groups between cultural nationalists who advocated working within the colonial system and radical nationalists with social revolutionary thought (Robinson 1988). With lenient but intimate colonial control of the cultural rule, the split between nationalists failed to bring mass mobilization like the March First Movement even though cultural publication by Koreans flourished (Caprio 2013). As the radicals pushed the cultural nationalists toward a more critical stance, the 1930s has been viewed as a "discursive shift" against social Darwinism (Tikhonov 2016).

In other words, regarding anti-Blackness, Koreans seemed to realize that racism is morally, and even scientifically in part, wrong. Though significant qualitative difference exists, surging anti-racism discourse in colonial Korea under the cultural rule can be seen in parallel with "colorblind" racism in the United States as Korea was experiencing the "discursive shift." However, as mere scratching the surface of "colorblind" racism reveals the "deep" racial schemas (Jung 2015), the chapter has demonstrated how shallow anti-racism discourse in colonial Korea under the cultural rule was. Amidst many critiques on racism on the surface in the
1920s and 1930s, the chapter has disclosed deeply ingrained anti-Blackness of not only those cultural nationalists but also radicals based on a debate over one of the most controversial writings of the time, Yi Gwang-su’s "Treatise on the Reconstruction of Nation." Furthermore, though far from collective racial encounter, the chapter has also revealed how Koreans under the cultural rule were ready to immediately put anti-Blackness into practice whenever chances were given. In a related but different aspect, the chapter has disclosed how anti-Blackness was transposed into intra-Korean relations beyond inter-racial relations.
Figure 1. From Chosunilbo (May 1 1931). The caption reads "How much do whites who conquered blacks abuse them? On the other hand of whites' success, there are Blacks' tears and sweat."
Figure 2. Illustrations from *Dongailbo* (July 25 1929, July 31 1929). The comparison between a Black child and apes was used to demonstrate backwardness of Blacks (upper). Brain shape of whites, Blacks, chimpanzees, and orangutans from the left (bottom).
Figure 3. From Dongailbo (August 2 1920). Note the clear racial depiction of the Black singers.

Figure 4. "Black Face and White Cat" from Dongailbo (January 27 1933). Note the "blackface" of the chimney worker.
Figure 5. "Whitening" cosmetics commercials from Dongailbo (November 27 1926, November 30 1926, May 14 1936).
CHAPTER 4: TRANSPOSITION OF ANTI-BLACKNESS: RACISM AGAINST SOUTHEAST ASIANS IN LATE COLONIAL KOREA, 1937-1945

The Japanese Empire entered the wartime period as the Japanese military took over Manchuria between September 14, 1931, and March 9, 1932. With revived interest in military advancement along with newly replaced Government-General, Ugaki Kazushige in 1931, the role of Korea as the most significant strategic and economic keystone signified immediate changes to Koreans. Though parts of the cultural rule lingered into the late colonial Korea, as the colonial regime gradually ceased to allow publications in Korean language even for periodicals, the invasion foreshadowed the end of the cultural rule. When the empire encountered the Chinese at the Marco Polo Bridge in July 1937 and it led to the Second Sino-Japanese War, the critical position of Korea was reaffirmed for their success on the Asian continent. Along with the wartime needs for human resources, colonial Korea entered the period of full-time radical assimilation, or the period of ethnic erasure per the Korean historiography, perhaps symbolized by the publication of an extensive report on measures to strengthen *naisen ittai* by Minami Jiro, the Governor-General (1936-1942), in 1938.

On the other hand, the termination of the 1911 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the United States in 1939 and continuing warfare urged the Japanese Empire to look for more natural resources. With waning power of the French Empire in the region, French Indochina became the main target. Against this backdrop, initially adumbrated by Foreign Minister Arita Hachiro in June 1940, the concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*daitoakyoeiken; 大東亞共榮圈; GEACPS, hereafter) was officially pronounced by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke:
In order to realize [the establishment of world peace], it seems to be the most natural step that peoples who are closely related to one another geographically, racially, culturally, and economically should first form a sphere of their own for co-existence and co-prosperity and establish peace and order within the sphere, and at the same time secure a relationship of common existence and prosperity with other spheres.3

After quickly acquiring French Indochina in July 1940, the Japanese Empire launched a surprise attack on the American bases in Hawai‘i in December 1941. The empire then achieved a long series of military successes as they successively acquired Guam, Wake Island, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, and Burma by the first half of 1942. As will be seen, these new members of GEACPS, the new "yellows," quickly drew attention from Koreans.

Prior to delving into how Koreans made sense of anti-Blackness and the new "yellows" through Korean publications in the period of full-fledged radical assimilation under the tenet of naisen ittai and GEACPS, it is important to acknowledge that those were under severe colonial censorship. Certainly, colonial censorship was nothing new. One of the most distinctive aspects of the cultural rule, as opposed to the militaristic rule in the 1910s, was allowing indigenous publication by Koreans. Though the colonial regime partly believed that Koreans would choose the "superior" Japanese culture over the "inferior" Korean one, those allowed publications were far more than selective under the severe colonial censorship. For example, Sinsaenghwal ceased to publish in January 1923, only a year after the initial publication, and Gaebyeok discontinued in August 1926 after the June 10th Movement. Though the publishing company started Byeolgeongon in the same year, narrowing its focus to popular culture, it could not survive after August 1934 as the censorship became even harsher. Though it is certain that the ethnic space
allowed by the colonial regime facilitated more scrutinized censorship and sustained the Japanese cultural hegemony, it also subverted the ultimate assimilation schemas of the Japanese Empire. Besides indigenous publications, Korean radio broadcasting, which had been flourishing since 1927, though it did not directly contest Japanese cultural assimilation, evinces that Koreans would not merely follow the paths that the colonial regime projected (Robinson 1999). Therefore, the condescending attitudes of the colonial regime that the "superior" Japanese culture would prevail in the end could not be maintained. Not only did the wartime conditions that required full-scale support from their colonies force the regime to retreat from the cultural rules, but also the responses of Koreans did not leave, perhaps, many choices to Koreans if they were to continue their publications. They could either write something that the colonial regime did not pay much attention, as Byeolgeongon distanced itself from politics, or promote pro-Japanese discourse by actively participating in the assimilation policy of the regime. Nevertheless, even those efforts were halted as the empire eventually banned any publications in Korean language other than their own Maeilsinbo. After being often suspended, the two major Korean newspapers, Chosunilbo and Dongailbo, ceased publication in August 1940. Samcheolli, one of the major popular magazines in colonial Korea, could not survive after November 1941. Their republication effort by changing the name to Daedonga, while their obvious pro-empire stance can be easily assumed as the name came from GEACPS (daedongagongyeonggwon in Korean), only lasted for a few months in 1942. Other Korean periodicals took similar paths as they either ceased to publish or stopped using the Korean language in the early 1940s.

The chapter foremost acknowledges that the specific wartime context could limit the purview of understanding. Nevertheless, this chapter argues that the gap between Koreans and Blacks in the period of radical assimilation that emphasized racial equality, at least on the
surface, was still persistent and even transformed into racism against Southeast Asians, or "namyang toin." First, the chapter investigates how the wartime empire fundamentally changed the late colonial policies such as naisen ittai and "polite racism." Second, the subsequent empirical sections of the chapter delve into the persistent aspect of anti-Blackness under the prevailing tenet of racial war against whites. Furthermore, the chapter reveals that racialization of Southeast Asians by Koreans under the total war colonial regime cannot be separated from anti-Blackness by demonstrating how their imagined backwardness was constructed vis-à-vis that of Blacks.

"POLITE RACISM" AND PRO-BLACK SENTIMENT IN THE METROPOLE

To contemporary Koreans, the period of ethnic erasure is far more familiar than the period of radical assimilation. It might not be an overstatement that understanding and feeling empathy toward the atrocious Japanese colonial policies, especially sex slavery and forced laborers, has almost become a national duty to most Koreans. Especially, one of the most appalling incidences of numerous Japanese colonial cruelties would be sex slavery, euphemistically known as the comfort women—women and girls who were forced into sexual slavery in Japanese military brothels. Though most colonial records have been destroyed and therefore the exact number cannot be known, between 100,000 and 200,000 mostly Korean women suffered from the atrocity. Beyond the Korean academia and civil society, it has drawn much academic attention around the world (e.g., Hicks 1997; Tanaka 2002; Yoshimi and O’Brien 2000). Relatively less known compared to the "comfort woman," more than six million Koreans were mobilized into forced labor under dangerous working condition and exploitation which often led to death (K. Park [1995] 2008).
On the other hand, late colonial Korea experienced unprecedented economic growth as a semi-industrialized outpost of the empire. The total industrial production in the peninsula was only slightly more than ¥200 million in 1921 and reached at ¥300 million a decade later, however, its growth almost approached ¥1 billion by 1937 and exceeded ¥2 billion by 1943. Not only did the volume of the economy surge, but industrial production climbed up to almost 40 percent in the war years from 15 percent in 1921 with surging numbers of factories.5 While not many Koreans were beneficiaries, the growth ignited the rise of a Korean capitalist class with permission and even promotion by the Japanese Empire in the name of naisen ittai (Eckert 1991). Consisting of the abbreviation from a series of words—naichi (內地, metropole) and chošen (朝鮮, Joseon) as one (一) kokutai (國體, national polity)—the ideology signified the transition of colonial policy after the military incidence at the Marco Polo Bridge in 1937. As seen from the previous chapter, the Japanese Empire had constantly emphasized the same racial and cultural root between the colonizer and the colonized to achieve colonial legitimacy. While this series of efforts from the regime coexisted with the cultural rule that allowed ethnic space to Koreans, naisen ittai signified complete eradication of Korean culture and identity including barring Korean language education and forcing family name change from Korean to Japanese. According to the report of the 1938 industrial commission on naisen ittai:

The roots of [Japan’s] administration of Korea are grounded in the sacred words isshi donin (imperial benevolence) extended to our peninsula brothers. It aims to bathe them in the immeasurable imperial favors, to attain in both name and reality their complete imperialization. Leaving not the slightest gap, we will forge a Japanese-Korean unified body to confront future complications initiated by the circumstances of the times. Together we will advance the mission of realizing the great spirit of international
brotherhood from a commissary base to be established [in Korea] to assist in the Empire’s continental management. However, as much as GEACPS, the wartime moniker claimed by the Japanese Empire a year later, was limited in opportunism as it was "cynically cobbled up to justify a new phase of expansion," the commission also disclosed contradicting aspects of naisen ittai with conflicting interests of participants from different regions—Japan, Korea, Manchukuo, and Northern China (Duus 1996:60; Caprio 2009; Mitsui 2013). Amidst the chasm, the Korean bourgeoisie embraced this "dream" opportunity not only to accumulate more wealth but also to alleviate the existing friction within the Korean society by addressing the needs for more equal treatment. At the commission, Choe Rin, a former member of thirty-three activists who signed the Korean Declaration of Independence, noted, "However, those people who tend to be drawn toward nationalism or communism are saying that if naisen ittai is carried out [in Korea] on the same level as in Japan, they will not run after nationalism or communism, that, indeed, they will have no reason to complain about the colonial government" (as quoted in Eckert [1991:240]). It is not certain whether those Korean committee members indeed believed in the ultimate equality or they merely opted for "class over nation." However, they were the ones who pointed out the persisting racial inequality between Japanese and Koreans (Mitsui 2013). In other words, as Koreans internalized the tenet of naisen ittai, to a certain extent, they had become more sensitive to racial inequality at least within the relationship to their colonizer.

While naisen ittai and GEACPS are mostly regarded as a wartime rhetoric disguised by desperate needs for human resources, Fujitani (2011) contends that the wartime transition was quite fundamental by interpreting the change through the concept of Michel Foucault’s bio-power. In contrast to pre-eighteenth century views that power over life and death was operated
through negativity, or the sovereign right to kill, starting from the eighteenth century and consolidated in the nineteenth century, the new mode of power, bio-power per Foucault, is exercised by a positive logic, the right to live—"a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them" (Foucault 1978:136). What this new mode of power cares about is, accordingly, life and health of population. As the total war environment required every available resource, bodies of Koreans, which the colonial regime had once tried to eliminate, became objects of positive intervention, enhancing their health, sanitation, birthright, longevity, education, and general well-being, in the same context of the lives of Japanese in the metropole. From exclusionary "vulgar racism," the dramatic wartime shift signified more refined and less violent "polite racism." Small numbers of Koreans, mostly the Korean bourgeoisie, certainly benefited from the colonialism. However, the entire population as an object of nurturing was unprecedented prior to the wartime transition. This went beyond rhetoric, as Fujitani supports his argument with colonial records on how significantly the gap between Koreans and Japanese, such as in terms of salaries and status, had narrowed. While the series of moves by the colonial regime cannot be regarded as eradication of racism, he contends that what the Japanese Empire pursued was far more than a wartime rhetoric. ³

The colonial regime was not the only side that significantly changed their attitudes. Based on many interview records with Korean imperial soldiers and the dramatic increase of Korean Special Army volunteers, Fujitani (2011) contends that a considerable number of Koreans volunteered out of patriotism to Japan. Given the fact that only 12 percent of the Korean population had functional Japanese in 1944, even from the colonial record (Robinson 2007), and not all those Koreans were eligible to become soldiers, one could doubt that their patriotism
represented the general Korean population. As the regime of "polite" racism was aimed at the entire population, his argument may need more convincing evidence. Nevertheless, with Koreans’ not knowing their nation would be independent without significant occurrences of independent movement in the peninsula, especially during the late 1930s and early 1940s, his contention bears some measure of cogency that Koreans might not have many choices left. For those Koreans who were born after colonization, it would be even harder to believe in the future of an independent nation. While it is beyond the reach of the chapter, if Koreans believed in the promises of the inclusionary policies of the empire, the following question for the chapter would be how Koreans made sense of racism beyond the empire. In other words, if Koreans internalized the principles of naisen ittai and GEACPS, did it have any impact on their long-standing anti-Blackness?

