

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: THE KOREAN PRESS IN JAPAN AFTER
WORLD WAR II AND ITS CENSORSHIP BY
OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES

Hee Sang Yoon, Doctor of Philosophy, 2004

Dissertation directed by: Professor Maurine H. Beasley
Philip Merrill College of Journalism
University of Maryland, College Park

This study deals with censorship of the Korean language press in Japan by the American occupation after World War II. It focuses on the social roles of mass media in a minority community when there were harsh media controls such as discriminatory printing paper allocation as well as censorship. It finds that, in spite of the government control, the press continued to play social roles such as community integration, identity formation, and agenda setting.

The dissertation represents the first scholarly examination of 19 Korean newspapers, including one for women, and 14 magazines published by Koreans in Japan during the occupation. It is based on previously unavailable material recently opened to researchers as part of the Gordon W. Prange Collection at the University of Maryland. Therefore, the entire dissertation is the only study to date of Korean publications in Japan during the occupation.

This study reveals the contents of articles scheduled to appear in Korean publications that were suppressed by censors. Through this study, the voices of suppressed Korean speakers have been revived and can, for the first time, be heard in

on an open forum. Even though the voices represent quite different ideological factions, those of the leftwing, rightwing, and mid-road, the study concludes that Korean publications in Japan, reflecting the yearnings of Koreans in Japan, zeroed in on a consensus: Korea is one; therefore, the homeland should overcome the division over North and South and develop a unified nation.

This study shows how a marginalized ethnic minority group, the Koreans in Japan under the Japanese government and American occupation authorities, recognized themselves as members of the same community belonging to one homeland in spite of their geographical distance from it. It demonstrates the fact that journalism under conditions of harsh control may negotiate with the authorities, or attempt to circumvent control. The study also brings out the fact that, from a freedom of the press view, controlling the physical media of communication [printing paper] may be more damaging than control of the contents of communication [censorship].

THE KOREAN PRESS IN JAPAN AFTER WORLD WAR II
AND ITS CENSORSHIP BY OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES

by

Hee Sang Yoon

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Maurine H. Beasley, Chair
Professor Ray E. Hiebert
Professor Michael Gurevitch
Professor Miranda Schreurs
Professor Seung-Kyung Kim

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved late father Mahn Young. He lived during the same period of time, as did the Koreans in Japan who are described in this dissertation. He was the best father I could ever have had, and he still lives in my mind and in my heart all the time.

Mahn Young Yoon

1922 – 1986

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Longing To Remember

By Heesang Yoon

Today I sit upon a wooden bench
Watching and hearing the fallen leaves
As they rustle in the wind and pass
In front of the Tawes Fine Arts building

Perhaps one day I will remember
And miss this wooden bench
And these fallen leaves

I am longing to relive a face, some
Words, a gesture, some tears from my past
As life has continued to flow, I have
Accumulated so many life images

Finally on one moment of one day
The endless accumulation will stop
There will be silence and I will perish
But still, I yearn to hold on
To all of these things and faces
To relive them, to remember them
Before I am finally gone

With all the other pictures
I am positive I will remember this bench
As well as the torment and hope of great decisions
As I entered my forties

When the time comes, in my last moments
I want to be able to say with certainty of myself
“Yes, I lived my life with passion!”

(Translated by Heesang Yoon and Dan Newsome 28 January 2002)

The names that I long to remember:

In the United States: Susan Chung, Esook Yoon, Seonghun Yun, Na-young Lee, Myungkeun Shin, Youngjin Kang, Ben Holman, James Grunig, Sungeun Chung, Jungnam Kim, Sungwoon Yang, Minjung Kang, Chunying Cai, Penny Fuchs, Clint Bucco, Arlene Gonsales, Bican Sahin, Jared Ball, John Kirch, Sarah Manchester, Raina Morgan Newsome, William Roy Newsome, Mary Grace Newsome, Hoseok Kang, Brecken Chinn Swartz, Paul Herrnson, Jaehwan Lim, Hoi-Seong Chung, Sangsun Shim, Denise Cross, Sakaguchi Eiko, and Amy Wasserstrom.

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In Japan: Youngee Lee, Choongsik Kim, Heonjoo Cho, Eunjik Rhee, Hooshik Kim, Woonyong Huh, Virginie Schmitt, Hwahae Kim, and Weehwa Jie.

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Chapter I: Introduction

1. Historical development and research questions

In August 1945 the Koreans who remained in Japan after World War II believed that they would see the establishment of a democratic independent country in their homeland. They were sure that they had been liberated from the Japanese rule thanks to the Allied Army led by the United States. And thus, they expected to be treated as liberated people by the Allied Army, which they hoped would enable them to walk out of the situation of being treated as a tormented Japanese colony. However, this desire was completely frustrated. Koreans in Japan were left out of discussion of their future and forced to choose between the Northern and Southern regimes of their once unified country. The two parts of the Korean peninsula freed from Japanese rule were now divided. Koreans in Japan were more confused than those in the Korean peninsula as to which side they would follow and support. One thing was very obvious, however, North and South Koreans as well as Koreans in Japan aspired to achieve unification.

Historically, Japan first took over Korea's administrative and political control in the late nineteenth century and eventually, in 1910, took over the whole country by way of annexation. As Japan entered the war against China in 1937 and then the United States in 1941, many Koreans were brought to Japan as wartime laborers—many as coalminers, construction workers and in the case of women, many as “comfort women,” a group of women who were treated as sex

slaves.¹ Since Korea's partition and its simultaneously being liberated from Japanese rule in 1945 were widely believed to be only temporary measures, Koreans in Japan did not think of the distinction between northern and southern halves as permanent.²

The prevailing attitude among Koreans in Japan at the time was that they were "liberated" nationals, whereas the Japanese were "conquered" nationals subject to the Allied Powers. Koreans were the largest group of aliens, comprising approximately 93.1 percent of all aliens in Japan in 1947.³ In the early days of the American occupation, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) made no specific ruling on the legal status of Koreans in Japan. All Koreans believed they would be repatriated soon. But the ambiguous nature of the SCAP policy towards Koreans caused confusion and misunderstanding both for Japanese authorities and for Koreans. SCAP never intended to classify the "liberated nationals" in the same category as the privileged United Nations nationals in occupied Japan.⁴ Koreans staying in Japan, rather than being repatriated to their homeland, due to several reasons were not even mentioned as nationals of nations whose status has changed as a result of war.

¹ Sonia Ryang, North Koreans in Japan: Language, Ideology, and Identity (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 6.

² Ibid. 6-7.

³ Homubu (Ministry of Justice of Japan), Nihon ni zai jusure Hinihonjin no chii ni tsuite (Concerning the Legal Status of Non-Japanese Residing in Japan), Horitsu shiryō, no. 308 (December 1949). Quoted in Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 89.

⁴ Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 63-64.

During the last years of the World War II, the number of Koreans in Japan had reached around 2.4 million.⁵ Interviewees whom I met in Japan during 2002-2003 estimated that 2.4 million to 2.6 million Koreans were in Japan at the time of liberation. By the end of 1946, however, approximately 1.8 million (four fifths of 2.4 million) Koreans returned home through official and unofficial channels.⁶ By 1948 the number of Koreans in Japan was between 590,000-600,000.⁷

Amidst the postwar turmoil, Koreans who stayed in Japan formed self-help organizations. A first and dominant one was the League of Koreans (Choryon) that leaned to being a leftist group. A second one was Korean Residents Association in Japan (Mindan), which was formed during a short period of different rightwing groups competing with one another.⁸ Notwithstanding their

⁵ Sonia Ryang assertively says that the Korean population in Japan was 2.4 million in August 1945. Ryang, 80. Changsoo Lee and George De Vos estimated that the number of Koreans in Japan had swollen to more than two million during the last years of the war. Lee and De Vos, 58. But John W. Dower perhaps incorrectly estimates some 1.35 million Koreans were resident at the time of surrender. Dower, Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999), 54.

⁶ Some reasons can be given for discouraging Koreans from returning home right after Japan's surrender in August 1945. There was the restriction imposed by SCAP in limiting the amount of property to a maximum of 1,000 yen that each Korean was allowed to take with him. With this money, one could scarcely buy more than a few cartons of cigarettes in Korea. Even after SCAP withdrew from its original directive limiting the amount of property taken from Japan in 1946, the stories told by Koreans returning from Korea, possibly via illegal channels, were also upsetting to the remaining Koreans in Japan. (Hooshik Kim, interview by author of this dissertation, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan, tape recording.)

⁷ Ryang, 80.

⁸After the surrender, the future of the Koreans in Japan was obviously unclear. Koreans felt the need for an organization that could provide guidance. On 10 September 1945, small groups of Korean activists joined together and formed the League of Koreans in Japan (Chaeil Chosonnin Ryonmeng), or Choryon. It did not take a long time for the Choryon to come under the complete control of the left. To counter the Choryon's left-leaning tendency, some young dissidents from the Choryon and other anticommunist groups united on 16 November 1945 to form a rival organization called Youth League to Expedite the Foundation of Korea (Chosun Konguk Chokchin Chongnyon Dongmeng) or Konchong. Yol Pak, a Korean political prisoner for twenty-three years, formed another Korean organization under the banner of anticommunism to rival the Choryon. This was

political tendencies, it was very obvious that both groups were fiercely nationalistic and anti-Japanese. However, as the two different Koreas were being established in the North and South, the extra-national Korean community in Japan clearly reflected the division of its homeland.

These groups set up their own publications, but it is very difficult to estimate how many readers the publications might have had in the Korean community in Japan. Sonia Ryang, however, provided a significant research source for determining how many potential readers the Korean publications had according to their ideological orientations. Ryang contended, “A secret report of the Japanese Ministry of Justice maintained that as of August 1949, the League [of Koreans in Japan, Choryon] held sway over about two-thirds of the total Korean population in Japan.”⁹ As noted before, the population of Koreans in Japan during the occupation was around 600,000.¹⁰ Although there is no reliable source providing any information on the illiteracy rate of Korean community in Japan, it is known that a fairly high percentage of the community did not know how to read and understand Korean. According to the secret report of the

the League for the Establishment of a New Korea (Shinchosun Konsol Dongmeng) or Kondong founded on 2 January 1946. Choryon dominated the Korean community until it was forced to dissolve by order of the Japanese government in September 1949, on the charge of being a terrorist organization. On 3 October 1946 the Kondong members dissolved their organization and formed a new rightwing organization called Korean Resident Association in Japan (Chaeil Hangukin Koryumnidan) or Mindan. See Lee and De Vos, 67-72.

⁹ Ministry of Justice of Japan, Chosenjin Dantai no Doko (Moves of Korean Organizations), (Tokyo: Homufu), 5-7. Quoted in Ryang, 82.

¹⁰ Inseop Chung gave the numbers of Koreans in Japan annually. That is, in 1947 (598,507), in 1948 (601,772), and in 1949 (597,561), but neglected to refer to the source of these numbers. Inseop Chung, “The Nationalities of Koreans in Japan and the Revisions of Nationality Laws in South & North Korea,” The Relationship between Korea and Japan & Koreans in Japan in the Recent and Modern Times, (Seoul, Korea: Seoul National University Press, 1999).

Japanese Ministry of Justice, of the 600,000 Koreans in Japan, about 400,000 or more were leftwing-oriented, while the rest, about 200,000 could be classified as rightwing-oriented or mid-road population. Interestingly, there was one very strange phenomenon in the Korean community in Japan during this period. According to a survey done by the Japanese government after the Korean War (1950-1953), about 97 percent of Koreans in Japan were originally from South Korea. By early 1955, however, about 90 percent of them had chosen to be supportive and sympathetic to North Korea.¹¹ This shift was shown in the publications studied in this dissertation.

In the aftermath of World War II one of the important goals of SCAP during the U.S. occupation of Japan, 1945-1952, was the introduction of democracy to Japanese society. But, one destructive aspect of the occupation was that the Asian peoples who had suffered most from imperial Japan's depredations—the Koreans, Chinese (Formosans), Indonesians, and Filipinos—had no serious role, no influential presence at all in the defeated land even though they lived there. They became invisible.¹²

Under these new but uneasy circumstances, many Koreans who had elected to remain in Japan were concerned with how to de-Japanize themselves and their children. The Japanese colonial policy over the years had been designed to drive the Korean national culture into extinction by depriving Koreans of their language and culture. Koreans in Japan believed that they had the fundamental

¹¹ Hiroyama Shibaaki, Minsen no Kaisan to Chosen Soren no Keisei ni tsuit (Dissolution of Minjon and Emergence of Chongryon) (Tokyo: Koan Joho, 1955), quoted in Ryang, 88.

¹² Dower, 27.

right as “liberated” people to recover their lost language and their cultural identity through their own educational programs even if they were living in Japan. They started Korean language institutes and they began to publish newspapers and magazines in Korean language.

The conquerors in Japan after World War II tried to transform a totalitarian state into a democratic one. But this mission was not accomplished without some non-democratic management by the conquerors. One of the most obvious instances was the SCAP-mandated censorship of the press. SCAP denied both Japanese journalists and foreign correspondents working in Japan the basic democratic right to freely report and comment on events occurring within Japan from late 1945 to late 1949, four years of the nearly seven-year long occupation.¹³ And, without exception, the Koreans’ newspapers and magazines had to go through this press censorship as well.

In this research endeavor I wish to mainly fill in the historical gap of knowledge of the Korean press under the American occupation after World War II. I will explore the relationship between the Korean press in Japan and the fact that Koreans in Japan became pro-North Korea during the occupation period even though they were mainly from South Korea. I will also research how the Japanese government and American occupation authorities treated the Korean press in Japan and how the Korean press in Japan operated under SCAP’s censorship. By approaching my subject this way, my dissertation will contribute to extending knowledge of the American occupation in Japan, specifically, knowledge of the Korean community and its journalism in Japan under the occupation.

¹³ Dower, 406-407.

Therefore, the research questions under study will be (1) Was the Korean press in Japan a facilitating factor for the drastic switch from support for South Korea to support for North Korea in the Korean Japanese community, (2) Why and how Koreans in Japan published (or, claimed to be publishing) an extensive number of newspapers and magazines compared to their population in Japan during a time of scarcity of printing paper, (3) How the Korean press in Japan reflected the treatment of Koreans in Japan by the Japanese government and occupation authorities, (4) How the Korean press in Japan operated in spite of the censorship by the occupation authorities and how its censorship policy affected the Korean publications, (5) What topics were mainly suppressed from the Korean publications in Japan, (6) Did the occupation authorities and Japanese government favor Korean publications according to their ideological tendencies? And if there was this attitude, why was it there and how was it expressed?

2. Terms and definitions

A. The Korean press in Japan under the American occupation¹⁴

The phrase Korean press in Japan under the American occupation in this dissertation project means specifically the newspapers and magazines published in Japan in the Korean language by Koreans during the American occupation. The

¹⁴ Formally, the period from August 1945 to April 1952 when Japan was subject to foreign control was known as the Allied occupation of Japan. Although two international advisory boards representing the victorious powers were created to deal with the occupation, their influence was negligible. From start to finish, the United States alone determined basic policy and exercised decisive command over all aspects of the occupation (Dower, 73). All of Japan was placed under American control, whereas occupied Germany had been divided into U.S., British, French, and Soviet zones (Ibid., 78). Therefore, I use the term of ‘American occupation’ in this dissertation rather than ‘Allied occupation.’

readers and audiences of this press were the Koreans who were living in Japan at that time. There is no place in the world (including archives in Korea and Japan) other than the University of Maryland's McKeldin Library that has the entire collection of material published by Koreans in Japan under the occupation in Japan. This material is included in the Gordon W. Prange collection located in the University of Maryland at College Park. Prange, a history professor, went to Japan in 1945 and was the chief of General MacArthur's 100-person historical staff from 1946 to 1951. When censorship of the Japanese media by Allied Forces was lifted in 1949 and the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) disestablished, Prange arranged for the declassification of censored material and for its shipment to the University of Maryland. It arrived at the University in 1950. This whole collection was microfilmed recently and opened generally to the public in the year of 2000.¹⁵

From the Prange collection index, I discerned that there were 19 newspapers and 14 magazines published in Japan in the Korean language during the period under study, 1945-1949, which was the censorship period. There were also several different newspapers representing the views of certain Korean groups and Korean professional organizations in Japan that published in Japanese as well as a couple of English-language newspapers handling the news of Korea; but I did not include these publications in the category of Korean press in Japan under the occupation. This was because the contents of the newspapers published either in English or Japanese were merely translated versions from Korean language

¹⁵ The website of Prange collection is <http://www.lib.umd.edu/PRC/history.html>

publications.¹⁶ I define the primary object of the dissertation to be the study of those Korean newspapers and magazines published in Korean in the collection preserved at the McKeldin Library in the University of Maryland at College Park.¹⁷

B. Censorship by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP)

Censorship is control over media content by those in higher authority in a society.¹⁸ According to Siebert et al., in the Anglo-American legal tradition, censorship meant the legal requirement that all materials to be printed and offered for general distribution must first obtain an official permit.¹⁹ All the publications in the Prange collection came under SCAP censorship, and the collection includes the items that were censored. Censorship in Japan by the occupation started from 10 September 1945 and lasted through 25 July 1949.²⁰ During the whole period of this censorship, the censors did not differentiate between the Japanese and Korean press. Therefore, in this dissertation, the term censorship represents press control that the occupation authority unleashed on the Korean community press in Japan.

¹⁶ I had a chance to have an interview with a Korean who managed a newspaper in Tokyo in 1946-1949, named “Kukje Times (International Times)” in Japanese language. As a person who established and managed a newspaper, he gave me crucial information, but he also said that generally articles and editorials in his publication were not different from those in rightwing newspapers published in the Korean language. (Woonyong Huh, interview by author, 16 December 2002, Tokyo, tape recording.)

¹⁷ The Korean publications, quoted in this dissertation without an exact mention like “the co-censors’ translation,” were translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁸ Joseph Straubhaar and Robert LaRose, Media Now: Communications Media in the Information Age, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2002), 102.

¹⁹ Fred S. Siebert et. al. Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 22.

²⁰ William J. Coughlin, Conquered Press (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1952), 20 and 56.

As noted previously, the Prange collection is the only official collection in existence of Korean and Japanese publications that appeared under the occupation in Japan. All of these publications were under SCAP censorship. Coughlin, an American journalist working in Japan during the occupation, commented upon the censorship carried out by the SCAP in Japan in his book the Conquered Press. He concedes that no matter how necessary censorship may appear to be, it is inherently an evil thing. He states:

It encourages abuses by its very nature. Officers of SCAP often were unable to resist the temptation to kill stories, not for security reasons as so often stated, but because the news items were unfavorable. There were many instances of arbitrary and stupid blue-penciling.²¹

This dissertation examines how censorship of the Korean press in Japan was administered during this period and what impact this censorship had on the Koreans' press and the endeavor of Koreans in Japan to search for their own identity. Press censorship is the act performed by government officials who examine and delete objectionable material prior to publication. Censorship in Japan under the occupation covered every form of press and theatrical expression—newspapers, magazines, trade books including textbooks, radio, film, and plays.²² In average, the monthly volume of material that went through the censors was estimated to be 26,000 issues of newspapers, 3,800 news agency publications, 23,000 radio scripts, 5,700 printed bulletins, 4,000 magazine issues, and 1,800 books and pamphlets.²³ These figures cover all publications under the

²¹ Ibid, 57.

²² Dower, 407.

²³ Ibid.

ensorship, and thus the Korean press in Japan was a small but important part of this material.

The Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), a part of SCAP's Civil Intelligence Section (CIS), which supervised the censors, was an organization that has been likened to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).²⁴ The press and publication section of the Press, Pictorial and Broadcast Division (PPB) in the CCD was responsible for the censorship of newspapers, magazines and books and generally tried to conduct pre-publication reviews. At its peak, CCD employed over 6,000 individuals across Japan, the great majority of whom were English-speaking Japanese nationals.²⁵ For the material written in the Korean language, there were Korean co-censors as well. These individuals were those who identified and then translated or summarized questionable articles before passing them on to their American superiors.²⁶ It was American censors who decided whether to pass, partly delete, or totally suppress a certain report. Many newspapers in Japan during the occupation were subjected to censorship after publication due in part to the lack of CCD staff to review all newspapers before they were published throughout Japan. Similarly, all Korean newspapers and magazines were also pre or post-censored.²⁷

²⁴ SCAP, Reports of General MacArthur in Japan, The Occupation: Military Phase, Vol. 1 supplement, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 233. Quoted in Jo Ann Garlington, "Press Censorship in Occupied Japan: Democracy Contradicted," M.S. Thesis (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1995); Dower, *Ibid.*

²⁵ Dower, *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ For example, a "Magazine Examination" page attached to a censored magazine Choryon Munhwa (inaugural issue, 1 April 1946) was checked "Post-censored." This English written examination report also shows that the first examiner, i.e. co-censor, was

Main targets for censorship were these: criticisms of SCAP policies, war crimes trials, and references to the United States and its allies, as well as ultra-nationalistic propaganda.²⁸ For example, the following paragraphs were deleted from an essay on the Korean democratic spirit in a Korean magazine. The PPB section of CCD by reason of being “Critical of occupation forces” disapproved them:

Therefore not only the Japanese but also Europeans and Americans looked at Korea as an ignorant and unenlightened savage country. And in the history of Korea, which they depicted, they said that Korea in the last stage of Yi Dynasty was too depraved to live a self-sustaining life.²⁹

It was true that this stage was the beginning of the Dark Age of Korea consequently. However, were the Korean people slaves without souls as they [Japanese, Europeans and Americans] slandered them? We must inquire into the real condition here. Indeed the Korean people committed a great fault upon this period. To show it clearly, we must inquire into her history of several hundred years in the past, her whole history.³⁰

There were other instances of disapproved paragraphs in Korean publications on grounds they were “Critical of Occupation Policy.” For example:

Here [the policies of Educational Department of the Military Government] is expressed idealism of education, which is

a Korean, named Yi Hyun and he reported that this magazine had articles in the category of “Possible Violations.”

²⁸ See Appendix B, 30-item Check List, CCD Operational Document (Suitland: National Records Center, 25 November, 1946). Quoted in Yasushi Sasaki, “U.S. occupation Censorship in Japan: Precensorship of Japanese Newspapers and News Agencies in 1947,” M.A. Thesis (College Park, MD: University of Maryland, 1988), which referred to Jun Eto, “The Civil Censorship in Occupied Japan,” Hikaku Bunka Zasshi [Hikaku Culture Magazine] 1 (1982): 1-21.

²⁹ Korea was officially colonized to Japan in 1910 with the end of Yi Dynasty.

³⁰ Eunjik Rhee, “Chunhyang Chun (Love Story of Chunhyang) and Korean Democratic Spirit.” Attached to Prange collection C156. Partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa (1 April 1946). Translated by co-censors. Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park.

not the educational policies according to the special conditions of Korea, but the general educational ideas of the world. Therefore, these sentences have many tones of translations and consequently these show the capitalist social education in the past, namely, the education centering on those who have economic privileges. On the other hand, the educational ideas and policies of the M.G. are applications of direct translations of educational principles that were ideals in to capitalist societies in the past, which haven't any considerations upon the present stage of Korea.³¹

And the following paragraph was deleted on ground of being "General Criticism of Allies." For Korean people who had suffered Japanese rule for almost 40 years and then when finally liberated, faced imposed separation of the homeland, even though Korea had been one nation for thousands of years, the idea of a divided nation could not be accepted. It was rather natural that ordinary Koreans tried to express their sentiment although it was suppressed.

The international relations dismembered our beautiful Korea into South and North and brought disunion and disorder upon a happy circle of a single nation, and made two nations in a land and couldn't understand our pure and intellectual thoughts. They ignored autonomy that is very dear to us Korean people who have 5,000 years noble and brilliant history.³²

Even children's magazines were post-censored, although one of the children's magazines dealt with Kim Il-Sung, later North Korean president for more than 45 years before he died in 1994. It ran with a big picture of Kim titled "The Korean National Hero, General Kim," but there was no suppression of this

³¹ Sukchoo Yi. "The educational policies of the Democratic National Front and those of the educational department of the American Military Government," attached to Prange collection C156. Partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa (October 1946), 35. Translated by co-censors.

³² Yol Pak, "Manifest," attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (August 1946), 3. Translated by co-censors.

article.³³ As Dower explains, “Red purge (attacks on Russian Communism)” had become one of the fashionable new terms of the occupation by 1949. The outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950 extended the purge on lefts.³⁴ But, the fact that the article about communist Kim could survive in 1946, whereas any comment on the Soviet Union was harshly suppressed that same year, shows the process of burgeoning U.S. Cold War policy in which Korea became caught up.

The censored and deleted paragraphs from various publications show that the Allied Powers were not interested in supporting Koreans to search for or get their identity as a “liberated” people. Rather, they suppressed reasonable arguments made by Koreans and they freely deleted arguments that annoyed the occupation authorities. As Dower puts it, “The conquerors essentially had excluded Japan’s Asian antagonists from any meaningful role in the occupation.”³⁵

In this dissertation the materials and publications, published by Koreans during the censorship period of 1945-1949, will be analyzed according to the main themes checked by SCAP censors.³⁶ I plan to first classify the Korean publications according to their tendency to support North Korea or South Korea, or to follow a mid-road course. Publications will be labeled as leftist, rightist, or mid-road oriented. Censorship-related documents and suppressed articles will be analyzed also in terms of the publications in which those materials were scheduled to appear. I will examine the frequency and content of articles related

³³ Orini Tongshin, Vol.1, No.3 (1 Aug 1946). 1. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁴ Dower, 272.

³⁵ Ibid. 419.

³⁶ See Appendix B.

to the different themes that Koreans in Japan considered most important at that time. During this process I will analyze the differences and similarities between Korean leftist, rightist, and mid-road oriented publications in Japan during the occupation. I basically will review 19 Korean newspapers and 14 magazines published in the Korean language during the period of 1945-1949.

There will be an obvious limitation to my dissertation, however, in tracing the whole procedure of censorship on Korean press under the occupation. Interviews with the censors or co-censors [translators who knew the Korean language very well] who may be still alive in the United States and Japan cannot be done for this study because it would be very difficult, time-consuming and expensive to contact these persons. Prior researchers, however, have studied the general process of censorship and the reasoning of censors in Japan at the time. Therefore, in this dissertation, I will concentrate on reviewing the publications and archival records of censorship of the Korean press. I am expanding the review by giving reactions from three Korean journalists in Japan whom I interviewed there on the journalistic environment in the post-World War II period.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this research is mainly to fill in the historical gap of the knowledge of the Korean press in Japan under the American occupation (1945-

1952) after World War II by investigating the relationship between the Korean press and Korean community in Japan. So as to partly accomplish this purpose, I have constructed a theoretical framework to find the social relationship between the press and the ethnic community it served. The theoretical framework is vitally important to lay the basis for my thematic historical research on the Korean press in Japan aside from the issue of censorship imposed on it during the occupation period.

In my opinion the Korean press in Japan was unique. I reason that Korean newspapers and magazines in Japan, the presence of which has not been studied previously in academic society, no doubt played an important role in the life of Koreans in Japan. I assumed several theoretical perspectives before starting my research. First, I assumed the Korean press in Japan had taken certain social roles in the Korean community or, at least attempted to take on these roles. From the outset, however, it has not been the target of this dissertation to investigate and measure these social roles in detail. That is, I regarded measuring the degree of media effect to be quite a different research project that should be left for further research efforts. From my background review of the Korean press in Japan, I assumed three major social roles of the press were involved: the role of community integration, group identity formation, and political agenda setting. I assumed the Korean press in Japan had attempted to play these social roles.

Second, I assumed the Korean press in Japan suffered a limitation of freedom of the press, and thus, a limitation of playing the social roles previously mentioned, due to the press censorship (1945-1949) imposed in the process of the

American occupation. I assumed that the Korean press in Japan, first of all, admired the American tradition of freedom of the press and democracy, since the Korean people were liberated from the Japanese colonial rule as World War II ended. The Americans were the liberators of the Koreans. That the Korean press admired American democracy and freedom of the press, I assumed, could be shown by the content of the publications. I also assumed, however, that censors might have deleted and suppressed certain reports from Korean publications that advocated or explicitly explained those values. I assumed this because the censors might have feared that Korean journalists would illicitly criticize the occupation's severe control of the press by emphasizing those values. It was obvious that censorship itself contradicted the true value of freedom of the press, which means the freedom to oppose and the freedom to criticize. If certain reports, advocating the interest of the Korean minority in Japan and thus enforcing the social roles of the press, were often deleted and suppressed, then the social roles of the Korean press in Japan were seriously limited by the censorship, I assumed. I further assumed that Korean journalists, recognizing the obstacle of censorship, might have attempted to circumvent censorship. They might have used self-censorship, which meant not publishing any thing that would violate censors' standards and thus spark serious problems for the fate of their publications.

Third, I assumed there could have been ideological consensus within the Korean community in Japan that influenced the Korean press in Japan. At that time, in Korean society in general, I mean no matter in what country Koreans

lived, there was an ideological consensus: “Korea is one, so the homeland peninsula should not develop into two countries.”

One thing I theoretically recognized was that Koreans in occupied Japan existed under two dominant powers; the Japanese government and the American occupation authority. Contrary to the practice of direct military government adopted in defeated Germany, the occupation in Japan was conducted indirectly—that is, through existing organs of Japanese government.³⁷ Even though it was completely controlled by the occupation authority, the government still functioned as the government of the people living in Japan, and the occupation authorities pretended not to be the direct rulers of Japanese civil society. The Korean community in Japan, resultantly, was under the strong influence of the Japanese government as well as the occupation authority. That is, the Korean community in Japan was a smaller society in the broader society of occupied Japan. I have confined my dissertation project to the norms of dominant ideas within the Korean community and to investigating how difficult it was for the Korean press in Japan to attempt to conform to the dominant ideas of the Korean community in Japan because of censorship and other government controls.

Also, I expected that a certain segment of the ethnic community press would conform to the dominant ideas of the bigger society. For example, in occupied Japan, these ideas were very dominant: one, Japan should preserve the emperor system; the other, the United States represents the justice of the world.

In sum, my theoretical framework developed and flowed this way: The Korean press in Japan under the American occupation pursued three major social

³⁷ John W. Dower, 212.

roles in the Korean community in Japan. They were community integration, identity formation, and agenda setting. These specific roles easily emerged, reflecting the situation and location of Koreans in Japan, who remained there even after the liberation. The Koreans were subsequently forced to choose either one of the regimes that had developed in their divided homeland. But, certainly, the censorship hindered and limited freedom of the press and resultantly the accomplishment of social roles of the press. True, Korean journalists attempted to circumvent the harsh hands of censors. No matter how often the censorship pencils were used, however, the Korean press in Japan conformed to the ideological consensus within its community: The homeland peninsula should not develop into two countries. Therefore, this dissertation attempts to find an answer to the following general research question derived from these assumptions.

What relationship existed between the Korean press in Japan under the occupation and the Korean community? This relationship will be examined by looking at my key assumptions:

Assumption 1: The Korean press in Japan during the occupation attempted to play three major social roles: social integration, identity formation, and political agenda setting in the Korean community.

Assumption 2: The limitation of freedom of the press by the censorship consequently limited and hindered the attempt by the Korean press in Japan to play these social roles.

Assumption 3: The Korean press in Japan actively attempted to conform to the ideological consensus of Koreans in spite of the censorship: This consensus

was that Korea is one, so the homeland peninsula should not be divided into two countries.

1. Literature review and theoretical considerations

Previous writers have not adequately explored or resolved the obvious endeavor of Koreans in Japan to have their own voice in journalism through newspapers and magazines during the occupation in Japan. In general, in terms of the Prange collection and the issue of censorship in Japan as a whole, there is almost no literature directly examining the issue of the Korean press in Japan under the American occupation. Even in the case of the censorship of Japanese publications, only parts of the story have been told.³⁸ The presence of Korean publications in Japan totaling 19 newspapers and 14 magazines is newsworthy to scholars of the Korean press as well as those interested more broadly in the effects of censorship on ethnic publications. However, a lot of literature exists that informed me how to approach, theoretically understand, and research the content of the Korean press in Japan under the occupation.

A. Social roles of the press

Classical liberal pluralist empirical studies reveal the central role of the media in consolidating and fortifying the values and attitudes of audience members. Marxist and critical commentators have argued that the mass media play a strategic role in reinforcing dominant social norms and values that

³⁸ Marlene Mayo, "Civil Censorship and Media Control in Early Occupied Japan," Americans as Proconsuls, ed. Robert Wolfe (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Press, 1984), 308.

legitimize the social system.³⁹ Harold Lasswell identified three important functions that communication serves in society: the surveillance of the environment, the correlation of parts of society in responding to the environment, and the transmission of social heritage from one generation to another.⁴⁰ However, this is a common typology of general communication and reflects the passive role of the media. As his typology shows, the content of media is evidence of values and beliefs of a particular time and place or social group. The content generally responds to the prevailing hopes, fears or beliefs of the people and reflects common values. In studying the Korean press in Japan, John Dewey's conceptualization about the relationship between the media (or press) and community they serve was my point of departure. Dewey believed that effective media must be well integrated into the communities they serve, because media are at the center of the complex network of relationships that define community.⁴¹

The social integrative role of the press

After the surrender of Japan in August 1945, the future of the Koreans in Japan was highly uncertain. Although the Japanese colonial rule had ended, it was not a simple option for Koreans to just go back to the homeland, not only because

³⁹ James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woolcott, "The Study of the Media: Theoretical Approach," Culture, Society and the Media eds. Michael Gurevitch et al., (London & New York: Routledge, 1982), 14.

⁴⁰ Harold Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," The communication of ideas, ed. L. Bryson, (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1948), 84-99, cited in Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content (White Plains: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 24.

⁴¹ John Dewey, The Public and its Problems (New York: Henry Holt, 1927), quoted in Stanley J. Baran et al., Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment and Future (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 70.

their economic base was in Japan, but also because they did not have any way to survive if they returned home. Moreover, the future of the homeland was very uncertain. As soon as the War ended, the north of Korea was occupied by the Soviet Union and the south, by the United States. In this difficult context, Koreans needed a tool to integrate their community. They needed to have a channel to communicate to each other because they felt they were living in an “imagined community.”⁴² Thus, here we see the first social role that the Korean press in Japan attempted: the role of community integration.

Regarding the social integration role of the press, Robert Park, as early as 1929, offered his view that newspapers were an important mechanism for integrating individuals and families into a localized social system- a community within a community.⁴³ Park and his followers sought to document the persistence of local community ties within the urban setting, and to identify mechanisms by which such ties could be formed and maintained.⁴⁴ Park’s study focused on understanding the role of the immigrant press in assimilating immigrants into the culture of the American city. Later, Janowitz portrayed that local community press as helping to promote community identity and social organization within the anonymity of large urban society.⁴⁵ McQuail described the mass media as a

⁴² Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

⁴³ Robert E. Park, “Urbanization as Measured by Newspaper Circulation,” American Journal of Sociology 25 (1929): 60-79. Quoted in Keith R. Stamm, Newspaper Use and Community Ties: Toward a Dynamic Theory (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1985), 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Morris Janowitz, Community Press in an Urban Setting: The Social Elements of Urbanism (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 60-61.

potential force for a new kind of cohesion, able to connect scattered individuals in a shared national, city and local experience.⁴⁶

On this matter, Benedict Anderson gives us a precious insight related to a definition of nationalism and the role of print languages. Anderson defined nationalism as “an imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”⁴⁷ According to Anderson’s notion, nationalism is an imagined community because members will not know most of their fellow-members, yet in the minds of each live the image of their communion.⁴⁸ And nationalism is imagined as a community, Anderson continues, because it is conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.⁴⁹ Anderson identified the fact that print languages laid the foundation for national consciousness in three ways:⁵⁰ First, print languages created unified fields of exchange and communication, that is, through the fellow-readers, who were connected through print, the embryo of the nationally imagined community could be formed. Second, print languages gave a new fixity to languages, that is, print-language became stabilized and is accessible even to us today. Third, print languages created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars.

The identity formation role of the press

Koreans, in general, including the Koreans who remained in Japan after World War II, were once ‘the subjects of imperial Japan’. But after the war and

⁴⁶ Denis McQuail, McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory (London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), 37.

⁴⁷ Anderson, Imagined Communities, 6.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 7.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 44-45.

the seemingly temporary separation of their homeland, the new ethnic identity of Koreans in Japan was not certain. It was blurred. They were not treated as liberated people in occupied Japan unlike the homeland Koreans who were considered liberated. More and more, somewhat bewildered by the fact that their ethnic identity in Japan was not clear, they recognized they had to live as overseas Koreans in Japan. They were almost forgotten people by Koreans in the homeland, by the American occupiers, and by the Japanese post-war government. Japanese press seldom spoke out on the crimes Japan had committed against the Korean people through colonization as well as World War II. However, the atrocities Koreans suffered during the Japanese rule needed some forum to be discussed. The Korean press in Japan attempted to remind the readers of the atrocities and led them to search for their own identities as liberated and independent people. This is where the second social role that the Korean press in Japan attempted to play came in: the role of identity formation.

According to Sheldon Stryker, identity is constructed as a total equivalent to the ideas, beliefs, and practices of society, its features implicitly ascribed to all members of that society.⁵¹ And Harold Issacs, writing on identity and political change, offers a definition of basic group identity: the ready-made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given

⁵¹ Sheldon Stryker, "Identity Competition: Key to Differential Social Movement Participation?" Self, Identity, and Social Movements ed. Stryker et al. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 22.

time in a given place.⁵² Koreans in Japan were very much concerned about teaching their children their native language. As Changsoo Lee and George De Vos put it, “The issue that had a significant impact upon Koreans was the question of Korean education in Japan. Because they had selected to remain in Japan, many Koreans were concerned with how to de-Japanize themselves and their children.”⁵³

Sonia Ryang said identity was formulated and reformulated through encountering differences or preserving the similarities, adjusting to the environment or refusing to do so, adopting a new lifestyle or discarding another, and appropriating a new culture while eliminating another.⁵⁴ In this dissertation, I have defined the act of publishing newspapers and magazines in the ethnically native language [Korean] itself as deriving from the recognition of the role of identity formation played by the press.

Ryang investigated how the great majority of Koreans in Japan identified themselves as “overseas nationals of North Korea.”⁵⁵ She observed that the political and ideological division in the homeland strongly influenced the formation of that identity. I assumed the Korean press in Japan had attempted to play a role of identity formation by reflecting the different views of both sides in its news reports and editorials. However, as I mentioned previously, this dissertation project does not focus on investigating the general process of a certain ethnic group’s identity formation. Rather, I have examined how and why leftwing

⁵² Harold R. Issacs, *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 38, cited in Sheldon et al. *Ibid.* 22-23.

⁵³ Lee and De Vos, 79.

⁵⁴ Ryang, 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 78-111.

Korean newspapers and magazines attempted to categorize the northern regime as the legitimate and truly national one, and thus define overseas nationals of North Korea as having a more legitimate identity for Koreans in Japan than supporters of the South Korean government. Conversely, I researched how and why rightwing Korean newspapers and magazines unsuccessfully tried to legitimize the southern regime.

The agenda-setting role of the press

Bernard Cohen identified the agenda-setting role of the press.⁵⁶ He argued that the press was significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion because the world looked different to different people depending on what the press offered them. It was Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald Shaw who articulated Cohen's perspective. They explained, "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. The mass media may well determine the important issues—that is, the media may set the agenda."⁵⁷

Dearing and Rogers defined the agenda-setting process as an ongoing competition among issue protagonists to gain the attention of media

⁵⁶ Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 13. Cited in Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis, Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment and Future (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Inc., 1995), 232-233.

⁵⁷ Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." Public Opinion Quarterly, 36: 176-187. Quoted in Baran and Davis, 233.

professionals, the public and policy elites.⁵⁸ McQuail explained that the agenda originated from public opinion and proposals of political elites.⁵⁹ In the case of the Korean press in Japan, the editors, journalists and publishers were not in many cases working as professionals in journalism, but regarded themselves as social movement activists or political elites. McQuail's definition is helpful in understanding the relationship between the agenda-setting role of the press and Korean press in Japan.

Koreans in Japan during the occupation were eager to see their children speak, write and understand the Korean language well even though they were living in Japan. Sooner or later, they believed they would go back to their homeland. So as to become and be treated as true Koreans, they knew they should educate their children in their own language. Koreans in Japan believed that they had the right to have their own Korean national education once Japanese colonization ended. Thus, the Korean press in Japan made a huge effort to support the Korean national education movement among the Korean community in Japan and set this issue as one of the most important agendas of the Korean community in Japan. Korean newspapers and magazines wanted Koreans in Japan to be aware of and to think about de-Japanization and the importance of autonomous education of their children. I assumed Korean journalists believed social agenda setting was their purpose and privilege in publishing the publications. This points to

⁵⁸ James W. Dearing and Everette M. Rogers, Agenda-Setting (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996). Quoted in McQuail, 455.

⁵⁹ McQuail, 457.

the third social role that the Korean press in Japan attempted to play: the role of agenda setting.

A. Censorship and freedom of the press

Controversy over freedom of the press and censorship

Censorship is an extreme typology of the government control over freedom of the press. The idea that censorship by government is illegal is deeply ingrained in the U.S. media system with very limited exceptions. However, even in the United States, politicians and the armed forces have assumed the power to violate the First Amendment's prohibition of government abridgment of freedom of the press. There has been a long-time controversy advocating both freedom of the press and censorship in time of national crisis such as war.

Zechariah Chafee defined the fact that the press could not perform its essential task of dispensing news and ideas well unless it is largely independent from control by its more powerful associate—the government.⁶⁰ Chafee asserted, “A man's ideas are not worth hearing unless he is free to say exactly what he thinks.” Similarly, he added, if newspapers are reduced to government bulletins, they would contribute very little to society. Chafee concluded that governmental control over the press should be minimal, but it is difficult to precisely point out how much suppression could be permissible under some circumstances.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Government and Mass Communications: A Report from the Commission on Freedom of the Press, Volume 1,2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), 60.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Middleton and Chamberlin pointed out that one of the assumptions on which the courts operate was that prior restraints are unconstitutional.⁶² They argued, citing thinkers from John Milton to Chief Justice Warren Burger, that prior restraints have been considered more dangerous to free speech than punishment of speech after publication. And, they added, where prior restraints were permitted, the public had no opportunity to judge the worth of suppressed ideas.

Conversely, Byron Price, director of the U.S. Office of Censorship from 1941 to 1945, contended that the Constitution survived because courts had viewed its provisions as “fluid and elastic, to be applied for the greatest good of the greatest number according to the circumstances and requirements of our recurring national crises.”⁶³ Price added that First Amendment rights were by no means absolute rights and could not be reasonably stretched to include a guarantee of freedom to be criminally careless with information in wartime.⁶⁴ Theodore Koop, who held several high positions in the Office of Censorship during World War II, said in his book, “The agency received some letters with complaints (about the censorship of outgoing and incoming material out of the boundary of the U.S.), but virtually all insisted that censorship go to any length necessary to protect the nation and its fighting men.”⁶⁵

⁶² Kent R. Middleton and Bill F. Chamberlin, The Law of Public Communication (New York & London: Longman, 1988), 59-60.

⁶³ Byron Price, “Censorship and Free Speech,” Indiana Law Journal 18 (October 1942): 17, 21. Quoted in Jeffery A. Smith, War and Press Freedom: The Problem of Prerogative Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 127.

⁶⁴ Smith, War and Press Freedom, 155.

⁶⁵ Theodore Koop, Weapon of Silence (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 27.

Jeffrey Smith argued if the national crises, per se, wars, could be traced primarily to highly emotional perceptions of danger, honor, and (national) interest, then citizens needed to see through the smoke of propaganda and censorship.⁶⁶ If they did not, Smith said, their leaders might have unchecked power. Smith contended that the government had a right to try to conceal legitimate defense secrets, but it had no legal authority to restrict opinion or to control the dissemination of information that had become known to the press or that the public had a right to know.⁶⁷ He conclusively said that freedom of the press involved some uncertainty, but the dangers associated with First Amendment rights were frequently exaggerated, and so-called secrets often were not secret at all.

It would be another research project to define whether occupied Japan should have been regarded as a temporary part of the American constitutional territory or not, and whether the constitution's governance should have been applied there or not. We can raise this question: Should Japanese and Koreans who lived in Japan under the occupation have had the rights that the American constitution guaranteed? In my dissertation I have reasoned that freedom of the press is a general human right in the world, and thus that I may discuss the relationship between freedom of the press and censorship from this view. In this sense, Mayo presented the concept that American policy planners were very much aware of the contradiction between their democratic values and censorship

⁶⁶ Smith, 222.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 72.

requirements.⁶⁸ However, she contended, censorship was regarded as a necessary tool to achieve the larger goals of educating the Japanese about democracy and to guide Japan's media. The same reasons can be attributed to the censorship of the Korean press in Japan. Yet, one can counter-argue that it was a serious contradiction of reasoning that the American occupation authority in Japan resorted to a highly authoritarian press control method so as to implant a true democracy in Japan after World War II.

Investigation of this contradiction, however, is not the basic purpose of this dissertation project. An M.A. thesis done by Jo Ann Garlington in 1995 in the School of Journalism and Communication, University of Oregon addressed this issue. Garlington approached censorship from the question of contradiction of the right of freedom of the press, which the American constitution presents as one of the most fundamental human rights that a democracy should guarantee.

From the perspective of media system classification, Siebert and his colleagues have enabled us to classify the SCAP's censorship as one typical of authoritarian systems.⁶⁹ According to them, although authoritarian theories have been discarded in most democratic countries, the practices of authoritarian states still have tended to influence democratic practices. Berry and his colleagues contended that a government censorship agency was obviously authoritarian if we defined authoritarianism in terms of concentrations of power.⁷⁰ I am defining the

⁶⁸ Mayo, Americans as Proconsuls, 320.

⁶⁹ Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956). 37.

⁷⁰ William E. Berry et al., Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press ed. John C. Nerone (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995). 38.

press system in Japan during the occupation, including the Korean press in Japan, as an authoritarian system.

Previous discussions on censorship in occupied Japan

When it comes to the issue of the censorship in Japan during the American occupation, it is inevitable that we face the intrinsic contradiction between freedom of the press and extremely authoritarian press control. We cannot compare, of course, this occupation censorship to censorships that have been imposed by dictators of the struggling Third World countries or by tyrants such as Hitler, Mussolini, and former Japanese emperors.⁷¹ Japanese (or Korean) editors were not executed and newspapers were not burned, even though some Korean newspapers and magazines were forced to stop publishing in late 1949 as the leftist movement groups, which supported them, were forced to dissolve.

Earlier works have focused their discussions in three ways on what sparked the censorship in Japan during the occupation and made it last for years. One is that the censorship was needed because the demilitarization goals of the conquerors were to educate Japan to become a democratic nation. This view is popular among writers who thought there were no ill-minded motives in imposing censorship in Japan. Early writings of the censorship story usually reflected this view. Lafe Allen, who was one of the earliest writers on the censorship in Japan, brought up this issue in 1947.⁷² Allen wrote that strict prepublication censorship

⁷¹ Imperial Japan's press censorship dates back to early 17th century of Tokugawa Era (1603-1867). A close investigation on this matter was done by Richard H. Mitchell, Censorship in Imperial Japan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

⁷² Lafe F. Allen, "Effect of Allied Occupation on the Press of Japan," Journalism Quarterly 24 (December 1947), 331.

started because the Japanese press was irresponsible and showed a backward attitude and behavior toward democratic press activity.

William Coughlin, an American journalist working in Japan during the occupation, illustrated how badly the Domei news agency, the Japanese news wire service and military mouthpiece during the War, behaved even after the War ended.⁷³ In explaining the procedures that led the occupation authority to reverse its early policy of noninterference with the Japanese [and possibly with the Korean] press and begin strict censorship, Coughlin found an inevitable need for censorship in Japan. In his book, Conquered Press, he investigated what was done, who did it and why.

After the U.S. government began declassifying occupation documents, University of Maryland history professor Marlene Mayo, in 1984, presented one of the first scholarly research publications on the censorship.⁷⁴ She argued that censorship was regarded as a necessary tool to educate the Japanese (and, possibly, Koreans in Japan as well) about democracy and to guide Japan's media until the they could get rid of wrong ideas and acquire better ones—replace militaristic and aggressive ideas with democratic and peace-loving ones.

Richard B. Finn's Winners in Peace, a book written by a military man, showed the viewpoint of those who participated in the occupation.⁷⁵ He justified events through the eyes of a military man defending the role of the conquerors. Kazuo Kawai's Japan's American Interlude gave a viewpoint from the Japanese

⁷³ William J. Coughlin, William J., Conquered Press (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1952), 59-68.

⁷⁴ Mayo, Americans as Proconsuls, 320.

⁷⁵ Richard B. Finn, Winners in Peace (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

perspective in comparison to Finn's writing.⁷⁶ Both authors regarded censorship as an inevitable tool to achieve the bigger goals of educating the Japanese about democracy and to guide Japan's media.

An M.A. degree thesis in 1988 done by Yasushi Sasaki in the College of Journalism, University of Maryland at College Park, traced the story of censorship in the year 1947. Sasaki introduced the controversy over censorship and freedom of the press, stating that differences in arguments about the nature and extent of SCAP censorship stemmed from varied ideological positions of critics and whether or not they viewed the occupation as an extension of war."⁷⁷

Another view on why the American occupation imposed the censorship in Japan was that the occupation authority needed to attempt to conceal the issue of the use of the atomic bomb. This perspective is gaining support among critics of the occupation and the use of the atomic bomb on humankind.⁷⁸ Monica Braw, while doing research on the atomic bombs dropped on Japan by the United States in 1945, realized her research was hampered by the result of press censorship during the occupation. She found Japanese people did not have much information about the atomic bombs and their formidable results. Braw had to investigate the censorship first. According to the findings of her research, Braw argued that the press code imposed by the United States was used to promote not only the demilitarization and democratization of Japan but also the selfish interests of the

⁷⁶ Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

⁷⁷ Yasushi Sasaki, "U.S. Occupation Censorship in Japan: Pre-censorship of Japanese Newspapers and News Agencies in 1947," M.A. Thesis (College Park: University of Maryland, 1988).

⁷⁸ Monica Braw, The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan (New York: M.E Sharpe, Inc. 1991).

United States, especially its concern to conceal information about the atomic bomb.⁷⁹

John Dower supported Braw's view, although his work did not explicitly mention that the original target of censorship was information control over the subjects of the atomic bombs unleashed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.⁸⁰ He argued that many reports concerning the effects of the blasts and ensuing radiation could not be made public until the closing months of the occupation. The visual record of nuclear destruction was even more thoroughly suppressed as censorship worked as the tool of filtering out impermissible discourses. Dower regarded these circumstances as the facilitating factor of the formation of rumors, editorial taboos, and self-censorship.⁸¹

The third view is that the censorship lasted for almost four of the six years of occupation in Japan because the bureaucracy worked well. Once the occupation forces removed the potential for enemy resistance, they settled into a bureaucratic routine of administering occupation policies including censorship. Once started, the bureaucratic censorship became a difficult force to curtail. Dower wrote that the censorship bureaucracy actually peaked numerically in 1948, even after the U.S. State Department had complained that the censorship had "the effect of continuing the authoritarian tradition in Japan."⁸² He added that as liberal officers increasingly left General Headquarters (GHQ) and were replaced by more conservative technocrats, censorship became more stringent, arbitrary, and

⁷⁹ Ibid. 20.

⁸⁰ Dower, 413-415.

⁸¹ Dower, 410.

⁸² Ibid. , 432.

unpredictable. Coughlin also conceded that no matter how necessary censorship might appear to be, it was inherently an evil thing.⁸³ He argued it encouraged abuses by its nature and thus SCAP officers often yielded to the temptation to kill stories, not for security reasons as often stated, but because the news items were unfavorable. He asserted there were many instances of arbitrary and stupid blue-penciling. Mayo stated, “For the Japanese [and, possibly, Koreans], censorship would serve both to release but also to inhibit creative and intellectual expression, and to raise doubts from the start about American wisdom, sincerity and compassion.”⁸⁴

I agreed with the third view of the censorship origin in this dissertation project. I believe that the censors unintentionally included the Korean press in Japan in the category of the voice of the enemy. Even if it was not the main target of the occupation censorship, the Korean press in Japan suffered because of the American bureaucracy. It was obvious that the Koreans in Japan were not the same as the militaristic Japanese but members of a former colony of Japan and themselves a marginalized community. All Koreans knew about the atrocities committed by Japanese troops during World War II, and recognized their liberation would not have come to them without the surrender of Japan resulting from the atomic bombs. Therefore, I assumed that the reason for the censorship of the Korean press in Japan could be attributed to the bureaucracy of the occupation forces.

⁸³ Coughlin, 57.

⁸⁴ Mayo, 320.

Circumvention of censorship by the Korean press in Japan

As we see from a review of the previous literature, it is obvious that censorship hinders and limits the freedom of the press. By extension, I assumed that censorship hindered and limited the ability of the Korean press under the occupation to play its desired social roles. I assumed, however, that Korean journalists and publishers attempted to circumvent the censorship pencils so as to better play their roles in the Korean community. This can be called the development of self-censorship within the Korean press in Japan. Unfortunately, however, it is a very difficult task to plausibly describe how it attempted to circumvent censorship, because the censors strictly enforced a rule of not allowing any hint about censorship practices by the publications that were themselves the target of censorship. However, I found some examples of censored and suppressed material in the Prange collection marked as “illicit criticism.” Dower introduced one illustrative example. The Japanese editors of an English-language dictionary failed to smuggle into publication this use of the verb denounce: “No imperialism is more denounced today than the imperialism of the United States.”⁸⁵

As Dower presented it, editors and publishers all received confidential notifications from the censors as soon as censorship was established:

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to make certain that all publishers in the jurisdiction of this censorship office understand fully that no publicity regarding censorship procedure is desired.
2. While it is assumed that all publishers understand that in the make-up of their publications no physical indication of censorship (such as blackened-out print, blank spaces, pasted over areas, incomplete

⁸⁵ Dower, 425.

sentences, OO's XX's, etc.) may appear, there are some points which may not be understood clearly.

3.No write-ups concerning personnel or activities of any censorship group should be printed. This pertains not only to press censorship personnel and activities, but also to those of radio, motion picture and theatrical censorship.

4. Notations such as "Passed by censorship," "Publication permitted by Occupation Forces" or any other mention or implication of censorship on CCD must not be made.⁸⁶

Therefore, there would have been almost no way for the Korean press in Japan to explicitly carry oppositional views to the occupation on their news reports. According to Dower, censors did not provide precise criteria—for example, checklists of forbidden subjects were solely for censors themselves-- to the press being censored.⁸⁷ Consequently, those who engaged in mass media relied on two imprecise guides to decide what was impermissible: one was the press codes that censors issued in the early occupation and the other was their imagination shaped from their experiences.⁸⁸

According to Coughlin, some Japanese editors were exasperated at times with the attitude of the censors and said, "Although freedom of speech and freedom of thought are loudly proclaimed [by American censors], at present they are more limited than during the war [when imperial Japan censored]."⁸⁹ However, Coughlin contended, most editors and publishers took the censorship for granted and found the occupation censorship far milder than the censorship imposed by imperial Japan.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Ibid. 407-408.

⁸⁷ See Appendix B.

⁸⁸ Dower, 410.

⁸⁹ Coughlin, 48.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Korean writers also recognized the importance of passing their work through the censors' pencils without sparking problems over the content of their writing. The Korean press in Japan desired to play its social roles in the Korean community despite the limitations placed upon it by censorship. Korean journalists were cautious in writing news reports and editorials. My interview with one of the most prominent writers revealed the self-censorship environment among Korean writers. He informed me: "I knew there were tough censors ready for blue penciling of my writing. So as not to make any trouble, I tried to do my best to circumvent the censors' pencils. However, I never gave up my duty to do something with my writing for my beloved Korean readers."⁹¹

C. A consensus of journalists and the press

A consensus and the social roles of the press

Claude Mueller defined ideology as "integrated belief systems, which provided explanations for political reality and establish the collective goals of a class or group."⁹² Louis Althusser understood ideology not as an intellectual abstraction but as a concrete social process embodied in the material signifying practices of a collectivity of ideological apparatuses—the family, school, churches and the media.⁹³ He stressed the active role of ideology in shaping the

⁹¹ Eunjik Rhee, interview by author, 5 December 2002, Yokohama: Japan, tape recording. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁹² Claude Mueller, The Politics of Communication: A Study in the Political Sociology of Language, Socialization and Legitimation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 101-102. Cited in Arthur Asa Berger, Media and Communication Research Methods (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000), 72.

⁹³ Louis Althusser "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (London: New Left Books, 1971). Quoted in Stuart Hall, "The

consciousness of social agents.⁹⁴ This facilitated Marxist scholars to study media content, raising questions concerning the politics of signification equally with the analysis of patterns of media ownership and control.

Stuart Hall addressed questions concerning the social roles of the media.⁹⁵ He conceptualized the fact that the media were not simply a reflection or expression of an already achieved consensus, but instead tended to reproduce that consensus and define the reality based on the consensus. To Hall, media content implied the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping: not merely transmitting an already existing meaning, but involved in the more active labor of making things mean something. Hall defined the content of media as a signifying practice as well as naming the media as important signifying agents. He added, therefore, that the message (media content) had to be analyzed in terms of its ideological structure.

As I suggested from the outset of this dissertation project, the Korean press in Japan attempted to play social roles such as social integration, ethnic identity formation and agenda setting. As Hall addressed in his pioneering research, I assumed that there were close relationships between the social roles of the Korean press in Japan and the ideological consensus in the Korean community in Japan under the occupation. I theorized that the Korean press in Japan reproduced ideological consensus in the community and defined the reality that

Rediscovery of Ideology," *Culture, Society and the Media* eds. Michael Gurevitch et. al. (London & New York: Routledge, 1982), 52-53.

⁹⁴ Hall, 53.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 63-64.

lay ahead for the marginalized Koreans in Japan by attempting to play concrete social roles in their community.

A consensus within Korean community in Japan

The ideological consensus within the Korean community in Japan during the occupation could be synthesized as follows: Korea is one, thus the homeland should not be split into two countries. Therefore, any political group that pursues helping the permanent division of the homeland is illegitimate.

From content research of the Korean press in Japan under the occupation, I found there was an ideological consensus among Koreans in Japan at that time; they all yearned to see a unified nation and a unified government in the homeland. This consciousness was so thoroughly engrained that even rightwing-oriented newspapers showed that they were reproducing and defining a unified homeland as an ideological goal.

It was not certain, however, how strongly the Korean press accomplished its social roles and how deeply it enforced this ideological view to its Korean community readers in Japan. Historically, even though ninety-seven percent of the Koreans in Japan were originally from the southern part of the peninsula, ninety percent of the group selected the northern regime as the only legitimate regime in the Korean peninsula.⁹⁶ This showed that Koreans in Japan believed that the southern regime was calling for a separate country, ignoring the yearnings of the Korean people at that time.

⁹⁶ Ryang, 88.

Media content is the basis of media impact. It is open and accessible for study. It is also the most obvious part of the mass communication process. Researching content helps us infer things about phenomena that are less open and visible: the people and organizations that produce that content. Research into media content also helps us predict its impact on its audience.⁹⁷ I did not attempt to measure these effects of the press in this dissertation. However, one thing was very certain. Korean publications in Japan during the occupation attempted to play social roles to enforce and conform to the ideological consensus of the Korean community in Japan in spite of the extreme control of censorship.

2. Important circumstantial factors affecting the Korean press

While not directly adding to the main theme of the dissertation, several tangential issues will also receive attention. These issues help establish the historical context of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation period. First, there was a Korean Women's League newspaper, which has never before been studied by the academic community. Content research of this newspaper explains how Korean women in Japan perceived themselves as part of "the imagined community" of Koreans, linking themselves to the Korean women who were living in the homeland.⁹⁸ Korean women of the time were generally expected to play the three-faceted roles of wise mother, good wife, and wage earner for the family. This research reveals gendered issues for the Korean women in Japan

⁹⁷ Pamela J. Shoemaker, Pamela J. and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content (White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 23.

⁹⁸ Anderson, 6-7.

during the occupation as well as enhances the historical knowledge of the entire Korean press in Japan during the occupation.

Second, there were quite a number of short-lived Korean newspapers and magazines published in Japan by Koreans either in the Korean language or in the Japanese language. Right after World War II ended, Japan suffered a severe scarcity of social resources including printing paper. How was it possible for Koreans to publish a number of different publications considering the severe scarcity of printing paper? Why did most of the Korean newspapers only come out for a very limited period? This is a topic I have investigated in this dissertation.

Third, I felt an obligation to address the circumstantial factors around the Korean press in Japan. This led to several questions: What was it like to manage a newspaper? What were the daily working conditions of journalists? Did the press organizations pay contributing writers? How much was the price of each copy of the newspaper? How popular were Korean-language newspapers among Korean readers? Oral history interviews in Japan helped find answers to these questions.

The next chapter addresses the methodology used to answer these research questions derived from the assumptions and circumstantial factors surrounding the Korean press in Japan during the occupation.

Chapter III: Methodology

This dissertation examines the relationship between the community press and the Korean ethnic community during the American occupation in Japan (1945-1952) through a historical case study of the Korean press. It traces how and why the Korean press in Japan attempted to play certain social roles despite the strong press control that came with censorship. The research attempts to probe how and why the Korean press in Japan conformed to the ideological consensus of the Korean community in Japan at that time that Korea is one, and thus the homeland should not become two nations. As Wolcott informed students, “Research is a means of organizing our thoughts to reach understanding, not an end in itself.”⁹⁹ This perspective is key to the research methodology used in this dissertation.

1. The appropriateness of qualitative methodology

As Earl Babbie said, “Social research is the systematic observation of social life for the purpose of finding and understanding patterns among what is observed.”¹⁰⁰ However, the task of carrying out research is complicated by the fact that there is no overall consensus about how to conceptualize the approach to research. These differences fall within two main traditions, which continue to engage in sporadic warfare. One is variously labeled as positivistic, natural

⁹⁹ Harry F. Wolcott, Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, Interpretation (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 37.

¹⁰⁰ Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 2002), 2.

science based, hypothetic-deductive, quantitative methodology. The other is labeled as interpretive, ethnographic, assumptive-inductive or qualitative.

Mass media research, like all research, can be qualitative or quantitative. Lindlof explained that qualitative researchers seek to preserve the form and content of human behavior and to analyze its qualities, rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations.¹⁰¹ According to Berger, qualitative research methodology refers to several methods of data collection, which include interviews, historical research, case studies and participant observation.¹⁰² In other words, as Berg said, qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things.¹⁰³

Berger further explained that the term 'quality' meant 'of what kind?' That is, there was an element of evaluation and judgment and taste connected to the term quality, while the term 'quantity' meant 'how great,' 'how much' or 'how many.' Therefore, as Berger continued, when it came to texts carried by the media this involved matters such as the text's properties, degree of excellence, and distinguishing characteristics.¹⁰⁴ Conversely, the problem that quantitative research often faces, as Berger noted, is that researchers count only certain things, not everything, and it may be the case that something that cannot be quantified is of great importance in one's research. I was concerned that quantitative research methods might not be sufficiently broad to identify the details of my subjects.

¹⁰¹ Thomas R. Lindlof, Qualitative Communication Research Methods (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1995), 21.

¹⁰² Arthur A. Berger, Media and Communications Research Methods (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000).

¹⁰³ Bruce L. Berg, Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences: Third Edition (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1998), 3.

¹⁰⁴ Berger, Media Research Methods, 13.

Berg pointed out that some authors associate qualitative research with the single technique of participant observation.¹⁰⁵ However, this dissertation topic is not a contemporary issue. Therefore, I did not have a certain specific field in which I could do participant observation.

Korean journalists still alive in Japan to whom I could address my research questions are an aging population. They are scattered around the country and would be very difficult to locate for administration of surveys or other quantitative research. Thus, it is essentially impossible to use a quantitative model.

Berg outlined that qualitative provided a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people represented by their personal traces such as letters, photographs, newspaper accounts, diaries, and so on.¹⁰⁶ Berg also said that, pertaining to the coverage of qualitative research, other writers have extended the concept to include interviewing and document and textual analysis. Qualitative research methods include qualitative interviewing as well as historical document and textual study.