On a side note, beyond GEACPS that called for Asian solidarity, pro-African American sentiment had grown in the metropole. As seen from the previous chapter, since the late 1910s when the March First Movement hit the Korean peninsula and the Racial Inequality Proposal at the Paris Peace Conference was raised by the Japanese Empire, the empire carried a series of articles that vehemently critiqued anti-Black racism through Maeilsinbo. In addition to the pressure from the colonized who did not regard the colonizer as the true bearer of civilization, evidence suggests that Japanese elites did not intend to establish non-white solidarity as they used the narrative of the champion of non-whites to ironically claim the status of "honorary whites" and a superior place in the international racial hierarchy (Koshiro 2003; Tajima and Thornton 2012). In a related but a different context, celebrity treatment of some Black intellectuals, especially W. E. B. Du Bois in 1936 Japan, was only selectively given to those Black intellectuals who saw Japan as the alternative power to end white supremacy. On the
other hand, Japanese Marxists saw African Americans as the vanguard of the class struggle against capitalism as well as acknowledging that Japan’s Pan-Asianism was only disguising assumed superiority of Japanese (Koshiro 2003). Given their specific interests toward African Americans but not Blacks in general, Koshiro does not hint at how the difference of perception between Africans and African Americans played a role. Though investigating their sincerity is beyond the reach of this chapter, what is important to this chapter is the fact that, to a certain degree, empathy toward Blacks, at least African Americans, existed in the metropole of the Japanese Empire. As the previous chapter reveals that anti-Blackness was also persistent to those Korean leftwing radicals under the cultural rule, a following question would be how those pro-African American sentiments even during the wartime empire in the metropole played any role in anti-Blackness in late colonial Korea. However, the task is severely limited in that Marxism was censored as harshly as nationalism in colonial Korea, as can be seen from the short lifespan of the leftwing periodicals in Korea under the cultural rule as well as Choe Rin’s comment at the industrial commission above. While this aspect may not be fully investigated, the chapter now turns to the subsequent empirical section on how anti-Blackness persisted under these surroundings.

RACE AND PERSISTENT ANTI-BLACKNESS IN COLONIAL KOREA

If Koreans had accepted the middlemen position of the empire and even embraced patriotism toward the empire, they also would have abided by the schemas of Pan-Asianism in GEACPS and war against racism of whites as an alibi for Japanese justification of their own expansionism (Dower 1986). Historical precedent that some Koreans once saw Japanese as a savior of "yellows" in the Russo-Japanese War against whites prior to colonization, as seen from the first
chapter, seemed to facilitate their colonial navigation as it justified the Japanese invasion in contrast to their tenet of Asian peace. A few months after the military skirmish at the Marco Polo Bridge, which led to the Second Sino-Japanese War, Samcheolli reported a series of lectures given by Korean leading religious figures at the moment of "whirling warfare in the East Asian world." Yi Don-hwa, the former publisher of Gaebyeok and a leading Chondoist, claimed that the Japanese intention was not to worsen Chinese people whose culture and race were the same. Rather, as "reflective punishment," he argued that it was to encourage Chinese people to be enlightened. Furthermore, according to him, the Russo-Japanese War balanced status between whites and "yellows." He went on to argue that, without the Japanese Empire in China, it would be a market for Europeans and Americans. Criticizing Chinese for their arrogance and backwardness, Gwon Sang-ro, a principal of the Buddhist school, encouraged fellow Koreans, not only soldiers but everyone, to make Asia for Asians. Yang Ju-sam, a Presbyterian, also claimed that the Asian race would perish without the Japanese victory against Russia. Denouncing communism as being unable to coexist with the spirit of Asia, An In-sik, a Confusianist, argued that the empire had a duty to save Chinese from the evil hands of Europeans and Americans.12

As the Japanese Empire declared war against the United States and the British Empire in December 1941, Koreans targeted whites even more and many embraced solidarity of people of color as well as "yellows." For example, Yun Chi-ho, who despised Chinese and once hoped to be colonized by the West if Korea was bound to be colonized, expressed his anger toward whites after observing how "yellows" were the targets of discrimination by whites in Shanghai fifty-five years ago at his wartime speech:
Even until now, I cannot forget about this in Shanghai fifty-five years ago. When I went to the English residence next to the Suzhou River in Shanghai, I could not be more bothered by the sign at the gate saying "No dogs and Chinese allowed." I have never forgotten about my resentment at their treatment of human beings as dogs throughout my life. I cannot say enough about Anglo-Saxons’ arrogance. They do have some goods. However, it was not only in Shanghai as they put the sign in their other territories such as Canada. In other words, they implied that no yellows are allowed. While we have not been able to express our resentment until now, the declaration of war by the [Japanese] Empire finally let us forget our grudge… This war of the Japanese Empire rising against England and America is a sacred war to save people of Asia from the oppression of English and Americans. Therefore, if one belongs to people of Asia, one must participate in this battle.\(^\text{13}\)

After Yun’s speech, Jang Deok-su, who became a pro-Japanese collaborator after 1938, described his experience of racism in the United States. He first spoke about a restaurant owner in New York who did not sell food to Blacks and related the case of his experience that a barber in Oregon refused to cut his hair because of his race.\(^\text{14}\)

Following the anti-US sentiments and anti-racism in the metropole, *Maeilsinbo*, published by the colonial regime in the Korean language, was a leading newspaper to criticize anti-Black racism in the United States. "Americans are so outrageously cruel that they had enslaved blacks for hundreds of years inhumanly exploiting, slaughtering, and trading them," an article from Baek Nak-jun, an educator who later became a politician, exemplified how much the newspaper devoted to the racial war.\(^\text{15}\) Another article, titled as "Unmask America and England! Justice and Peace for lip service," also added that "The wealth of America is mere crystallization
from exploitation and extraction of slaves and blacks.\textsuperscript{16} Regardless of the fact that millions of colonial subjects, not only Koreans, were sacrificed as cannon fodder, the newspaper also denounced the atrocity of the United States that deployed Black soldiers at the frontline as cannon fodder.\textsuperscript{17}

By aligning their position to the colonizer, instead of affirming their status in relation to their racial inferiors with fear of extinction and enslavement in the precolonial period, many Koreans also regarded whites as a rival. This imagined rivalry was not limited to war speeches and critiques on anti-Black racism noted above, as it was expanded to various social aspects. For instance, Jang Mun-gyeong, a female doctor, criticized her fellow Asian women who uncritically admired the western culture.\textsuperscript{18} As can be seen from this speech from Mo Yun-suk, a female poet, that denounced a wife of Chiang Kai-shek, one of the Kuomintang (the Chinese National Party) leaders, the imagined rivalry was certainly not independent of wartime empire:

\begin{quote}
After learning the crimes of England and America, there are numerous disgusting things that I cannot stand as a yellow. There is one woman in Asia who dances with those devils. She is Soong Mei-ling, the very wife of Chiang Kai-shek. Though she is an Asian woman, it is so unfathomable that she is a pervert who feels happiness licking America’s foot. Immersed into hedonism and individualism of America, her indulgence cannot be put in words.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

The war against whites was mostly described as a sacred war of "yellows." However, it went beyond "yellows" and often expanded to people of color. Was this transition along with "polite" racism of the Japanese Empire sufficient enough to make Koreans retreat from the deep racial schemas of anti-Blackness? On the contrary, closer scrutiny again reveals the shallowness of anti-racism ideology.
As seen from the previous chapter, the race of athletes, especially for Blacks, almost always preceded their name in Korean newspapers and periodicals, such as Black Owens. This trend continued to the late colonial period as the dominant status of Blacks in sports drew much attention from Koreans. When *Samcheolli* interviewed with Son Gi-jeong and Nam Seung-ryong, two Korean marathoners who won Olympic medals in 1936, about Fest der Völker (Festival of the Nations), one of the main topics was Jesse Owens, a Black athlete who won four gold medals. One interviewer even asked Son if he had a chance to be friends with Owens. Furthermore, newspaper articles often reported how Blacks were dominant in boxing as can be seen from a title "Walloped Whites: Here Is an Exception, Black Kingdom," for example.

While Koreans’ awe toward the physical superiority of Blacks stood out, as can be hinted at the word "exception" above, this imagined physical superiority was understood based on anti-Blackness.

Sponsored by *Dongailbo*, a library was established in 1931 in Iwon, a small city in Hamgyeongnam-do. While the newspaper occasionally reported its success, the library faced financial difficulties and eventually closed in 1938. While it might be natural that a reporter would miss the library and thereby emphasize the importance of knowledge, a familiar racial schema was found in an unexpected context:

In this eventful period, the imminent problem would be issues of advancing the health of nation and spreading culture. However, we should note that advancing the health of nation without the latter can lead to a malformed result. The reason is that one who is physically superior but intellectually inferior will be defeated. Those examples would be found in ancient Greek history and *black athletes in these days.*
Introducing high-blood pressure as a disease only specific to the civilized, though claiming Africans were never aware of their own age therefore their age had to be guessed, *Dongailbo* explained that blood pressure of Africans after age of forty decreases as opposed to the pattern of whites. In addition, after regarding overeating as a problem of the civilized which could not be seen among "savages," the subsequent section claimed that the majority of chronic stomach ulcer patients were the civilized as opposed to "savages." "Only half the number of Blacks in the United States suffer from stomach ulcers compared to whites," the newspaper then added. In a related context, *Dongailbo* also reported that a Black jazz musician and orchestra was refused entry into England and delivered an opinion from the English Ministry of Labor without any emotion attached: "The civilized should not indulge in intense stimulation by distorted music from the sense of African toin as this type of music especially ruins the working class."  

Though many Koreans advocated the racial war and criticized racism of whites, even just scratching the surface of the anti-racist ideology reveals the deep schemas of anti-Blackness. Besides those articles above, an interview with Pak In-deok, a feminist and the first Korean woman who paid alimony to her husband, in *Chosunilbo* rearticulated the backwardness of Blacks by arguing that they could not escape from superstition, which is only found in savage locations. On a related note, an article from *Sinsegi*, a magazine for popular culture, wrote, "While a baby of blacks is not quite cute at all to my eyes, to parents of blacks, their baby would be the cuter than any baby of different races and countries." Then, the author juxtaposed Blacks with chickens by saying how much even chickens care about their chicks. To illustrate the worst characteristic of savages, *Dongailbo* also delivered news regarding how those cannibal "toin" in Congo who eat humans to simply satisfy hunger are gradually abandoning the habit.
In a situation in which most Korean publications already ceased to exist under tightening censorship, the major, if not the only, focus of Samcheolli (later changed to Daedonga) in the early 1940s was promoting the tenet of naisen ittai and encouraging Koreans to actively participate in the imperial wartime project, as seen above. While those wartime speeches and analyses promoted anti-racism and solidarity of people of color, Chae Pil-Guen, a Presbyterian clergyman, recalled the major theme of the late precolonial period: not to be the same as Blacks and "reds," as he described the situation of world after the "discoveries" of Vasco da Gama and Columbus in front of five thousand people in Pyeongyang:

*Toin* residing in Africa, North and South America, and Australia became withered and weakened while whites in Europe rapidly expanded to all directions. Looking at the Asia we are living in, one third of the northern part is occupied by Russia, one third of the southwestern part is walloped by England, France, and Portugal, and southeastern archipelagoes are occupied by England, France, America, and Netherlands. Indeed, countries in East Asia are surrounded from all directions… Anyhow, we yellows barely made seven hundred million from four hundred million five years ago. However, what does it tell you that whites who were less than two hundred million have increased to a thousand million? It is our duty *not to follow the footsteps of blacks and reds.*

Samcheolli also described that applause from the audience followed his racial remark. Though the audience applauded in many different contexts throughout his speech, the specific applause would have never occurred if the audience was not able to make sense of racial schemas.

A police interrogation report on Kim Hyeong-min, a teacher at Songdo Middle School in Gaeseong, Hwanghaebuk-do, also discloses anti-Blackness in a related but different context. After Kim was arrested for telling his students that six thousand Koreans in Hawaiʻi would
welcome the Pacific war as an opportunity for independence as a kid waits for Christmas, he was interrogated at least eleven times before he was sentenced to one year in prison. While he stated America would win the war during the earlier interrogations, he later slightly changed his statement, perhaps for a lesser charge. In the eighth interrogation, contrary to the former statements, he said, "I said it is already determined that Japan will win the war since America is hiring even blacks as machineries" (Gyeongseong District Court [1941] 2007:139). For this chapter, it is certainly irrelevant to determine whether he truly said those pro-US words or not. What is important is how "hiring even blacks" was used to signify how desperate the U.S. was in Kim’s opinion. Furthermore, in Kim’s view, Blacks did not belong to the U.S., as they were depicted as outsiders – "machineries."

On a side note, the presence of Koreans in the United States, who would wait for the day of independence like a kid waits for Christmas, continued to be significant in the late colonial period. Even during the Pacific War, Koreans in the United States, as well as in China, had maintained contact through shortwave radio (G. Pak 1994). Furthermore, as many of those diasporic Koreans returned to Korea and assumed a leading role in politics after the independence, their context should not be regarded as irrelevant. In July 1944, The New York Times carried news on Korean dialects stating that a person in Pyeongyang cannot be understood by someone in Busan based on writing from Donald Kang in Gungminbo (Korean National Herald), a diasporic newspaper in Honolulu, Hawai’i. Rhee Syngman, who later became the first President of South Korea, wrote a letter to the New York Times in which, by contending that the perspective was Japanese insidious propaganda, he claimed that "Korean people are a homogeneous race with a common language and history. They are the only people in the Far East with a phonetic alphabet, known as Unmoon." Following his remark, Bungmisibo, a
diasporic newspaper in Los Angeles founded by Rhee and his avid supporters, further expanded his contention a month later:

How dare [Gungminbo] deliver an article in English that Joseon has no standard language therefore a person in Pyeongyang cannot be understood by someone in Busan. [I] do not understand the mind of the writer who promotes sacred people of cultural nation with five thousand years of history as if they are uncivilized savages such as African Blacks and American Blacks. How would the readers think after reading the article in The New York Times?30

Even victimized under white supremacy in the United States, the imagined gap between Koreans and Blacks persisted.31

Besides the long standing racial schema above, anti-Blackness also continued to be rearticulated with intra-Korean relations. When Choe Sang-gi, a twenty-three-year-old student at Chuncheon public middle school, was interrogated by police for the Sangnokoe case32, he described his agitation after other members laughed at his face:

I was so angry that I do not remember who said what because I knew that they were insulting me when some people called me toin or black. Though I slightly remember that Namgung talked about what to do and gave encouragement after organizing Sangnokoe. I have no idea about anything else. I felt so insulted that I do not remember anything else (Chuncheon Police Station [1939] 2004:199).

His description clearly demonstrates how anti-Blackness was taken for granted among Koreans. Not only did some people intend to insult Choe, perhaps for his darker complexion, by calling him "toin" or "black," it indeed irritated Choe without any miscommunication of meaning.
While it might be controversial how fundamental the transition into "polite" racism was, since the late colonial period was also filled with atrocious colonial violence, the cases above evince that persistent anti-Blackness still prevailed among Koreans. Having this in mind, the chapter now turns to how the middlemen in late colonial Korea made sense of new colonial subjects of the Japanese Empire as anti-Blackness transformed into racism against "toin" in *nambang* (or *namyang*).

**TRANSPOSITION OF RACISM: RACISM AGAINST SOUTHEAST ASIANS**

The long-standing notion of racial homogeneity in Korea has been much challenged by the recent influx of labor and marriage migration since the 1990s. While this dissertation may have sufficiently explained the historical origin and construction of the high levels of antagonism toward Blacks in contemporary South Korea that cannot be explained with the existing scholarship, the contemporary racial issues in Korea have been centered on discriminatory practices and negative attitudes toward Chinese and Southeast Asians mainly due to their dominant presence. 33 Antagonism toward Chinese may track inseparable historical relation between two countries (Cho and Park 2011). On the other hand, racism against Southeast Asians in Korea has been explained with their increased presence concentrated in low-status positions, such as the 3D (dirty, dangerous, difficult) industries, while Koreans, whose racial nationalism was originally anti-colonial, are confronting a novel multiracial reality, finding racist expression (Shin 2013). In other words, not only has it been regarded as irrelevant to historical anti-Blackness in Korea, but also the existing scholarship has mostly ruled out the possibility that construction of racism against Southeast Asians could antedate the recent influx of labor and marriage migration.
Contending the lopsided interests of the existing scholarship on labor mobilization and assimilation in late colonial Korea, Kwon (2005) reveals how Koreans saw nambang (or namyang)\textsuperscript{34} with a gendered and racialized colonial gaze as the Japanese Empire quickly expanded its reach to the Southeast Asian region since the late 1930s by contending that "groundless sense of superiority and hatred toward Southeast Asia by Koreans is not irrelevant to the Pacific War, the historical moment that Koreans encountered Southeast Asia as a group" (Kwon 2005:419).\textsuperscript{35} By accepting the middlemen status of the empire or even aligning themselves to the empire, Koreans paternalistically saw the region as a land full of natural resources but populated by poor savage natives occupied by whites. As seen from above, the fantasy of naisen ittai that could not be completely fulfilled gave anxiety to Koreans between a civilized member of the "great" empire and the still colonized who needed a guidance from the colonizer. Kwon analyzes that the presence of those new members of the empire accordingly pressured Koreans to affirm their position as superior to those new members by emphasizing their civilization. In this precarious situation, Kwon contends that Koreans framed Southeast Asians into images of an innocent but uncivilized nature and untapped natural resources. According to Kwon, when Koreans’ interest toward the region peaked after the Empire acquired Singapore in 1942, Koreans’ obsession toward the region became a craze as even commercials in periodicals depicted Southeast Asians as savages, as seen from Figure 6. Accordingly, her work calls for attention to the idea that racism against Southeast Asians must be understood within historical context beyond the unprepared and uneducated racial encounter caused by labor migration since the 1990s.

Given the numerous cases of deeply ingrained anti-Blackness in (pre)colonial Korea throughout the previous chapters, the "new" racism by Koreans then begs the questions of why
Koreans were so readily able to racialize the new members of empire. The Japanese Empire even had to restrain some enthusiastic Koreans who were too excited and obsessed with *nambang*. "Recently, a frivolous trend is spotted in the rear services as they become negligent about their duties distracted by abundant resources in *nambang*," *Maeilsinbo*, for example, delivered a warning to those enthusiastic Koreans. While the sudden surge of interest in Southeast Asia by Koreans can be partially explained by expansion of the Japanese Empire, the colonized are, as always, far from empty vessels who only passively react to the colonizer. Looking at the gaze toward *nambang* (or *namyang*) by Koreans, one particular word, "*toin*," almost always stands out. For example, "Weapons of primitive human beings were limited to stone. *Toin* around *namyang* still use stone weapons even nowadays." "‘Savage *nambang*’ identified with colonized *toin*," Kwon argues without questioning how the word "*toin*" had been constructed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the word "*toin*" had long been used to refer to Blacks ("African *toin"), American Indians ("American *toin"), and other so-called inferior and savage "natives" since *Hanseongsunbo*, the very first Korean newspaper in 1883. The usage of "*toin*" was therefore far more than nominal, as seen from "The Declaration of Independence" of the March First Movement, which demonstrated implicit but firm assertion of unquestioned superiority over Koreans’ imagined racial inferiors by claiming not to treat Koreans in the same manner as *tomaein* (土昧人), ignorant "*toin."

Not only must the usage of "*toin*" have been traced to long-standing racialization of Blacks (as well as American Indians) since the precolonial period, but the very frame of gaze toward Southeast Asians, savage people who could not utilize the abundant natural resources, was one of fundamental schemas of racialization toward Blacks and American Indians. Though extensively examined in the first chapter, a reminder of what Yu Gil-jun wrote in 1895 might be helpful: "For African blacks and American reds, though their
natural resources are so abundant like mountain and soil, where they would be used" (Yu [1895] 2004:101). As well as Chae Pil-guen’s speech above that used the word "toin" to designate African Blacks and other racial inferiors, an anecdotal story from Maeilsinbo and Dongailbo is one of many exemplary cases illustrating that the usage of "toin" was certainly not limited to Southeast Asians in the late 1930s and 1940s, the period in which Koreans were captivated by the presence of those new racial inferiors. Carried by Maeilsinbo first and then Dongailbo three days later, the story is about a boy of "African toin" owned by a businessman who runs a company in "tropic Africa." When they went to Europe, the boy cried that his stomach was burning when it was in fact his breath in the cold weather. Two newspapers ended the story in a similar manner with a sense of jeer that the "toin boy" who only lived in "the equator" or "ever hot Africa" finally learned.39 In a similar context that anti-Black racial schemas were transposed into the intra-Korean relations as seen from the case of Choe above and the previous chapter, the parallel between namyang and Blacks was not limited in racialization of Southeast Asians.

Captivated by discourse of namyang, a writer with a penname Isongsaeng, two pine trees, related a beach scene in Korea to namyang in Sinsegi. More importantly, he connected it to Blacks:

Going to beach in summer gives me a series of laughs. I feel that human beings are truly laughable not because they wear clothes but because they take clothes off. Tanning skin is said to be healthy. This generalized physiology blackens40 beach swimmers. Therefore, it suddenly becomes namyang and thereby even causes funny confusion between a father and son.41

While Kwon (2005) also hints at the parallel between nambang and Africa, she fails to question why the parallel was possible from the onset. After briefly quoting a few sentences from a short writing from Choe Jeong-hui, a female novelist, as the epitome of racial imagination
toward Southeast Asians, Kwon thereby argues that "nambang, as a country of uncivilized race, seamlessly identified with Africa," taking the backwardness of Africa for granted without a further question (Kwon 2005:411). Going back to Choe, describing her desire for the Southeast Asian region, she wrote in *Daedonga* that "There, fruits of coffeeweed are ripening like a bunch of grapes under the shadow of forest, African tulip and jasmine are always full-blown exuding their proud red smell, white smell, and yellow smell when the warm wind blows from the sky and spreads through the sea … where toin men and women are enjoying dance, song, and banjo under the shadow of coconut trees." Without questioning why Africa became the symbol of backwardness in colonial Korea, Kwon assumes that the juxtaposition between Africa and backwardness of *nambang* was seamless. However, it certainly could not be without social consensus on the backwardness of Africa as well as "toin," a word dominantly used to designate Blacks to imply the persistent gap between the civilized (or Koreans, often) and savages. Only by assuming the deeply ingrained anti-Blackness, the juxtaposition becomes seamless as can be seen from the expectation about Sri Lanka by Kim Hwal-lan, the first chancellor of Ehwa Womans University, in a strikingly similar context: "In Sri Lanka, the tropic region of southern India, naked bodies of blacks flashed by the scorching sunlight would be vibrating under the shadow of coconut trees." The usage of "toin," again, could not be separated from deeply ingrained anti-Blackness. Titled "Just Pick up Your Guitar," a poem by Yi Chan, one that Kwon (2005) regarded as one of the exemplars of how Koreans represented *nambang* through natives, indeed seamlessly related Blackness to a native woman by demonstrating his desire to include Southeast Asians as a dependent member of the Japanese Empire:

> Melting coconut tree shadow, olive, cocoa, banana, pineapple straight down from the scorching equator, surrounded by a dense forest
It’s fine with Java fine with Hawaii it’s fine with Australia fine with French Indochina
I don’t need a general don’t need a viceroy
I am just good with one strange thing that would make us friends

Kkamdungi\textsuperscript{44} my lady
Just pick up your guitar
Crazy running fingertips crying or smiling friendly rhythm
Let me hear your truly liberated people’s
Truly truly happy songs
I would like to be happy like kids petting your tangled hair by long patience happy like all neighbors.\textsuperscript{45}

Interestingly, some indeed tried to correct the "misunderstanding" by Koreans that Blacks resided in namyang while it often ended up with rearticulating backwardness in the region. "While people in Korea would think that the skin color of Vietnamese is black as French Indochina belongs to the tropic region, they are indeed not black but not different at all from the skin of Koreans," Kim Sang-ryul, a Korean business man in Saigon, wrote in Samcheolli. He then added that "In contrast, galppojja people\textsuperscript{46} in the southwestern region are similar to Thais therefore same as blacks whose life is close to savage."\textsuperscript{47} While his writing might have corrected one thing, at the same time it rearticulated the deep schemas of anti-Blackness given that he lumped Blacks, the tropic region, and savage together as he almost seemed to look for any signs of backwardness. In a similar context, when Yi Gyun-mu followed her husband to Malaysia, she was surprised that "toin" in Singapore are not Blacks but "yellows." Acknowledging her prejudice to assume those "toin" would be violent and cruel as she realized they were quite
docile, she even felt racial intimacy as "yellows." Still, similar to Kim, she managed to locate backwardness of the "toin":