Therefore, the qualitative research method is suited to this dissertation project since it attempts to describe and historically investigate the meaning of the Korean media content in Japan during the occupation. I used semi-structured interview techniques with a few key journalists as well as archival research to gain historical knowledge about the relationship between the Korean press in Japan during the occupation and the Korean community at this time. I should

¹⁰⁵ Berg, 3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 7.

note, however, there were some disadvantages associated with the qualitative approach of interviewing for this dissertation. My interview sample size was just three; thus it could be dangerous to generalize from my interviews on the experiences of Korean journalists in Japan.

Acknowledging the previously mentioned disadvantages of qualitative research methods, I relied primarily upon two particular qualitative research strategies in my dissertation research. First, I concentrated on a qualitative thematic analysis of the Korean press in Japan preserved in the Gordon W. Prange collection: examining the newspapers, magazines, censored material, and censors' documents in the collection. Second, I arranged qualitative interviews with a Korean journalist, a Korean writer, and a Korean publisher in Japan from December 2002 to January 2003.

2. Methods of data collection and analysis

Partial Triangulation

Neuman explained that getting identical measurements by means of diverse methods implied greater validity than if a single or similar method had been used.¹⁰⁷ According to Berg, every research method is a different line of sight directed toward the same point, observing social and symbolic reality. Berg continued that by combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and

¹⁰⁷ W. Lawrence Neuman, Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), 141.

theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements. He said the use of multiple lines of sight was frequently called triangulation.¹⁰⁸

For many researchers, triangulation is restricted to the use of multiple data gathering techniques to investigate the same phenomenon. In this dissertation project, I attempt to partially triangulate by using data gathered from archival resources and qualitative interviewing in Japan as Fielding and Fielding suggested doing.¹⁰⁹ They suggested that the important feature of triangulation was not the simple combination of different kinds of data gathering methods but the attempt to relate them so as to counteract the threats to validity identified in each.

Startt and Sloan, in addressing the methods for historians to use in studying mass communication, contended: “Historians must consider all possible sources that will help them answer the questions they have posed for study.”¹¹⁰ They added that mass communication historians should consider the circumstances of a given series of reports: Historians want to know whether the reports were controlled by some type of authority or shaped by particular circumstances. Startt and Sloan informed me that historians needed to probe behind the public report itself and into matters of motive and context.

¹⁰⁸ Berg, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Nigel G. Fielding and Jane L. Fielding, Linking Data (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), 31.

¹¹⁰ James D. Startt, and Wm. David Sloan. Historical Methods in Mass Communication (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 1989), 134.

A. Archival research and thematic analysis

Major themes and archival data

As Thomas Lindlof identified, “The qualitative researcher usually begins a study out of a personal and scholarly fascination with a phenomenon, and continues to respect its integrity while carrying out field activities.”¹¹¹ Lindlof added that the qualitative research of media content means how researchers can examine ideological mind-sets, themes, topics, symbols, and similar phenomena. Berger addressed the issue of selection from all the facts involved that researchers were studying.¹¹² He stated, “Even if all historians were to write their histories based only on factual material, it is obvious that they cannot deal with all the facts in their study. They have to select those facts—those events or themes—that they consider to be most significant and most revealing from all the material they have.”

As Berger suggested, I drew several themes, from the data in the McKeldin Library’s Prange collection, based on my theoretical framework and the important circumstantial factors that I presented in the previous chapter. They are: the three social roles of the Korean press in Japan such as community integration, identity formation, and agenda setting; the censorship of Korean publications and its limiting affects on the social roles and freedom of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation; the ideological consensus present in the

¹¹¹ Lindlof, 22.

¹¹² Berger, 132.

Korean community in Japan and the endeavor to conform to it by the Korean press; and, the circumstantial factors related to the press publications of the Korean community. These are the themes I was looking for and examining as I used the Prange collection.

Gordon W. Prange collection

The microfilmed editions of Prange collection contain only the actual publications after the censorship. Although, very limited censorship documents and suppressed articles related to magazines are attached to the microfilms of the collection. Except this small number of materials, all the censorship documents and suppressed articles are not yet microfilmed. All the censorship documents and suppressed or partly deleted articles from newspapers as well as the originals of publications after the censorship can be accessed with specific appointments with the coordinating librarians.

According to the holding list of the Prange collection, Koreans in Japan published overall 91 newspapers and 19 magazines during the period of 1945-1949. Among them, it is estimated that 19 newspapers and 14 magazines were published in the Korean language during that period.¹¹³ This dissertation has targeted only those published in the Korean language. Other publications published by Koreans were written mainly in Japanese and some were in English.¹¹⁴ No Korean newspapers in Japan were published on a daily basis and magazines were only published a small number of times ranging from once to

¹¹³ See Appendix C.

¹¹⁴ See NK1865, Korean Information English Version and NK 1866, The Korean Times (English). Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park.

eight times.¹¹⁵ Typically, with few exceptions, almost all the newspapers had only two pages per issue.

According to the list, the total publishing frequency of these 19 Korean newspapers was estimated as 1,167. This falls below 60 times per publication in totality. In fact, there were only a few newspapers that published more than 100 times during the period such as Chosun Shinbo (The Korean Times), 258 times, Shinsekye Shinmun (New World Newspaper), 222 times, Chosun Jungbo (Korean Information & News), 190 times, Haebang Shinmun (Liberation Newspaper), 188 times, and Choryon Joongang Sib0 (The Central News of League of Koreans in Japan), 135 times.

I first classified these Korean publications into leftist-oriented, rightist-oriented and mid-road taking newspapers and magazines, and put the women's newspaper in a separate category. I thematically analyzed the content of these publications specifically paying attention to the time line of the separate government establishment in South Korea on August 15, 1948. Before and after this date, content in those publications were significantly different. After this event, publications more obviously showed their pro-South Korean or pro-North Korean orientations and addressed issues of community integration, identity building, perception of occupation in South Korea and in Japan, and ideological consensus for a 'One Korea.'

The censorship research in this dissertation was confined to that in the Korean press during the period of 1945-1949. I closely reviewed the censored Korean materials kept in the Prange collection according to the themes chosen for

¹¹⁵ See Appendix C.

this dissertation. The checklist used by SCAP censors was very useful in comparing the context of the censored material with the themes that I probed in this dissertation.¹¹⁶

However, the archival data did not offer complete information to help me answer all those research questions. Specifically, such research questions as why and how Koreans in Japan published an extensive number of newspapers and magazines compared to their population in Japan during a time of scarcity of printing paper could not be answered easily. Because there was (1) no information on the daily lives of journalists and newsroom conditions at that time, (2) little information on how seriously Korean journalists took the press censorship and what the reactions were from Korean journalists at that time to the censorship, (3) and no official or unofficial history about the Korean press in Japan under the occupation, I definitely needed some other ways to compensate for limitations in archival research methods. Therefore, I needed to conduct oral history interviews.

B. Qualitative interviewing and thematic analysis

In this dissertation, I took the view of Lindlof that “interview talk is the rhetoric of socially situated speakers, not an objective report of thoughts, feelings, or things out in the world.”¹¹⁷ Lindlof explained, by quoting Patton’s view, even though interviews cannot lead a researcher directly to an event or at least a completely accurate record of an event, they do enable the interviewer to learn

¹¹⁶ See Appendix B.

¹¹⁷ Lindlof, 165.

about things that cannot be observed directly by other means.¹¹⁸ Lindlof stated that well-conducted interviews with an articulate participant who acts almost as a surrogate colleague can uncover details that the researcher cannot personally witness.

Preparing for interviews and research trips

I made research trips twice to Japan from December 2 to December 18, 2002 and from January 3 to January 11, 2003. I needed to hear from Korean newspapermen who participated in journalism from 1945-1949, specifically under the occupation and its censorship. They were now in their late 70s or 80s, thus, they were a fading generation.

During the period from 1945 to 1949, Koreans in Japan watched their homeland separated by different occupying forces, resulting in two regimes, which became hostile toward each other and led to the Korean War in 1950. As a result, the Korean community in Japan was fiercely separated into two groups, which have been supporting each Korea since 1948. The memories, views and philosophies of Korean journalists in Japan during that time were critically important to my dissertation because the news articles did not cover all the aspects of the Korean community in Japan.

One of my dissertation's goals was to restore the history and the details of Korean journalism during the occupation in Japan. I was sure it was very important to get information directly from the newspapermen to determine how

¹¹⁸ Michael Q. Patton, Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods 2nd ed. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990), 278. Quoted in Lindlof, 166.

they attempted to play the social roles of the press, reacted to the censorship of the American Army, and how they posited the ideological consensus among Koreans.

So to fulfill these needs for research, I visited Tokyo and Osaka, where the biggest Korean communities in Japan were located in the post-World War II period. I made several contacts during the year of 2002 before I left Maryland for my trip through the Tokyo branch of the Dong-A Ilbo. The Dong-A Ilbo, the long-time most influential newspaper in South Korea under the military regimes, has been a recognized news organization among Koreans in Japan whether they were leftwing or rightwing-oriented.

I discovered that there were only a few Korean journalists from the occupation period still alive. Some were suffering severe illness or afflicted with Alzheimer's disease. One prospective good interviewee passed away just three days before I tried to contact him in Tokyo in December 2002. Notwithstanding this disappointment, I tried to find as many persons as possible, seeking leads from such persons as Jae-Uhn Kang, a Korean history scholar in Japan, Kie Yoon, a representative of an Osaka-based social organization caring for old Koreans in Japan, Chung-Il Lee, the president of the Korean Christian Churches association in Japan, a senior reporter, who wished to be known only by the initialed M from Chosun Shin-bo, the official organizational newspaper of Cho Chongryon, personnel from the South Korean embassy in Japan, and all of the correspondents in the Dong-A Ilbo's Tokyo branch.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Cho Chongryon is the largest Korean community organization in Japan, which was established in 1955 and supports North Korean policies.

Interview protocol

I prepared the interview protocol before conducting qualitative interviews in Japan.¹²⁰ All my questions were open-ended, which included some historical facts in hopes that they could help the interview participants concentrate on the main topic of this dissertation. As a matter of fact, the interviewees tended to deviate quite often from the main topic, mainly because of their age. In each case, I guided them to go back to the main issues, but I never tried to offer them leading questions. As a qualitative interviewer, I tried to maintain objectivity, comprehensiveness, accuracy, and balance. As Wolcott advised, I avoided intentional bias in the process of conducting interviews and analyzing the results.¹²¹ He suggested it was best to let the participants and data speak for themselves where the points need emphasis and to minimize bias.

In the process of specific interviews, of course, some questions were added, dropped, or modified as the interview progressed. In each interview, I tried to make participants feel more comfortable by asking them their personal background information. I did my best to be polite to these elderly interviewees and started each interview by saying: “I really appreciate your decision to tell your precious story to this young researcher.”

The interview experience

As Lindlof conceptualized, in qualitative research, a researcher interviews people to understand their perspectives on a scene, to retrieve experiences from the past, to gain expert insight or information, to obtain descriptions of events or

¹²⁰ See Appendix A.

¹²¹ Wolcott, 37.

scenes that are normally unavailable for observation, to foster trust, to understand a sensitive or intimate relationship, or to analyze a certain kind of discourse.¹²²

The first successful interview was with the most prolific writer in various newspapers and magazines of all Korean journalists in Japan of this period. He did not participate in a publishing business, but wrote for various publications. He remembered how Korean journalists and newspapers struggled to advance the interest of Koreans in Japan during the occupation. He was 85 years old and had lost most of his hearing ability. Even though he had a hearing aid, I had to either shout or write down my questions to interview him, although his spoken Korean language was fluent enough to express his views during the whole five and one half hour-long interview. He repeated his life-long leftwing views. He informed me, however, he was very careful in writing everything during the occupation period in recognition of the censors so the newspaper he was contributing to would not be jeopardized by his wrong selection of words or content. Several of his books, mainly novels, on Koreans in Japan and their lives after World War II were published in South Korea in the 1990s and a couple of his books were published in North Korea, too.¹²³

Another successful interview was with a 78 year-old newspaperman, who started his journalism career on a Korean newspaper, named Shinsekye Shinmun

¹²² Lindlof, 5.

¹²³ The interviewee's publications in Japan and South and North Korea are as follow: Eunjik Rhee, Story on a Brethren Businessman (Pyongyang, North Korea: Literary Arts Publishing Co., 2002), The Dim Light of Korean Ethnic Education in Japan :October 1945- October 1948, 1-5 (Tokyo, Japan: Komunyon, 2002), Turbid Waters, 1-3 (Seoul, South Korea: Pulbit, 1988), Prominent Koreans in History, 1-3 (Seoul, South Korea: Ilbit, 1994).

(New World Newspaper), based in the Osaka area. He was an elementary school teacher in southern Korea and moved illegally into Japan in 1946 to study in a college. After a while doing both studying and working on the newspaper, he gradually involved himself more and more in journalism and gave up attending school. He became the editor-in-chief of his newspaper and stayed in newspaper journalism through his career. He was one of the few Korean journalists in Japan who knew the correct grammar and spelling of the Korean language at that time.

He even taught correct Korean writing to other journalists who were mostly older than he. He criticized leftwing newspapers at that time as being “simple propaganda tools for ideology,” but he strongly contended that only leftwing newspapers and magazines systematically tried to contribute to the establishment of Korean ethnic identity during the turmoil of the aftermath of World War II. He praised the language teaching efforts in leftwing newspapers as symbolic and successful gestures to educate the second generation of Koreans in Japan. He confirmed the general phenomenon of Korean [rightwing] publishers selling extra printing paper in the black market during the time.

The third successful interview was with a former newspaper publisher, who demanded a recommendation letter before he allowed me to tape-record him and agreed to sign on the consent form. He established a newspaper published in the Japanese language, named “Kukje Times (International Newspaper)” from 1946 to 1949. He maintained that more Koreans were more illiterate in the Korean language than in Japanese; therefore, he decided to publish his newspaper in Japanese. He was the president of this newspaper and confirmed existence of

the general phenomenon of trading extra printing paper in the black market; even though he denied himself having had done this. He was once a leading figure in organizing a rightwing Korean group, from which he was ousted within two months, because he was accused of being a collaborator with the imperial Japanese rule. He informed me that he was much helped by American occupation personnel during the whole occupation and he strongly admired the United States. He sold his newspaper's circulation right to Mainichi Shimbun (Newspaper) in 1949. He was a middle-road person ideologically and had worked until recently as the chairman of Chosun (Korean) Scholarship Foundation, whose executives are composed of both leftwing and rightwing Koreans and retired Japanese governmental officials. From him, I heard much about the daily lives of Korean journalists under the occupation.

Data preservation and analysis

After each interview, I transcribed the conversation word-for-word. Because each interview was conducted in the Korean language, I needed to translate the interviews into English. However, I did not necessarily attempt to translate the whole interview data into English, because the differences in sentence structure and grammar, as well as nuances in vocabulary, complicated direct translation. Moreover, the interviewees' Korean language were not excellent, even though I did not have much difficulty in fully understanding what they meant, due to their long stay in Japan of over 57 years.

Thus, I transcribed the whole interview conducted in Korean, then summarized it into English. Once an interview was transcribed (in Korean), I read

the transcription and marked passages that would fit into the themes defined by my research questions. While reading my transcribed interview, I also marked possible direct quotes. For those areas, I went back to the tapes, translated into English those sections, and categorized the quotes with the other information from these interviews and from the archival research. In most cases, I also had to explain the context in which the term had been spoken; such explanations required my translating back into spoken Korean the typed English interview translation. The process also was difficult because translations are never perfect. As a result, in several cases, I had to use multiple English-language terms to express a single Korean term.

However, I also remained open to the possibility of other themes emerging from the data that may not have been defined previously by my prior conceptualization and theoretical framework. In this way, sub-themes of information emerged from the evidence. After grouping data from all interviews, I excluded redundant information and selected the most illustrative quotes. In this way, I analyzed the interview data and incorporated them into my findings chapters.

Even if my qualitative interviewing was attempted as a way of partial triangulation, supporting archival research, I do not believe three on-the-spot interviews were sufficient for getting completely unbiased information. However, I also believe it was fortunate for a researcher to have a chance to have successful oral history interviews with Korean newspapermen from diverse ideological

groups. They are a rapidly diminishing generation, thus, it was difficult for me to wait for them to maintain their energy to speak for a long time.

There was another very important possible interviewee, but he was not available for me to contact. His name is Mr. Jaeroh Park, the vice-chairman of the Cho Chongryon [the single largest leftwing group in Korean community in Japan] and the chairman of Chosun Shinbo, the organizational newspaper of the group. I tried to interview him through various channels, but I was informed of the following: first, he had almost retired from his official work, second, he did not want to meet outside guests any more, and third, his health problem did not allow him to talk to someone for a long period.

There was another obvious limitation in my qualitative interviewing for this dissertation. Interviews with the censors, who might be still alive in the United States, could not be attempted for this project because it would have been very difficult, time-consuming and expensive to contact them. Therefore, in this dissertation, I concentrated on the archival records of censorship of Korean press articles and the apparent reactions of Korean newspapermen in Japan to this censorship, as revealed in their publications and censored material.

C. Ethical considerations in the research process

Approaching subjects

In doing my dissertation project, specifically in the interviewing, I tried to maintain the general ethical principles that Wimmer and Dominick suggested; I

respected the rights, values, and decisions of the interviewees.¹²⁴ I never tried to inflict harm on the participants. Rather, I felt an obligation to confer benefits on them, by sincerely listening to their oral history so as to convince them of the joy of their lives being recorded through my dissertation. I tried to follow the principle of justice.

However, even though my attitude and intentions were good and beneficent, I found that the old Korean newspapermen were very reluctant to allow somebody from outside Japan to approach them, even a pure academic researcher. Along with the difficulty of finding possible interviewees, I discovered it was very hard to get the newspapermen to voluntarily participate in this research project. Whenever I called the possible interviewees and introduced myself over the phone, the first reaction went mainly like this: how can I trust you; how did you get my phone number; I do not want to get involved in provocative arguments any more for I think I am too old.

I felt often frustrated even though I had prior knowledge that Koreans in Japan were still strongly split over ideological differences. The Korean community has been a mixed Korea of the North and the South. A person, who later agreed to have an interview, did not allow me to even jot down some information of his age and hometown etc. during the first meeting. He wanted to identify the interviewer first. I showed him my driver's license from Maryland and my student ID from the University of Maryland, but he wanted me to show him a recommendation letter from a person whom he could trust. He complained

¹²⁴ Roger D. Wimmer & Joseph R. Dominick, Mass Media Research: An Introduction, 4th ed.(Belmont, CA:Wadsworth, 1994), 400.

that I did not have an official business card. He urged me to bring a letter testifying to the facts I had worked for the Dong-A Ilbo for 15 years and was now pursuing a Ph.D. degree in the United States. Therefore, I had to go back to the newspaper's Tokyo branch and ask Mr. Choong-Seek Kim, the chief of Tokyo branch of the Dong-A Ilbo, to write a recommendation letter. He wrote five recommendation letters for me and attached his business card to each letter.¹²⁵ I then finally was able to arrange the interview with this person.

I am now convinced that a researcher who plans to interview in Japan needs to bring a fancy name card printed in Japanese and, possibly, a recommendation letter stating information about the researcher and the research project; in my case Korean versions would work. Additionally, I should confess that I made a fatal mistake in my preparation for the interviews. I prepared an informed consent form not in Japanese or Korean, but in English.

Unexpected difficulty in qualitative interviewing

Due to this fatal mistake, I had to endure a painful but enlightening experience. It was the interview with Mr. P on December 9, 2002. I arranged the interview with the help of a South Korean diplomat in Tokyo. The diplomat gave me a phone number of Mr. P as a person who I could interview. He attached a message saying that another possible interviewee, a journalist during the occupation period and life-long medical doctor, was not available because he was now suffering from Alzheimer's disease. I met Mr. P in a teahouse on the first floor of the Asahi Shimbun newspaper building. He signed the English version of

¹²⁵ See Appendix D.

the consent form for the interview and agreed to be tape-recorded. The interview lasted about two and one half hours. Mr. P remembered many details about the Korean press during the occupation from the viewpoint of a business manager of a publication. However, he often deviated from my dissertation topic and wanted to talk about things that happened during the 1950s through the 1970s. I reminded him of the focus of my dissertation and asked him to go back to the main topic.

Two days later, I got a phone call from Mr. P. He wanted me to meet him again, saying he had not informed me of something important in the previous interview. I rushed out to meet him in the same place several hours later. When I arrived there, Mr. P introduced me to his daughter.¹²⁶ His daughter did not speak the Korean language at all like typical second and third generation rightwing Koreans in Japan.¹²⁷ Her argument through the translation of Mr. P was like this: You deceived my old father with the English consent form. He is old and sometimes out of his mind; further, he does not understand English. On the consent form, the topic is explicitly about the Korean journalism during the occupation period, but you led my father to talk even about my family history. I heard my father had mentioned many things related to the 1950s through the 1970s and even about today. The interview should be wiped out completely. My father wants to cancel it and you should return the recorded tapes and the signed

¹²⁶ During the interview with him on 9 December 2002, Mr. P gave me several copies of a newspaper that he purchased and ran a long time ago. Now his daughter is the president of it. He told me about his daughter in a bragging way.

¹²⁷ Ironically, it was left wing Koreans who were interested in educating their children and grandchildren in the Korean language after World War II ended. Leftwing Koreans in Japan have fiercely endeavored to get permission to teach their descendents in so-called “Korean National Schools” in Japan.

consent form. You need to give us another consent note that you will never use any information that my father mentioned during his mistaken interview.

I explained to her that I had translated the information in the English consent form to her father and he had agreed to voluntarily have an interview. I tried to convince her it was her father who often deviated from the main topic. I hoped that she would understand I would never use any information unrelated to my topic. She was, however, very firm. Mr. P seemed to be upset for he completely had understood the purpose of my research and had even been thrilled by the fact that his own experience was to be recorded in this way. However, he was a 78-year-old man, who was now very dependent on his only daughter. He apologized to me and asked me to cancel everything. One hope was that I would be able to tape-record his story again later, if I returned the first tapes. I realized the unequal power balance between the interviewee and interviewer. In my case, the interviewee side had nothing to lose. I had to return two 90-minute long recording tapes and accompanying consent form. I was forced to sign another consent note that Mr. P's daughter had prepared.

The catastrophe did not end there. The next morning I got another phone call from Mr. P. He apologized to me again for what happened the day before. I asked him if he was ready to tell me his story again with a tape recording after signing a new consent form written in Japanese.¹²⁸ He did not agree directly, but he told me that he had found two other possible contact persons and wanted to

¹²⁸ Mr. P's daughter brought a translated version of consent form so as to force me to return the original recording tapes on 10 December 2002. I asked her to give me that translated form when I decided to return everything. I asked Ms. Hwahae Kim, an office worker in the Tokyo bureau of the Dong-A Ilbo, to proofread and retype it. See Appendix E.

meet me again. I rushed out to meet him in the same place in the Asahi Shimbun newspaper building. To my regret, there was Mr. P's daughter waiting for me again with Mr. P. His translation of his daughter's comments was like this: I assume that there might be another recording tape left because some part of the interview seems to be missing. My father remembered that you switched recording tapes twice during the interview; therefore, there should have been three different tapes.

I showed them what was left in my backpack. They were four empty 90-minute long recording tapes of the six that I had bought in Shinjuku shopping area preparing for the interview with him. I explained to them I had taken out a 60-minute long empty tape from my Sony mini tape recorder for I had expected the interview would last far more than 60 minutes. I showed this shorter empty recording tape to them as well. I emphasized again that there was no way for me to use the cancelled interview in my dissertation. However, his daughter was nervous about the fact that her old father had mistakenly had an interview with a man from the United States, who had once been a newspaper reporter in South Korea. She just hated the fact that her father had met me. Finally, she asked me if I would kindly go back to my lodging together and show them there was no other recording tapes left.

I tried to argue in Korean and sometimes in English that they were treating me like an international spy, even though the daughter did not understand what I was talking about. At last, I called the Dong-A Ilbo Tokyo branch, which was located on the 9th floor and asked if any correspondent who was free could come

down to meet us. Young-Ee Lee, a woman journalist, came soon. I asked her to translate my words to Mr. P's daughter. I told them: I returned all the recorded tapes and the consent form I had gotten from the interview with your father. If you want to double check if there are any recorded tapes left in my lodging, then, please sue me right now and get a search order from the court. Furthermore, if I use anything in my dissertation attributing to your father, then please sue me in the future.

I do not know why this catastrophic incident happened during my research. During the interview with Mr. P, however, I got a very important hint about the answer for one unsolved question: Why were so many newspapers and magazines in Japan published by Koreans during the time of severe shortage of printing paper after World War II?¹²⁹ Mr. P told the story about printing paper allocations and fierce competition among publishers for securing printing paper. Because he and his daughter decided not to allow me to use the interview in this dissertation, I raised this question to other interviewees. Two interviewees remembered the environment of printing paper allocations and gave crucially important information for the study on this, which will be described in Chapter V of this dissertation.

In spite of these hardships during my research trip to Japan, I successfully had three interviews with Korean journalists in Japan who participated in

¹²⁹ According to the list of "Korean Newspaper and Magazine Prange collection," there were over 90 newspapers and 22 magazines published by Koreans, including those published in the Japanese language. Dower wrote, "Despite formidable obstacles, publishing was one of the first commercial sectors to recover in defeated Japan... Until 1951, the paper remained in critically short supply and was subject to complicated and onerous rationing regulations. Despite all this, the recovery was rapid and vigorous." Dower, 180.

journalism during the occupation. All of them were tape-recorded and the consent forms were voluntarily signed. Two of the three interviewees signed consent forms in both English and Japanese.

Chapter IV: Korean Leftwing-oriented Press in Japan

This chapter probes into Korean leftwing-oriented newspapers and magazines in Japan during the American occupation in Japan (1945-1952). I classified Korean publications in the Prange collection into three categories: leftwing, rightwing, and mid-road reflecting the predominant attitudes of news reports, editorials, and organizations or publishers associated with publications. For example, if a newspaper's publisher was one of the Korean leaders of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), I regarded the newspaper as a leftwing newspaper. Conversely, if a Korean rightist publisher or a rightwing movement group published an organizational newspaper or a magazine, I classified it as a rightwing-oriented publication. The mid-road publications were classified as those that articulated their positions primarily through editorials and inaugural comments, or, stories that dealt with news reports both from North and South Korea, not leaning solely to either North or South Korean viewpoints.

As Sonia Ryang identified the fact that two-thirds of Koreans in Japan were affiliated with the leftwing-oriented movement group of Choryon, I assumed Korean leftwing publications might be targeting about 400,000 Koreans as their potential readers.¹³⁰ With this classification, I focused on each publication's contents. First of all, I investigated how the Korean leftwing press in Japan had tried to fill three key social roles: community integration, Korean identity formation, and community agenda setting. Then, I researched what kinds of

¹³⁰ Ryang, 82.

articles the censors filtered, suppressed or partially deleted. I tried to illustrate specific reasons the censors decided to disapprove particular articles in contrast to the general reasons they cited such as “critical of occupation policies” or “Criticism of Allied Powers.” Finally, I identified the direction that leftwing publications appeared to seek to go with their journalistic activity. I argue, in my review and interpretation of both suppressed and partially deleted publications as well as articles that did appear, that there was evidence in these writings of a yearning for a unified Korea. The possibility of the unification of their homeland was far from the reality that the journalists and, further, ordinary Koreans were eager to see.

Meanwhile, the Korean publications preserved in the Prange collection were full of old-fashioned expressions of Korean language and heavily mixed with Chinese characters, which was common at the time. I translated into English all the quotes from the censored Korean publications for this research, except in the cases that there were translated materials the co-censors had provided. The quotes provided from interview transcripts were solely translated into English by the author of this dissertation.

1. Korean leftwing newspapers and magazines preserved in the Prange collection

Haebang Shinmun (Liberation Newspaper)¹³¹

¹³¹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NK0173. Haebang Shinmun, No.1 (15 August 1946), No.4-No.5 (10 September 1946-20 September 1946), No.116- No.303 (25 August 1948-9 October 1949).

Among the 19 newspapers and 14 magazines published in the Korean language during the American occupation in Japan (1945-1952), nine newspapers and two magazines showed a leftwing tendency.¹³² In these newspapers, Haebang Shinmun (Liberation Newspaper) most strongly represents the leftwing group of publications. This newspaper later became the origin of the Chosun Shinbo (Korean News Daily), the organizational newspaper of the Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan or, in Korean, Chaeilbon Chosunin Chong Ryunhaphoe). Unlike other leftwing newspapers and magazines, this newspaper was much closer in terms of style to modern daily newspapers. It began publication on 15 August 1946 combining two small leftist view newspapers under the name Uri Shinmun (Our Newspaper). It was renamed Haebang Shinmun on 1 September 1946, and kept that name throughout the censorship period (1945-1949).¹³³

The president of the combined leftist newspaper, Uri Shinmun, was Chonhae Kim. He was a “supreme advisor” of the Choryon (The League of Koreans in Japan or, in Korean, Chaeil Chosunin Ryonmeng) who had been imprisoned for 17 years for alleged communist activities and was also a leading member of the JCP’s central executive committee.¹³⁴ Dooyong Kim was the editor in chief of both Uri Shinmun and earlier issues of Haebang Shinmun in the

¹³² See Table 1.

¹³³ According to a company introduction brochure of the Chosun Shinbo, the official organization newspaper of the Chongnyun, Haebang Shinmun began as Minjung Shinmun (Prange collection, NM0598. No.11-No.30) on 10 October 1945. The brochure says that Haebang Shinmun merged into the Daejung Shinmun (Mass Newspaper) as of 15 August 1946, renamed as Chosun Minbo (Korean People’s Newspaper) as of 1 January 1957, and renamed again as Chosun Shinbo as of 1 January 1961.

¹³⁴ Changsoo Lee, Koreans in Japan, 62.

fall of 1946. He was the director of the information department of Choryon as well as the deputy director of Korean department of JCP. Dooyong Kim was the most outstanding Korean communism theorist in Japan.¹³⁵ Although neither Chonhae Kim's nor Dooyong Kim's names appear in the credit box in late 1948 editions of Haebang Shinmun, it is obvious that Haebang Shinmun had a left leaning tendency. By the time of September 1946, Dooyong Kim's name appears in the credit box as the editor-in-chief. Incidentally, the publisher of both Uri Shinmun and early issues of Haebang Shinmun was Kyedam Kim. Another JCP member and the Chief Secretary of Choryon, Heejoon Cho replaced Kyedam Kim as the publisher after 27 March 1949. However, all the major figures in the management level of Haebang Shinmun were closely related with JCP and the newspaper was naturally under the strong influence of communists.¹³⁶

Gradually the frequency of publication of Haebang Shinmun increased. By the end of March 1948, the editors were publishing Haebang Shinmun every five days. From 31 March 1948 to 18 May 1949, they published it every three days. After 25 May 1949, they published it every other day. When publishers began putting out issues of Haebang Shinmun every other day, it was clear that their goal for the newspaper was for it to become a daily publication for Koreans in Japan. As the editors wrote:

¹³⁵ Insook Hong, "The organization and activities of Choryon in 1945-48," The Relations between Japan and Korea and Korean Brethren in Japan (Seoul, Korea: Seoul National University Press, 1999), 492.