The toin here wear something simple like a vest and a wrapping cloth. They eat rice, though not sure since when, just like us. Some wear a suit and shoes if they go to English school therefore tasted culture. However, they are only few as most of them look savage. These people do not even know how old they are. Perhaps they do not know what season means as summer is the only season. Originally walking without shoes, most people have shoes from the benefit of Western culture but only carry not wearing them.48

Those efforts to "correct" misunderstandings about Southeast Asia, on the contrary, disclose deeply ingrained racialized imaginations. In a related but different aspect, though a primary school teacher wrote in Chosunilbo that it is wrong to assume that namyang is filled with uncivilized savages and snakes in the scorching hot weather and thereby reminding that the region is a lifeline of the Japanese Empire, it additionally reflects how most Koreans imagined the region with a specific gaze.49

In reality, lives of Koreans in Southeast Asia did not seem as fantastic as their imagination. Titled "Behind Stories of Workers in Namyang," Dongailbo, for example, delivered news that families of workers sent to Saipan in Korea were saddened by telegrams asking for money instead of sending money to them.50 However, numerous Korean newspaper articles encouraged fellow Koreans to grab opportunities in a "land of forever summer" with "dense coconut trees."51 Of course, the presence of savage "toin" was essential. Maeilsinbo, for instance, delivered news from a worker in namyang safely working without a raid from "toin" (Maeilsinbo 1939). Yi Il-jun, an editor of Chosunilbo, visited namyang and described his encounter with "toin" in Yap, "the hot tropic region where no different seasons exist":

131
This Yap island is indeed primitive. Once landed, dense coconut trees are there. *Toin* here have curly hair, thick lips, red teeth, and dark brown skin. Regardless of sex, they are all naked only veiling their mouths… *Toin* have abundant food without farming. They are still remaining savage as they hate working. Therefore, the Namyang Ministry strives to make them diligent in many ways.\(^{52}\)

Although acquiring Singapore by the Japanese Empire in 1942 might have accelerated Koreans’ economic desire for the region, numerous articles from Korean newspapers reported *namyang* as a market for Korean product and a land with abundant natural resources waiting to bring fortune since the mid-1930s. Koreans’ assumed racial superiority and anti-Blackness certainly paved the road to their economic desire.

As Kwon (2005) points out, while Japanese ethnographic descriptions on *nambang* were quite systematic over diverse social, geographic, and economic aspects, those by zealous Koreans had only "loose similarities" to those of Japan in that their focus asymmetrically lay in the backwardness of natives. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that their ability to "accurately" describe Southeast Asians was significantly limited in colonial settings. However, reminiscent of how early Korean newspapers and periodicals obsessively constructed anti-Blackness in an equivalent manner and how it continued to be pivotal throughout, their obsession with racial construction toward Southeast Asians must be seen in continuation of long-standing anti-Blackness.

In a similar context to the precolonial period, Koreans were still located between partial denial from the full entrance to the Japanese Empire and partial acceptance to civilization as the leading colonized in the empire. In this precarious position, the imagined racial presence of
"namyang toin" was further facilitated by their abiding belief in anti-Blackness that had been constructed from multiple decades. After all, to Koreans, savage was Blacks and vice versa.

CONCLUSION

Known as one of the worst times of the Korean history, the period of racial assimilation (or ethnic erasure) accompanied wartime industrialization as the Japanese Empire needed every possible resource they could mobilize. Accordingly, many Korean capitalists aligned themselves with the tenet of *naisen ittai* and even asked for more equal treatment between Koreans and Japanese. Furthermore, beside using wartime rhetoric, such as GEACPS, to some extent the empire significantly changed their colonial policies from exclusionary "vulgar" racism to inclusionary "polite" racism. These transitions were also embraced by a significant number of non-capitalist Koreans (Fujitani 2011). Emphasizing Asian solidarity in the name of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Japanese Empire also delivered a message that welcomed, though it was largely rhetorical, new members of empire who were mostly Southeast Asians.

Not dissimilar to the tenets of colonial regime, Koreans criticized whites and expressed sympathy toward other "yellows" and Blacks exploited by whites. Nevertheless, the deep schemas of anti-Blackness persisted as it continued to be transposed into other cultural schemas including the intra-Korean relationship. Furthermore, though the existing scholarship regards racism against Southeast Asians in contemporary Korea as accidental ignorance of racial nationalism that is historically groundless, zealous racialization toward Southeast Asians in late colonial Korea evinces that racism against Southeast Asians in contemporary Korea must be traced to it. More important, it was the deep schemas of anti-Blackness that facilitated the construction of savage *toin in nambang* (or *namyang*).
Figure 6. A Commercial from Chunchu (February 1942) on a new medicine made from herbs of "Malaysian savages" (as quoted in Kwon [2005:428]).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>1,295</td>
<td>2,353</td>
<td>4,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>1,686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>1,968</td>
<td>3,463</td>
<td>5,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Koreans mobilized to South Sea Island from 1922 to 1941 (M. Kim 2010).
EPILOGUE

In August 1945, two atomic bombs, the Fat Man and the Little Boy, dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan’s unconditional surrender soon ensued, signaling the end of World War II and independence of Korea. The day many Koreans had longed for came suddenly without much prelude. Seo Jeong-ju, a well-known poet, once recalled that he merely believed a movie scene in which Japanese soldiers captured Douglas MacArthur and dragged him around, as it was the only source of information. On the morning of August 15, wall posters stating "An important announcement at noon, must watch for all nation" were everywhere and Hirohito’s surrendering voice was aired at noon for four minutes and fifteen seconds. Koreans did not immediately take to the street. Living under the long-standing colonial rules, one civilian said the day of independence was strangely quiet as people were still being cautious. The long-awaited celebration came a day later after people realized the meaning of Hirohito’s surrender (Kang 2006).

Soon after, however, the jubilation of independence was greeted by internal conflicts. Different political groups—nationalists, communists, right-wingers, and even collaborators with the Japanese—all claimed their political legitimacy; meanwhile, the presence of the Soviet Union and the United States were quickly looming. The Soviet Union advanced ahead as the Soviet forces stationed in Chongjin headed to Pyongyang. Stationed in Okinawa, six hundred miles away from Korea, the United States forces started to become agitated that the whole Korean peninsula would fall under the hands of the Soviet Union. Issuing General Order No.1, the United States instructed Japanese forces north of the 38th parallel to surrender to the Soviet forces while those of the south were directed to surrender to the forces of United States.
Meanwhile, the Government-General of Korea (the GGK, hereafter) had already acknowledged the unconditional surrender of the metropole prior to August 15, 1945. For safe retreat of Japanese civilians and soldiers from the Korean peninsula, the GGK contacted Yeo Un-hyeong, a left-wing nationalist trusted by the Korean masses. Yeo established the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence to arrange transition to independence. As Yeo realized the necessity of the official organization, the committee, collaborating with right-wing political leaders, declared the People’s Republic of Korea (the PRK, hereafter). Arriving in early September 1945, the United States initially regarded the PRK as a legitimate state due to administrative convenience and popularity with the Korean masses. Entering the era of Cold War, however, the United States was more interested in building a bulwark against the Soviet Union. After the establishment of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (the USAMGIK, hereafter) in September 1945, the PRK was shortly illegitimated and its unofficial operation against the USAMGIK was forcibly dissolved in January 1946.

The new "colonizer" was white. To Bae In-cheol, a poet whose short life was ended by a gunshot at the age of twenty-eight in May 1947, who had felt empathy toward Blacks during his study in the United States, the presence of the white "colonizer" made him realize the "color-line" all around the world. Turning to his poem, Color-Line—To Black Johnson (Injongseon – Heugin Jjonseunege):

Out there

At night with whistling snow

Warming feet on small ondol

From thick lips

Shedding tears
Johnson, your story……

Dragging chains
Sold at market, a son of a black slave
Grandfather resting in peace
Active color-line in Chicago
Brick thrown by an ignorant white
Collapsed at house front
And then
Crazy father who would avenge
Stabbed by knife
Fell on the street
Bitterness

Sorrow of the colored
Woman upstairs was slaughtered by adze.
Bullets mercilessly piercing chests
Black corpses floating in sewage

Far away paved by black slaves
In Oklahoma, in Carolina, and in Texas
Landlord nailed them to trees
Then lit a fire……
Massacre was over after a few days
But shortly crowded by white mob again
When would the color-line end

Johnson
A son of a single mom, yes indeed
The color-line does not stop there
This land where comrades admire
Wherever the color-line is
Warfare spreads around the world

Perhaps belatedly, Bae acknowledged that "the color-line belts the world." Besides the presence of the white "colonizer," however, there were Black soldiers.

A few months after the establishment of the USAMGIK, Yi Byeong-hui, a professor in physiology, expressed his concern about mixed-race babies, especially between Koreans and Blacks whose inferior eugenic characteristics could be known through their low intelligence and criminal tendencies. As he went on to contend:

Speaking of mixed blood babies, they were born between Korean women and black or white men. Among them, black mixed blood babies would mostly assume inferior characters as can be presumed from blacks’ intelligence and criminal tendencies described above. Furthermore, it is evident how the behaviors of Korean women who immorally had sex with foreign soldiers were. Therefore, characters of mixed blood babies from these immoral and temporal sex tend to be inferior. Besides, in a society like
Korea where chastity is valued, even any child born out of wedlock is problematic. Those mothers who gave birth to mixed blood baby would be even more severely criticized and attacked. Hence, as can be recently seen, the babies are abandoned. In this social condition, even if the child grows, the child would be dominated by disadvantageous environments. These would lead to further post-natal retrogression of personality and intelligence. Hence, chances are high that they would commit a crime.3

Chosunilbo, several months later, reported one-week-old abandoned twin babies in front of St. Mary’s hospital in Seoul. Dying of malnutrition, those babies were "black mixed-blood."4

Meanwhile, the USAMGIK established the Korean People’s Representative Democratic Legislature to arrange transitional government in Korea. Deliberately excluding the left-wing political leaders, such as Yeo, the legislature was occupied by right-wing leaders, such as Rhee Syngman as the chairman and Kim Koo and Kim Kyu-sik as vice-chairmen. As the United Nations agreed upon election in South Korea only, Rhee was elected as the first President of the Republic of Korea in May 1948. On the other hand, instead of direct ruling, the Soviet Union installed Kim Il-sung as the chairman of the North Korean branch of the Korean Communist Party in February 1946. Two years later, in August 1948, Kim was elected as the first Prime Minister of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Though a series of military conflicts had started since January 1949, Bruce Cummings (1997) contends that the Korean War began in the fall of 1948. Month by month, the scale of conflicts expanded. After Secretary of State Dean Acheson excluded South Korea as part of his "defensive line," with support from the Soviet Union and China, Kim Il-sung decided to launch a large-scale military invasion of the South on June 25, 1950.
Amidst the warfare, the author of *The Eternal Love (Sunaeb*o), the best-selling Korean novel under the Japanese Empire⁵, Pak Gye-ju was abducted to North Korea. In 1951, after he managed to escape and safely arrived in South Korea, he relayed a story on his escape along with a critique on North Korea. In October 1951, as the victory in the Battle of Inchon turned the war in favor of the United Nation forces, a North Korean camp where Pak was detained experienced unprecedented bombardment. Without electricity, Pak and one North Korean officer who decided to surrender to the U.N. forces were unable to listen to the Voice of America. While they acknowledged that the war was in favor of the U.N. forces, they were not sure whether the forces would further advance to the North or stay in the South. They could have escaped but the problem was what they could do after the camp. Without a proper ID, it was evident that they could not go too far. To make matters worse, lines of North Korean soldiers were receding to North and his camp was about to do the same within a few days. After hearing a story about the guerrillas against the North Korean regime in a nearby mountain, they decided to look for the guerrillas. Safely hid in a house of civilians who favored the South, they realized that those guerillas were extremely cautious to welcome a stranger after encountering many spies of the North. The house where they hid was often visited by North Korean officers and they decided to dig a dugout to hide. Waiting anxiously, they were acquainted with an informant of the guerillas and learned that the U.N. forces were near the camp. The excitement did not last long. They heard that the North would reorganize and construct a fortress around the camp area. They tried to move outside the area but endless lines of North Korean soldiers made the task difficult. When they were almost about to give up, they heard from one civilian moving to the North that parachute units of the U.N. forces had landed in the area and North Korean soldiers were looking for them. Excited, they, including the civilians who held them, hid in the dugout and waited.
They also met a member of the guerillas who came down to acquire information around the
dugout. Pak persuaded the civilians to move to the South. However, the wife seemed to believe a
rumor that the U.N. forces burn civilian houses, rape women, even cut their breasts, and kill. Pak
continued trying to persuade her by telling the story that even the wife of communist guerillas in
South Korea was unharmed and sent to the court. As the civilians even helped Pak, there would
be no way the U.N. forces would harm her, Pak said. However, she did not budge and moved
into the forest with other wives after telling him that she could not trust him as *Black units are
blind rapists*. Going through a series of hardships after, the North Korean officer and guerrilla
member joined the U.N. forces and Pak was able to return home.⁶