¹³⁶ For an example, Dooyong Kim wrote in a communist magazine named Forefront (No.16, May 1947), "We should put top priority on the issue of class struggle whenever there is a conflict between the issue of race and that of class." Quoted in Insook Hong, *Ibid.* 492. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

So as to realize daily publishing of Haebang Shinmun, we are concentrating our powers all over the Korean community in Japan. On the 29th of last month [29 April 1949], a group of leading figures of Korean community in Tokyo organized a supporting committee for daily publishing of Haebang Shinmun. Thanks to this committee's endeavor, we come to begin with publishing every other day. By this development, the movement of daily publishing will be more activated and finally we will make our long time dream of having a daily newspaper in our community in Japan.¹³⁷

Haebang Shinmun basically printed two pages [front and back in a sheet] per copy. The paper was sometimes a tabloid, but mainly regular newspaper size. The number of printed copies of Haebang Shinmun ranged from 21,000 to 23,000. The newspaper claimed that it suffered from a great shortage of printing paper, especially when it decided to switch to publishing every other day:

Pertaining to the printing paper, the [occupation] authority is allocating us the printing paper only for 20,000 copies under the condition of publishing every five days. We are currently making up for the shortage of the printing paper with purchasing reclaimed paper, but once we start to publish every other day, then the reality will be severe. Moreover, with this amount of printing paper, it is impossible to publish daily.¹³⁸

This newspaper told its readers in the same announcement that it needed support from Korean people to get more printing paper. It asked the readers “to push the authorities to allocate more printing paper to Haebang Shinmun, then the realization of publishing daily will come true.”¹³⁹ With the urgent problem of the shortage of printing paper, Haebang Shinmun seemed to be anxious to collect

¹³⁷ Haebang Shinmun, (3 May 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹³⁸ Haebang Shinmun, (6 May 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* Translated by the author of this dissertation.

subscription fees in advance. In the announcement of “Switching to publishing every other day,” the newspaper emphasized:

The first condition for us to realize daily publishing should be a system of prior subscription fee submission. It will be obvious that even coming every other day publishing would soon stop if [there is] not a thorough prior fee submission system supported by the readers. It is good news that new subscription orders are pouring into the regional branches, but this newspaper will have a serious problem without this prior fee submission system.¹⁴⁰

In the beginning period of Haebang Shinmun, it was sold in the newsstand for one half yen per copy and three yen for one-month subscription (six copies per month). In the early 1948, the price rose to one yen per copy or six yen for a month subscription. From March 1948 on, when the paper was beginning to publish every three days, the monthly subscription fee rose again to 15 yen. At the end of the year of 1948, the monthly fee increased to 50 yen, and then, again, on 1 June 1949, the monthly fee rose to 70 yen; five days later it began to publish every other day. This reflects the fact that not only the price level rose rapidly during the occupation in Japan, but also that Haebang Shinmun had strong support from Korean readers. Without strong support from its subscribers, a newspaper cannot dare to ask for prior payment of subscription fees and frequently increase its monthly subscription fee.

¹⁴⁰ Haebang Shinmun, (6 May 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Minjung Shinmun (People's Newspaper)¹⁴¹

The exact date that Minjung Shinmun started publication is not known. There is no record of issues No.1 through No.10 referenced in the Prange collection. Minjung Shinmun seems to have been published in Tokyo starting early in 1946, while Koreans in Japan were returning to Korea in large numbers. Starting without the use of type, this newspaper was published in a mimeographed version through 1 March 1946. From issue No.14 (25 March 1946) this newspaper began using contemporary equipment, publishing four pages per copy in tabloid-sized paper with standard typeface characters.¹⁴² On 1 September 1946, the paper merged with Daejung Shinmun (The Newspaper for the Masses), published in Osaka at the time. With this merger Minjung Shinmun changed to Uri Shinmun and then finally became Haebang Shinmun.

The president of the newspaper was Chonhae Kim, a leading Korean figure in the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). The publisher and editor was Kyedam Kim. Both of these figures became the president and the publisher and editor of Haebang Shinmun. Thus, it is quite natural that this newspaper showed a strong leftist-leaning tendency.

¹⁴¹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NM0598. Minjung Shinmun, No.11-No.30 (5 Feb 1946- 1 Aug 1946).

¹⁴² Minjung Shinmun is a unique case that published four pages per copy, although the publishing did not last a long time. Considering the circumstances of Korean community journalism under the severe shortage of printing paper, increasing the number of pages per copy may be regarded as very ambitious trial showing that the publication desired to become a representing newspaper of the community. This assumption can be equally applied to other publications such as Daejung Shinmun (see Chapter IV) and Kukdong Shinbo (see Chapter VI) that tried four-page publications.

Minjung Shinmun announced that it was a weekly newspaper publishing every Monday in its first typed letter issue (No.14, 25 March 1946). However, this newspaper's publishing frequency was not very regular, varying from every five days to, at times, every ten days. For example, the issue of 25 March 1946 announced that the paper would change its frequency to every five days, but the next issue was actually published ten days later on 5 April 1946. The paper was forced to skip issues as often as four times in May 1946 due to the shortage of printing paper.¹⁴³ The circulation of this newspaper is not verifiable because there are no indications of the circulation figures that were usually scribbled in notes by the examiners or co-censors of publications that went through censorship procedures under the occupation. There was only a statement by the newspaper itself that its readership was 50,000 Koreans living in Japan.¹⁴⁴

Minjung Shinmun was selling for one half yen per copy and the monthly subscription fee was three yen, when it tried to publish six times a month. As its financial condition worsened, the newspaper resorted to asking Korean businessmen to donate funds for developing Korean culture by supporting the newspaper.¹⁴⁵ Minjung Shinmun published its last issue on 1 August 1946. It then merged with Daejung Shinmun and was recreated as a part of Haebang Shinmun

¹⁴³ Minjung Shinmun (5 Jun 1946). This notice to the readers says, "According to the shortage of printing paper, we could not publish on 5, 15, 20, and 25 of May." Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁴ Minjung Shinmun (15 July 1946). This newspaper says, "The 50,000 readers in Japan are supporting and reading our newspaper." Translated by the author of this dissertation. However, this was the time that the shortage of printing paper was so severe that this argument could be an exaggeration of the number of its readers and circulation.

¹⁴⁵ This newspaper praised two major fund donators who donated 200,000 yen and 20,000 yen as role models of Koreans in Japan. This story was followed by a list of smaller amount donators. Minjung Shinmun (25 March 1946), 4. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

after a two-week stint under the name Uri Shinmun from 15 August 1946. A censorship examiner of Minjung Shinmun wrote down on the last issue of Minjung Shinmun: “From Sept.1, 1946, name changed to ‘Kaiho Shimbun (Haebang Shinmun).’”¹⁴⁶

Daejung Shinmun (The Newspaper for the Masses)¹⁴⁷

Similarly to Minjung Shinmun, Daejung Shinmun’s exact starting date is not certain. It has been preserved in the Prange collection only from No.9 (12 April 1946) on to No.17 (7 August 1946). It might have started in January of 1946. This newspaper also started as a mimeographed newsletter and was published this way until the No.12 (15 May 1946) issue. The typed version of this newspaper appeared on 9 June 1946 as a combined issue of No.13 and 14. While Minjung Shinmun was a leftist-leaning newspaper in Tokyo, Daejung Shinmun was published in Osaka, where a majority of Koreans in Japan lived at the time.

The president of Daejung Shinmun was Sungick Byun and the editor-in-chief & publisher was Wonkyune Kim. This newspaper was published until 7 August 1946 (when No.17 appeared) before it merged with Minjung Shinmun on 15 August 1946. The possible reason for the merger of the main two leftist-leaning newspapers at the time is implied in several ways. In congratulatory remarks for printed edition of Daejung Shinmun, Chonhae Kim, the president of Minjung Shinmun, said, “Both of these newspapers, like brothers, are Korean

¹⁴⁶ Minjung Shinmun (1 August 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁷ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NT0029. Daejung Shinmun, Old No.9-No.17 (12 April 1946- 7 August 1946), New No.1-No.22 (5 Feb 1949-11 July 1949).

peoples' newspapers that are beloved and credited by readers because of their correct and conscientious news reporting.”¹⁴⁸ The editorial of Daejung Shinmun on 15 July 1946 implied unification among Korean newspapers in Japan one month later:

It is no exaggeration saying that all the newspapers and magazines being published among the Korean community in Japan are totally relying upon the fund donations of Korean people in Japan. If these newspapers get united, the power will be strengthened, more things could be done for the people, and the financial burden on the people will be lessened. This trying to have a unified publication will be finally [operating] for the sake of new Korea and accomplishing liberalism of Korean news media. By doing this, the newspaper will become a real weapon of the people and the friend of the people.¹⁴⁹

Although this newspaper claimed that it would publish every five days, it did not publish as often as it wanted to. During four months from mid-April to early August 1946, it published only nine times. Daejung Shinmun's price was one half yen per copy and three yen for a month. It was a two page to four-page newspaper, mimeographing two pages on tabloid size paper in the earlier period and printing four pages on regular newspaper size paper later.¹⁵⁰ The circulation of this newspaper is not verifiable. As did Korean newspapers in Japan, Daejung

¹⁴⁸ Daejung Shinmun, Old No. Combined 13, 14 (9 Jun 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁹ Editorial, “For the unification of the press (in Korean community),” Daejung Shinmun (15 July 1946), 1. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁰ Like Minjung Shinmun, the publishing of four-page versions by Daejung Shinmun is unique case in the Korean publications in Japan. Korean publications typically had two-page per copy.

Shinmun also struggled with financial issues. The fundraising for this newspaper lasted until the time that it was merged with Minjung Shinmun.¹⁵¹

Although closed after the merger with Minjung Shinmun in August 1946, Daejung Shinmun revived publication on 5 February 1949. However, there was no explanation about its revival two and half years later in the newspaper itself. With the same style of name plate and the title of the old Daejung Shinmun, this newspaper resumed its issues counting from No. 1 and maintained its leftist-leaning tendency. The editor-in-chief was again Wonkyune Kim; but instead of the old president's name, Sungick Byun, a new publisher's name Sangjong Kim appeared in the masthead. The monthly subscription fee of the resumed Daejung Shinmun was 50 yen. Even though this newspaper claimed to be published every five days, the actual publication was irregular. After its resumption in February 1949, only 22 issues were published by July 1949. Again, the newspaper suffered financial problems and carried an announcement appealing to the readers for payment of the delayed subscription fees.¹⁵²

Choryon Joongang Sibō (The Central News of League of Koreans in Japan)¹⁵³

Choryon Joongang Sibō [from now on Joongang Sibō] was the official organization newspaper of Choryon (The League of Koreans in Japan), which started to publish on 15 August 1947, the second anniversary of the liberation of

¹⁵¹ One thing particular here is that the biggest donation came from Sungick Byun, the president of this newspaper. Daejung Shinmun (9 June 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁵² Daejung Shinmun (10 April 1949), 2.

¹⁵³ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NC0216. Choryon Joongang Sibō, No.1-No.135 (15 August 1947- 6 September 1949).

the Korean people from Japanese rule. Mahnyoo Kim, the publisher of Joongang Sibō by the end of the year 1948, made it clear in the inaugural issue that the paper belonged to Choryon as an organization newspaper mainly targeting the major Korean activists in the organization:

This newspaper [Joongang Sibō] is targeting the overall 17,000 or so major Korean activists who are representing local branches [of Choryon]. The ordinary Korean people are expected to be possible readers after the activists. Therefore, the contents of this newspaper would become less interesting [to average readers], but that is something that we should accept from the outset. I am sure that this newspaper would be an important tool to lead our activists among the Koreans in Japan.¹⁵⁴

Mahnyoo Kim was the Director of the Department of Propaganda in Choryon and a medical doctor. A new publisher, Sacheol Kim, replaced Mahnyoo Kim at the end of 1948. However, both of these publishers participated in this newspaper as staff members of Choryon rather than as owners of profit-seeking commercial newspapers. Joongang Sibō published two pages [front and back in a sheet] per copy, using the Korean language only by issue No.4 on 5 September 1947, and printing on tabloid size paper. It was on 21 March 1949 that this newspaper resumed publishing in Korean even though the front-page was in Japanese, the back page was in Korean. Previously, the newspaper had been published solely in the Japanese language. Sacheol Kim, the publisher at the time of resuming Korean publication of Joongang Sibō, gave an explanation:

It may not be excused that we have published the official organization newspaper of Choryon [the League of Koreans in Japan], in Japanese in spite of the fact there has been a plausible

¹⁵⁴ Choryon Joongang Sibō, No.1 (15 Aug 1947), 1. Translated by the author of the dissertation.

reason. It has been a distinctive advantage for us to publish our newspaper in Japanese because it may be more efficient to spread our own thoughts to the people of Japan in Japanese rather than in Korean. This time, we have decided to publish our organizational newspaper in half Japanese and half Korean.¹⁵⁵

On 1 September 1949, approximately two years later than its first trial, the newspaper realized its goal of publication solely in the Korean language. The publisher Sacheol Kim announced to readers, “The essential assignment of publishing a Korean language newspaper has now become true. So far, the situation for us to publish a Korean newspaper has not been good. It was because of the difficulty of securing paper, printing house and Korean movable types. We also needed a propagandizing newspaper published in Japanese, so we could not easily decide to switch the publishing language to Korean.”¹⁵⁶

In late 1948 Joongang Sibon explicitly showed its pro-North Korea and thus leftist-leaning tendency after the establishment of separate governments in the South [15 August 1948] and the North [18 September 1948] of Korea. Interestingly, although explicitly activist, there was a lack of leftist tendency in Joongang Sibon earlier in its publication history due to the fact that the leaders of Choryon initially wanted to serve all Koreans regardless of their political stances be they leftist, rightist, or mid-road.¹⁵⁷

Joongang Sibon launched its publication as a weekly newspaper. However, from the outset, the leaders of Choryon recognized that they needed a daily organization newspaper. This need prompted the leadership of Choryon, the

¹⁵⁵ Choryon Joongang Sibon, No.86 (21 Mar 1949), 2. Translated by the author of the dissertation.

¹⁵⁶ Choryon Joongang Sibon, No. 133 (1 Sep 1949), 1. Translated by the author of the dissertation.

¹⁵⁷ Insook Hong, The Relations between Japan and Korea, 478.

largest Korean community group in Japan at that time, to begin a fund to raise five million yen for realization of daily publication.¹⁵⁸ Even though this fund-raising did not seem to be very successful, Choryon leaders were convinced of the importance of the organization newspaper.¹⁵⁹ They devoted one month to developing, supporting and reinforcing the business of the newspaper.¹⁶⁰ They even organized a short-term training program for professionals at the organization newspaper.¹⁶¹

By July 1949, Joongang Sibō began to publish three times a week.

However, as in the case of Haebang Shinmun, the newspaper encountered financial problems. A bulletin announcement of Joongang Sibō illustrates the difficulty:

Our Choryon Joongang Sibō has published 9 times as an every-other-day publication. We dared to switch the publishing frequency, while expecting a certain level of difficulty. Finally, we are facing a real danger due to the gradually deepening financial crisis. If we want to revive this newspaper, first of all, subscription fee pre-payment system should be urgently introduced and the

¹⁵⁸ “The organization newspaper is our weapon,” Joongang Sibō (16 April 1949). In this article, this newspaper reported that the Central Committee of Choryon has decided to do fundraising for revitalizing the organization newspaper on 13 April 1949. It identified the seven roles of organization paper in the Korean community: (1) The best organizer of Korean community (2) The best propagandist for Choryon organization (3) The most important “weapon” for Koreans in Japan (4) The textbook for studying Korean language (5) The identity former as overseas North Koreans (6) The reporter of true stories about the homeland (7) The provider of the information on the outer world and social knowledge. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁹ As of the end of August, the fund reached 425,146 yen, less than 10 percent of its original target amount. Joongang Sibō (1 September 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁰ It was from 30 May 1949 to 30 June 1949. Joongang Sibō (31 May 1949).

¹⁶¹ The training program was held from 13 July 1949 to 18 July 1949. A total of 43 would be newspaper professionals participated in this program. Among them, 33 trainees were under the age of 30. In the program, basic classes were offered such as introduction to journalism, newspaper reporting, photography, and legal common sense. Sacheol Kim, “Finishing the training program of newspaper professionals (1), (2), (3),” Joongang Sibō (28, 30 July 1949 and 4 August 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

delayed subscription fee should be paid out completely. We desire each branch wire the subscription fee for the months of June and July. --- July 15, the Newsroom of Joongang Sibō¹⁶²

Joongang Sibō published two pages each time on tabloid size paper by the end of 1947 and used newspaper size paper from 1948 on. The number of printed copies of this newspaper had increased gradually from 15,000 to 24,000. However, unlike other Korean newspapers, Joongang Sibō did not get an allocation of printing paper.¹⁶³

Joongang Sibō was one half yen per copy when it started to publish in 1947. The subscription fee reached 30 yen per month right before it decided to publish three times a week in April 1949. Publishing three times a week sent the fee up to 40 yen per month in June, and then again to 60 yen in July 1949.¹⁶⁴ However, handling the prepayment of subscription fees was not smoothly done, so the newspaper had to suspend publishing twice on 2 and 6 in August 1949.¹⁶⁵ This newspaper was published until the time of Choryon's forced dissolution in September 1949. The Prange collection has preserved all the copies from No.1 (15 August 1947) to No. 135 (6 September 1949).

¹⁶² "Let's revive our organization paper that is the guide of fighting," Joongang Sibō (19 July 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁶³ Joon Chae, "The monopoly of (the freedom of) the press," Joongang Sibō (1 September 1949), 2. In this article, Chae argued that the printing paper was not in a severe shortage at all considering the frequent publication of extras by the "bourgeois" newspapers. He insisted that the Japanese government on behalf of the occupation authorities was allocating just 2 percent of printing paper to "our democratic" newspapers compared with that allocated to "bourgeois" newspapers. Chae argued Joongang Sibō did not have any printing paper allocated [and thus it had to buy printing paper in the black market]. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁴ Joongang Sibō (10 June 1949), 2.

¹⁶⁵ Sacheol Kim, "Publishing both pages in Korean," Joongang Sibō (1 September 1949). Kim asked the readers, "So as not to experience these shameful cases again, the prepayment of subscription fee should be kept in a thorough way." Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Choryon Munwha (Choryon Culture)¹⁶⁶

Choryon Munwha was the first magazine in the Korean community in Japan during the American occupation. Reflecting the reality of scarce printing paper and printing types, there are only two mimeographed issues preserved. In its initiating issue in April 1946, the magazine claimed that it was publishing on the first day of each month, but the Prange collection indicates that the magazine was only able to publish its No.2 issue six months after its initiating issue. Moreover, the editor's note of the No.1 issue confessed that it had taken six months longer than originally planned to complete the first issue. The editor said, "The reasons that the initiating issue came out this late were that prominent writers were scarce, printing was not easy, and editing skill was not ready."¹⁶⁷

The publisher of the magazine was Keun Yoon, the chairman of Choryon at the time. The editor was named Sanghyo Lee, the director of the cultural department of Choryon. Therefore, we may understand that this magazine was an official organization magazine of Choryon just as Choryon Joongang Sibon was the organization newspaper of Choryon. Choryon Munwha published 62 pages per copy in its first issue and 112 pages per copy in its second issue. Both of them were mimeographed. Neither the number of copies printed nor the unit prices of the magazine are available.

¹⁶⁶ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. C156. Choryon Munwha, Vol.1 No.1 (April 1946)-No.2 (October 1946).

¹⁶⁷ Choryon Munwha Vol.1 No.1 (April 1946), 60. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Bongwha (Watch Fire)¹⁶⁸

Bongwha published its initial and only issue in June 1949. The publisher and editor of the magazine was Eunjik Rhee, the most prominent writer in the Korean community in Japan representing the Korean Literature Association in Japan at the time.¹⁶⁹ The reason that this magazine was classified into the category of leftist-leaning tendency was that the censors called it so in a censorship document.¹⁷⁰

Rhee reported to SCAP that he would publish this magazine as a quarterly (four times a year) but it appears he did not even publish the No.2 issue due to the economic concerns he noted in an editorial in the first issue:

Right after the liberation, whenever those who understand cultural issues got together, they discussed publishing magazines and newspapers titled “XX Culture,” or “XX Literature.” However, those magazines could not survive and disappeared without even publishing No.2 issues.... It was last December that I delivered the first manuscripts to the printing house intending to publish a monthly literature magazine, but the galleys did not show up even three months later. The manuscripts have lost the freshness already. However, there is no other way but for the reader to appreciate why it has taken 6 months for the magazine to publish.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. P52. Bongwha, No.1 (April 1946).

¹⁶⁹ The publications that Rhee contributed his writing were very diverse. He contributed to Haebang Shinmun, Chosun Shinbo, Yomaeng Sibō, Shinsegye Shinmun, Choryon Munwha and so on.

¹⁷⁰ Prange collection. “CCD#188, Magazine Examination” attached to Bongwha No.1 (April 1946).

¹⁷¹ Eunjik Rhee, “Editor’s note,” Bongwha No.1 (April 1946), 62. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

The price of this magazine was 50 yen per copy, which was equivalent to a month's subscription fee of any Korean newspaper. It was printed in type and the circulation was just 1,000. The total pages of this magazine were 64.

Other leftist-leaning newspapers

Choryon Osaka Sibō (The News of League of Koreans in Osaka)¹⁷² was the organization newspaper of the Osaka Center for the League of Koreans in Japan. It began on 20 November 1947, aiming to publish at least twice each month even though Choryon Joongang Sibō was being published in Tokyo. It is assumed that Osaka Choryon published its own local organization newspaper because that Korean movement group targeted the fact that the majority of Koreans in Japan were living in the Osaka area. Munkie Song, the local chairman of Osaka Choryon, explained in the inaugurating comment, “In the course of the depression of our organizational activity and our livelihood movement, the lack of local organization newspaper emerged as the most pressing issue for us.”¹⁷³ This newspaper was published as a two-page paper, but it was able to last only until the time of publication of combined No.3-4 issue. Moreover, it initiated publication in the Korean language but it switched to the Japanese language with no explicit explanation in the combined issue. The price of the newspaper was not expressed on the paper and the number of copies printed is not known.

¹⁷² Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NC0221 Choryon Osaka Sibō, No.1 (20 November 1947)-No.3.4 (5 January 1947).

¹⁷³ Osaka Sibō, No.1 (20 November 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Hakyorul Jikija! (Let's Protect Korean Schools) was the organization newspaper of the Counter Measuring Committee of Korean Education in spring of 1948.¹⁷⁴ The Ministry of Education of Japan at the time tried to take over Korean ethnic schools as part of the school system of Japan. The Korean community in Japan identified this trial as one of the re-colonizing policies by the rightist-leaning Japanese government. The Korean community organized a counter committee in order to keep their independent national education even though they were living in Japan. It published this newspaper seven times over a period of 17 days from 24 April to 11 May 1948. It was a typed newsletter printed on tabloid size paper. There were slogans on both sides of the page saying, "Any single newspaper should be distributed (to our brethren Koreans)," "Every Korean organization should distribute to lower bodies of its organization," and "Let's recycle this bullet (the newspaper)."¹⁷⁵ The circulation is not known. It seemed that this newsletter was distributed for free.

Hakdong News (News of Korean Students' Union in Japan)¹⁷⁶ was the organization newsletter of the Kwandong Center of Korean Students' Union in Japan. However, it was mainly published in Japanese rather than in Korean except for the front-pages of No.2 (15 October 1948) and No.3 (10 December 1948). The publisher and editor of this newsletter was Leemun Kang, the representative of

¹⁷⁴ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NG0051. Hakyorul Jikija! No.1-No.7 (24 April 1948-11 May 1948).

¹⁷⁵ Hakyorul Jikija! No.4 (2 May 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁷⁶ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NG0129. Hakdong News, No.1-No.5 (25 June 1948-5 March 1949).

Hakdong (Korean Students' Union in Japan). The circulation of the newsletter was 3,000 but the price of it is not clear.

Shin Chosun (The New Korea) was published by Sangjong Kim.¹⁷⁷ Kim later became the publisher of the revived Daejung Shinmun in early February 1949. Kim had already failed twice in publishing newspapers when he began this newspaper. It was reportedly said that Kim participated in publishing Konkuk Shinmun (The Nation Building Newspaper) and Chosun Shinbo (Korean News Daily) in Osaka.¹⁷⁸ However, his third try at publishing another newspaper did not last a long time, and he decided to switch to a fourth newspaper.¹⁷⁹ In the Prange collection, only the No.1 issue of Shin Chosun is preserved. This newspaper was six yen per copy and its monthly subscription fee was claimed to be 50 yen.

Yomaeng Sibon (Korean Women's Union Newspaper in Japan)¹⁸⁰ should be classified in the category of leftist-leaning tendency. Due to the uniqueness of the presence of the women's newspaper in the patriarchic Korean community in Japan at the time, this newspaper will be discussed in a separate chapter of this dissertation.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NS1593. Shin Chosun, No.1 (20 January 1949).

¹⁷⁸ Cheol Kang, "Congratulations," Shin Chosun, No.1 (20 January 1949).

¹⁷⁹ I could trace Sangjong Kim's journey to publish a Korean newspaper in Japan by reviewing the credit boxes of Shin Chosun and new Daejung Shinmun. The new Daejung Shinmun resumed its publishing 5 February 1949, only 15 days later than the initiating date of Shin Chosun. On both of these newspapers, Kim is listed as the publisher and the address of the newspaper companies is exactly the same, "1524 Southern 1 Chome, Daekum-ri, Dongsung-ku, Osaka."

¹⁸⁰ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NJ0372. Yomaeng Sibon, No.1 (29 December 1947)-No.16 (1 March 1949).

¹⁸¹ See Chapter VII of this dissertation.

2. Major social roles pursued by the Korean leftist press in Japan

I have described so far what kind of Korean newspapers and magazines showed leftist-leaning tendency in Japan during the American occupation. This section will examine what kind of social roles these Korean leftist-leaning newspapers and magazines tried to play in the Korean community during that time. This section also probes into how Korean leftist journalists, editors and publishers perceived the role of the press in the Korean community in Japan.

The leftist-oriented newspapers put their top priority on disseminating their views and philosophy about the political progress of their homeland. That is, the leftist-oriented Korean press was very sensitive about what was going on in South Korea as well as in North Korea. Therefore, the leftist-oriented Korean press in Japan almost always carried news about South and North Korea on the top of the front-page. Specifically, the leftist newspapers reminded their readers of the exploitation of Korea by Japanese colonialism and insisted that the establishment of a separate South Korean government was against the interest of Korean people. Thus, they continuously argued that the U.S. and Soviet Union armies should have withdrawn from Korea so that the Korean people could decide upon and build their own future with their own hands. The leftist Korean press in Japan remained supportive of political progress in North Korea, while harshly criticizing the political progress in South Korea.

The social integrative role of leftist-leaning Korean press in Japan

Haebang Shinmun made it clear that “the purpose of publishing the newspaper was not for accomplishing a certain individual’s or group’s interest but for realizing the interest of the whole 600,000 Koreans in Japan.”¹⁸² The intentions of this newspaper are readily evident in an advertised declaration: “Announcing to 600,000 (Korean) brethren,” rather than saying “To the beloved readers.” This is a peculiar statement considering the fact that this was a semi-commercial newspaper, which was not officially affiliated with any particular political group and strongly depended upon the subscription fees from its readers. From Haebang Shinmun’s perspective, “600,000 Korean brethren” was a synonym for “readers.” Thus, this newspaper continued:

Therefore, Haebang Shinmun is the newspaper, public instrument and ears and eyes of the 600,000 Korean brethren in Japan. It was undeniable truth that this newspaper has tried to play its social role to this direction, and you brethren, recognizing the social role of the newspaper, have supported the newspaper in ways both materially and morally...The social role of the Haebang Shinmun, however, is not limited within advocating and enforcing the interest of the 600,000 brethren, but further in accomplishing a complete and unified independence of our homeland and completion of the entire recovery of our territory.¹⁸³

This newspaper emphasized that “Haebang Shinmun was aiming to integrate the whole (Korean) brethren in Japan under the great hope that the future nation of Chosun (Korea) would know the true history by profoundly organizing, enlightening, and mobilizing the nation’s youth toward the correct

¹⁸² “Announcement of the newspaper,” Haebang Shinmun (18 February 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* Translated by the author of this dissertation.

democracy.”¹⁸⁴ Accomplishing these social roles, the newspaper argued, “It needed the best support from the whole community population checking and balancing the direction of the newspaper in order not to overflow to the scope of a certain small number of individuals who have subjective views of their own.”¹⁸⁵

Joongang Sibō also recognized the social role of the newspaper as a community integrator. Moreover, this newspaper claimed, “The organization newspaper is our weapon.”¹⁸⁶ According to this newspaper, its publication was essential in order to facilitate a positive unified activist environment within the Korean community. A daily organization newspaper was able to integrate Koreans in Japan more effectively, the newspaper said:

The organization newspaper is the most excellent integrator of our organization, which enables an efficient and incessant movement of enlightening of the [Korean] people, while connecting the internal organizational network vertically and horizontally.¹⁸⁷

A Korean national movement activist also emphasized the importance of this organizational newspaper and its social role as a social integrator by congratulating the publication of the 100th issue of Joongang Sibō:

When the organization of our Choryon was almost destroyed by the violent and reactionary hands (of Japanese government) in the event of the suppression of Korean national education in Osaka-Kobe area, it was this organizational newspaper that enabled us to restore our organization.... The comrades who were sent to prison could know many

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁸⁶ “The organization newspaper is our weapon: Let’s concentrate the whole power on publishing the newspaper daily,” Joongang Sibō (16 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

things and were empowered to fight together with us out here via the organization newspaper's enlightening news reporting. Moreover, Japanese people can understand the situation of us (Koreans in Japan) through our organizational newspaper and become willing to fight together with us.¹⁸⁸

Daejung Shinmun, when it began to publish with movable type after starting with a mimeographed version, tried to convince its readers that the newspaper's role should be to socially integrate the Korean community. It said:

There are many areas that all of us should show our collective creativity in the construction of our new Chosun (Korea) these days. I may be wrong. But it is true that all the areas of construction of our new nation need our complete unity and integration. As a community newspaper of our Koreans in Japan, we are presenting that this movable typed newspaper could be a best gift for our beloved Koreans. Like this matter of accomplishment, we need to get united and integrated in all matters.¹⁸⁹

An editorial of Minjung Shinmun in 1946 argued that the Korean newspapers should be united so as to unify the power of Koreans in Japan and unleash their power for the sake of the home country. The editorial argued, "The journalists should become the most thorough and bravest warriors for democracy."¹⁹⁰ This editorial emphasized that if the Korean newspapers were unified, the social integrating power of the press would spread and would help catalyze national unification in New Chosun (Korea).

¹⁸⁸ Bongdeuk Koh, "Let's recognize the importance of the organizational newspaper," Joongang Sibon (24 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁸⁹ "Presenting a movable typed newspaper," Minjung Shinmun (25 March 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁰ Editorial, "For the unity of the newspapers," Daejung Shinmun (15 July 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

My interview with Eunjik Rhee also revealed that the left leaning Korean press in Japan during the American occupation tried essentially to enhance the social integration of Korean community in Japan. Rhee informed me:

The publication of newspapers and magazines in Korean language in Japan has been itself a nationalism movement. When Korea was liberated from the Japanese rule in 1945, I wanted to go back to homeland as soon as possible. I was dreaming of doing something beneficial for my fatherland, which was expected to become a truly independent country. However, the actual atmosphere pulled me onto this Japan, so I decided to contribute for the integration of Korean community by enlightening them with the consciousness of being a Korean race. My writing ability in both Korean and Japanese, I still believe, should be devoted to this purpose. I am not sure how much this purpose of publishing the Korean press has been accomplished in the Korean community, but it is very obvious that I have written all the time for this purpose. I have been proud of my ability to write but never tried to show it off.¹⁹¹

The identity formation role of the leftist-leaning Korean press in Japan

The national identity of Koreans in Japan pursued by Korean leftist-oriented newspapers and magazines can be briefly stated like this: Koreans were liberated people when Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers in 1945. The liberation happened not due to the self-determining power of Koreans but from the power of the United States and other Allied Powers. Koreans felt great gratitude to the U.S. and the Allied Powers but they did not find any legitimate reason for the division of the homeland. Moreover, they believed a group of Koreans who collaborated with the Japanese colonial government were trying to establish a separate government in South Korea, which was another betrayal to

¹⁹¹ Eunjik Rhee, interview by author, 5 December 2002, Yokohama, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

the race. This was totally against the will of the Koreans and their national tradition. Leftist Koreans considered the North Korean regime to be legitimate while the South Korean regime should be denounced as a puppet government of the United States. Accordingly, the Mindan (the Association of Korean Residents in Japan), which supported the South Korean regime, should be regarded as traitors in their eyes. Koreans hoped to have a unified and completely independent country. However, if it were the case that Koreans in Japan were forced to choose to support one of the governments that had been artificially created, they would like to be regarded as “the overseas nationals of the North Korea.”¹⁹²

Haebang Shinmun sought to remind Koreans in Japan of their identity as the race of victims. In 1923 two important events occurred in Kwandong area which includes Tokyo and other cities during imperial Japanese rule. First, there was a terrible earthquake that claimed many Japanese and Korean lives. The other incident was the massacre and injury of more than 100,000 Koreans by a horrifying unrest generated among Japanese people following the earthquake. Not until 1946 did Haebang Shinmun report the massacre; and even then the incident was couched sensitively within the story of the earthquake. The truth, that the imperial Japanese army government gave organized crime a green light to murder and persecute Koreans in Japan as scapegoats, was still a difficult topic to approach. So, the newspaper used a story about the earthquake to communicate to the Korean community information about the massacre.

We should not forget 1 September 1923. On the terrible earthquake, the evil Japanese militarists, bureaucrats and capitalists

¹⁹² Ryang, North Koreans in Japan, 78-111.

had our innocent 6,300 or more Korean brethren massacred and 100,000 Koreans injured. The governing class of Japan at that time feared that the social unrest due to the natural disaster might hamper their position of power. Therefore, they wanted to find scapegoats among the social movement activists and the Korean minorities. They scattered demagoguery such as “As the socialists, communists and Koreans are planning to raise a riot, you patriotic Japanese should kill them as soon as you find them.” We are sure this unforgettable crime was originated from the presence of the reactionaries centered on the Japanese emperor at the time.¹⁹³

Haebang Shinmun also carried a short novel describing an argument between two Koreans who had been forced to work in a Japanese coalmine. In this story, one young Korean recognized himself as an exploited colonial laborer and was working for a national movement, while the other indulged himself by enjoying drinking liquor and playing with prostitutes. Both of them were delaying returning to their homeland Korea, but the reasons for their delays were different. The Korean working for the national movement asked his friend, “Think it over, the reason that we were forced to work in the Japanese coalmine and had to work there like slaves shedding blood and sweat.”¹⁹⁴ When his friend tried not to pay attention to the truth of their ethnic background, the enlightened friend yelled at him, “What on earth country’s person are you?”¹⁹⁵ This story ends with both of them recognizing their racial identity and then participating in a Korean rally.

Haebang Shinmun supported the North Korean government rather than South Korean government in 1948. It carried three consecutive special reports on the introduction of the new national flag of North Korea in September 1948, while

¹⁹³ “The heartbreaking September 1,” Haebang Shinmun (10 September 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁴ Eunjik Rhee, “Short novel: Friendship,” Haebang Shinmun (10 September 1946).

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

neglecting the news reports on the political progress in South Korea.¹⁹⁶ Another strong example of differences in news report coverage of North and South Korea concerned news treatment of the formation of the cabinet in North Korea. The newspaper published a very unusual extra on 10 September 1948 to cover this event.¹⁹⁷ In contrast, it did not put any such emphasis on the reporting of the election of the first South Korean president, Syngman Rhee, in the first general election of the South Korean parliament and the formation of the first ministries of South Korea. This implies that this newspaper did not view the South Korean government at the time as the legitimate government of the Korean people.

Therefore, the Haebang Shinmun editorial on 15 September 1948 welcomed the birth of the North Korean government and called the formation, “The birth of our real People’s government.”¹⁹⁸ Chonhae Kim, the communist leader of Koreans in Japan, wrote to the readers of the newspaper, “The North Korean government is the only one government in our fatherland representing North and South Korea. We should completely support this only and authentic government.”¹⁹⁹

Joongang Sibon tried to convince Koreans in Japan that despite being proud and even boastful about their culture, they still faced problems. Koreans had a wonderful, easily understood language that should be preserved within the Korean

¹⁹⁶ “On the new national flag of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea,” Haebang Shinmun (1, 3, 6 September 1948).

¹⁹⁷ This extra is the only one that was published and preserved in the Haebang Shinmun (10 September 1948) of the Prange collection.

¹⁹⁸ Editorial, Haebang Shinmun (15 September 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁹ Chonhae Kim, “Let’s completely support the only and authentic government,” Haebang Shinmun (15 September 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

community in Japan. The newspaper wanted readers to know that even though they were living in Japan, they were good and legitimate Korean people, people who should put time into becoming educated in order to know their own history, identity and language:

Although we were liberated from Japanese colonial rule two years ago, the complete liberation has not been accomplished. There are many things left for us to do. It is more than shameful that we, boastful Koreans have a big illiterate population due to the evil policy of the Japanese former colonial government not allowing us to use Korean language but forcing to use Japanese language during the last 40 years. In spite of this atrocity, we have a wonderful genuine character of our own that is easy to learn and understand. If we invest two hours a day for learning our own character, then it accumulates to 60 hours a month. It will be enough for us to escape from the shameful illiteracy if we invest just 60 hours.²⁰⁰

Daejung Shinmun, being published in Osaka, reported a train accident solely from a viewpoint of Koreans in Japan. This newspaper reported a train crash that happened on 25 July 1946 between a broken down passenger train and a cargo train. Reporting on the casualties from this crash, this newspaper titled the news article “Trains Crash, Many Casualties from Our (Korean) Brethrens.”²⁰¹ This article did not specify how many casualties resulted from this crash, but instead carried the lists of Korean casualties with their names, addresses and genders. This newspaper also appealed for donations from Koreans in Japan so as to help victims of a flood in the homeland.²⁰² This activity also symbolically illustrates the social role in identity formation played by the Korean press in Japan

²⁰⁰ Yongdal Cho, “Let’s raise a powerful enlightening movement,” Joongang Sib0 (22 August 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁰¹ Daejung Shinmun (7 August 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁰² Ibid.

during the American occupation. That is, by reporting only Korean casualties from trains crash and fundraising for Korean victims of floods back in the homeland, the newspaper helped Korean readers to experience a collective and a connected sense of loss and unified community action within the Korean community in Japan.

Minjung Shinmun identified Syngman Rhee, the first president of South Korea, and Koo Kim, Ree's political challenger who was murdered by a gunman related to Rhee, both as traitors to the Korean race.²⁰³ Citing a news report from the Korean Independence published in Los Angeles, the newspaper argued that Rhee was suspected of trying to sell mining rights for the whole of Korea to an American businessman. And both Rhee and Kim were suspected of having asked for protection from the Chinese Kuomintang regime, which was considered to be racially traitorous.²⁰⁴ To the contrary, this newspaper identified the Korean Communist Party as the "Friend of the Korean people."²⁰⁵ Articles like this produced and perpetuated the notion that political leaders of South Korea were traitors to the nation, while at the same time urging Koreans in Japan and the readers of this newspaper to appreciate the legitimacy and identity of the Korean Communist Party. Naturally, the legitimate identity of Koreans in Japan could be construed as supporting and appreciating North Korea in the views of the leftist-leaning Korean press in Japan.

²⁰³ "Who are the traitors to our Korean race?" Minjung Shinmun (5 April 1946).

²⁰⁴ This article has a credit being cited from the Korean Independence as of 23 January 1946. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁰⁵ Minjung Shinmun (25 April 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Related to this, the interview with Eunjik Rhee provides further understanding of the process of establishing legitimate identity formation by the Korean leftist press in Japan:

At the ending period of Japanese colonial rule, the national movement of Koreans was under a strong influence of the Korean Communist Party. As the country was liberated, the leaders of Korean national movement came out from the prison or hideouts and tried to prepare for establishing a new country. All of the leaders were from the area of leftists. But, the weird and hateful situation happened in South Korea right after the liberation. The U.S. military government in South Korea suddenly rehired the national traitors during the Japanese colonial rule. The traitors who had once fled avoiding the attacks from the people regained their power. The traitors killed and suppressed many patriotic figures in South Korea. Even though there was no news reporting on the Japanese newspaper, we could get the enough information via the people who commuted to and from Korea through secret boats. As soon as we heard this kind of heartbreaking news about the massacre and oppression, can we stand this without getting infuriated?²⁰⁶

The agenda setting role of Korean leftist-leaning press in Japan

The agenda setting role of Korean leftist-leaning newspapers and magazines in Japan during the American occupation concentrated on contrasting news reports between North and South Korea. In short, the leftist-leaning press continued to emphasize that North Korea was progressing well, while South Korea was going wrong in every area. Basically, the major social agendas that leftwing Korean newspapers were setting were these: 1) Political power should be placed in the hands of the people, 2) In order to achieve a truly independent

²⁰⁶ Eunjik Rhee, interview by author, 5 December 2002, Yokohama, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

country, the United States and Soviet Union armies should withdraw from Korea,
3) Chosun (Korea) should realize a complete self-determined independence.²⁰⁷

Haebang Shinmun consistently contrasted many different features of North and South Korea, intentionally defending the North Korean side. This newspaper reported that the North Korea asked for the simultaneous withdrawal of foreign armies from the territory of Korea; whereas South Korea requested the U.S. Army to remain there.²⁰⁸ On land reform, this newspaper contrasted how land was distributed to the farmers without charge in North Korea while a “disappointing” land reform plan was announced in South Korea with the new government purchasing the land from existing landlords and then selling it to the farmers.²⁰⁹ The newspapers criticized how landlords sold their land to the South Korean government for higher than the normal trading prices and were unfairly compensated by the South Korean government.²¹⁰

The economic plan in North Korea was reported as achieving a winning result in a short period that rapidly improved the lives of North Koreans, while there were skyrocketing prices in South Korea.²¹¹ The prices of necessities in South Korea were reported to be twice as those in North Korea.²¹² Printing more money in South Korea was described as inflation while North Korea’s minting of its own money was regarded as virtuous.²¹³

²⁰⁷ “Give up the dependency of slaves,” Haebang Shinmun (5 March 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁰⁸ Haebang Shinmun (1 June 1946).

²⁰⁹ Haebang Shinmun (27 November 1948).

²¹⁰ Haebang Shinmun (24 March 1949).

²¹¹ Haebang Shinmun (9 December 1948).

²¹² Haebang Shinmun (9 February 1949).

²¹³ Haebang Shinmun (13 July, 23 September 1949).

It was even shown how supporters of both North and South Korean governments in Japan were pursuing different paths. The Choryon, the support group of North Korea, was reinforcing its community ties more and more, while the members of Mindan (The Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and Konchung (Youth League to Expedite the Foundation of Korea), the supporting groups of South Korea, were pictured as willing to join Choryon leaving the rightist groups they were once members of.²¹⁴

Articles in Haebang Shinmun, discounted rumors of a riot in the North Korean territory while pointing out that there were rebel armies in Yosu, Suncheon and Daegu in South Korea that opposed the South Korean government. Articles also pointed to the massacre of 800 or more people in Cheju as examples of problems in South Korea.²¹⁵ Similarly, the North Korean People's Parliament was reported to function well while the South Korean Parliament was portrayed as showing gradual but serious conflict.²¹⁶ Haebang Shinmun reported that the Economic and Cultural Agreement between North Korea and Soviet Union was the fruit of real cooperation, while the agreement between South Korea and the United States was an unequal contract.²¹⁷

The contrast of differential agenda setting of Haebang Shinmun culminated when it compared the two different leaders of North and South Korea, Il Sung Kim and Syngman Rhee. This newspaper carried a series of articles titled, "The Great Feature of the People's National Hero General Il Sung Kim," while

²¹⁴ Haebang Shinmun (6 December 1948).

²¹⁵ Haebang Shinmun (24 October, 30 November and 3 December 1948).

²¹⁶ Haebang Shinmun (3 December 1948).

²¹⁷ Haebang Shinmun (27 March 1949).

reporting the collective arrest of 25 liberal journalists in South Korea with an article entitled: “The evil oppression of freedom of the press by the Rhee government.”²¹⁸ Furthermore, Haebang Shinmun provided strong contrast between the agendas of the different occupying armies. The paper reported how the U.S. Army reluctantly withdrew from South Korea as late as 3 July 1949, while the Soviet Union Army willingly started to withdraw from North Korea as soon as the North Korean government was established in September 1948 and finished withdrawal by the end of the year.²¹⁹

When the North Korean Interim People’s Committee announced its detailed regulations on new land reforms and immediately put into effect the new policies, Minjung Shinmun published an extra on 10 May 1946. In this extra, this newspaper introduced each regulation and explained the points the regulation focused upon. The leading headline of this extra was titled, “More than 682,000 households will be endowed with farming land for free.”²²⁰ As Korean society had heavily relied on farming for thousands of years, “the land reform will influence the entire national economy. The news is a blessing from the heaven for the farming households that did not have any land of their own.”²²¹

This newspaper’s agenda setting was evident in the way it praised the North Korean land reform as an idealistic role model and, therefore, urged the South Korean government and the U.S. military stationed there to develop and negotiate another land reform. The readers of this newspaper, the Koreans in

²¹⁸ Haebang Shinmun (27 August 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²¹⁹ Haebang Shinmun (21 September 1948, 3 July 1949).

²²⁰ Minjung Shinmun (10 May 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²²¹ *Ibid.* Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Japan, were of course very interested in the land reform issue because they were dreaming of returning home and buying some land with the money they were trying to save in Japan.

Daejung Shinmun also tried to set as its top priority the general recognition by the people of the importance of the beginning stage of a new country. A mimeographed version of Daejung Shinmun put agenda setting slogans in the middle of an article on the serious situation of food shortage:

Dear Korean People!

The Success depends on the first step a new nation takes to build itself up whether it, our fatherland, becomes a good and a beautiful nation in which to live. Therefore, we should reflect the public opinion forcefully on the establishment of an interim government in the fatherland. We should recognize this is a critically important factor that will determine our fortune. Let's flock together under the flag of democracy for the sake of freedom, peace, the land and rice!²²²

The magazine Choryon Munhwa outlined a similar national agenda for Korea. It focused upon recovering the genuine culture of Korea and achieving self-determination and complete independence:

The relentless colonial slavery enforced through educational policies by imperialist Japan has taken away our original language, character, clothes, and even names by paralyzing the consciousness of our Korean race.... Dear sisters and brothers who are working for Korean culture in Japan! The only weapon of ours is the pen. The reconstruction of the fatherland directly means the reconstruction of our culture. Politics cannot be separated from the culture. The complete liberation of the Korean people and the complete independence of Korea are burdens upon our shoulders. All the Korean cultural workers should participate in enlightening, teaching, and developing public opinions of Koreans by eliminating the feudal remnants of

²²² Daejung Shinmun (15 May 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Japanese imperialism and by revealing the conspiracies of Japanese reactionary imperialists.²²³

3. Censorship and the Korean leftwing press in Japan

In the previous section, I illustrated three major social roles that the Korean leftist-leaning press played. This section probes how censorship impacted the Korean leftwing newspapers and magazines and tries to identify the relationship between the censorship and the leftwing press.

The process of censorship made no distinctions between Japanese and Korean publications. The American occupation authority gave neither privilege nor disadvantage to Korean publications. Every Korean publication simply went through the process of censorship as stipulated by the American occupation. Normally, it was forbidden to publicize that a publication had undergone censorship.²²⁴ However, Haebang Shinmun told its readers that “following other 19 newspapers and news agencies (in Japan), the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) of the SCAP (Supreme Command of Allied Powers) notified on July 24 Haebang Shinmun that the pre-censorship was going to be lifted as of 1 p.m. of 25 July 1948.”²²⁵ This announcement confirmed that Haebang Shinmun and other Korean newspapers went through occupation pre-censorship from September 1945 to July 1948, a period of nearly three years.

²²³ Sanghyo Rhee, “The ways to liberate our race: Inaugurating Choryon Munhwa,” Choryon Munhwa (April 1946), 5-6. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²²⁴ Dower, Embracing Defeat, 407-408.

²²⁵ Haebang Shinmun (1 August 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

A. Censorship process

Censors, Co-censors, and examiners

By reviewing censorship documents and censored materials, the censorship procedure for Korean publications can be understood as follows: The publishers or editors submitted all the articles and manuscripts that were to be published to the office of CCD. Usually, one unit of censors was composed of three or four individual censors.²²⁶ Heading each unit of censors in the office of CCD was an American censor who usually did not understand the Japanese or Korean language. Under this top level of censor, there were co-censors including the first examiner and translator, who usually were Japanese or Koreans.

Three or four censors and co-censors independently crosschecked the reports submitted by the examiners on items being reviewed. After reviewing those reports, written in English in most cases, they dictated their decision of action to the head examiner, that is, the first reader, checker, and translator. Even though the examiners were located hierarchically at the very lowest level, the most important and powerful figures to publishers must have been not the senior censors but rather the examiners. Since not all the articles of a publication were selected for translation into English, further review from the American censor depended upon the examiners, who could understand the exact context of the original articles' passages and paragraphs. In this sense, the translator who had control over what the American unit head read was the real censor in almost all

²²⁶ For example, at the end of a censorship document of Minchung Sibō (7 April 1948), it is noted that four copies of a same action sheet were made to Mr. Mercola, Mr. Ebisawa, Mr. Ogino, and K. Yoshida. And another censorship document of Minchung Sibō (15 January 1948) noted that the censorship team was Mercola, Tanaka, and Fujinami.

ensorship cases. Of course, the examiners for Korean publications were Koreans or Japanese who had a fluent knowledge of Korean language.

Translation process

Because the Korean language was a third language in Japan, any articles or writings under review written in Korean were translated into English. If someone was available who was fluent in both Korean and written English, then suspected articles were translated into English and submitted to the American censor.²²⁷ If there was nobody available who could translate Korean into English directly, then the Korean articles suspected to violate censorship rules were translated into Japanese first and then from Japanese into English.²²⁸ Therefore, a typical censorship document set of a Korean article had the Korean version of a manuscript or galley translated into a Japanese version, and re-translated into an English version along with an “Action Sheet” written in English.

When the examiner thought the whole article was suspected of violation of rules of censorship, the examiner would offer his boss a complete version of the translation.²²⁹ When it seemed that only some passages of an article were

²²⁷ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. 48 LOC 1088. Haebang Shinmun (6 May 1948). The censored documents are not yet systematically organized yet in the Prange collection management section of the McKeldin library at the time of fall of 2003. Therefore, in this dissertation, I offer the interim call numbers that the collection coordinators offered me to access the preserved original documents.

²²⁸ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48FRN1660. Haebang Shinmun (19 May 1948) and many other examples.

²²⁹ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 FRN 1366. Haebang Shinmun (25 March 1948) and many other examples.

suspicious, then the examiner translated only those particular passages or excerpts and added his commentary to the examining report.²³⁰

Korean examiners and translators

From this research of censorship documents and suppressed articles of Korean publications in the Prange collection, it appears that there were at least two Korean examiners who were deeply involved in censoring Korean publications in Japan during the American occupation. One was Youngchu Chung and the other was Yi Hyun.²³¹ Besides these two examiners / translators involved in direct examination of Korean publications and translation of suspicious articles into English, it is reasonable to assume there might have been some other Koreans who played a role in translating suspicious articles into Japanese, which were then translated into English by Japanese examiners.²³²

Since they had the privilege of selecting the articles that should be held and translated into English, and thus, partly deleted, and suppressed, the Korean examiners seemed to have worked very faithfully for the occupation authority.

²³⁰ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection C0177. Chosun Shinminpo (August 1948). In this document, the examiner added his note to the translated article like this: "The entire substance of the article is critical of the U.S. and the Soviet Union; therefore, the entire article is considered objectionable." The article got the action stamp, "SUPPRESS."

²³¹ These two Korean examiners who were capable of translating Korean into English do not seem to have worked together. Rather, Yi Hyun is believed to have worked in the censorship section during late 1946 to 1947, while Youngchu Chung presumably worked from late 1947 to 1949.

²³² This is not verifiable because there are many censorship documents saying "Translated from Korean," but the translating examiner into English was a Japanese. There is a possibility that the Japanese examiner could have lived in Korea during the Japanese colonial time and thus got the chance to master Korean language. However, considering the fact that due to the harsh control of the colonial government even the Korean intellectuals at the time could not use fluent Korean language, there may have been other Korean censors for Korean publications in Japan.

Some examples even imply that these Korean examiners thought part of their role was to read the minds and divine the intent of Korean writers when content was ambiguous. Yi Hyun, one of the Korean examiners, added the following note to his examination report to the American censor:

Examiner's Comment: The original Korean text was written very ambiguously. For accuracy's sake, I've translated it literally. However, it is certain that the writer had not cherished good feeling to the U.S. policy concerning the political parties in Korea. I think the writer didn't like the favoritism of the U.S. M.G. to the rightists and thus intentionally spoke of it very ambiguously and critically. At any rate, I understand the passage as follows: (Translated article continued)²³³

Penalties for violation of publications and publishers

There was no clear and apparent rule governing when the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) would decide to proceed against the publishers of publications criminally. But, in the Korean press section of the Prange collection, there are records of a couple of cases of arrest and indictment of Korean publishers for violating the occupation policy. Both of them were working for the leftwing-oriented Korean press in Japan.

The first case of punishment involved Wonkyune Kim, the editor-in-chief of Daejung Shinmun. This newspaper had merged with Minjung Shinmun in August 1946 to create Haebang Shinmun but resumed publication under the exact

²³³ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to T881. Chungnyun (Combined July-August 1946). In this dissertation, when I cite translators' English version of censorship documents and articles, I cite exactly what is in the Prange collection even when there are many grammatical errors.

same name and logo in February 1949. Haebang Shinmun reported in substantial detail about the criminal prosecution of Wonkyune Kim:

[Reported from Osaka branch] It was announced that Mr. Wonkyune Kim, the editor in chief of Daejung Shinmun, for violation of the press code, was sentenced to serve 5 years of imprisonment. After the completion of his service of sentence he would be deported back to his homeland in South Korea. Kim was arrested on 17 June by the police and has been continuously interrogated since the time of indictment at the end of July. He was sentenced from the Osaka First Military Police Court at 10 a.m. on 12 August 1949.

The reason cited for Kim's indictment was his decision to carry articles (in Daejung Shinmun) of Haebang Tongshin (Liberation News Agency) that carried information based upon Pyongyang Broadcasting in North Korea. Kim has a pregnant wife and very young children at home facing great economic hardship. Kim's acquaintances are very concerned that this punishment will hamper the management of Daejung Shinmun.²³⁴

It is likely that Wonkyune Kim's punishment was quite severe since this incident occurred right before the occupation authorities decided to lift all kinds of censorship control on all kinds of publications in Japan. In the views of occupation authorities, their censorship might have been evaluated as very successful except for this case. I argue the authorities needed to harshly punish a violation at the time of lifting this control to demonstrate the effectiveness of their work.

Another significant example came when Japanese police arrested an executive of the Korean leftwing press on 31 August 1949. It happened just nine days before the Japanese government, under the authorization of the SCAP,

²³⁴ Haebang Shinmun (21 August 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation. It was not verifiable whether the defendant Kim served the full sentence in jail and was deported to South Korea. Any updated news reporting about Kim was not found later.

unleashed the dissolution order of Choryon (The League of Koreans in Japan) and Minchung (Democratic Youth) on 8 September 1949.

The reason for arresting Mooam Eun, the president of Shinah Tongshin (New Asian Press)²³⁵ and Central Committee Member of Choryon, was very similar to that announced for the punishment of Wonkyune Kim. However, the arrest of Mr. Eun alerted Korean leftwing press organizations and made them actively advocate on Mr. Eun's behalf so he might avoid the harsh punishment Kim had suffered. When Mr. Eun was arrested, the managing executives of the news organization argued, "We never fabricated any kind of articles but carried them from the news agency coming from the homeland."²³⁶ In the turmoil of the dissolution of Choryon and Minchung, the Club of Korean Reporters in Japan composed of journalists of Haebang Shinmun, Joongang Sibon, and Shinsegye Shinmun etc., began a movement for release of Mooam Eun from the Japanese police.²³⁷ Perhaps thanks to this alert action among the Korean journalist community, Mr. Eun was sentenced in the Tokyo Military Court to serve only two years of prison on 13 September 1949.²³⁸ Due to lack of corroborating follow-up reports, it cannot be verified whether the two Korean leftwing press

²³⁵ Shinah Tongshin renamed from Donga Tongshin (East Asian Press) in August 1948. Both news agencies were published in the Japanese language. Thus, they did not come to be main research subjects in this dissertation.

²³⁶ Joongang Sibon (3 September 1949), Haebang Shinmun (5 September 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²³⁷ Haebang Shinmun (13 September 1949).

²³⁸ Haebang Shinmun (21 September 1949)

representatives served their full sentences as handed down by the Tokyo Military Court.²³⁹

The penalties imposed on Korean publications were not limited to just arresting and criminally punishing leading figures of press organizations. One good example can be traced from a story of several extraordinary slogans across the top of the front-page in Daejung Shinmun.

Forced pledge to follow American occupation press policy

Daejung Shinmun ran an extraordinary feature among Korean newspapers published during the occupation in Japan. For three consecutive issues, 9, 20 June 1946 and 15 July 1946, this newspaper carried slogan-like boxes printed in English type fonts that were larger than the type fonts used in the adjacent articles. Because no other newspapers or magazines and no other published issues of this newspaper itself carried similar slogans, I argue that the following unique features were some sort of penalty for previous violations of the censorship standards:

OUR PRESS SHOULD COMBINE TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THE AIM OF THE ALLIED ADVANCING FORCES BY THE POWER OF THE SPEECH.
[Korean Translation attached]²⁴⁰

We all the Koreans in Japan should cooperate with the allies, grasping and understanding exactly the aim and gist of the allied advancing forces.
[Korean Translation attached]²⁴¹

²³⁹ Mooam Eun got 10 days of suspension of the execution of his imprisonment sentence and was released on the very day of the sentencing. However, it is not certain whether the suspension period was extended or not. Haebang Shinmun (21 September 1949).

²⁴⁰ Daejung Shinmun (9 June 1946), 2.

²⁴¹ Daejung Shinmun (20 June 1946), 2.

Our Press should combine to the attainment of the aim of the allied advancing Forces by the power of the speech.
[Korean Translation attached]²⁴²

Circumventing the censors' eyes and hands

Eunjik Rhee, the only leftwing writer available for interviewing during the research for this dissertation, clearly remembered and confessed his fear of the censors' hands during the censorship period in the occupation. The following are excerpts from the interview with Rhee at his home:

YOON: Did you recognize that your writing should go through censorship of the occupation authority?

RHEE: Oh, definitely.

YOON: How nervous were you about censorship?

RHEE: It's obvious that you cannot criticize or write abusive language directly about the United States (under the American occupation). As soon as you wrote those kinds of things, you would be harshly punished. The publication could be stopped or the publisher could be arrested and imprisoned....

YOON: Do you think you tried to circumvent the censorship?

RHEE: Yes, yes, so as not to be trapped in their hands. You should write always recognizing the eyes of examiners. Therefore, you could not express your emotion and animosity. I wrote every single sentence so as to avoid jeopardizing the publication.

YOON: How could you talk about American censorship?

RHEE: It was no different than that of during the age of the Japanese imperial colony. It was exactly same experience that I had had before. "Now, again, the oppression resumed..." I told myself. We experienced relentless oppression from Japan, and the same sort of imperialists seemed to land in Japan. I reminded myself, "The damn imperialists are all the same sons-of-bitches."

YOON: Do you regard Americans during the occupation as imperialists?

RHEE: Yes, exactly. The behavior of the occupiers was nothing other than imperialism. They did not show any bit of liberal

²⁴² Daejung Shinmun (15 July 1946), 2.

humanism. In Japan, the Americans treated us Koreans exactly as Japanese imperialists had treated us in the past.²⁴³

B. Held, Passed, Partly Deleted, and Suppressed Material

Harder hands on leftwing publications, softer hands on rightwing publications

In the fall of 2003 in the Prange collection I found 149 Korean articles that had been held by the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) office. The censors had reviewed all of these articles and decided which ones were to be passed, partly deleted, or suppressed during the occupation in Japan. There may be many more articles, which were suppressed; however, at this point, the coordinators of the Prange collection at the McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park, have not identified further articles for study by researchers. According to the coordinators of the collection, the censored documents and suppressed or partly deleted articles have not all been microfilmed and thoroughly classified yet.²⁴⁴ Therefore, I was confined to analyze only these 149 initial articles found with censorship documents. In view of this limited number of results, I decided to include those censored articles even if some of them were originally written in Japanese. That is, even though the unit of analysis of this dissertation was confined to Korean publication in Japan during the occupation, all censored materials pertaining to Korean publications that were available became the object of analysis of this dissertation. I believed that the suppressed or partly deleted

²⁴³ Eunjik Rhee, interview by author, 5 December 2002, Yokohama, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁴⁴ I have made many visits to the collection and asked to identify further censored materials related to Korean publications. The coordinators, Eiko Sakaguchi and Amy Wasserstrom, replied that as of the end of 2003 they had not found so far more documents except those 149 articles.

articles, even in the case of those written in Japanese, could and should be used to reveal more of how Korean voices were mocked and manipulated by censors.

Of the 149 Korean articles held for action by the censors, those from leftwing publications were estimated to total 84 articles. This represents 56.4 percent of the total articles held. Of the 84 suspicious articles examiners and censors viewed, 61 or 72.6 percent of all leftwing held articles were suppressed and thus never saw the light of day. Sixteen other articles or 19.1 percent of the leftwing held articles were partly deleted. Only seven articles or 8.3 percent survived the blue-penciling of the censors and passed on to be published intact.²⁴⁵

By contrast, a total of 58 articles (38.9 percent out of 149 articles) were held from the Korean rightwing publications by the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) office. Among these, 21 articles (36.2 percent of 58 rightwing suspicious articles) were completely suppressed. This indicates a bias against leftwing publications because, if trapped in the net of censors, the possibility for leftwing articles being completely suppressed was as high as twice as that for rightwing articles.

The articles that could be classified as representing mid-road publications were held in only seven instances. Of these, four articles (57.1 percent) were suppressed, one was partly deleted, and two finally passed through the censors' hands and were published.

²⁴⁵ See Table 2.

Major topics that were suppressed from Korean publications

Among all the 124 suppressed or partly deleted articles, 68 articles (54.8 percent) were related to the Korean peninsula. Of these 68 Korea-related reports, 27 articles (39.7 percent) were related to the division of Korea, yearning for unification of Korea or concerning the future of Korean peninsula. As many as 30 articles (44.1 percent) were criticism or negative reports on South Korea, whereas 11 articles (16.2 percent) were complimentary or positive reports on North Korean political development.²⁴⁶

The second largest portion of suppressed articles from the Korean publications, 42 articles (33.9 percent of the 124 suppressed articles), concerned the subject of Japan. Among these Japan-related 42 articles, 28 (66.7 percent) articles were on the Korean leftwing movement group of Choryon and its arguments for the livelihood rights of Koreans in Japan and requests for their ethnic education, while the rest of the 14 articles (33.1 percent) were related to the criticism of Japanese government and police. There were only three articles suppressed related to the United States. Ironically, a short report on the unemployment rate of the United States was included in these suppressed articles.

Suppressed articles from Korean leftwing publications

As mentioned above, 61 leftwing publication articles or 72.6 percent of the 84 examiner-screened suspicious pieces held for censorship were completely suppressed. Not one single suspicious article related to the Korean homeland survived censorship of some kind by the watchful examiners and the American

²⁴⁶ See Table 3.

censors. A total of 46 Korean homeland-related articles were censored out of the 84 held articles. Only eight Korean homeland-related articles survived censorship with partial deletion, but the other 38 articles were completely suppressed.

All articles criticizing the upcoming South Korean elections were suppressed. These pieces argued that a separate election in the South would lead to a permanent separation of the fatherland. This might explain why these specific articles criticizing a separate election and a separate government in South Korea were suppressed. The American occupation authority in Japan was perhaps attempting to quell outspoken Koreans living in Japan because the Americans knew that dividing the Korean peninsula would exacerbate political tensions. This notion appears to have been taboo for expression by the Korean journalism community in Japan. This situation is similar to the difficulties of reporting the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was taboo to write about the bombings and to do so could lead to retribution and social censure. Moreover, there was concurrently another American occupation in South Korea. Therefore, the occupation authority in Japan might have regarded criticism of the South Korean government as doubting the correctness of the United States occupation.

I cite here the full text of an article that was completely suppressed and removed from the Haebang Shinmun. This article is typical of those that were suppressed for opposing the existence of a separate South Korean government and the permanent separation of South and North Korea. It warned of the harmful effects of a separate election by South Korea and the interventions of foreign forces into Korea's internal politics. The article implies that the United States is a

foreign imperial force hampering Korea's democratic future. [Note: the examiner's translation from Korean to English contains multiple grammatical errors that have been left in their original form.]:

“As a result of the last separate election in South Korea, the national assembly was opened on the May 31. We can say that the political situation in South Korea has intended on a new phase. It is obvious that the united independence of Korea and the national split might be compelled to turn serious, because this new phase was enforced as a result of the separate election and foreign country's political pressure without considering many people's opposition carefully.