Perhaps, not only to Pak, it was a life or death situation to the civilians. Helping Pak, they
knew they could face death when North Korean solider eventually found out. At the dire
moment, it was anti-Blackness that dictated the wives’ decision. Granted that South Koreans
encountered Black soldiers and were exposed to white supremacy American culture under the
USAMGIK (N. Kim 2008). Indeed, occasional news about Black soldiers’ attack on Koreans
might have reinforced the image of criminal Blacks from Hollywood movies. For example,
several drunk Black soldiers wounded eight civilians and stabbed a police officer, two Black
soldiers punched a civilian and robbed his briefcase, two Black soldiers blindly walloped a
civilian and put him to death, and three Black soldiers robbed two expensive watches.⁷ However,
history tells us that such a crime by occupying forces is committed regardless of race.
Furthermore, more importantly, chances were very low that the North Korean civilian in a small
village read those South Korean articles, watched Hollywood movies, or encountered Black
soldiers. Pak did not write more about the wives who moved into the forest as they were only
mentioned once. Nevertheless, why did a civilian in a small town of North Korea have to make,
probably, the decision of her life based on anti-Blackness? Why did she have to embrace such an alien view? The answer to those questions as well as the problem of "black mixed-blood babies," more than likely, lies in the previous chapters.

Hong Yung Lee (2013) warns that colonial legacies cannot be more than legacies. Although Eckert successfully identifies the origin of Korean industrialization under the GGK, per Lee, it cannot simply dictate what happened after the independence. Perhaps, to a state like South Korea that has gone through "condensed modernity" (Chang 2009), it could be a "quantum jump" to link the success of Kim Seong-su under the Japanese Empire, the South Korean chaebol of the 1960s and 1970s, and the eventual economic success of South Korea (Lee 2013). Anti-Blackness in contemporary two Koreas, therefore, might not be the same as anti-Blackness during (pre)colonial Korea. Indeed, anti-Blackness in Korea had not been the same throughout the age of empire. In contemporary South Korea, media no longer blatantly express anti-Blackness, with occasional exceptions. However, the structure of race, independent of economic structure, has its own logic. As Jung (2015) contends, deep racial schemas, such as anti-Blackness in Korea, persist even as they transform.

In fall 2013, a new line of cigarettes debuted from South Korea’s largest tobacco company. Promoting the new product, dried and roasted in "traditional African style," a commercial poster for "This Africa," featured a personified monkey reporter declaring "Africa is coming" and the packet of cigarette contained images of monkeys roasting tobacco. "According to those images, Africans are just a bunch of uneducated monkeys," said Mirriam Simasiku, a Zambian woman living in Seoul, who found the ads extremely offensive. "Shameless," "insulting," and "mocking," the African Tobacco Control Alliance also added to the international backlash. An apology ensued from a KT&G company spokeswoman as the company "only tried
to adopt images that symbolize the nature of Africa… because they [monkeys] are delightful animals that remind people of Africa." She also disclosed that the backlash was "unexpected" as no one in the company acknowledged the issue of racism during the design process. While she promised to pull the ads, the cigarette packet image would remain as the company did not find it to be offensive ("Korean Tobacco Company" 2013; "Korean Cigarette Firm" 2013).

I can also recall numerous stories of anti-Blackness in Korea. Almost always, I had a classmate whose nickname was "black" or "negro." Some of them are still called the same. During my middle school years, an avid Christian teacher often preached instead of lecturing. Talking about how Jesus loves all, he suddenly told us he still could not imagine being a friend with Blacks by saying "Their black skin is just too gross." In such a way that Yoon Chi-ho wondered how the contradiction was possible when he studied in the U.S. around the 1880s, we were puzzled by his discrepancy. On a related but a different note, several years ago, I was returning from the Gimpo airport after seeing off my friend. In the returning subway train, a Southeast Asian man entered and took a seat between me and a mother with her kid. Immediately after, the mother scowled and moved to another train car with her kid. He looked at me and shrugged as if it was not the first time. Perhaps, it was about the time that I decided to search for the "origin" of racism in Korea. Upon embarking the research, firmly entrenched anti-Blackness in almost every aspect of precolonial and colonial history of Korea has lead me to revisit the significance of social death and the afterlife of slavery.

For the Black, freedom is an ontological, rather than experiential, question. There is no philosophically credible way to attach an experiential, a contingent, rider onto the notion of freedom when one considers the Black—such as freedom from gender or economic oppression, the kind of contingent riders rightfully placed on the non-Black when thinking freedom. Rather, the riders that one could place on Black freedom would be hyperbolic—though no less true—and ultimately untenable: freedom from the world, freedom from Humanity, freedom from *everyone* (including one’s Black self) (Wilderson 2010: 23, emphases added).

As unexpected as anti-Blackness is in the history of (pre)colonial Korea, I would not assert that Koreans during the age of empire did not directly participate in racial slavery and gratuitous violence toward Blacks at all. Given the historical record available, however, the chances would be very low. Nevertheless, this dissertation has clearly demonstrated that Koreans have long been one among "everyone." It might be difficult to analyze how consciously Koreans appropriated anti-Blackness while aspiring for Western civilization or whiteness. After all, they were as precarious as Blacks, and some Koreans were even enslaved in the form of sexual slavery. However, Koreans still took solace in believing their racial superiority over Blacks and their imagined racial inferiors, such as American Indians. In part, Koreans’ construction of racial hierarchy did not too much differ from that of the West in a sense that they both located Black at the bottom rung. While Steinmetz (2007) explains that the genocide of Africans in Namibian Ovaheherero occurred in the specific German condition that demonized Black Africans, such as German officials’ rivalries, Afro-pessimism would question how social death and afterlife was related to the mass-killing of Blacks given the ubiquity of violence toward Blacks. Though it could be selective appropriation, the racial hierarchy Koreans absorbed and domesticated from
the West also placed them above Blacks. In other words, anti-Blackness rooted in racial slavery and its afterlife has located Blacks in the lowest social location across the globe (Wilderson 2003, 2010; Sexton 2010, 2011, 2016; Sorentino 2016). Though few sociological works embark on importance of research on racial slavery, its afterlife, and its sociological implication on our understanding of anti-Blackness (e.g., Ray et al. 2017), I hope this dissertation has shed some light on its unexpected breadth, well beyond the U.S., the Americas, and the West regardless of direct violence toward Blacks.

Regarding sociology of empire, while it has embarked on a break away from the nation-state, sociologies of race and empire have been in a certain degree mutually disengaged. Most nation-states in the contemporary world in some stage of their history were empire or colonized and some nations can be viewed as empire or colony. Regardless, most nation-states continue to be haunted and shaped by their precolonial and colonial histories, including histories of racism (Cooper 2005; Jung and Kwon 2013). As such, further studies should emphasize how construction of race, as well as anti-Blackness, of both sides has evolved leading up to the present. By both sides, I argue that Korea cannot be the exception in the construction of anti-Blackness, as well as racial hierarchy, going through the colonially vulnerable and colonized. As this dissertation has emphasized, anti-Blackness can be hidden in an unexpected location and its significance may not be marginal regardless of corporeal presence of different racial bodies.

Granted that counterfactual reasoning in history has been mostly avoided in academia⁹, and the reasoning could be even groundless, to Korean studies (or Koreans), though not limited thereto, I argue that it is imperative to question how Koreans would have navigated the age of empire without taking solace in believing in their racial superiority and anti-Blackness. This is not to underestimate tremendous sacrifices Koreans had made to secure their nation. However, if
unconditional exclusion of other human beings is deeply entrenched in making of nation and its continuing significance is relevant in contemporary Korea, instead of believing in eventual racial progress and celebrating "multiculturalism," I call for a systematic analysis on how to rectify it.

Returning to sociology of race, when Omi and Winant (1994) proclaim "The state is inherently racial" (1994:82), they single out the U.S. as the inherent racial state and locate their scope within the national boundary. However, I contend that most, or even all, nation-states have been racial with or without the history of racial policies, often regarded as prerequisites for racial state. The birth of "racial state" (or "racist state" in Critical Race Theory [Bracey 2015]) presupposes the deep racial schemas as the state is itself shaped by race and racism. Moreover, the nation-states are still haunted by empire and racism (Jung and Kwon 2013). Beyond racial policies, sociology of race must also focus on state apparatus built upon the deep racial schemas and thereby always ready and willing to enact de facto or de jure racial policies at any given chances. The very first such policy that legally accepted foreign laborers, though as trainees, was introduced in 1991 in South Korea. While the rotation principle that forbids accompanying dependents and long-term residency strictly remains for low-skill jobs, a series of policy revisions ensued to ensure an easy renewal of visas for foreign professionals, researchers, and businesspersons—fields mostly occupied by migrants from the West (Seol 2009; Lee and Kim 2011). Accordingly, the imperative task at hand would be to investigate how historical construction of racial state has been related to making of global white supremacy and global anti-Blackness with different but often closely and complicatedly woven logics.

For all concerned, race, especially anti-Blackness, has been central even in an unexpected location. The "color-line" persists and "social death" continues to haunt beyond our imagination even "afterlife."
As a medium for producing national knowledge, newspapers were unrivaled. Segmented into discrete stories in each edition; divided into separate issues unfolding over days and years; and featuring pieces as diverse as advertisements, letters to the editor, poetry, editorials, and the like, newspapers offered a powerful medium for bringing together in a single space the disparate topics and objects that writers explored, hailed, and used for making claims for the nation (Schmid 2002: 6).

Newspapers, as well as periodicals, always produce selective information. Besides "selective bias," the information they deliver cannot be free from "description bias" either, as they either view things with their own perspectives or often contain erroneous reports (McCarthy et al. 1996, 1999). In a contemporary society where numerous publications constantly create and deliver information, examining a certain group of newspapers and periodicals may not be enough to reflect how people make sense of the world around them in general. In (pre)colonial Korea, where only a handful of the media were available, however, the influence of newspapers, as well as periodicals, in producing "national knowledge" was second to none.

Nevertheless, the unique position that newspapers enjoyed should not be interpreted as indicating that they reflect how Koreans make sense of race without bias. Despite the unrivaled position, it still begs a question of readership as only small number of Koreans could read and write. Prior to the Japanese colonization, the Korean government had emphasized education after the Gabo Reform, and many private schools were founded by foreign missionaries and nationalists. After the Eulsa Treaty, the Residency-General of Korea also emphasized education though the goal was to create an obedient subject by suppressing non-Japan related schools.
(Komakome 2008). Regardless of these efforts, compulsory education was far from being realized and most Koreans remained illiterate as the ratio of students to Korean population was only 1:1300 in 1909 (No 1994). In a society where only a limited number of people are literate, whatever is written in the newspapers could be a tempest in a teapot as only elites are the major participants. Should the newspapers in Korea during the age of empire be seen in this regard?

*Dongnipsinmun*, the first privately managed Korean newspaper in Korea, is regarded as a harbinger of *munmyeong gaehwa*. Its impact was much wider than previous government sponsored newspapers as the newspaper was written in Korean instead of Chinese or mixed Korean script. Still, this does not change the fact that those who could read Korean were very scarce. However, at least, the popularity of newspapers was caught even by the eyes of a foreign visitor. Isabella Bird, who travelled to different countries in Asia, saw a new sight as she noted that "The sight of newsboys passing through the streets with bundles of a newspaper in En-mun [Hangul] under their arms, and of men reading them in their shops, is among the novelties of 1897" (Bird [1898] 2015: 271). More importantly, this new trend was not limited to the literates. On November 9, 1898, *Dongnipsinmun* inserted a letter written by three readers from Yanggu county of Gangwon province:

Recently, the county chief established a market. He spoke about the recent news in front of an audience and let a literate person read *Dongnipsinmun* out loud. Everyone in the market stood by shoulders and listened to it with admiration. After that, not only merchants but also ordinary people gathered to listen to *Dongnipsinmun* from a distance…

A research group on *Dongnipsinmun* further reveals that one newspaper was often circulated by hundreds of people and its popularity was even reported in Russia (Dongnipsinmungandokhoei
2004). Without the popularity of Dongnipsinmun across different groups of Koreans, the success of the People’s Assembly would not have been possible as even a butcher, thought to be the lowest class in Korean society, participated in a street speech (G. Yi 1989). This is not to argue that other newspapers and periodicals should be viewed in the same regard. However, it at least demonstrates that limited numbers of literate readers and circulation do not mean that the media in precolonial and colonial Korea was only shared by a certain group of privileged people. Furthermore, the increasing literacy rate and popularity of Korean publications, exemplified by the numbers of Korean publications during the cultural rule, also reveal how newspapers and periodicals had continued to be critical in producing "national knowledge."³

Each chapter refers to different newspapers and periodicals that were widely circulated during each period, with some exceptions. The following sections will provide more detailed information on the primary sources focusing on different aspects such as type and location of the source, reasons for selection, targeted readers, circulation, and colonial (or precolonial) censorship. More importantly, regardless of the different characteristics of newspapers and periodicals, this dissertation has demonstrated that anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy had been consistent across those publications.