As some semi-feudal landowning classes are planning to maintain their profits only in collusion with foreign monopolistic capitalists in South Korea, we can understand well that prolongation of a united independence of Korea and aggravation of the national split might be compelled to repeat for the time being. It is needless to say that the struggles between the people's power desired to establish a united independence on the route of anti-feudal democratic revolution. The landowning classes' power, being intended to split motherland and the Korean people in order to continue the semi-feudal landowning classes' profits, are very different from those struggles between the capitalists and the communists in Europe. It is clear that the national assembly is now in perilous situation after the congress was opened. Syngman Rhee was elected to the chairman as a result of 188 effective votes among total 197 votes at the congress, which was opened under the strict guard and declared to the world as follows:

“As this national congress is the representative facilities for Korea, we must carry out the following purposes to show its ability enough. 1) Adoption of the constitution, 2) Establishment of the national government, 3) We must solve every serious problem by immediately negotiating with Russia, which need urgent resolution now, 4) We must solve political economic problems and other various matters which need resolution urgently with the Japanese government by making use of this opportunity, 5) We should request the U.S. Occupation powers to stay in Korea till we make our own national army after establishment of national government.”

Syngman Rhee has been calling these slogans with the U.S. government from last year. We must watch their political situation, which is being taken concrete shape day by day with keen interest. The character of the national congress is expressed well in the three and five articles. The declaration was expressed well the landowning classes' reactionary powers of Syngman Rhee and Songsu Kim who recognized the separate election and the United States' intentions. The United States government finished every preparation to recognize the separate government of South Korea in effect. According to news of the May 31 reported by the United Press, Hasuden Kruis, Councilor attaché to the American embassy, has been unofficially decided to appoint the first ambassador to Korea. The United States government are doing their best to faster the separate government in order to recognize it at a proper time before the United Nations' General Conference is opened to recognize the separate government at the general conference in Paris in autumn (by the United Press, 1 June 1948).

It seems that there is no trouble among the members of the diet, because the constituent elements of the diet are all extreme rightwing reactionary elements. But they say that there are some trouble between Syngman Rhee, the leader of the Korean Independent Party and Songsu Kim, the leader of the Korean Democratic Party. On the contrary, political economic and various departments are being carried out on the route of democratic reconstruction by the North Korean People's Committee.

South Korean people, however, are troubled with a serious struggle. Koo Kim and Kyushik Kim, the leaders of the liberal political parties who participated in the last Unity Conference in Pyongyang, North Korea capital, are doing their best to establish a united independence. The situation in southern Korea is growing worse day by day after the South Korean political entered upon a new phase. It is natural that the Korean independence will be not established by the command of Syngman Rhee, chairman of the diet, but established by the real strength of the North Korean people struggling ardently for various democratic reconstruction and a united independence.”²⁴⁷

In addition to any articles criticizing the establishment of a separate South Korean government, all articles arguing over or reporting “Massive riots in South

²⁴⁷ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 48 FRN 1366. Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (29 June 1948). Translated by Youngchu Chung, the Korean examiner.

Korea,”²⁴⁸ “The Japanese emperor is the criminal of the World War II,”²⁴⁹ “Korean parents and teachers are opposed to Japanese stereotyped education,”²⁵⁰ or “Koreans should unite with Japanese communists”²⁵¹ were also suppressed.

I argue that the censors interpreted criticism of South Korean government as indirect criticism of the U.S. Military Government in South Korea. The censors also show that more and more they regarded the critical leftist Korean press as a stumbling block for building a new democracy in Japan. The emperor system was considered by the American occupiers to be necessary in order to soothe the Japanese. But, the Korean leftist press argued: “The emperor is the first class criminal of the World War II.” This and similar articles were completely suppressed.

While Korean leftist publications criticized the Japanese government, the Japanese government, in turn, remained a “faithful” subordinate to the American occupation that was laboring to build a new democracy in Japan. Korean leftist articles argued that Koreans had a right to have their own ethnic educational system in Japan. The censors did not allow any articles that might integrate the Korean community under the name of nationalism. Additionally, the censors suppressed any articles relating to the good relationship that existed between Korean community and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). This implies that

²⁴⁸ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 FRN 1551. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibon (26 April 1948). Translated by a Japanese examiner named M. Kunimatsu.

²⁴⁹ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 47 FRN 0569. Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (1 June 1947). Translated by Yi Hyun, the Korean examiner.

²⁵⁰ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 LOC 0736. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibon (16 April 1948).

²⁵¹ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 LOC 1912. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibon (12 June 1948).

the American occupation authority in Japan anticipated and helped initiate the Cold War era through anti-communist policies that began in Japan and on the Korean peninsula. During the period when these articles were suppressed, the “red purge” and the following dissolution of Choryon (The League of Koreans in Japan) along with the forced stoppage of the Joongang Sibon publication were clear warnings of anti-communist trends that were present.

Partly deleted articles from Korean leftwing publications

The blue pencils of the censors stopped on a passage in a news article whenever there was a sentence, phrase, or even written words in the submitted galleys and manuscripts that looked suspicious. Especially, censors deleted any passages in which Koreans questioned, even indirectly, the actions of the United States and Russia by asking why “immediate independence” had not been accomplished. For example, the following bold-typed parts were deleted from

Minjung Shibo:

However, our culture movement is not limited to those directly combined with disputes. **[It is an actual fact that Koreans are losing their “Delight of Release” and hopes of “Immediate Independence”, since all they have seen are constant hot disputes. Especially, the public has been despairing as to when the independence is to come!..]** The only weapon left to lead such public into the direction of resolution is our culture movement.²⁵²

An article written by Banghee Rhee was partly deleted from Chosun Shinminpo. The parts deleted most vigorously and directly identify those “who

²⁵² Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 48 LOC 0697. Minchung Sibon (15 April 1948). Bold typed parts were deleted. Translated by a Japanese examiner named Hayashi.

obstruct independence of Korea.” This article pointed out indirectly but clearly that the United States and Russia were the obstacles of establishment of the Korean independent state. Thus, the American censor decided to delete the bold typed parts and the real voices disappeared [Note: the examiner’s translation from Japanese to English contains multiple grammatical errors that have been left in their original form.]:

“Korean race of 30 millions are not permitted to found the independent Korea yet now in two years after the War. **[Most of the small and weak nations and races suffered by the imperialism of the powers have been already permitted to establish their own independent states or liberated. What is with Koreans among such circumstances? It is not too much to say that our Korean race is still now in extreme distress.**

Today’s circumstance is just a penalty for those who conducted in concert with aggressive Japan for the time through pre-war and wartime. It is our frank impression that why we must plead guilty to this under the fine words of the liberation of weak nations. If the both the nations of America and Russia loved truly the Korean race, the boundary line of 38th parallel north latitude should be done away with and independent country should be established by the race itself at the time of the end of complete surrender of Japanese army for the boundary line is to have a temporary and simply militaristic nature.

We have confidence of success in becoming a sound and independent state if the Powers do not interfere...]

If we can supply the fertilizer by the nitrogen industry of North Korea to the rice growing districts in Southern Korea, it is needless for us to depend upon American help. **[It is a pity that we have no freedom of managing our industries.]**²⁵³

²⁵³ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection C0177. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Shinminpo (August 1947). Translated by K. Izumi, a Japanese examiner. The examiner noted at the end of the examination report like this: “Writer is a Korean. Above bracketed portions should be disapproved. Criticism of the Allied Powers.”

An article translated from English into Korean before it was scheduled for publication was also censored and partly deleted. The article, which was partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa, was originally written by an American named Andrew Ross and was translated by a Korean writer named Kwansun Cho. A Korean co-censor, Yi Hyun, found this article to be suspicious and in violation of occupation censorship rules. The censor decided to delete the following passage based upon its being “Critical of U.S. occupation forces”:

Although Lt. Gen. Hodge said that Koreans were the same blood with the Japanese, he seemed to have been unable to recognize how Japan had treated Korea. The Japanese administration in Korea might be considered as a direct adoption of imperialism imported from the West, but it would be a view, which couldn't be conscious of the history of Koreans' steady and bloody struggles against the Japanese tyranny for nearly 40 years.²⁵⁴

C. Consensus of journalists in leftist-leaning Korean press in Japan

Censored articles in Korean leftist-leaning newspapers and magazines in Japan seem to share one common factor. Leftwing journalists rallied behind the powerful idea that: “Korea is one, thus Koreans should make efforts to have a unified fatherland.” One article in Minchung Sibon reported on the organization of the Promoters' Association for the One Independent Korea. It was reviewed for possibly violating occupation rules. Nonetheless, the article survived intact and was passed along to be published with the following platform of the association:

1. Concentration of all the democratic strength for the establishment of unified fatherland.
2. The Solution of the Korean national problems by the Koreans themselves.

²⁵⁴ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection C0156. Scheduled to appear on Choryon Munhwa (October 1946). Translated by Yi Hyun.

3. Putting up the fight to destroy all kind of plan for the splitting of the Korean race.²⁵⁵

Even though there were deletions of content, there always remained strong voices trying to request self-determination of Koreans to be able to address their own problems and seek their own solutions toward a unification of Korea. The following two examples are the deleted parts from two different articles in Minchung Sibō, but show the consensus of Korean journalists of leftwing publications:

[Thus the United Nations put an end to the deliberations on the Korean problem, but, since the opinion differs between two key-holders, America and Russia, it baffles the prediction how the decision will get along.... The Korean problem has undergone all the discussions and meetings, which exhausted it and the result is this condition of today. But, within the country, the idea is rapidly arising that it is no other than the people's own efforts that cut open their destiny after all. At the same time the general trends to the racial unification are stirring in various senses... It is our opinion that the general inclination for establishing the government uniting South and North with the people's own hands will surely bear more powerful results than any of the decisions.]²⁵⁶

[Leave the Korean independence to the Koreans themselves; all men of the United Nations Korean Committee! Go away from Korea as soon as possible.]²⁵⁷

And, of course, most of suppressed articles contained messages addressing the urgent problem of unification of the Korean fatherland. Nearly all censors

²⁵⁵ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 FRN 1484. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibō (8 April 1948). Translated by a Japanese examiner named S. Miura.

²⁵⁶ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 47 FRN 2426. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibō (27 November 1947). Bold typed parts were deleted. Translated by a Japanese examiner named Yamaguchi.

²⁵⁷ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 FRN 1302. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibō (24 March 1948). Bold typed parts were deleted. Translated by a Japanese examiner named S. Miura.

with only a few exceptions suppressed such articles as this. The following article scheduled to appear on Minchung Shibo was suppressed:

Our Korean brethren! We are now on the cross road where we could either ruin or could rescue our native country and brethren by means of struggle. Although any disaster might happen in our country, our native land is one forever and nobody can disrupt our country into two parts. We should not fail from the struggle for unification of our native country and national independence. We cannot sacrifice our country.

It is the time for us to rise up to fight to rescue our native country in order to establish a unified democratic government by way of withdrawal of the foreign powers and by crashing the unilateral election and government that could ruin our country and our nation.²⁵⁸

4. Conclusion

This chapter has probed the Korean leftist-leaning newspapers and magazines during the American occupation in Japan. Research mainly covered Korean publications written in Korean; but also included all available censored materials, both censorship documents and suppressed articles, that were preserved in the Prange collection even if they were part of Korean-related publications written in Japanese.

From this research, I found that the leftwing publications tried to play such social roles as community integration, identity formation and agenda setting. It was revealed, however, that the censorship of these publications limited the freedom of the press and hindered the success of the press from meeting these social objectives. It was also revealed that a higher percentage of leftist-leaning

²⁵⁸ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 48 FRN 1552. Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibo (26 April 1948). Suppressed. Translated by a Japanese examiner named M. Kunimatsu.

publications was completely suppressed than that of rightist or centrist publications for having violated the press rules of the occupation authority.

The journalists who worked for the leftist-leaning publications were very much interested in carrying major articles and offering commentary on the political process of the fatherland of Korea. Therefore, the majority of partially deleted or suppressed articles from leftwing publications were related to Korea and its political developments. In spite of this censorship obstacle and blatant media control, Korean leftist-leaning journalists showed a firm consensus by trying to circumvent the censors in arguing that Korea is one; thus Koreans should make efforts to have a unified fatherland.

It would be very difficult to measure how well leftist publications reached the Korean community with their message. It is obvious, however, that Korean publishers and journalists were able to continue publishing newspapers and magazines despite the turmoil of the separation of their fatherland, Japanese rule and American occupation. I would argue that most Korean leftwing journalists in Japan wanted to continue disseminating information to their readers so as to unify and rally Koreans in Japan to address and speak out against problems in their homeland, whether in the South or the North of Korea.

**Table 1: Korean publications in the Prange collection
according to their Tendency**

Total Number of Publications [33] Newspaper [19], Magazine [14]					
Leftwing [Total: 11]		Rightwing [Total: 9]		Mid-road [Total: 13]	
Newspaper	Magazine	Newspaper	Magazine	Newspaper	Magazine
9	2	5	4	5	8

Table 2. Censored Articles and the Respective Actions Taken on Them

<u>Tendency</u> [Total:149articles =100%]	<u>Action by the</u> <u>censors</u>	<u># of Articles</u> <u>[Percentage]</u>
<u>Leftist</u> [84 articles, 56.4%]	Suppress	61 [72.6%]
	Partly Deleted	16 [19.1%]
	Pass	7 [8.3%]
	Sub Total	84 [100%]
<u>Rightist</u> [58 articles, 38.9%]	Suppress	21 [36.2%]
	Partly Deleted	23 [39.7%]
	Pass	14 [24.1%]
	Sub Total	58 [100%]
<u>Mid-Road</u> [7 articles, 4.7%]	Suppress	4 [57.1%]
	Partly Deleted	1 [14.3%]
	Pass	2 [28.6%]
	Sub Total	7 [100%]

Table 3: Suppressed and partly deleted articles according to topics

Topic Area [Total:124 articles =100%]	Sub-Topics	Number of Articles Suppressed or Partly Deleted [Sub-percentage]
On Korea [68 articles, 54.8%]	Yearning for unification of Korea and concerns on the future of Korean peninsula	27 [38.7%]
	Criticism or negative reports on South Korea	30 [44.1%]
	Compliments or positive reports on North Korea	11 [16.2%]
On Japan [42 articles, 33.9%]	Related to leftwing movement group of Choryon and its arguments of livelihood rights and ethnic education of Koreans in Japan	28 [66.7%]
	Related to Japanese government and police	14 [33.3%]
Others [14 articles, 11.3%]	On the United States	3 [21.4%]
	On England	1 [7.14%]
	On Canada	1 [7.14%]
	On Communist China	7 [50.0%]
	On the Soviet Union	2 [14.3%]

Table 4: Korean Leftist-leaning Publications, Prange collection

Call #	Korean Title	English Title	Circulation	Subscription Fee (Unit Price)	Printing type
Newspapers					
NK0173	Haebang Shinmun	Liberation Newspaper	21,000-23,000	3 yen/m-70 yen/m	Typed
NM0598	Minjung Shinmun	People's Newspaper	Unknown (50,000?)	3 yen/m	Typed
NT0029	Daejung Shinmun	The Newspaper for the Masses	Unknown	3 yen/m-50 yen/m	Mimeograph, later typed
NC0216	Choryon Joongang Sib0	The Central News of League of Koreans in Japan	15,000-24,000	30 yen/m-60 yen/m	Typed
NC0221	Choryon Osaka Sib0	The News of League of Koreans in Osaka	Unknown	Unknown	Typed
NG0051	Hakyorul Jikija!	Let's Protect Korean Schools	Unknown	For free	Typed
NG0129	Hakdong News	News of Korean Students' Union in Japan	3,000	Unknown	Typed
NS1593	Shin Chosun	The New Korea	Unknown	50 yen/m	Typed
NJ0372	Yomaeng Sib0	The Newspaper for Korean Women's Union in Japan			
Magazines					
C156	Choryon Munwha	Choryon Culture	Unknown	Unknown	Mimeograph
P52	Bongwha	Watch Fire	1,000	50 yen/copy	Typed

* yen/m = yen/month

Chapter V: Korean Rightwing-oriented Press in Japan

This chapter investigates Korean rightist-leaning newspapers and magazines in Japan during the American occupation in Japan (1945-1952).²⁵⁹ As demonstrated in Chapter IV of this dissertation, the Korean leftist movement groups such as Choryon (League of Koreans in Japan) and its subordinate Minchung (League of Korean Democratic Youths in Japan) were dominant in the Korean community as was the leftist-leaning press in the community. Unlike leftwing-oriented Choryon and Minchung, such Korean rightist movement groups as Mindan (The Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and Konchung (Youth League to Expedite the Foundation of Korea) neither had many members nor had dominant influence on the Korean community in Japan at the time. It is because, as Sonia Ryang stated, about two-thirds of 600,000 Koreans in Japan were affiliated with the leftist-leaning Choryon, while the other one-third of them were either rightist-leaning or mid-road taking.²⁶⁰ These rightist groups were so weak that they did not seem to be able to carry out to a great extent the demanding responsibilities involved with creating publications in the Korean language and conducting widespread education in Korean language among Korean community.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Actually, the data set in the Gordon W. Prange collection covers only the censorship period [1945-1949] and, therefore, the preserved Korean rightwing newspapers and magazines are from the same period as the leftwing press.

²⁶⁰ Ryang, 82.

²⁶¹ The proportion of rightist groups among the Korean community in Japan in the post-war period is uncertain. According to Sonia Ryang, as of early 1955, Japanese authorities estimated that about 90 percent of Koreans in Japan supported the northern regime.

However, there were rightwing newspapers mainly published by a very limited number of publishers who could financially afford to maintain newspaper companies. The rightwing publishers were mainly successful Korean businessmen in Japan. The rightwing newspapers in Japan published in the Korean language seemed to appear without having direct financial support from the members of rightwing groups, unlike the case of leftwing newspapers. Research showed that the occupation authority specifically permitted allocation of printing paper to rightists during the periods of the most severe paper shortages. These privileges produced both black market paper business scandals and complaints from the leftist-leaning newspapers.

Therefore, the leftist Korean groups that had a strong foundation in the Korean community in Japan initiated organizational establishment of leftist-leaning newspapers and magazines, whereas rightist Korean groups were helped by the rightist-leaning newspapers published by small number of rightwing-oriented businessmen publishers to improve their status in the Korean community in Japan during the occupation. Newspapers that tended to support South Korea can be seen as rightwing. Conversely, leftist-leaning newspapers tended to support North Korea.

Rightwing newspapers were mainly published in Osaka, the biggest port city in Japan, where the majority of Korean residents in Japan lived.²⁶² Chapter IV

Ryang, North Koreans in Japan, 88. From this, it may be argued that both rightist and mid-road groups among the Korean community in Japan might have represented around 10 percent of Korean population at the time.

²⁶² According to statistics as of the end of 1947 announced by the Bureau of Statistics under the Prime Ministry of Japan, the total of registered Koreans in Japan was 508,905, and the Korean residents in the Osaka area (93,458 or 18.4 percent) were the biggest

explored the Korean leftist-leaning press in Japan and how it filled three key social roles: community integration, Korean identity formation, and community agenda setting. Chapter V probes into how the Korean rightwing press in Japan tried to address the same key social roles. It is an important question as to what extent censors treated the two ideologically different Korean presses in different ways and what kinds of articles the censors filtered, suppressed or partially deleted. Unfortunately, almost no censored articles in rightwing Korean language publications were found during the research period ending in the fall of 2003. In the absence of available documents, the censorship process on the Korean rightwing press is illustrated through those limited censored materials found in the Prange collection's Korean rightwing newspapers published in the Japanese language.²⁶³ As presented in the Chapter IV of this dissertation, a total of 58-censored articles were found in the Korean rightist-oriented publications published in Japanese from the Prange collection. Among them, 21 articles were suppressed, 23 were partly deleted and 14 were passed to publish.²⁶⁴

Finally, this chapter argues, through review and interpretation of both suppressed and partially deleted articles in Japanese publications, that there was evidence of a yearning for a unified Korea in the Korean rightwing press. However, the rightwing publications' ideas of unification and approaches to

portion among Koreans. Chosun Shinbo (23 May 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁶³ The number of Korean rightwing publications published in Japanese was not identifiable. From the search of censored documents in the Prange collection, Chosun Tukshin (Korean Special News) and Chosen Shimbun (Korean Newspaper) emerged as major examples of rightwing publications published in Japanese.

²⁶⁴ See Table 2.

achieving it were quite different from those of the opposing Korean leftist-leaning publications.

1. Korean rightwing newspapers and magazines preserved in the Prange collection

Chosun Shinbo (The Korean Times)²⁶⁵

Among the 19 newspapers and 14 magazines published in the Korean language during the American occupation in Japan, five newspapers and four magazines showed a rightwing tendency.²⁶⁶ Of these rightwing newspapers published in the Korean language, Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun (New World Newspaper)²⁶⁷ were the largest publications. In fact, both newspapers were published by the same publisher and started in July 1946. From the outset, Chosun Shinbo started as a Korean newspaper, while Shinsegye Shinmun was published in Japanese. On 18 July 1948, the publishing company of Chosun Shinbo decided to change the name of the newspaper to Shinsegye Shinmun. Then the company started to publish both Korean and Japanese editions under the same title of Shinsegye Shinmun.²⁶⁸

The owner and publisher of these newspapers was a Korean businessman named Soohyon Ryu. According to Hooshik Kim, whom I interviewed in January

²⁶⁵ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NC0253. Chosun Shinbo, No.127-No.384 (16 February 1947-16 July 1948).

²⁶⁶ See Table 1 of Chapter IV.

²⁶⁷ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NS1942. Shinsegye Shinmun, No.385-No.606 (18 July 1948-9 October 1949).

²⁶⁸ Chosun Shinbo (16 July 1948) and Shinsegye Shinmun (18 July 1948).

2003 in Osaka, Ryu was especially successful with rubber products that were tremendously profitable after World War II in Japan.²⁶⁹ Two newspaper registration documents dated 21 December 1946 and 6 December 1947 preserved in the Prange collection with actual hard copies of Chosun Shinbo show that Ryu was the 100 percent owner publisher of both Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun.²⁷⁰ These documents titled “Newspaper Report” seem to have been required registration documents for every publication in Japan during the occupation. However, these two are the only registration documents left in the collection and no other Korean publication enrollment documents were found.

Chosun Shinbo was launched on 4 July 1946.²⁷¹ It started as an once every-five-day newspaper that published two-page [one sheet front and back] issues. However, it switched its frequency after 1 March 1947 (No.133) to every other day publishing. This publication was printed mainly on newspaper size paper with the exceptions of tabloid-sized publication during severe printing paper shortages.²⁷² On 9 May 1947, ten months after it was launched, Chosun Shinbo raised its price from 0.25 yen to 0.40 yen per copy. Thereafter, the monthly subscription fee continuously rose from 12.50 yen (May 1947) to 20 yen (October 1947), and 42 yen (July 1948). According to the “Newspaper Report”

²⁶⁹ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan.

²⁷⁰ See Appendix F and G.

²⁷¹ Chosun Shinbo (4 July 1947). The issues from No.1 to No.126 of this publication are missing in the collection. However, the first anniversary issue of Chosun Shinbo as of 4 July 1947 verifies the inauguration date of this publication.

²⁷² From the review of Chosun Shinbo, it was found that this publication printed tabloid sized issues 12 times solely in 1947 such as No.130 (23 February), No.134 (3 March), No.135 (5 March), No.137 (9 March), No.147 (30 March), No.154 (13 April), No.164 (3 May), No.168 (12 May), No.171 (17 May), No.178 (31 May), No.182 (8 June), and No.185 (14 June 1947).

documents, the number of printed copies of Chosun Shinbo was reported as 62,000 in December 1946 and remained stable at 61,700 through December 1947.²⁷³

Chosun Shinbo's ideological tendency until the end of 1947 may be classified as mid-road rather than rightist-leaning. Its mid-road tendency was very similar to that of leading leftwing newspapers such as Haebang Shinmun and Choryon Joongang Sibō in their earlier stages. As mentioned in Chapter IV of this dissertation, these two papers did not show radical leftist-leanings through exclusive support of North Korea until the separate government was established in South Korea in August 1948, when the permanent division of the Korean peninsula became more obvious.²⁷⁴ Chosun Shinbo began to indicate its rightist-leaning tendency around the beginning of 1948. Increasingly, this newspaper carried articles supporting the political developments in South Korea rather than in the North.

As my interviewee Hooshik Kim described it, Ryu was no expert in journalism but rather a successful Korean businessman who wanted to make a contribution on behalf of Koreans in Japan through his accumulated wealth. Kim explained how Ryu started Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun:

²⁷³ See Appendix F and G.

²⁷⁴ One of the anecdotal differences between Korean leftist and rightist-leaning press would be how they wrote the name of the United States in Chinese characters. Like other Japanese, North Korean, and Chinese newspapers, the Korean leftist newspapers in Japan such as Haebang Shinmun and Joongang Sibō spelled the U.S. as [Country of Rice]. Contrastingly, like South Korean newspapers even today, the Korean rightist newspapers in Japan such as Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun spelled the U.S. as [Beautiful Country].

As soon as the Korean people were liberated from Japanese rule and Japan came under American occupation, many ignorant and illiterate Koreans often behaved hostile to Japanese people. They usually fought with Japanese people saying, “We are liberated people. You are defeated people. Remember how badly you have constantly treated us. Now it’s our turn to treat you as you have treated us.” Such fights between Japanese and Koreans were everywhere. Thus, several intellectuals suggested that Mr. Ryu might launch a newspaper so as to instruct and enlighten Korean people to live more respectably as a liberated people. It was reportedly said Mr. Ryu replied to them, “I am really ignorant at this kind of business, but I fully agree with your opinion and I am ready to spend my money for this activity. Would you please make preparations for establishing a newspaper company and recruit gifted personnel on my behalf?”²⁷⁵

Kim explained how the two intellectuals named Jinkeun Kim and Seonghun Hah persuaded Ryu to decide to publish the newspaper in Korean language rather than in Japanese even though they were living in Japan. Kim said :

I heard that Jinkeun Kim, a founding member and editor in chief of Chosun Shinbo and Seunghun Hah, another founding member, insisted upon publishing in Korean. It was reportedly said that they argued, “Koreans in Japan eventually will sooner or later return to their homeland. Colonial military government of Japan has forbidden our generation to use our own language. From now on, Korean language will be useful for every Korean. Therefore, we should establish an organization, that is, a Korean publication, where we will teach Korean language and the Korean alphabet.” Mr. Ryu, seeing the strength and truth of their argument, fully accepted their idea.²⁷⁶

However, the relationship between Ryu and the two intellectuals who supported him did not seem to go well around the end of 1947. There arose fierce friction on the management level regarding the political and ideological stance of Chosun Shinbo. The resolution of this conflict was likely the major reason that

²⁷⁵ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Chosun Shinbo turned into the more rightist-leaning newspaper that Ryu wanted so as to demonstrate stronger support for South Korea. His two intellectual advisors, however, would not yield on their view that the paper needed to remain a mid-road publication. Chosun Shinbo carried a very unusual announcement in its 8 December 1947 issue:

Because he has been articulating some weird ideas we have been monitoring the attitudes of our newspaper's editor-in-chief and managing editor Jinkeun Kim. Finally, we can no longer permit him to continue. He recently has tried to collaborate with a powerful outside organization [No more information on this organization is available] that has showed a conspiratorial intention to destroy our company. We, therefore, announce the following so that we may continue to function as a free press with fair and objective news reporting. We have ordered Jinkeun Kim to retire from his job as of 5 December 1947 because he has betrayed the company's policy and has continued to demonstrate a factional and conspiratorial attitude.²⁷⁷

The other founding member and general affairs bureau chief of Chosun Shinbo who urged Ryu to publish a Korean newspaper, Seunghun Hah, was also deprived of his job on the same day as editor-in-chief Kim.²⁷⁸ Just five days prior to the firing of the two highest-level personnel, Ryu also ordered Wonjun Pak, the chief of the cultural news section and editorial writer, to retire.²⁷⁹ Chosun Shinbo fired these three important executives when Syngman Rhee and his rightist supporters initiated the idea of a general election in the Korean peninsula.²⁸⁰ It was also the same period when the disagreement and conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States army governments in the North and South Korea was

²⁷⁷ Chosun Shinbo (8 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁷⁸ Chosun Shinbo (10 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁷⁹ Chosun Shinbo (6 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁸⁰ Chosun Shinbo (8 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

escalating and becoming more obvious between these two hostile foes on the subject of the future of Korean peninsula.²⁸¹

Similarly, the serial novel titled “Songkee (Pine Endodermis),” written by a leftist-leaning novelist Eunjik Rhee, was also discontinued without any notice to the readers as of 23 February 1948 [with the serial number 81]. Rhee said, “I was forced to stop writing it because Chosun Shinbo notified me that the president of it was opposed to Choryon (League of Koreans in Japan) [members] and leftists writing on his newspaper.”²⁸²

Shinsegye Shinmun (New World Newspaper)

On 16 July 1948 Ryu announced that he had decided to switch the title of Chosun Shinbo to Shinsegye Shinmun and keep publishing a Korean edition and a Japanese edition under the unified name.²⁸³ Shinsegye Shinmun did not even start with another serial numbering, instead, it followed Chosun Shinbo’s serial number. That is, Chosun Shinbo’s serial number ended with No. 384 on 16 July 1947, while the Korean edition of Shinsegye Shinmun followed it with No. 385 on 18 July 1947. Then, why did this newspaper company decide to change the title? Hooshik Kim suggested one of the reasons that Ryu had decided to change the title:

At that time, the word of ‘Chosun [the name of Korea right before the colonization by Japan in 1910]’ was widely used by leftists. When president Ryu decided to abandon the title of Chosun Shinbo, the new name of Korea ‘Hankook [Republic of

²⁸¹ Chosun Shinbo (20 December 1947).

²⁸² Eunjik Rhee, interview by author, 5 December 2002, Yokohama, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁸³ Chosun Shinbo (16 July 1948).

Korea]’ was coined and the separate government of ‘Hankook’ was scheduled to launch soon. In the newsroom there was a discussion about removing the word ‘Chosun’ from the title, because this word was generally associated with leftist or Red organizations by the rightwing.²⁸⁴

Shinsegye Shinmun showed more rightist viewpoints than its predecessor.

It typically put an official announcement of the newly established South Korean government and the U.S. occupation authority in Seoul as the front-page’s top article. News from Seoul [South Korea] was overwhelmingly dominant in every issue, whereas news from Pyongyang [North Korea] was usually put aside in the corner, often neglected, or, put onto the front-page’s top position when it reflected negatively upon the north.

Shinsegye Shinmun raised its monthly subscription fee from 42 yen to 51.50 yen in May 1949. Interestingly, the number of copies printed of the Korean edition of Shinsegye Shinmun dropped sharply to 20,000 copies by 1 May 1949 according to censorship documents.²⁸⁵ This was an unprecedented loss (41,700) in circulation when compared to the 61,700 copies reported by Chosun Shinbo to the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) office of the American occupation in Japan at the end of 1947.²⁸⁶ It is not certain why the circulation of this newspaper plummeted to one third of the level it had enjoyed only one and half years before. However, there are some hints that suggest the reason. Hooshik Kim explained:

²⁸⁴ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁸⁵ There is no official list of the number of printed copies reported to the Civil Censorship Detachment office in the Prange collection. However, it is hand written next to the title of Shinsegye Shinmun “Circulation: 20,000 copies” on the published copies of 1, 23, 27, 31 May and 10 June 1949.

²⁸⁶ See Appendix G.