Chapter 1

Newspapers in Korea: Hanseongsunbo, Dongnipsinmun, Hwangseongsinmun, and

  Daehanmaeilsinbo

Korean diasporic newspaper: Haejosinmun

Periodicals in Korea: Daehanjaganghoewolbo, Seou, Seobukakoewolbo, and

  Daedonghakoewolbo
Korean diasporic periodicals: *Taegeukakbo*

*Hanseongsunbo* was the first "modern" newspaper in Korea published by the Korean government between October 31, 1883, and December 4, 1884. Written in Chinese only and printed every ten days, the newspaper was mostly read by government officials. Inoue Kakugoro, one of the students of Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the leading Japanese scholars, worked as an advisor. For its international news, the newspaper mostly translated Chinese and Japanese newspapers. It was later succeeded by *Hanseongjubo*, a weekly newspaper. The circulation is estimated about 3,000 as it was delivered around the Korean peninsula. Its impact is conceived to be quite significant as it influenced the tone of private newspapers published later given that it was often read by non-government officials and some foreigners (Jeong 2013). The digital contents are available at www.bigkinds.or.kr.

Published between April 7, 1896, and December 4, 1899, by Philip Jaisohn, the first Korean American, *Dongnipsinmun* was the first privately managed Korean newspaper. Not only was it written in Korean, it was also priced relatively cheap, making the newspaper affordable to ordinary Koreans including lower classes and women. Due to its success, the newspaper also ignited publication of subsequent national newspapers (Jeong 2013). Not only did it publish in Korean, it also allotted one page to English, which later became a four-page independent in 1897. Initially three times a week with three hundred circulation, it soon became a daily newspaper of three thousand circulation in 1898 (Dongnipsinmungandokhoei 2004). While supported by the government in its initial stage, the conservatives were soon threatened by its growing political power, resulting in Jaisohn’s return to the United States. Though Yun Chi-ho succeeded in Jaisohn’s place, its publication was discontinued in 1899. The digital contents are available at www.bigkinds.or.kr.
Published by Namgung Eok with help from Na Su-yeon and Yu Guen in 1898, *Hwangseongsinmun* targeted intellectuals and upper classes as it was written in Korean mixed script and often classical Chinese. As Japan’s influence over Korea became stronger around the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese army in Korea forced Korean newspapers to be censored prior to publication, and censored pages became common after July 1945 (Jeong 2008). After the publication of "I Wail Bitterly Today" by Jang Ji-yeon in November 20, 1905, without permission from Japan, the newspaper was suspended for about three months. It ceased publication soon after the official colonization in September 1945. The newspaper noted that its circulation was around three thousand (Schmid 2002). The digital contents are available at www.bigkinds.or.kr.

Though published around the Russo-Japanese War, *Daehanmaeilsinbo* could maintain its anti-Japanese stance as it was owned by an Englishman, Ernest Thomas Bethell. It was widely supported by the Korean masses capturing the most extensive readership. Initiated with fewer than four thousand copies, its total circulation exceeded thirteen thousand by 1908 (Schmid 2002). However, soon after the death of Bethell in 1909, it was sold to the Residency-General of Korea and later became *Maeilsinbo*, a newspaper published by the Government-General of Korea. The digital contents are available at www.bigkinds.or.kr.

Another widely circulated newspaper among the Korean masses was *Jeguksinmun* (1898-1910). In contrast to *Hwangseongsinmun*, it was published in Korean only targeting lower classes and women and its circulation fluctuated between two thousand and three thousand (Schmid 2002). As the National Library of Korea has recently made the digital contents available, this important newspaper is not yet investigated in this dissertation. The digital contents are available at www.nl.go.kr.
Haejosinmun was the first diasporic daily Korean newspaper. Published in Russia in 1908, it only lasted three months. After realizing its influence, as well as that of other diasporic newspapers, over Koreans, the Residency-General of Korea banned its sale in Korea (Choe 1976). The digital contents are available at search.i815.or.kr.

Except for Daedonghakoewolbo published by pro-Japanese Confucians, other periodicals were published by Korean elites with emphasis on education and mummyeong gaehwa. All the periodicals cited in the chapter were published after the Eulsa Treaty in 1905. Published in Japan by Korean students, Taegeukakbo had a close relationship to Seou. The digital contents are available at db.history.go.kr.

Chapter 2

Newspaper in Korea: Maeilsinbo
Korean diasporic newspaper: Gungminbo, Gwoneopsinmun, Sinhangukbo, and Sinhanminbo
Korean diasporic periodicals: Hakjigwang

Upon the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1910, the Government-General of Korea stripped the word daehan from Daehanmaeilsinbo and incorporated Maeilsinbo to Keijonippo, a newspaper of the Residency-General of Korea and later the Government-General of Korea. Maeilsinbo was the only newspaper in the Korean language printed without any suspension during the thirty-five years of colonization. The major goal of the newspaper was to promote "the benevolent and noble cause of annexation and ‘impartial humanness’ [ilsidongin, 一視同仁]" by the Japanese Emperor with three strategies: "defining the new relationship, delineating its advantages over the past traditional order, and critiquing Korea’s traditional cultural and manners" (Caprio 2011:11,12). While the underlying tone had continued throughout the colonial period, its
emphasis on the superiority of the Japanese Empire and assimilation especially stood out during the 1910s, exemplified by frequent appearances of articles on lack of hygiene among Koreans and reports on crimes committed by Koreans (Hwang 2003). Its status as the only Korean-language newspaper as well as its publication of popular Korean literature such as Heartless by Yi Gwang-su drew a significant level of attention from Koreans during the 1910s. In the chapter, the newspaper was mostly interpreted as the voice of the colonizer though many articles were written by Koreans. The photocopied digital contents are available at www.bigkinds.or.kr.

In the 1900s, two major Korean associations led Korean communities in the United States. One was the Mutual Assistance Association (Gongnipyeopoe) in San Francisco and the other was the United Korean Society (Haninhapseonghyeopoe) in Hawai‘i. The newspaper of the first was Gongnipsinbo and that of the latter was Haninhapseonghyeopoebo. For more effective mobilization of Koreans against Japan, the two associations were merged as the Korean National Association (Gungminhoe) in 1909 and each newspaper changed its name to Sinhanminbo and Sinhangukbo respectively. In 1913, Sinhangukbo was renamed as Gungminbo. Both newspapers continued even after the independence. Along with these two major Korean diasporic newspapers in North America, Gwoneopsinmun was another major one in Vladivostok, Russia, lasted two and a half years since 1911. Upon the enactment of the newspaper law after the Eulsa Treaty, the Residency-General of Korea, as well as the Government-General of Korea after the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1910, severely suppressed their circulation in Korea. However, as can be seen from the article on a rumor about a possible war between Japan and the United States, the diasporic newspapers were hardly isolated from Korea even under the militaristic rule of the Government-General of Korea. The digital contents of Sinhangukbo, Gungminbo, and
Gwoneopsinmun are available at search.i815.or.kr. The photocopied digital contents of Sinhanminbo are available at http://db.history.go.kr.

Hakjigwang was a periodical of Joseonyuhaksaenghoe (Association of Korean international students) in Japan, published two to four times a year between 1914 and 1930. Many contributors later became elites in Korea and the tone of most of the contents was inclined to be right-wing as opposed to the academia in Japan (G. Kim 1978). Photocopied versions were published from a few different publishers and the version that the chapter refers to is from Yeongnak.

Chapter 3

Newspapers in Korea: Dongailbo and Chosunilbo

Periodicals in Korea: Gaebyeok, Sinsaenghwal, Joseonjigwang, Donggwang, Samcheolli, and Byeolgeongon

Soon after the Government-General of Korea decided to allow Korean newspapers, more than ten applications were submitted from Koreans (Jeong 2013). In January 1920, the Government-General of Korea allowed three Korean private newspapers: Dongailbo, Chosunilbo, and Sisasinmun. Led by Kim Seong-su, Dongailbo strived to inspire Korean nationalism in its early stages. Since the confiscation of an issue reporting on the independence movement in Pyongyang, published only two weeks after its establishment, its issues or contents were frequently confiscated or deleted. In September of the same year, the newspaper was suspended for about five months after publishing an article that problematized worshiping the Japanese Emperor. Though often criticized by Koreans, the newspaper was highly sought among Koreans as can be seen from Table 2. For instance, spreading Song of Joseon, which was
conceived as a quasi-national anthem among Koreans even after the independence, was one of among many reasons (Jeong 2013). The photocopied digital contents are available at db.history.go.kr.

*Chosunilbo* was another major Korean newspaper in colonial Korea. Lacking facilities and resources, it only printed five issues for two months around its initial establishment of March 1920. Even during the period, its fourth issue was confiscated after criticizing the marriage between a Korean prince and a member of Japanese royal family. Soon after, it became the first Korean newspaper suspended in August 1920. After Sin Seok-u undertook its management and then assumed roles as the publisher and vice-president in 1924, the newspaper was soon renovated in the name of newspaper of *minjung* (the masses) with help from Yi Sang-jae as the president. Upon the establishment of *Siganhoe* in 1927, a Korean nationalist organization with a total membership between 30,000 and 40,000 people from both leftists and rightists, the newspaper had been considered as the headquarter of the association until its disorganization in 1932 (Jeong 2013). The photocopied digital contents are available at archive.chosun.com.

Besides the newspapers, publication of various periodicals quickly ensued. *Gaebyeok*, an intellectual journal backed up by wealthy members of *Cheondogyo* churches, was one of the most influential Korean periodicals, often compared to the influential Chinese journal *New Youth*, including pieces on social reform, literary criticism, history, economics, and translations of Western literature (Robinson 1988). Seeking a way of national reconstruction based on *Cheondogyo* spirit, it constantly introduced different ideas of social reconstruction around the world, especially from the West. Along with those reconstruction ideas from the West that inspired Yi Gwang-su and other cultural nationalists, *Gaebyeok* also spared a significant portion to Marxist ideas especially since 1923. It was one of the most severely censored magazines
during the cultural rule as it experienced thirty-four bans, one suspension, and one fine until its last issue in August, 1926 (Jeong 1978b). The digital contents are available at db.history.go.kr.

It was not only the cultural nationalists but also the radicals who took advantage of the publication opportunity in the 1920s. Four radical magazines obtained permits, and the chapter has covered Sinsaenghwal (1922) and Joseonjigwang (1922-1930). Since the radicals sought immediate solutions as opposed to the gradual approach by the cultural nationalists, their runs did not last long facing the early suppression other than Joseonjigwang. However, the influences of these magazines to the colonial intellectual community was enormous as the suppression ironically boosted interest among Korean students, and Sinsaenghwal was the most influential radical magazine in the 1920s (Robinson 1988). Photocopied versions of Sinsaenghwal were published from a few different publishers; the version that the chapter refers to is from Hyeondaesa, and Joseonjigwang is from Gukakjaryowon.

Donggwang was a magazine published by Suyangdonguhoe in May 1926. After Gaehyeok became no longer available and Joseonjigwang assumed status as the only Korean magazine, Donggwang claimed a magazine for the cultural nationalists. Based on the idea of reconstruction by Yi Gwang-su and the newspaper law of the colonial regime, Suyangdonguhoe declared detachment from politics. It published various articles on popular interests, science, and literature during its first phase that lasted for a year. After its republication since 1931, it covered wider issues, as well as politics, until January 1933. The digital contents are available at db.history.go.kr.

Samcheolli is regarded as one of the first commercial magazines in Korea. The publisher, Kim Dong-hwan, a poet, targeted the masses with a lower pricing policy. Published between 1927 and 1942, it was the longest lasting Korean magazine in colonial Korea. Though often
criticized for stretching the truth with vulgar articles, it was also a political magazine with contributions from the left and right (Cheon 2010). Published by Gaebyeoksa, the publisher of Gaebyeok, in 1926, Byeolgeongon was another popular magazine that lasted until 1934. With a purpose to diffuse modern culture to the masses, it introduced interesting stories around the world as its name implied. The digital contents for both periodicals are available at db.history.go.kr.