In Japan, the rightwing Korean newspapers did not invest as much time and attention as the leftwing Korean newspapers did in preserving and teaching the Korean language to their next generation. As time went on after the period of ultimate delight of liberation from Japanese imperial rule, Korean [rightwing] people gradually lost interest in reading Korean newspapers. More and more, people recognized that they would live longer in Japan rather than going back to their homeland. Therefore, it was more practical and pressing for them to develop Japanese language proficiency rather than Korean. Soon, many units of the newspaper reported that they needed fewer and fewer copies. [The people running] Shinsegye Shinmun realized they were printing many useless extra copies that were just getting thrown away. So, the newspaper decided to shrink its circulation down to 20,000 copies and then to 15,000 copies. Several times, the frequency was also slowed down, first to once every 3 days, then once every 5 days, and finally it became a weekly. When I left Shinsegye Shinmun in late 1960s, the circulation of Shinsegye Shinmun had decreased to 9,000 or 10,000.²⁸⁷

According to Kim's explanation, the demand for Korean language newspapers gradually decreased and this was a major factor for the sudden decrease of circulation of the Korean edition of Shinsegye Shinmun. Even though it was true that the next generations of Korean rightists in Japan could not understand the Korean language, it must be assumed that this was not the situation during the early postwar years. There is, therefore, an alternate explanation to Kim's argument. It is very possible that a large proportion of former Korean readers of this newspaper might have been disappointed by the abrupt change of Shinsegye Shinmun to a more rightwing orientation. The principal leftwing newspapers contended that Shinsegye Shinmun was not working for the interest of brethren Koreans in Japan, but working for the interest of business itself:

²⁸⁷ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

At this moment, there are two leading Korean newspapers in Japan published in Korean. The one is Haebang Shinmun [being published in Tokyo], the other is Shinsegye Shinmun being published in Osaka. There have been many newspapers published by Koreans [published in the Japanese], but most of them have pursued private profit. They could not be popular among our brethren Koreans, thus, [only] two of us survived. However, Shinsegye Shinmun is printing only 2,000 or 3,000 copies of Korean edition every other day. They [the occupation authority] allocated printing paper sufficient for as many as 100,000 copies for a daily newspaper to the publisher of Shinsegye Shinmun. Shinsegye Shinmun is publishing its Japanese edition with the rest of [as] allocated paper so as to fulfill private profit. Furthermore, this newspaper [Japanese edition] is filled with articles and contents we [leftists] find disagreeable.²⁸⁸

Chungnyon (The Youth)²⁸⁹

Chungnyon was the official organization magazine of Konchung (Youth League to Expedite the Foundation of Korea, or in Korean, Chosun Konguk Chokchin Chungnyon Dongmeng). This was the rightist-leaning Korean movement group for youth in Japan during the occupation. Young rightwing leaning dissidents from the Choryon (League of Koreans in Japan) formed Konchung on 16 November 1945 in order to counter the Choryon's leftist-leaning tendency after its earlier composition of a broad group of leftists, mid-roads, and rightists. This magazine's publication, thus, might have started earlier; but in the Prange collection are only five editions from combined July-August 1946 to April 1947. It is obvious that the inauguration of this magazine dates back earlier than

²⁸⁸ Haebang Shinmun (21 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁸⁹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. T881. Chungnyon, July-August 1946, September 1946, January-February 1947, March 1947, April 1947.

May 1946, however, because the “Editorial Note” of the edition of July-August 1946 says, “The [level of] quality of magazines published in May and June were not graceful, even to the eyes of the editor of the magazine.”²⁹⁰ The rightist movement group of Konchung apparently tried to have at least a monthly magazine but they could not afford that due to their financial condition and the shortage of printing paper.²⁹¹

No editions of Chungnyon were published using movable type. Instead, they were mimeographed. Each edition’s publisher was the Cultural Department of Konchung. Each edition clearly marked that the magazine was “organization magazine” of Konchung.²⁹² The number of pages for each edition varied ranging from 46 pages [September 1946] to 113 pages [April 1947]. Neither the number of copies printed nor unit price of this magazine can be verified because there is no document in the collection that mentions these details. From a special section introduced in April 1947 issue entitled “Regional Center News [of Konchung],” we may assume that the copies were widely distributed to the members of this young Korean rightwing movement group around Japan.²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Bonghyung Kim, “Editorial Epilogue,” Chungnyon (July-August 1946), 80.

²⁹¹ Chungnyon (July August 1946), 79 and Chungnyon (April 1947), 113. A credit box of the July-August 1946 edition wrote, “Being published on the first day of each month.” And the Editorial Epilogue of April 1947 edition wrote, “Due to the delay of paper supply, this issue has been very late, but the contents became more abundant.” Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁹² Only September 1946 issue recorded that Editor-Printer-Publisher, Bonghyung Kim, was the Director of Cultural Department of Konchung at the time. Chungnyon (September 1946).

²⁹³ Chungnyon (April 1947), 106. This magazine explained that the reasons to create the regional center news were both to boost the communication between headquarters and regional centers of Konchung and to promote the movement of regional branches.

Other rightist-leaning newspapers and magazines

Chungnyon Sibō (The News of Youth)²⁹⁴ was the official newsletter of Konchung's Kunma Prefecture Center. It is not clear why only this particular regional center of Konchung was able to publish its own newsletter. It seems that Konchung was not so tightly organized as the leftist Korean movement organization of Choryon. This perhaps implies that the intensity of the activity of regional Konchung centers might vary by location. Since each copy stated that this newsletter was printed in the Cultural Department of the central Konchung, it can be assumed that this newsletter was published in close relationship with the movement's headquarters.

Chungnyon Shibo published two-page [front and back in a sheet] copies for each issue. However, the number of copies printed, unit price of copy, and distribution are not verifiable. The editor of this newsletter was Bongsun Chang. It is possible he was the leader of the regional prefecture center of Konchung. Chang said in the inaugural comments of the newsletter, “[I hope] that many different Korean groups and their leaders can be united to pursue the bigger goal of unification of our homeland. I want this newsletter to become ears, eyes and mouth of the Korean brethren, and, more preferably, a public tool for distributing our Korean language.”²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NS0743. Chungnyon Sibō, No.1- No. 10-11 (16 September 1946-25 November 1946).

²⁹⁵ Bongsun Chang, “Inaugural comments of the newsletter,” Chungnyon Sibō (16 September 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Kondong Tukshin (Special News of League for the Establishment of a New Korea)²⁹⁶ was the official newsletter of a rightist Korean movement group called Kondong (League for the Establishment of a New Korea, or in Korean, Shinchosun Konsol Dongmeng). Kondong was founded on 2 January 1946. It was composed of some anticommunist and other moderate elements from the Konchung. Yol Pak, a political prisoner for twenty-three years under the Japanese military government, led this movement group. Pak was an anarchist rather than a communist. He realized that the leadership of the leftist Choryon was already firmly in the hands of the communist Chonhae Kim's group when he was released from the prison on 27 December 1945.²⁹⁷ Kondong members dissolved their organization on 3 October 1946 because of inner conflict and formed a new organization called Mindan (The Association of Korean Residents in Japan, or in Korean, Cheil Hangukin Korymindan).

In the Prange collection, only two issues of Kondong Tukshin are preserved. Both of them were mimeographed and published two page editions. No circulation or unit price information is available. It is assumed that this belatedly organized rightist movement group was not able to publish its newsletter often, and within two months after its inaugural issue, the organization itself dissolved to create another rightist movement group, Mindan. In the first issue the leader Yol Pak wrote: "This newsletter should become the genuine transmitter of the Kondong movement and faithful researcher of homeland issues.

²⁹⁶ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NK0899. Kondong Tukshin, No.1- No.2 (10 August- 12 August 1947).

²⁹⁷ Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 68.

I am ready to serve as a leader for Koreans in Japan in the same way that a horse or a cow serves to feed them.”²⁹⁸

Shin Chosun (Magazine New Korea)²⁹⁹ was the organization magazine of Kondong and was a completely different publication from the leftist newspaper with the same name, Shin Chosun (The New Korea), introduced in Chapter IV of this dissertation. Like most other publications published by Korean rightist movement groups such as Konchung and Kondong in 1946, each issue of this magazine was completely mimeographed. This magazine carried a couple of endorsement letters from Koo Kim, who was the chief opposing rightwing politician to Syngman Rhee in South Korea during the postwar period.³⁰⁰ A couple of Koo Kim’s calligraphies appeared in the magazine, showing a strong support for Yol Pak, the leader of Kondong.³⁰¹ It can be assumed that Yol Pak, who wanted to demonstrate a close affiliation of Kondong with homeland politics and thus to convince Koreans in Japan of his importance, might have been influential enough to request the calligraphies.

Two Cultural Department directors of Kondong became the editor-publisher of this magazine. The editor-publisher of the No.1 (June 1946) of Shin

²⁹⁸ Kondong Tukshin (10 August 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

²⁹⁹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. S1312. Shin Chosun, No.1- No. 4 (June 1946- September 1946).

³⁰⁰ Koo Kim was assassinated in 26 June 1949 and it is widely assumed recently that Syngman Rhee, who was the incumbent president of South Korea at the time, was behind the scene.

³⁰¹ Shin Chosun (August 1946), 7.

Chosun was Taesung Chung and of the No.2 (July 1946) was Kwangnam Kim.³⁰²

The unit price of this magazine was 5 yen, but the circulation number is not known.

2. Favorable treatment of rightwing newspapers and paper allocation

The American occupation authorities in Japan gave favorable treatment to rightwing newspapers in twoways. First of all, they openly honored the first anniversary of Chosun Shinbo and maintained a more communicative and supportive relationship with Shinsegye Shinmun than with leftist-leaning newspapers. It is very obvious that only rightwing-oriented newspapers received the coveted privilege of allocation of additional printing paper. The leftist newspapers such as Haebang Shinmun and Choryon Joongang Sibon described the difficulty of obtaining adequate allocation of printing paper to meet the needs of their readership and even asked readers to help in their efforts to acquire more paper. In contrast, rightist-oriented newspapers such as Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun never seemed to encounter serious shortages of paper. Moreover, rightwing journalists have admitted the favorable allocation of printing paper to rightist-leaning newspaper during their interviews for this dissertation. One interviewee was fully convinced that [rightwing] Korean publishers who wanted to secure privileged paper allocation often bribed some occupation personnel. This section of the dissertation probes such circumstantial factors of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation.

³⁰² A shake-up of the headquarters of Kondong in July 1946 shows that Taesung Chung switched from the Director of Cultural Department to the Director of Propaganda and Kwangnam Kim replaced Chung. Shin Chosun (June 1946), 30.

Recognition of anniversaries of rightwing newspapers by the occupation authorities

When the rightist-leaning Chosun Shinbo celebrated its first anniversary, Thomas O. Henderson, the Advisor of the Osaka Liaison Office of U.S. Military Government in Korea, contributed a multi-page message congratulating the newspaper. From the entire data set of Korean newspapers and magazines preserved in the Gordon Prange collection, this is the only example of a written statement by an individual member of occupation personnel to a particular newspaper organization. Henderson was not a civilian but a captain of the U.S. Army. Henderson's message not only saluted the newspaper; it also served to disseminate information as an occupation representative. This unique honor for Korean readers was the highest, most open recognition and endorsement of any newspaper by the ultimate power at the time, the occupying authorities. Henderson's message showed that he wrote this not as a private commentator but as a representative of the occupation authorities. Not surprisingly, Chosun Shinbo carried the full text of this favorable contribution right below its title along with Henderson's picture.³⁰³ Here are his comments as translated from English into Korean [And back into English for this dissertation]:

Today, on 4 July, the Osaka Liaison Office of U.S. Military Government in Korea congratulates Chosun Shinbo on its enlargement and its accomplishments over the past [one year]. The office is sure that there will be similar vigorous developments of the newspaper in the future. These days, the most important thing for your newspaper is an interest in reporting practical information on the security and happiness of fellow Koreans in Japan. During this time of different factions within [Korean] society, the correct path of [this Korean] newspaper should be to point toward a mid-

³⁰³ Chosun Shinbo (4 July 1947).

road position of stability, understanding, and peace for Koreans in Japan.

Newspapers are the most powerful and influential organizations. They report truth and provide critical information to their readers. If a newspaper reports truth in an extreme form [as some newspapers often do], the readers will be led into chaos. The communication process ceases to be beneficial to citizens and deviates into absurdity. At this sensitive time, it is essential that [Korean] newspapers be very cautious when choosing information to be disseminated to their readers.³⁰⁴

Henderson continued to state that the most important goal of the liaison office was to legitimize the presence of his office in the Korean community in Osaka and to boost the ties of friendship between Koreans in Japan and the occupying [American] army. However, he further revealed through one story his own paternalistic and authoritarian views regarding freedom of the press when he compared the role of his office in relation to Koreans in Japan [or Korean newspapers] as being similar to the role of “parents” toward “children” who are in need of stern direction from responsible role models:

I would like to call this story “Parents and Children.” I see our occupation authorities as being “a stern parent,” while the Koreans living around Osaka are “children.” As in any family, parents play an essential role as leaders. The role of the liaison office is very similar to the parents of many Koreans living in Japan. The basic responsibility of parents is to direct the destiny of their children. Children invariably expect practical and beneficial advice from their parents whenever they have urgent problems. Parents in no case consciously mislead their children. Parents hope their children reach the highest level of success possible. When their children interfere with others’ rights or behave against the order of the society, parents feel a wound to their own self-respect. Therefore, sons and daughters who commit illegal behaviors should be disciplined. Through necessary punishment, children learn to rectify themselves...If Koreans in Japan are puzzled about what is legitimate and what is illegitimate, then the liaison office

³⁰⁴ Thomas Henderson, “Congratulating comments,” Chosun Shinbo (4 July 1947). Translated into English by the author of this dissertation.

will do its best to solve this problem. However, if you insist on maintaining an opinion that contradicts the office of the liaison, you will be punished. In this way absurd behaviors can be controlled quickly and efficiently... By clearly understanding proper behaviors, you [your newspaper and journalists] can become beneficial agents helping accomplish the critical mission of making the relationship between Korea and Japan better. I hope you can help control illegal behaviors of Koreans in Japan and unify the Korean community. By fulfilling your role as a responsible newspaper and helping to resolve current divisions you will benefit and bring happiness to many Koreans in Japan.³⁰⁵

Following these congratulatory but rather insulting comments, there was another official congratulation. This one, from the American occupation authorities of Japan, was from the Public Relations Division of the First Military Government Office in Kyoto:

We send our congratulations on the first anniversary of your newspaper's publication. As "the freedom of the press" is the fundamental to American democracy and its government, the American people are very interested in observing the press industry around the world. We anticipate further development of the Chosun Shinbo newspaper. –The Public Relations Division of the First Military Government Office in Kyoto.³⁰⁶

Along with these favorable comments from the occupation authorities, Chosun Shinbo carried an article admiring the efforts of press reform by the American occupation authorities in Japan. The article evaluated the accomplishment as follows:

It has been two years since the end of the War. Every section of Japan has been experiencing unprecedented reforms and advancements to realize a proper and thorough democracy. One of

³⁰⁵ Thomas Henderson, "Congratulating comments," Chosun Shinbo (4 July 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁰⁶ Chosun Shinbo (4 July 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

the greatest accomplishment is democratization of the press. This democratization must be attributed to [the American occupation's] effort and concentration on liberating the press from various undemocratic influences including the [Japanese military] government during the War. The [American occupation] made advancements in "confirmation of the freedom of the press" and "escalation of the ethics of the press." Through these improvements, the press has become completely different from the way it was during the War [under the Japanese army government rule].³⁰⁷

Discriminatory paper allocation practices and complaints from leftists

Favoritism toward rightist-leaning newspapers by American occupation authorities was not merely abstract talk but, in fact, involved a critically important material area. There were terrible shortages of printing paper at that time precisely while the demand for printed material was very high. According to John Dower, the publishing industry was one of the first commercial sectors to recover in defeated Japan. Until 1951, paper remained in critically short supply and was subject to complicated and onerous rationing regulations.³⁰⁸ It was reportedly said that it was much more profitable for the publishers to sell blank paper rather than to sell printed material, if the publishers was able to get the privilege of getting the allocation of the paper.³⁰⁹ According to Woonyong Huh, who had been president of Kukje Times (International Times), a Japanese language newspaper, only two [rightist] newspapers in the Korean community were allocated sufficient paper for daily publishing of 100,000 copies of newspapers. One was the Tokyo

³⁰⁷ "Two years of the democratization of the press," Chosun Shinbo (2 September 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁰⁸ Dower, Embracing Defeat, 180.

³⁰⁹ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan.

based Kukje Times. The other was the Osaka based Chosun Shinbo.³¹⁰ From the interview with Huh:

YOON: How did you obtain printing paper for your newspaper?

HUH: There was a committee for allocation of printing paper in the Japanese government under the close supervision of the American occupation. The occupation authority and the Japanese government decided to allow two Korean newspapers in Japan to each publish 100,000 copies. One, in the East of Japan (Tokyo) and the other, in the West (Osaka).

YOON: Then, how do you think Choryon [leftist group] or Mindan [rightist group] got printing paper for their organization newspapers?

HUH: No, none. There was no allocation for those [leftists]. You know Mindan was not organized until late 1947? There was no Mindan yet.

YOON: Oh, how did they [leftist newspapers such as Haebang Shinmun and Choryon Joongang Sibon] get the paper and publish.....?

HUH: They, I am sure, bought it on the black market. No, it was impossible for them to get the allocation.... They bought illegal printing paper.³¹¹

It is not certain by what standard the occupation authorities decided who would get an allocation of the paper at the time. However, it is obvious that only rightist representatives in the Korean community in Japan were bestowed the allocation ticket for printing paper; whereas leftist groups, in spite of their struggle, received almost none. Even though in early 1946 leftist groups were excluded from the initial list of the printing paper awardees, in 1949 the Haebang Shinmun paper managed to secure an allocation of paper [though much smaller than allocations enjoyed by the two rightwing newspapers]. The leftist Choryon's organization newspaper Choryon Joongang Sibon was still not able to get any

³¹⁰ Woonyong Huh, interview by author, 16 December 2002, Tokyo, Japan.

³¹¹ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

official supply of printing paper. In the long run, these leftist newspapers raised their voices of complaint, arguing there was discrimination, without directly mentioning the American authorities but rather by attacking the Japanese subjugated government:

Dear Korean brethren, look around these days at any downtown area in Japan. In front of any railway station or near any crowded place you will easily find newsstands or newspaper salesmen. The “bourgeois newspapers” often publish extra copies even when covering ordinary news items. If this is any indication of reality, then is there really a shortage of printing paper? Definitely, not. These guys [the Japanese government officials] are allocating paper to our democratic newspapers at a rate of only two hundredths of the amount of paper allotted to other [bourgeois] newspapers. Moreover, there is no paper allocation at all to our Choryon Joongang Sibon. This is because the ruling class, who created the Yoshida cabinet to be their puppet, only wants to see propaganda that furthers their interests. This bureaucratic control of printing paper is a monopoly designed specifically to serve the [rightist] press. We have to organize and fight to dissolve this bureaucratic control.³¹²

Haebang Shinmun also complained about the discriminatory allocation of printing paper, but in a milder way than the Choryon Joongang Sibon. Haebang Shinmun criticized the fact the Shinsegye Shinmun received enough rolls of printing paper to publish 100,000 copies a day but mainly used this paper for its profit-seeking Japanese edition. Haebang Shinmun argued that it was trying to publish 21,000 copies once every three days, but the amount of paper allocated for it was only 20,000 copies for once every five days. Haebang Shinmun also revealed, “The population of English speakers in Japan is no more than one third

³¹² Choryon Joongang Sibon (1 September 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation. I assume this kind of article could be published because the publishing time was right after the strict censorship had been lifted.

that of Koreans but the two existing English newspapers are allocated enough paper for 50,000 copies every day.”³¹³ This article continued:

The subscription orders for our Haebang Shinmun are rapidly increasing around Japan [because Koreans living throughout the nation loved the newspaper]. If we are to cope with this demand, we need to be printing 120,000 copies every day. However, the allocation committee in the office of the prime minister [of Japan] does not pay attention to this. Haebang Shinmun is compensating for the shortage of the paper by buying much more expensive reclaimed paper to cover half of the total need. If this situation continues, our dream of realizing daily publishing will be impossible and the management of this company will be broke. Our newspaper has been the ears and eyes of the Koreans in Japan. We also have been the best advocates for the interests of our Korean brethren. Korean readers should keep this in mind. We encourage everybody to send notes of protest to the allocation committee and participate in requesting an increased allocation of printing paper.³¹⁴

Comparing articles pertaining to printing paper in rightist and leftist newspapers, a researcher can understand printing paper allocation discrimination between rightist and leftist-leaning newspapers. That is, rightist newspapers almost never expressed any concern regarding the supply of paper. Conversely, the leftist newspapers very often announced their concern about printing paper availability.

Scandals with the printing paper business

In spite of an abundant printing paper allocation compared to that of the leftist-leaning competitors, rightist newspapers seemed to publish fewer copies than their stated circulation. The leftist-leaning interviewee, Eunjik Rhee,

³¹³ Haebang Shinmun (24 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³¹⁴ Haebang Shinmun (24 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

declined to comment on this matter. He claimed that he was never involved with these issues inside the newsroom at that time. However, rightist or mid-road leaning Korean journalists such as Hooshik Kim and Woonyong Huh did not deny the mechanism of discriminative allocation of printing paper and the way this allocation was used on the black market. Hooshik Kim illustrated the process of discriminative allocation:

The Americans, at the time were very easily bribed. Cunning Koreans tried to find any way they could to meet with them and do favors for them. Koreans realized that if they gave powerful American occupation personnel a chance to sleep with a geisha, extra allocations of paper turned out to be a piece of cake. You know, it costs a lot of money to publish even a two-page newspaper. I do not believe even President Ryu of the Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun spent his own money except in the beginning. Perhaps, he made considerable compensation for this loss considerably by selling a portion of allocated paper on the black market.³¹⁵

Kim remembered certain ironies during the occupation. The Shinsegye Shinmun newsroom was alerted several times to possible police action by reports from informants. This information was typically about Japanese police who had tracked printing paper headed for the black market. In the eyes of police, the printing paper was supposedly to be delivered to the Shinsegye Shinmun printing house, but the truck carrying the black-marketed paper did not stop at the printing house of the newspaper. Newspaper reporters, who had a good relationship with Japanese police, according to Kim, lied to authorities, saying, “The truck driver seemed to get lost,” as a way covering up the fact the printing paper was heading

³¹⁵ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

for the black market. If there were some hard-nosed policemen doubting this story, the reporters usually exaggeratedly said, “You must trust us Koreans, the liberated people, mustn’t you?”³¹⁶

According to Kim, there were three notorious Koreans who actively participated in the printing paper allocation sales business. They were, Kim argued, Pak, Chun and Huh.³¹⁷ Kim recalled that they earned the nickname “Three Crows” among Korean journalists, because “they had sold out most of the allocated printing paper.”³¹⁸ Kim continued:

Among these “three crows,” Pak was the worst. A typical newspapers published in Japanese at the time was Kukje Shinmun (International Newspaper). I am sure the newspaper was established in order to make money. I remind you that it was a time of severe printing paper shortage. Pak and Chun approached occupation authorities and presumably argued that if occupation authorities did not do something to control the Koreans in Japan, all Koreans in Japan would become communists. They cheated the Americans saying, “We will control and teach Koreans in Japan by publishing newspapers.” They were then allocated enough printing paper for hundreds of thousands copies every day; but they actually printed small numbers of copies and nominally showed samples to the censorship office [as proofs of publications]. There were neither newspaper distribution centers, nor no local branches for them because they did not need them. Where did the rest of the printing paper go? For Pak the extra printing paper equated with personal wealth and a Lincoln Continental luxury car. The price gap was beyond our imagination. It was a time when the allocation of paper was the direct equivalent of money. The situation, I would say, was the same with Huh. Additionally, even though president Ryu of Chosun Shinbo [never made money from selling illegally

³¹⁶ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³¹⁷ So as not to generate any libel issues here, this dissertation only identifies their last names.

³¹⁸ Crows in Korean culture have a bad reputation. They are considered to be a sign of bad news and misfortune, possibly related with death and betrayal.

printing paper], he must have been compensated to some extent for doing similar things.³¹⁹

An article that appeared on Chosun Shinbo in 1947 partly backs up Kim's argument. This article "The scandal in the Kukje Shinmun Co. Using the newspaper to accumulate criminal wealth," reported a conflict between Rohjung Pak and Jongjin Huh, a former cofounder of Kukje Shinmun with Pak. In the article, the former cofounder denounced Pak as the person who accumulated dirty money by exploiting the name of the newspaper. It said Pak was a traitor to Koreans who pretended to support Korean identity because he had voluntarily become a naturalized citizen in Japan long time ago."³²⁰

During the interview for this research, Woonyong Huh mostly forgot everything about paper or just mumbled when the topic of printing paper came up. There was a question: "How many copies did you think Kukje Times was selling at the time," Huh replied, "Let me see, uh, uh.... I don't remember. Uh, uh...I do not remember the number of copies printed or actual sales of copies. Uh, uh....It was a time when there were newspapers, there were enough readers to buy them at any rate." However, Huh did happen to describe that the actual number of printed copies of his newspaper was not significant even though he was given the equivalent of 100,000 copies in paper. He sold the right of paper allocation to another major Japanese newspaper, as soon as he got information from a Japanese

³¹⁹ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³²⁰ Chosun Shinbo (3 August 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

government official that the allocation policy would soon be changed in late 1949 to proportionately match the number of readers.³²¹

3. Major social roles pursued by the Korean rightist press in Japan

I have so far explored what kinds of Korean newspapers and magazines demonstrated a rightist-leaning tendency in Japan during the occupation period. I then illustrated how occupation authorities treated rightwing newspapers more favorably than they did the leftwing press and how and why discriminatory printing paper allocation practices ensued in Japan for Korean newspapers. This section will illustrate what kind of social roles the Korean rightwing journalists, editors, and publishers tried to play in the Korean community in Japan during that time.

The top priority of rightist-oriented Korean newspapers in Japan was to report the political progress of their homeland, just as the leftist-leaning newspapers did. But, the rightwing newspapers emphasized the views of South Korean political leaders and the American military government working in South Korea. This shows a vivid contrast with leftwing newspapers that emphasized news of North Korea's political developments and reflected its views. Therefore, major articles on the top of the front-page in rightwing newspapers were almost always announcements from South Korean political figures such as Syngman Rhee or Major General John Reed Hodge of the U.S. Army. North Korean or leftist-leaning views were often neglected or denounced in subsequent news

³²¹ Woonyong Huh, interview by author, 16 December 2002, Tokyo, Japan.

reporting. As demonstrated in Chapter IV, leftwing Korean newspapers were exactly opposite in their way of reporting news.

Both theleftist and rightist Korean press reflected respectively the political realities in North and South Korea at that time. They also reflected the competitive environment between Korean leftist and rightist movement groups in Japan. That is, the homeland was divided into two Koreas, and the Korean community in Japan was split into two separate factions. Freedom of the press in Japan revealed a sharp contrast between the leftist and rightist factions. The rightwing Korean newspapers wanted to remind Korean readers of the obvious reality that they were still living in Japan, an occupied country. Even though Koreans were liberated from Japanese rule and were trying to build a new nation, the Korean rightwing press tried to convince its readers that it was important to remain friendly with the Japanese people. However, Korean rightwing newspapers, alerted to discrimination by Japanese police in people's daily lives, also argued thatthis was exactly what the imperial Japanese did to Koreans during the colonial period.

The social integrative role of rightist-leaning Korean press in Japan

Chosun Shinbo identified two pressing problems for Koreans in Japan: (1) the unification of fatherland and (2) the two opposing Korean movement groups.³²² Editorials of this newspaper often raised the issue of integration of the Korean community. A typical editorial in Chosun Shinbo addressed the problems this way:

³²² Chosun Shinbo (13 May 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

As we have very often addressed, in the past factional characteristics of our Korean race resulted in the division of our nation and weakened the energy of our race. These days, the factions among us are creating division, chaos, hatred, and conflict again and again. This hampers the construction of our new nation [after the Japanese colonial time]. It is annoying that the Korean community shows the stripes of regionalism [supporting either North or South] and this is most feudalistic and unethical. We should abandon this fractional tendency.³²³

Chosun Shinbo emphasized not only the internal integration but also building friendly relationships in the external community of Koreans in Japan. In December 1947, the newspaper featured two good examples of friendship-building between Koreans in Japan and the Japanese people. One article titled “Two friendship stories between Koreans and Japanese” carried a story about Koreans living in Pumchun who petitioned the police to release a Japanese who had been arrested while stealing a Korean’s bike. The article reported that Koreans did this after recognizing that the thief’s wife was four months pregnant. The other story was about a Japanese medical doctor living in Nigata, who had offered free treatment for a poor Korean who had three dependents, his wife, a son and daughter. This article praised the doctor, calling him a physician who recognized the concept that “Medicine is a benevolent art.”³²⁴

Shinsegye Shinmun, in an editorial on October 1948, said the reason Korean community integration had deteriorated in Japan was because Korean movement groups were too involved in politics of their homeland. The editorial argued that political activity by overseas Koreans was not necessary at all. It

³²³ Chosun Shinbo (2 July 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³²⁴ Chosun Shinbo (28 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

continued to contend that the destiny of the homeland was to be determined not by the overseas residents [in Japan] but by the objective international environment. Therefore, the editorial concluded, the activity of Korean movement groups should be confined to helping with community integration among Koreans in Japan, rather than worrying about the homeland. The editorial hoped that leftist and rightist groups would not quarrel all the time, but use their energies to achieve better integration of the Korean community in Japan.³²⁵

This editorial implied that: Whether it represents the full Korean peninsula or not, now that the South Korean government has been established [two months previously], Koreans, especially those living overseas, should wait passively and see how things develop. Now was not the time for overseas residents to address political arguments but rather to concentrate on finding better ways to make their livelihood. From the editor's perspective, politics-oriented movements were not valuable at all.

This perspective illustrates an acute contrast between the community integration role as envisioned by leftist and rightist Korean newspapers. Leftist newspapers urged readers to obtain enhanced social integration among Koreans in Japan so as to assist in new independent nation building. Conversely, Korean rightist newspapers insisted that enhanced social integration should be obtained primarily to improve the livelihood of Koreans in Japan. The rightwing perceived the [dominant leftwing] political movement by Koreans in Japan as a threat to its idea of community integration, a threat that must be stopped

³²⁵ Shinsegye Shinmun (13 October 1948).

The identity formation role of the rightist-leaning Korean press in Japan

Chosun Shinbo tried to emphasize to Korean readers that they were Koreans living in Japan by reporting about the Korean population in Japan. Quoting the census in Osaka City, this newspaper reported that the total number of Koreans in the Osaka area as of 1 October 1947, was 92,270, composed of 51,882 males and 40,388 females.³²⁶ It reported that in the international port city of Kobe, Koreans totaled 14,827, occupying 70 percent of all the foreigners living in the area.³²⁷ This newspaper also reported that the total number of Koreans in Japan was 508,905 and that 93,458 of them were living in Osaka in May 1948.³²⁸

Chosun Shinbo seemed to believe that Koreans needed to maintain their national identity, but that it was important for them to admit the reality [of living in a foreign country] and make compromises to fit their situation. Therefore, this newspaper's news articles and editorials mixed eagerness to form Korean national identity with the dictates of reality of life in another nation. For example, one editorial in the newspaper on August 1947 stated that there were many "shameful" Korean students studying in Japan who did not know "the [Korean] national language."³²⁹ Another story anecdotally described a pretty young woman's Korean language illiteracy in a game during a Korean elementary school field day. The story concluded, "It is a shame for Koreans not to understand Korean language."³³⁰ Another editorial in September 1947 insisted, "Not all the Koreans need to go back to their homeland even though Korea and the Korean

³²⁶ Chosun Shinbo (10 December 1947).

³²⁷ Chosun Shinbo (16 December 1947).

³²⁸ Chosun Shinbo (23 May 1948).

³²⁹ Chosun Shinbo (1 August 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³³⁰ Chosun Shinbo (14 October 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

race is now independent.”³³¹ This editorial argued it was the good time for Koreans in Japan to begin a settlement movement rather than being interested in the homeland politics.

Korean rightwing newspapers such as Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun tried to play roles as identity formers. They attempted to create and spread the identity of readers being “overseas residents of South Korea.” This goal contrasted keenly with that of leftist newspapers, which focused on forming and spreading the consciousness of identity of readers being “overseas residents of North Korea.” The rightist-leaning Korean newspaper Shinsegye Shinmun described Korean leftist movement groups as “shameful for Koreans” and said the action of the [occupation] authorities to forcibly dissolve the Choryon was right. This newspaper prominently published successive statements from the South Korean Governmental Representative Office in Japan and Korean rightwing movement groups in Japan. Statements in the paper from groups representing or supporting South Korean positions invariably accepted the reality of and even somewhat welcomed the decision to repress the Korean leftist movement. The South Korean Representative blamed Korean leftist groups for organizing stating, “The [necessity for] dissolution of leftist Choryon and Minchung is really shameful for all the Korean race.”³³² Statements of the leading Korean rightist group Mindan appeared in Shinsegye Shinmun, asserting, “[The leftist] Choryon was impotent to realize the tide of today. The leftist Choryon cooperated with

³³¹ Chosun Shinbo (2 September 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³³² Shinsegye Shinmun (11 and 21 September 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Japanese Communist Party forgetting this land was Japan under the American Army occupation. So the dissolution should be taken for granted.”³³³

The agenda setting role of Korean rightist leaning press in Japan

In late September 1949 efforts by rightist -leaning newspapers to inject and spread South Korean attitudes into Korean community in Japan became evident in one very direct editorial written in the Shinsegye Shinmun newspaper. The separate South Korean general election (10 May 1948) and establishment of a separate South Korean government (15 August 1948) had already occurred. Very important to Koreans in Japan was the forced dissolution of the leftist Korean movement group Choryon on 8 September 1949. Koreans in Japan were being forced to compromise with the rightist dominant environment in Japan. Now the more openly rightist-leaning Shinsegye Shinmun clearly addressed its rightist agenda for Koreans in Japan asking them to choose between North and South Korea. The editorial entitled, “The time has come to decide the attitude of Koreans in Japan,” continued:

We, 600,000 Koreans in Japan are reaching the point that we should decide which country’s people we would prefer to live as. So far, our legal status has been a weird and confusing problem. Since Korea was liberated [four years ago], we have not had a clear understanding of which country’s people we were. We, leftwing and rightwing alike, have lived separately. For different reasons, both leftists and rightists have opposed the split between North and South Korea. This division between the left and the right has caused fierce fighting between brethren Koreans in our fatherland. Similarly, the split and hatred between our two different groups has caused fighting between Koreans in this foreign country of Japan.

³³³ Shinsegye Shinmun (19 and 21 September 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Nonetheless, our confused, undecided, and conflicting behavior cannot continue. It can no longer be tolerated because the Korean race will not stand for it any longer and the [international] political landscape around will not permit it. Every Korean should now choose and identify which country he belongs to. Indecisiveness on whether to become North Korean overseas residents or South Korean overseas residents will not be permitted. It will be unacceptable. The South Korean Representative Office in Japan will soon commit an enrollment of “overseas residents of Korea.” Regardless of a person’s ideological stance or thoughts, it is time for each person to choose their legal status of affiliation [by enrolling as South Korean residents in Japan].³³⁴

This editorial is unique evidence, I would argue, illustrating the most fundamental and important agenda setting activity by the rightist-leaning newspaper Shinsegye Shinmun. This persuasive rightwing editorial clearly contrasts with those in leftist-leaning newspapers that basically identified the South Korean government as a puppet regime [of the United States] and argued, thus, that North Korea was the only legitimate state for Koreans in Japan.

As shown so far, the rightist-leaning Korean newspapers including Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun focused their agendas on reinforcing South Korean perspectives, just as leftwing newspapers continued to reinforce North Korean perspectives. So similar were the approaches of newspapers that each would directly counter efforts in articles to build support for one of the regimes in their homeland. If Haebang Shinmun carried articles on North Korean constitutional law and analysis, Chosun Shinbo would write on the constitutional law of Republic of Korea [South Korea].³³⁵ Similarly, when Chosun Shinbo reported in a detailed article about the Taeguk flag [the national flag of Korea

³³⁴ Shinsegye Shinmun (23 September 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³³⁵ Chosun Shinbo (28 June 1948) and Haebang Shinmun (15 November 1948).

since late 1800s], Haebang Shinmun introduced a special report on the North Korean national flag.³³⁶

4. Censorship and the Korean rightwing press in Japan

This section investigates how censorship limited the freedom of the press and influenced the Korean rightwing newspapers and magazines. It attempts to explain the relationship between censorship and the Korean rightwing press in Japan. Generally speaking, rightwing newspapers were treated much less harshly by the censors than were leftwing and mid-road newspapers and magazines.³³⁷

Specifically, no censorship documents for the rightist-leaning newspapers such as Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun were found in the Gordon W. Prange collection as of late fall of 2003. This indicated three different possibilities. One is the technical difficulty for collection librarians to locate these documents, if there are any, because the censored material has not been accurately or appropriately classified.³³⁸ Another possibility is that there were simply very few instances of censorship of the rightwing press because censors essentially agreed with what these rightwing newspapers were printing; and saw little reason to alter or censor them. This might be viewed as special treatment. A third possibility is that these two rightwing newspapers developed some cunning methods to avoid the censor's hands. This might be called circumventing the

³³⁶ Chosun Shinbo (15 August 1947) and Haebang Shinmun (1 September 1948).

³³⁷ See Table 2 of Chapter IV.

³³⁸ Actually, Eiko Sakaguchi, the Director of East Asia Section of McKeldin Library, who was in charge of Prange collection as well, informed me that nobody knew the whole landscape of the periodical part of the collection. She meant it could be true that either there was some censored material from the rightwing newspapers or that there was no unfound censored material from them.

ensorship rules. As a matter of fact, Hooshik Kim, who worked through the period of occupation at Chosun Shinbo and later at Shinsegye Shinmun, insisted that the censorship was not a serious or pressing problem in those two newspapers. During the interview with him, he reiterated this argument:

YOON: How did Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun adapt to censorship at the time?

KIM: Well, I was not the person who was in charge of contacting the censorship office. However, I remember we were never alerted to the process of censorship because of problematic articles. Not a single short article. The censors might have regarded these were special newspapers published by Koreans...

YOON: I believe all the publications should have gone through censorship until the end of 1949.

KIM: Yes, there was Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) office in Osaka, too. Though, at any rate, I remember we never experienced any critical responses from the censors saying such as, "This article is weird," or "Revise this article." I assume they often gave us breaks.³³⁹

Woonyong Huh, the publisher of Kukje Times (International Times) printed in Japanese, agreed with Kim's views. He explained that censorship was not so strongly felt. He remembered censorship on one occasion because of an article that attacked a leftist Korean group of Choryon. He, as the owner publisher of that newspaper, reminded the newsroom all the time of the importance of passing censorship without creating problems. He explained, "I always emphasized that we had to avoid covering difficult ideological issues. I am sure we surfed the censorship pretty well."³⁴⁰

³³⁹ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁴⁰ Woonyong Huh, interview by author, 16 December 2002, Tokyo, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

A. Censored program of a public lecture meeting

Because occupation authorities forbid any hint of expression in a publication about the practice of censorship, I did not find any direct references to censorship in publications. But, I found some interesting evidence of censorship in an announcement in Chosun Shinbo for a public lecture on current issues that was organized by this newspaper. This event was originally to be held 23 February 1947 and Chosun Shinbo published several open invitations to it. The program was to include several speeches explaining the political developments in the homeland, the issue of livelihood of Koreans in Japan, the issue of Korean racial education, the path for Korean youths and the identity of Koreans in Japan. After the speeches, the audience would see three short films, “Liberation News” and “Choryon [Leftist Korean movement group but dominant in the Korean community at the time] News No.10 and No.11.”³⁴¹ However, the meeting was suddenly cancelled and the newspaper apologized to the readers in the following manner:

The public lecture meeting on developments of the current situation was cancelled because the public assembly was not approved even though we had negotiated with the American occupation authorities up to the final moment. The newspaper is solely responsible for this regrettable result. We apologize to everybody including the readers who came to the event place. We will try to organize a successful lecture meeting soon.³⁴²

³⁴¹ Chosun Shinbo (20 February 1947). The reason this newspaper planned to show a film about Choryon can be regarded that, by the time of early 1947, the organization did not show strong tendency of leftwing dominance while being considered as the most representing organization of Koreans in Japan.

³⁴² Chosun Shinbo (26 February 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Chosun Shinbo carried another preliminary announcement about a week later in the newspaper saying, “The previously cancelled lecture meeting on the current situation will be held 11 March 1947 and this announcement will not be changed.” In this announcement the names of several lecturers were the same as those announced earlier, but the topics of the lectures were now mentioned ambiguously. Furthermore, the films to be seen were completely changed. The movies on the liberation of Koreans and on the Korean [leftist] movement groups were completely replaced with American documentary films:

The movies that will be shown are precious documentary films manufactured in the United States. They are (1) The landing of Allied Army to Normandy (2) The military operations on Okinawa (3) The atomic bombs and the defeat of Japan and more.³⁴³

The lecture meeting on the current situation reorganized by Chosun Shinbo seems to have been held without incident and the American army documentaries were shown to the Korean audience. Apparently, the real reason the meeting was changed was not because of scheduling negotiations with occupation authorities, but rather that the original program and the contents of the films to be shown were not approved. This is good evidence that the American occupation authorities censored and hampered not only the freedom of the press but also the freedom of assembly. This was especially true for leftwing publications and activities. Not surprisingly, censors generally permitted a wider range of unhampered expression from rightwing publications.

³⁴³ Chosun Shinbo (7 March 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

B. Held, Passed, Partly Deleted, and Suppressed

Chapter IV of this dissertation addressed how, out of 149 Korean articles held for action by censors, there were only 58 articles from the Korean rightwing publications [38.9 percent of the total of the 149 held articles]. In the total 21 rightwing articles [or 36.2 percent of 58 suspicious rightwing articles] were completely suppressed. Of these, 23 other rightwing articles [39.7 percent] were partly deleted, while 14 articles [24.1 percent] passed without being touched through the censors' hands.³⁴⁴

However, as mentioned above, no censored documents for the representative rightwing newspapers of Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun were available. Therefore, for the censorship section of this chapter, I have depended upon the censored articles largely from the Korean publications published in the Japanese language such as Chosen Shimbun (Korean Newspaper)³⁴⁵ and Chosen Tokushin (Korean Special News).³⁴⁶ Although this dissertation concerns the Korean publications published in the Korean language, because of the lack of censored rightwing Korean language articles in the two

³⁴⁴ See Table 2 of Chapter IV.

³⁴⁵ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NC 0252. Chosen Shimbun, No.184-No.315 (1 February 1948- 16 July 1948). Mindán Shinmun (The Newspaper of Mindán), the current organization newspaper of the Association of Korean Residents in Japan, seems to like to attribute its origin to Chosen Shimbun, because of its comparatively shorter period of history than the current organization newspaper of leftwing Chongryun (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan).

³⁴⁶ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NC 0255. Chosen Tokushin, No.263-No.544 (5 January 1947- 27 November 1947).

representative rightwing newspapers, available rightwing censored articles written in Japanese are included for analysis.

Suppressed articles from Korean rightwing publications

Even though Korean rightwing newspapers maintained a favorable attitude toward the South Korean government and the American occupation there, there were articles about the bad side of South Korea. Since these articles implied faults of American military government in South Korea, they were good candidates for censorship. This is why reports about the black market prospering in Seoul and prices in South Korea being the second highest in the world were suppressed.³⁴⁷

Here is a portion of the suppressed article about the black market in Seoul [Note: The English translation has been modified for grammatical reasons.]:

Following the Myong-dong PX (This is the place where boys and girls are selling the goods of the occupation forces on the black market that is the center of vice for boys and girls.) Recently black markets have appeared selling American Army goods in the back yard of Namdaemun gate and near [Hoihyon dong]. On the other hand, another black market appeared selling UNRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency] goods from Dongdaemun Gate to [Shinseol dong]. The sales for one day are more than 10 thousand items.

Barter there is so prevalent that it cannot be compared with ordinary city markets. Ladies and gentlemen are the guests of the markets. People are crowded there and everything is active. Following such markets, restaurants and tearooms have appeared in succession. The bad smell of drains mixes with the smell of restaurants. The scene is one of terrible confusion. Instead of expensive barbershops (it is said haircut charge is 80 yen), there have appeared cheap shops. Everything is too survival-oriented to

³⁴⁷ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 47 FRN 1586. Scheduled to appear on Chosen Tokushin (22 October 1947). And 47 FRN 2776. Scheduled to appear on Chosen Tokushin (22 December 1947).

achieve higher cultural activities. Citizens are eager to create such places as soon as they can with their new independence.³⁴⁸

The censors and examiners were also so sensitive about discussions or revelations on the issue of who was responsible for the division of Korea that any articles related to this issue were likely to be suppressed. An example of such writing scheduled to appear in the rightist-leaning Chosen Shimbun was killed and never saw publication:

We, the political slave under the control of Japan for 40 years, turned into the ideological slave that will never be helped in spite of the emancipation owed to the Second World War and certain political troubles of a few countries. Emancipation and independence, both are truly the vision.

Two great forces [the United States and the Soviet Union] divided Korea. They forced upon us this dreadful rupture and we are now under their control. We, Koreans, uncivilized, not stabilized and without the political experiment [are in an] extremely miserable situation left to devastate as we are now.³⁴⁹

Censors' pencils very often worked arbitrarily and bureaucratically. Suppressed articles from the rightwing Korean newspapers do not show any particular pattern. The censors suppressed the news that North Koreans were welcoming the Soviet suggestion of withdrawing the Soviet Union Army from North Korea earlier than the U.S. Army from South Korea;³⁵⁰ whereas they passed an article about the Korean groups in Japan that requested simultaneous

³⁴⁸ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 47 FRN 1586. Scheduled to appear on Chosen Tokushin (22 October 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Fujinami.

³⁴⁹ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 47 LOC 1605. Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (14 November 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named J. Kuba.

³⁵⁰ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 47 FRN 942. Scheduled to appear on Chosen Tokushin (3 October 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Hideo Watanabe.

withdrawal of the U.S. and Soviet Union.³⁵¹ They suppressed an article that the South Korean parliament had decided to dispatch three legislative members to Japan to investigating the treatment of Koreans in Japan by the Japanese government.³⁵² However, the same censors passed articles criticizing the Japanese government titled, “Japanese democratization is far from being perfect,”³⁵³ and “The Japanese government works very inefficiently.”³⁵⁴

Incidentally, passed articles that were held up for action were written with increasingly ambiguous and indirect expressions. This tendency is evidence that Korean journalists, despite their different ideological circles, became more familiar with using ambiguous language to circumvent censors’ hands.

Partly deleted articles from Korean rightwing publications

The censors objected to any articles pinpointing the United States and the Soviet Union as being responsible for dividing the Korean homeland. They prohibited any passages from being published that voiced the argument that either the United States or the Soviet Union was to blame. An article partly deleted from the magazine of the rightist-leaning Korean group of Konchung (Youth League to Expedite the Foundation of Korea) is a good example:

³⁵¹ Censorship Documents, 47 FRN 920. Passed and appeared on Chosen Tokushin (2 October 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Nagashima.

³⁵² Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 47 LOC 159. Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (14 May 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Hirota.

³⁵³ Censorship Documents, 47 LOC 108. Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (15 March 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Shigeru Nomura.

³⁵⁴ Censorship Documents, 47 LOC 1460. Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (30 October 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Yamaguchi.

TITLE OF ARTICLE: “Our Responsibilities in the New Year”

By Hong Hyon Kui.

BRIEF SUMMARY [by examiner]: In this article, Mr. Hong says that the occupation policy of dividing Korea into south and north and entrusting the administration to two separate governments is a very displeasing matter to the Koreans.

DELETED PASSAGE [originally bold typed and underlined]:

“...The occupation dividing Korea into south and north, and entrusting administrative problems to three Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the US-USSR joint conference **caused tears of indignation of the emancipated nation to flow and also** created a great sensation in the world...”³⁵⁵

In a similar way any article or passages that clearly addressed the topic of the responsibility of the United States and Soviet Union suffered deletion by censors in the name of “General Criticism of Allieš”:

International relations dismembered our beautiful Korea into South and North and brought disunion and disorder upon a happy circle of a single nation, and made two nations in a land and couldn't [didn't] understand our pure and intellectual reasons. Finally, we are now in a situation where trusteeship is thought out and planned but has ignored the autonomy that is very dear to us, the Korean people, who have 5,000 years noble and brilliant history.³⁵⁶

It is very evident the censors disliked and were intolerant of any criticism of South Korea, where another U.S. occupation was proceeding. They seemed to regard any negative commentary about South Korea as a criticism of the United States. Therefore, censors relentlessly deleted even a commentary on living conditions by a Korean writer from Japan who had traveled to South Korea after

³⁵⁵ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection T881. Partly deleted and appeared on Chungnyon (28 February 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named Furukawa.

³⁵⁶ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (21 August 1946). Translated by a Korean examiner named Yi Hyon.

the liberation. Censors gave as the reason that this passage was “causing incitement.” Moreover, a sentence was even deleted from an article titled, “In presenting the letter of thanks to the Allied Powers,” as criticizing Allied Powers:

“Our brethren in the homeland are suffering from the greatest distress. If the present condition continues for two months more, an inner eruption of a great disturbance may break out, I suppose.” (Quotation Deleted - causes incitement)³⁵⁷

We can't look on with folded arms, deadlocks of national divisions and unsteady living caused by trusteeship and the 38th parallel which are before us now. (Above deleted: Criticism of Allied Powers).³⁵⁸

C. Consensus of journalists in rightist-leaning Korean press in Japan

The establishment of South Korean separate government and rightist press positioning

Hooshik Kim described the general atmosphere in the newsroom of Chosun Shinbo and the stance of president Ryu at the time. According to Kim, Korean journalists working in rightist newspapers formed a consensus that the homeland should have been one nation. However, there was a fundamental difference between rightist-leaning and leftist-leaning journalists. Kim said that the leftist press was opposed to the idea of separate government in South Korea because it wanted to see a unified leftwing government in the homeland, while the rightist-leaning press disliked this idea but did not want to see a permanently

³⁵⁷ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (12 September 1946). Translated by a Korean examiner named Yi Hyon.

³⁵⁸ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (18 October 1946). Translated by a Korean examiner named Yi Hyon.

divided homeland. Regardless of where the emphasis was, rightwing newspapers gradually become supportive of South Korea. The voice of “unified homeland in any circumstances” accordingly lost favor. Kim recalled:

We [journalists in the newsroom of Chosun Shinbo] recognized that the United States and a certain weird group of politicians in South Korea [led by Syngman Rhee] were in a hurry to conduct a general election in the South. Those who were in South Korea might not fully realize this. As we were in Japan, we could see the facts more clearly. We felt it was not necessary to hurry the general election that much. We feared that if South Korea did so, then we [the Korean people] would be permanently divided. However, president Ryu, the owner of the newspaper, firmly supported a separate general election and the establishment of a separate government in the South. We [journalists] had to follow the direction that Ryu was encouraging. We felt very sorry, not because we would not see a unified communist country like leftist journalists wanted, but because we were doomed to have a permanently divided homeland and be required to choose between the two halves.³⁵⁹

Yearning for unified homeland but not communist domination

The yearning by rightist -leaning Korean journalists in Japan for a unified homeland was no less strong than that of leftist-leaning journalists. The attitude of the Korean rightwing press on this topic was different before and after the establishment of separate governments, first in the South (15 August 1948) and then, as a reaction to the South’s development, in the North (18 September 1948). Before separate governments were established, the Korean rightwing newspapers led by Chosun Shinbo openly communicated their yearning for a unified homeland, but their position was more neutral or mid-road in its political ideology than leftwing publications. That is, they took issue with serial articles and

³⁵⁹ Hooshik Kim, interview by author, 6 January 2003, Osaka, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

editorials with headlines such as these: “The power of unified homeland will be great,”³⁶⁰ “The U.S.-Soviet Common Committee resumed: The opportunity for unified government establishment comes,”³⁶¹ “The obstacles of Koreans will be cut off by Korean unification,”³⁶² and so on.

However, after establishment of separate governments in South and North Korea, thus after the [more official] division of the Korean homeland, there were more demonstrations for unification led by the political philosophy of South Korea. The attitudes printed in Korean rightwing publications underwent a gradual but obvious switch. That is, their yearning for unification of their homeland was still a top priority, but only under the condition that there be no leftist-leaning [thus, no communist or no North Korea dominant] union between the North and the South. The Korean rightwing newspapers led by Shinsegye Shinmun disseminated messages suggesting that establishment of separate governments had been “inevitable” and that Koreans in Japan must accommodate and conform to that reality. Here are some examples of headlines at the time: “Today establishment of [the separate] government, tomorrow reunification of North-South,”³⁶³ “Advance to a strong movement to unification [led by the South],”³⁶⁴ “We should reunify in a peaceful way,”³⁶⁵ “President Syngman Rhee requests the dissolution of North Korean government for a peaceful

³⁶⁰ Chosun Shinbo (5 March 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶¹ Chosun Shinbo (19 May 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶² Chosun Shinbo (13 March 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶³ Shinsegye Shinmun (15 August 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶⁴ Shinsegye Shinmun (19 August 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶⁵ Shinsegye Shinmun (2 September 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

unification,”³⁶⁶ “The crisis of civil war and the rational Korean race,”³⁶⁷
“Subjugating the North depending on foreign power will hamper the peaceful
reunification,”³⁶⁸ and so on.

The censors did not suppress nor even partially delete any article by
Koreans in Japan that simply expressed a yearning for unification of the Korean
homeland. There was only censorship when writing blamed the U.S. or Soviet
Union for the division and described Koreans figuratively as a newly colonized
people. Konchong, a rightwing movement group, in its organization magazine
Shin Chosun, tried to disseminate its opinion in an essay in the September 1946
issue. The censors deleted the following passages as “criticism of Allies and
causes incitement and unrest”:

Indeed our liberation was a present to our nation. Let’s
think over how to proceed now with this present we have received.
Reflecting on the current situation in Korea, we must wake, unite
and fight together against all obstacles with blood. American and
Soviet powers have broken the small land in half and treated us
with the violence of tigers’ mouths and bears’ hands. The wall of
38th parallel became a control stick situation, if we don’t unite and
liquidate the wall of 38th parallel. And if we don’t have our
sovereignty, we shall have to transfer to others in the near future
the gift we have been given. We can foresee a dilemma. “Oh, time
oh, time, it will not come again,” so was written in an old book. If
we lose this chance [of unification] and become a colonial people
again, all the Korean martyrs who had died for the Korean people
[during the Japanese rule] would weep over the missed opportunity
in their graveyards. How can we face them? Our descendents in
100 or 1,000 years from now would think ill of us reproaching our
loss of the gift and an end to the history it promised.”³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ Shinsegye Shinmun (30 March 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶⁷ Shinsegye Shinmun (5 February 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶⁸ Shinsegye Shinmun (19 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁶⁹ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. Attached to Prange collection
S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (12 September 1946). Translated by
a Korean examiner named Yi Hyon.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the Korean rightist-leaning newspapers and magazines published during the occupation in Japan. Through the research, it was found that the division of the Korean homeland by the United States and Soviet Union influenced the development of competing Korean national movement groups in Japan divided along leftwing and rightwing lines. This division and the competing visions influenced the stories written by the leftist and rightist-leaning Korean press in Japan at the time. Chosun Shinbo and Shinsegye Shinmun were leaders in the Korean rightwing press. The same successful Korean businessman, Soohyon Ryu, funded both. This chapter shows that both the occupation authority and Japanese government under its control maintained a favorable attitude to the rightist-leaning Korean press at the time.

The favorable attitude was demonstrated through discriminatory allocation of printing paper to rightwing publishers. This favoritism led to pretended and contrived circulation of rightwing publications and resulted in unjustifiable access to extra printing paper at a time when Japan was suffering from severe shortages of printing paper. With the extra printing paper [not used for actual printing], rightwing newspapers presumably sold it on the black market making tremendous profits for their owners. This naturally led to protests from leftist publications and widespread rumors of corruption between occupation authorities and Korean rightwing publishers.

In spite of the printing paper scandals, Korean rightist-leaning newspapers and magazines tried to serve such social roles as community integration, identity formation, and agenda setting just as the leftwing press did. When compared with leftwing press, the Korean rightwing press was concentrated on advocating for and legitimizing the government of South Korea, which was sponsored by the U.S. occupation there.

This chapter has discussed the major role and influence of newspaper owners who actively supported the South Korean position. Examples were provided of abrupt and ideologically motivated forced retirements and firings on rightwing publications, including the firing an editor-in-chief and the forced stoppage of a serial novel being written by a leftist novelist.

Although censors treated Korean rightwing publications more favorably than they did leftwing publications, any article from the left or the rightwing press that identified the U.S. and Soviet Union as being responsible for the division of Korean homeland was suppressed or partially deleted. This extreme limitation of freedom of the press was labeled “criticism of the Allies” or, “causing unrest.” Facing obvious limits to freedom of the press, Korean rightist-leaning publications and their journalists tried, nevertheless, to communicate the consensus that they yearned for unification of their homeland. Their yearning for unification of the homeland, as described in this dissertation, was similar to that of the leftist-leaning publications and their journalists. However, the earlier and voluntarily separate government established in South Korea was a turning point in

the attitudes of rightwing publications. They continued to yearn for Korean unification; but now they would not tolerate any communist [leftist] dominance.

Table 5: Korean Rightist-leaning Publications, Prange collection

Call #	Korean Title	English Title	Circulation	Subscription Fee (Unit Price)	Printing type
Newspapers					
NC0253	Chosun Shinbo	The Korean Times	61,700-62,000	12.50yen/m-42 yen/m	Typed
NS1942	Shinsegye Shinmun	New World Newspaper	20,000	42 yen/m-51.50 yen/m	Typed
NS0743	Chungnyon Sib0	The News of Youth	Unknown	Unknown	Typed
NK0899	Kondong Tukshin	Kondong Special News	Unknown	Unknown	Mimeograph
NM0459	Mindan Soshik	The News for the Association of Korean Residents in Japan	Unknown	Unknown	Typed
Magazines					
T881	Chungnyon	The Youth	Unknown	Unknown	Typed
S1312	Shin Chosun	Magazine New Korea	Unknown	5 yen/copy	Mimeograph
K1695	Korea Munye	Korean Literary Arts	Unknown	Unknown	Typed
S1160	Shijo	Current Tide	Unknown	Unknown	Typed

* yen/m = yen/month

Chapter VI: Korean Mid-road Oriented Press in Japan

This chapter explores characteristics of Korean mid-road leaning newspapers and magazines in Japan during the American occupation in Japan and specifically during the censorship period [1945-1949]. As demonstrated in Chapter IV and V of this dissertation, the Korean press in Japan mainly reflected the polarized views and ideas of Korean movement groups in Japan at that time. Publications generally leaned either toward leftwing or rightwing perspectives. As noted earlier, this split in the Korean community in Japan reflected a division of perspectives in the Korean homeland that eventually became the North / South geographical division that was desired and influenced by the Soviet Union [North Korea] and the United States [South Korea].

The Korean mid-road oriented press in Japan during the occupation refers to that press showing little open bias either for or against the South or the North. This does not mean that these newspapers and magazines regarded the North and the South without any support or favor for their homeland. Indeed, the Korean mid-road press could be said to reflect a desire for unity among Koreans in the homeland and they were thus reluctant to show any favor for either the North or the South. They, therefore, chose to abstain from allying themselves through their reporting with either one of the two homeland Koreas. They had, however, no less love for their homeland than leftist and rightist Korean groups and publications. Because of the delicate political situation in both the homeland and the Korean

community in Japan, the topical area of journalistic expression for the mid-road oriented Korean press was not wide at all. This mid-road positioning was likely to be attacked from both leftists and rightists, and denounced as opportunistic or indecisive. In spite of this limited reporting and editorial environment, the mid-road leaning press may have well reflected the situation and views of ordinary Koreans in Japan at the time. Ordinary Koreans in Japan, unlike the rightists and the leftists, did not anticipate, or perhaps they wanted to deny and avoid, the difficult question of having to choose affiliation between the North and the South in their homeland. However, the demand to make a choice was unavoidable. That is, most Koreans in Japan were generally not familiar with the intense ideological battles that were raging, but they were, nevertheless, eventually forced by circumstances to face this very uncomfortable question.

The mid-road leaning newspapers and magazines for this dissertation's research were categorized into three groups: First were newspapers that adopted news sources rather equally from both South and North Korea. They offered dry news reports, which contrasted with those in other leftist or rightist leaning publications at the time.³⁷⁰ Second were publications targeting a children's audience, and thus they seldom mentioned sensitive ideological issues or politically oriented topics. Third were magazines that concentrated on literary works and therefore, represented political issues far less directly through their journalistic activities.

³⁷⁰ As demonstrated in prior chapters such as Chapter IV and V, Korean leftwing press had strong tendency supportive of North Korea, while rightwing press advocated South Korean side.

Chapter VI focuses upon publications that were judged to conform to mid-road perspectives as described above. As in previous chapters, this one makes use of representative publications preserved in the Prange collection. Analysis explores whether the major social roles these publications pursued were substantially different from those of leftist or rightist-leaning publications. Reviewing and interpreting suppressed or partly deleted articles from this category of publications reveals the relationship between the Korean mid-road press and censorship and compares the results to censorship patterns of leftist and rightist-leaning presses. Finally, this chapter addresses and explores evidence of a consensus-like yearning for a unified Korea expressed in the mid-road press.

1. Korean mid-road newspapers and magazines preserved in the Prange collection

Chosun Jungbo (Korean Information Press)³⁷¹

Chosun Jungbo began as a mimeographed daily newsletter on January 1, 1946 in Tokyo.³⁷² Characteristics of readers of this newsletter are difficult to identify. However, the book History of Mindan, 50 Years offers some clues about the range of Chosun Jungbo's readers. This book states, "Chosun Jungbo, the former news organization of Korean Press International (KPI News Agency) in Japan, distributed the newsletters in late 1940s, publishing in Korean, Japanese

³⁷¹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NC0244. Chosun Jungbo, No.244-No.296 (1 January- 13 March 1947), No.399- No.433 (1 September-17 October 1947).

³⁷² History Editing Board of Mindan [the Association of Korean Residents in Japan], The History of Mindan, 50 years (Seoul: Seoul Daily Newspaper Co., 1997), 829.

and English, to foreign embassies in Japan, Japanese newspapers, radio stations, [Japanese] government offices, business offices, and important individuals.”³⁷³

This newsletter published two-page issues printed on both the front and back of one sheet. The format of printing of the newsletter was quite different from other publications. That is, Chosun Jungbo took a format not of a professionally-edited publication but of compiling simple fact-based reports with same-sized-letter headlines on all reports. Unlike other leftwing or rightwing publications, Chosun Jungbo, in addition to facing the scarcity of printing paper common in the post-war period, seems to have suffered from an unavailability of movable types. When it was just over a year old, this news agency began a printed version of its newsletter beginning with its issue No.256 (17 January 1947). Then, the newsletter seems to have returned to a mimeographed format with issue No.408 (11 September 1947) after only six months. In the Prange collection, the issues of this newsletter from No.297 to No.398 [the period covered is assumed to be from 14 March to 31 August 1947] are not preserved at all. There is no clue about these missing issues that number more than 100. Because issue No. 399 (1 September 1947) continues in mimeograph format, we may assume the period when this newsletter was forced to return to a mimeographed version was sometime between mid-March 1947 to August 1947. The actual reason for its having returned to a mimeographed version is not identifiable. Anyway, it was undoubtedly a thrilling event for this newsletter agency to have a printed version. When this news agency began its printed version, it celebrated this fact with an announcement on 17 January 1947:

³⁷³ History of Mindan, 829. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

We are pleased that this newsletter agency has developed a lot over the passed year and appreciate the constant advice and affection received from our readers. Today we are happy to inform you that we are now able to publish this newsletter with moveable types. However, we will continue to follow the old-fashioned rules of Korean spelling since the new spelling types are not yet available [in Japan]. In spite of this, we will do our best to fulfill our mission of reporting the situation in our fatherland. [If you stay with us and continue your readership,] we are sure that we will soon be able to be equipped with the new [spelling] types. We urge all readers' prayers to go for the construction of our new homeland.³⁷⁴

The publisher and editor of Chosun Jungbo was Yunjoong Kim, whose political orientation is not known. The number of copies printed of the newsletter is also not known.

This daily newsletter's subscription fee was 30 yen per month. However, the subscription fees do not seem to have been collected effectively. The newsletter urged its subscribers to pay overdue fees soon with this statement: "In this period of commodity scarcities and price hikes, we beg our readers to send their unpaid subscription fees."³⁷⁵ On 1 February 1947, Chosun Jungbo announced that it was going to stop distribution of the newsletter to the subscribers who did not pay their fees.³⁷⁶ The circulation of Chosun