Chapter 4
Newspapers in Korea: Maeilsinbo, Dongailbo, and Chosunilbo
Korean Diasporic Newspaper: Bungmisibo
Periodicals in Korea: Samcheolli, Daedonga, Jogwang, and Sinsegi

Separated from Keijo nippo (Gyeongseongilbo in Korean), a Japanese newspaper of the Government-General of Korea, Maeilsinbo was run by pro-Japanese Koreans such as Choe Rin and Yi Seong-guen. As Dongailbo and Chosunilbo were discontinued amidst the wartime empire in 1940, Maeilsinbo again enjoyed the status of the only newspaper in the Korean language until the independence.

Nearing the wartime empire, the Government-General of Korea started to close Korean periodicals as well as newspapers. While many remaining periodicals strived to survive by advocating the colonial regime, changing the name, or publishing in Japanese, most of them fell into the same fate as the newspapers. Daedonga was a successor of Samcheolli which only lasted a year. Jogwang was published by Chosunilbo in 1935. With financial support from the new ownership of Bang Eung-mo, Chosunilbo surpassed Dongailbo in its circulation in 1936 and Jogwang was also invested much in competing with Sindonga, a magazine by Dongailbo. After
other magazines were discontinued, Jogwang enjoyed the status as the only Korean magazine until 1944. Sinsegi (1939-1941) was promoted as an art magazine but its contents were similar to other popular magazines such as Samcheolli and Jogwang. Though unable to confirm, it even claimed to take the best-selling magazine position within Seoul in its ninth issue. The digital contents of Daedonga are available at db.history.or.kr. For Jogwang, a photocopied version is available at the National Assembly Library of Korea. For Sinsegi, a photocopied version is published from Somyeongchulpan.

Bungmisibo was a diasporic Korean newspaper in Los Angeles, California. Published by supporters of Rhee Syngman in 1943, it lasted two more decades after the independence. The digital contents are available at search.i815.or.kr.
Table 2. Circulation of major newspapers in colonial Korea between 1929 and 1939

(Reconstructed from Jeong [1978a])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dongailbo</strong></td>
<td>37,802</td>
<td>41,293</td>
<td>49,947</td>
<td>52,383</td>
<td>55,924</td>
<td>31,666</td>
<td>55,783</td>
<td>55,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chosunilbo</strong></td>
<td>23,486</td>
<td>28,192</td>
<td>29,341</td>
<td>38,653</td>
<td>43,118</td>
<td>60,626</td>
<td>70,981</td>
<td>59,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Joseonjungangilbo</strong></td>
<td>14,267</td>
<td>19,162</td>
<td>18,194</td>
<td>24,521</td>
<td>25,505</td>
<td>32,782</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maeilsinbo</strong></td>
<td>23,033</td>
<td>23,186</td>
<td>27,119</td>
<td>27,400</td>
<td>30,937</td>
<td>34,592</td>
<td>44,600</td>
<td>95,399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 For Korean words and letters, this dissertation follows the Revised Romanization of Korean, the official Korean language Romanization system in South Korea with exceptions such as known proper nouns in English and known legal English names; Parts of this chapter are reconstructed from J. Kim (2015) and Kim and Jung (u.r.).


3 Though long been denied and marginalized, W.E.B Du Bois is of course an exception as he contends that the life of Blacks cannot be understood without considering race. See Morris (2015) for more.

4 See Alba and Nee (2005) for an approach on eventual racial assimilation.

5 However, it should be noted that Du Bois regarded Japan as the frontrunner against whites by overlooking the colonized of the Japanese Empire. See Kearney (1995) for more.

6 On "methodological nationalism," see Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003).

7 Afro-pessimism urges a shift in the paradigm from the binary between whites and people of color to Blacks and non-Blacks to adequately understand the social conditions of Blacks both in the U.S. and across the globe (Sexton 2016).

8 On "social death," see Patterson (1982) and Hartman (2007) for "afterlife."

9 Most words based on Chinese characters are pronounced differently by various nations in East Asia. Both minzoku (Japanese pronunciation) and minjok (Korean pronunciation) are based on the same Chinese characters, 民族. In order to prevent confusion, the base Chinese characters are provided where needed.
10 The Annals of Joseon Dynasty, 5 July 1394.

11 "His name is Haegwi. He has yellow eyes with a black face, limbs and body. His beard and hair are short curly hair as black sheep… He can go under the water and attack enemy ships. Also, he can stay under the water for days and eat fishes. Even Chinese rarely see these soldiers" (The Annals of Joseon Dynasty, 26 May 1598). Also, the record on rewarding three Haegwi is from 28 May 1598. For the record on the fear of Japanese soldiers can be found from 5 September 1598.

CHAPTER 1

1 Parts of this chapter are reconstructed from Kim and Jung (u.r.).


3 To burrow from Eric Hobsbawm, in the age of empire during the last quarter of the nineteenth century through to Wrold War I, "most of the world outside Europe and the Americas was formally partitioned into territories under the formal rule or informal political domination of one or other of a handful of states" (Hobsbawm 1989:56-57).

4 See Shin and Robinson (1999) and Lee (2013) for the debate.

5 Some would argue that modernity as an analytic concept has already lost its usefulness in sociology due to its vagueness and flaws (see Adams et al. [2005]). While I partially agree with this side thus do not intend to use the term for the traditional/modern binary code, I will adhere to the usage of the term without alternative signifier.

6 For example, though limited by its sample size (n=121), No and Bang (2008) identifies that Korean students feel superior to Blacks and Southeast Asians while they feel inferior to whites.
7 A Korean dynasty between 1392 and 1910. The dynasty changed its name to Korean Empire (Daehanjeguk, 大韓帝國) in 1897.

8 It has to be noted that articles on race in Hanseongsunbo were not created in a vacuum. The newspaper was established after Pak Yeong-hyo's proposal and Pak received significant help from Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the most well-known Japanese scholars on the Western civilization. Fukuzawa was in fact one of the first Japanese scholars who introduced race to Japan by translating many books from the West. The racial taxonomy in the first article on race of Hanseongsunbo is very similar to Fukamauchi Moti's Geography for Elementary Schools (1874) based on geography works from the West, such as William Huse, Ogustin Michel, and Gold Smith, that employ Blumenbachian terminology to describe the five human races:

(1) The Caucasian race or the white race, which was also known as the European race: Their bone structure is the most proper and their appearance is the most beautiful. They are the most progressive and talented of all races. They will achieve the peak of civilization before any other races.

(2) The Mongolian race or the yellow race (most of the Japanese and the Chinese belong to this race): They are enduring by nature and diligent at learning. They will rise to the domain of the civilized.

(3) The Ethiopian race or the black race: They are customarily lazy and have not yet reached civilized status.

(4) The Malayan race or the brown race: They are fierce and often harbor the thoughts of revenge. They are far from civilized.
(5) The American race or the red race: They are vengeful, aggressive, and belligerent (Sun 2012:128).

9 Hanseongsunbo, October 31 1883, "Juyange Daehae Nonham." p. 10.


12 Yu Gil-jun had also major influence from Haegukdoji by Wei Yuan and its relation to transnational influence of race cannot be overlooked. The series contained "an Overview of the Globe" by Portuguese Jose Martinho Marques which includes five aspects: the composition of a globe having five continents, the size of the globe, the world's five racial categories [種, zhong] according to skin colors and physical features, the three degrees of human civilization, and the world's languages and language groups (Lai 2012:343). As Haegukdoji was the most influential book series on the West during the early pre-colonial period, it is probable that other gaehwa elites were also influenced by racial contents of the series. Furthermore, when Yu later studied in the U.S., his interests in race could be reinforced by working with Edward S. Morse, whose major interest lay in race, in 1883.


15 Dongnipsinmun, May 2 1896. "Ronsyeol." p. 1; Scholars in Korea have already shown that social Darwinism was deeply ingrained in the ideology of precolonial Korea and that certain aspects and interpretations of social Darwinism took precedence over others (e.g., emphasis on collective struggle over individual competition) (S. Park 2003; Tikhonov 2010; Shin 2006). However, focusing narrowly on social Darwinism and failing to connect it to the larger racial
discourse reproduce the minimization of social Darwinism as an anomaly in the history of European enlightenment.


17 This view did not preclude intermittent expressions of sympathy or even empathy. A report on the United States, for instance, could lament the ill treatment of both Blacks and "yellows" (Dongnipsinmun, Oct 16 1897. "Ronsyeol." p. 1).


20 Dongnipsinmun, September 11 1899. "Injyonggwa Namnaui Bunbyeol." p. 1; This article shows a clear relation to the earlier article from Hanseongsunbo. According to Sun (2012), while this "five-race theory" was first introduced in China between the 1840s and the 1850s, the initial contents did not emphasize racial hierarchy. In 1876, John Fryer, an English professor in China, founded the first scientific magazine in China and introduced the five-race theory of racial hierarchy. The racial taxonomy in the article of Dongnipsimun exactly followed Fryer's hierarchy, implying another transnational influence in construction of race in Korea. In fact, Daejoseondongnipyeopoehoebo, a magazine of the Independence Club, inserted an article of Fryer titled "人分五類說," which can be roughly translated as "five-race theory" in March 15, 1897. The part of article seems to be a translated version of Fryer's article in the magazine.


31 Unrelated to an earlier newspaper with the same name that had also been founded by the Japanese, in Busan, Korea, _Chosonsinbo_ (朝鮮新報) was based in Incheon, Korea.


45 The term "slave" appeared in 17 articles in *Hanseongsunbo* and 7 articles in *Hanseongjubo*.

46 The paper was founded by an English journalist, Ernest Thomas Bethel, with help from Korean nationalists such as Yang Gi-tak, Shin Chae-ho, and Pak Eun-sik. Because the publisher was English, the newspaper was free from Japanese censors until formal colonial annexation.


48 With enslavement and colonization so semantically linked, both Blacks and American Indians were frequently invoked in reference to slavery, but as suggested by the terms "black slave" (heungno, 黒奴) and "red savage" (hongbeon, 紅番), Blacks were more closely identified with it. To borrow from Sexton, "slaves are paradigmatically black" (2010:36).


CHAPTER 2

1 Hongin (red people, 紅人) is the term that was dominantly used by Koreans. In order to deliver more accurate meaning, this paper will use the term "reds" when quoting or paraphrasing unless the original source used a different term.


5 A derogatory term to designate Japanese people.


8 He published the book in Shanghai, China.

9 According to the first comprehensive Korean dictionary, compiled during the colonial era, toin denoted "unenlightened savages fixed to a certain land" (Hanguel Hakoe Jieun Keun Sajeon 1957: 3167).

10 Yun Chi-ho Papers, February 14 1890.

11 Strictly speaking, the usage of the term donghwa (assimilation, 同化) policy was popularized after late 1930s only in Taiwan and Korea by the colonial regime (Komakome 2008).

12 The ruling class of the Joseon dynasty.

13 In 1880, the book was given to Kim by Huang, a politician and diplomat of the Qing dynasty to support Huang's argument that Joseon has to reach an agreement with China, Japan, and the U.S. in order to prevent Russian encroachment.

14 Starting from 1907, Gongnipsinbo, published by Koreans in the US, reported about a possible war between the US and Japan more than twenty times. After it was succeeded by Sinhanminbo in 1909, the newspaper continued to report the possible war for more than a decade. Though many articles seem to be neutral, some reveal the hope of Koreans. "As Koreans think a war between Japan and the US is near, they intend to take advantage of it by helping the US in order to oust Japan" (Sinhanminbo, July 20 1910. "1910. "Hangungminui Dongnipsasang." p. 2).


For example, An Chang-ho claimed that expecting the US to declare a war against Japan would be a foolish hope, as he emphasized that Koreans needed to be independent in everyday life and mental aspect (Ju 1999). Similarly, many intellectuals in fact recognized that the self-determination principle was only applicable to the colonized of those defeated in World War I (B. Yi 1969).

Translated by Philip Jaisohn in 1919, titled "An Appeal to the Christian World," the letter mainly described how the Japanese colonial regime tried to frustrate and prosecute Koreans' mission to build up "The Kingdom of God." Then it asserted that Koreans "passionately believe in the great principle of self-determination as advocated by President Wilson. Therefore, when the great war ended, with victory for the democratic nations, we believe that the time had come when the Koreans would receive their share of justice from the hands of the victorious Christian nations" (Signed by Chung-do Son, Sang-sup Cho, Byung-cho Kim, Byung-seh Pai, Won-syung Ahn, Bo-kyun Cho, Dug-no Chang, Poong Chang, Won-ik Lee, Se-hyuk Kim, and Syung-man Kim; Scanned original manuscript was provided by Dongeun Museum, Korea).

Yun Chi-Ho described discontent among Japanese over the pro-US sentiment among Koreans in his diary (April 6 1919).


27 Based on the Order of Governor-General of Korea (朝鮮總督府制令) vol. 13 (established in March 18 1912 and enforced from April 4 1912).

28 Yun Chi-ho Journal, March 29 1919.

29 Maeilsinbo, August 9 1919. "Jeonguiwa Indoui Jongjuin Migugi Injungeul Chabyeolhana?." p. 3.


32 Maeilsinbo, December 18 1919. "Gwiseongchuchuui Miguk" p. 3.

33 Maeilsinbo, August 9 1919. "Jeonguiwa Indoui Jongjuin Migugi Injungeul Chabyeolhana?." p. 3.


39 Young (1997) argues that the imperial propaganda of 'white peril' began after the Japanese Empire entered the phase of military expansionism in Asia in the 1930s.


CHAPTER 3

1 Though the colonial regime had to demonstrate their liberal internationalism by allowing the colonial space, the regime also believed it would provide an opportunity for more complex censorship and control (Schneider 1999; Caprio 2013).


6 E.g., Chosunilbo, October 13 1931. "Jaemiheuginui Undonggwamit Geu Jangnae.


8 Gaebyeok 7:2-8, January 1 1921. "Gyemyeongigihaya," by Kim, Gi-jeon.


16 *Chosunilbo*, December 5 1921. "Heugindo Saram! Heugindo Saram!." p. 3.


18 Yun Chi-ho Papers July 11 1935, October 26 1935.

19 According to Sewell (1992:17), "to say that schemas are transposable, in other words, is to say that they can be applied to a wide and not fully predictable range of cases outside the context in which they are initially learned."


22 Ibid. p. 20.

23 Ibid. p. 39.

20.
5.
7.
38 The original wording is namyang (南洋, Southern ocean) cannibals. While the fourth chapter investigates how racial imagination about a toin of namyang was constructed vis-à-vis Blacks in
late colonial Korea, it should be noted that the construction started earlier than Japanese colonial expansion toward the Southeast Asian region. Also, note how toin was used in the Declaration of Independence in the second chapter.


40 Dongailbo, July 23 – August 1 1929. "Illyuui Gwageowa Jangnae (1-8)," by Choe, Yeo-gu. p. 3.


44 Often an aracial term used for a black animal such as black dog or black cow, however, it is also used as a racial slur for Blacks. In this context, the term clearly is used as a racial slur and therefore translated as "niggers."


49 Dongailbo, July 29 1920. "Migukeuginui Seongakoe, Cheongnyeonhoe Juchoero Myeongsamsibil Bame (Sa Migukeugin Seongakdan)."


51 Dongailbo, August 2 1920. "Heuginui Eumakgugyeong (Cheolliguhwa)." p. 3.


59 The story was written as a novel after he returned to Korea.
A variation of *geomdungyi*, a derogatory term for Blacks; *Dongailbo*, March 15 1930.

"Yumioegi (Sip)," by Ju, Yo-seop. p. 4.

Often an aracial term used for a black animal such as black dog or black cow, however, it is also used as a racial slur for Blacks. In this context, the term clearly used as a racial slur and therefore translated as "niggers."


*Byeolgeongon* 46:31-32, December 1 1931. "Segyeinyuksijanggwangmugok, Miguginyuksijanggyeonmundam," by OTS (pen name). p. 31; Briefly adding to the admiration toward whiteness, Jeong Seok-tae, one of Korean doctors in western medicine, became quite emotional being served by a white woman at hotel in France. At the same time, what drew his attention was also the racism of white Americans as he closely described how white Americans tried to throw out Blacks by paying the restaurant owner. Though he felt sympathetic and disgusted as if it was done to him, he still implied a racial gap by saying "Even if [they are] blacks, the life is life therefore with emotions" (emphases added, *Byeolgeongon* 1:66-75, November 1 1926. "Yanghaengjung Japgwanjapgam," by Jeong, Seok-tae).


Samcheolli 16:61-62, June 1 1931. "Hyeongmaegan Yeonaewa Hyeoljokgyeolhon Bulgaron: Nallyungwa Yeonaejayumunjie," by Jeong, Chil-seong; On a related note, as she lamented how Korean women still believe in superstition, she contended that only savage races have superstition (Samcheolli 9(4): 35, November 1 1937 "Sipyeong, Buingwa Misin").


Byeolgeongon 36:147, January 1 1931. "Byeore Byeolgeongon: Indoui Yeoseongeun!"

Byeolgeongon 4:40-44, February 1 1927. "Jinjigeopjeollamhoe Sokgae." p. 44.


Byeolgeongon 2:79-84, December 1 1926. "Jayu Gyeolhonsikjang Sullyegi (Seungjeon), Paranjungcheopan Hyeondaejeok Iseonggyeolhon," by Wedding Table (pen name). p. 84.


As one can easily notice, these cosmetics were produced in Japan and the first commercial even emphasizes popularity among upper and middle class women in Tokyo and Osaka. Though this aspect goes beyond the reach of this chapter, it should be noted that this chapter never intends to limit rearticulating of the "deep schemas" of anti-Blackness with extra-racial schemas within colonial Korea only.

CHAPTER 4

1 내일보, Japan-Korea as one body (Naeseonilche, for Korean pronunciation).

2 The region was succeeded by Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and China after the Japanese defeat.

3 (Arita Hachiro in a radio speech on 29 June 1940, as quoted in Duus [1996:58-59]).

4 Of course, this does not mean that the colonial regime prevented Koreans from publishing as the Japanese Empire rather encouraged publication in Japanese by Koreans in conjunction with naisen ittai.


6 (Korean Government-General Investigative Meeting to Devise a Counterplan to Meet the Present Situation 1938, as quoted in Caprio [2009:146-147]).

7 Regardless of its wartime rhetoric, on the other hands, Duus (1996) points out that GEACPS was significant in building Japan's new national identity.
8 Not only Koreans in the Japanese Empire but also, Fujitani (2011) contends, Japanese in the wartime U.S. Empire were involved in similar attempts to integrate their racialized subjects into their war efforts. However, the chapter will only refer to his argument on late colonial Korea.

9 His argument can be controversial in a few aspects. Among those, while biopolitics is about the right to make lives at one end, racial purification is located at the other end as the biopolitical state is able to kill not only against other nations but also against its own people, which is the inevitable end of every modern biopolitical state. In this context, biopolitics can justify two schemas at the same time: nurturing of Koreans and mass killing of Koreans in the Japanese Empire, as seen his analysis on Nazi, Germany (Foucault 2003). In this context, his very understanding of the transition to "polite" racism can be jeopardized and his assumption that "polite" racism would have continued if Japan had won the war cannot be tenable even in the logic of biopolitics.

10 Byeon (2004) investigates how the "silent mass" circulated stories on the defeat of the Japanese in the wartime period as a form of resistance. In contrast to the older generation without Japanese education who relied on religion or superstition, the responses from the younger generation was polarized. In contrast to those who subscribed to naisen ittai, many of them equally resisted based on the "new" education debunking how the Japanese education on modernism contradicts itself.

11 In contrast to Du Bois, Langston Hughes, who criticized the sincerity of Japan's Pan-Asianism after observing how Japan racialized Koreans in a similar context to the United States, was not welcomed by the Japanese government in the same manner as Du Bois though the initial
hospitality was on par with that of Du Bois. Upon his next visit to Japan, he was detained by the Japanese police (Koshiro 2003).


20 A German documentary film on 1936 Summer Olympic in Berlin, Germany, in which Son won a gold medal and Nam won a bronze in the men's marathon. Jesse Owens won four gold medals in 100m, 200m, 4x100m relay, and long jump.


31 This is not to argue that Rhee approved the article as he stayed in Washington D.C. at the time of publication. Though *Bungmisibo* had been only a year old, the supporting group, *Dongjihoe*, was founded in 1921. After a feud between Rhee and other Koreans, the North American *Dongjihoe* was separated and founded the newspaper. As it was different from other diasporic Korean groups, the major task of the North American *Dongjihoe* was always centered on Rhee (Hong 2009).
32 In 1938, a secret independence group called Sangnokoe in Chuncheon, Gangwon-do, was arrested. Most members were students of Chuncheon Public Middle School and the legal interrogation was held between October 1938 and May 1939 (Mun 2014).

33 According to Korea Immigration Service Statistics, 3.69% of population in Korea is non-Korean. Among those non-Koreans, 50.3% are Chinese (including Korean Chinese) and more than 20% are from the Southeast Asian region in 2015 (KISS 2016).

34 Literally, nambang (南方) and namyang (南洋) accordingly means southward direction and southern ocean. While Kwon (2005) uses the first word to roughly designate the Polynesian or Southeast Asian area, newly acquired colonies by the Japanese Empire around the Pacific War, the second word was also equally used during the late colonial period.

35 Mostly based on Kwon (2005)'s work, Kang (2014), in English, argues that Koreans' colonial gaze toward Southeast Asia can be interpreted as "another form of orientalism."


38 According to the first comprehensive Korean dictionary, compiled during the colonial era, toin denoted "unenlightened savages fixed to a certain land" (Hanguel Hakoe Jieun Keun Sajeon 1957: 3167).


40 Translated from "흑인화한다," the word contains direct reference to Blacks as it means turning those tanned people into Blacks.


A stronger variation of *geomdungi*, a derogatory term for Blacks.


It is uncertain which ethnic group he referred to. The original wording is "갈뽀쟈人."


*Dongailbo* (morning), September 24 1939. "Sanghaihui Guk Namyangeuro. Jeonbugeseo Baekoinin." p. 4; Though it is arguable that it was voluntary recruitment or forced conscription, especially toward the end of the Pacific War, Koreans workers in *namyang* dramatically increased since 1938 (see *Table 1*).

EPILOGUE

1 As quoted in Maeng [2015:118-119])


5 Based on a commercial in Gyeonghyangsinmun, the novel was reprinted more than 60 times (September 29 1962).


8 However, anti-Blackness is more than Japanese colonial legacy as it antedates Japanese colonialism. Furthermore, the colonizer did not even enforce anti-Blackness and often it was the opposite, at least on the surface.

9 For counterfactual reasoning in matters of history, see Bunzl (2004).

APPENDIX: METHODOLOGY
As of April 12 2017, www.bigkinds.or.kr has stopped providing digital contents of the newspapers as the contents are planned to be transferred to www.nl.go.kr.


3 Based on different statistics during colonial Korea, No (1994) concludes that the literacy rate was increased from 5% to 20% between the 1910s and the end of colonization.

4 Sisasinmun lasted less than a year. After the establishment of Sidaeilbo in 1924, which later respectively succeeded by Jungoeilbo, Jungangilbo, then Joseonjungangilbo, three Korean private newspapers were maintained throughout the 1920s and 1930s.
REFERENCES

Korean Language Primary Sources

Bungmisibo (북미시보)
Byeolgeongon (별건곤)
Chosunilbo (조선일보)
Daedonga (대동아)
Daedonghakoewolbo (대동학회월보)
Daehanjaganghoewolbo (대한자강회월보)
Daehanmaeilsinbo (대한매일신보)
Daejoseondongnipyeopoehoeb (대조선독립협회회보)
Dongailbo (동아일보)
Donggwang (동광)
Dongnipsinmun (독립신문)
Gaebyeok (개벽)
Gungminbo (국민보)
Gwoneopsinmun (권업신문)
Haejosinmun (해조신문)
Hakjigwang (학지광)
Hanseongsunbo (한성순보)
Hanseongjubo (한성주보)
Hwangseongsinmun (황성신문)
Jogwang (조광)
Joseonjigwang (조선지광)
Joseon Wangjo Sillok (조선왕조실록)
Maeilsinbo (매일신보)
Samcheolli (삼천리)
Seobukakoeolbo (서북학회월보)
Seou (서우)
Sinhangukbo (신한국보)
Sinhanminbo (신한민보)
Sinsaenghwal (신생활)
Sinsegi (신세기)
Taegeukakbo (태극학보)

Yun Chi-Ho Papers, 1883-1943, Manuscript Collection No. 754. Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

English-language, Republished Sources, and Secondary Sources

"North Korea Media Calls President Barack Obama a 'Wicked Black Monkey.'" 2014.

(http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/05/09/north-korea-media-president-barack-obama-_n_5293445.html).


Mun, Han-byol. 2014. "The relevant study of the Japanese occupation’s national movement and literary texts - Focusing on the case of Chuncheon Middle School's ‘Sangrokhoe’.
*Hangungmunhagirongwa Bipyeong* 63:185-207.


Shin, Gi-Wook, and Michael Robinson. "Introduction." Pp 1-18 in Colonial Modernity in Korea,


Young, Louise. 1997. "Rethinking Race for Manchukuo: Self and Other in the Colonial Context"

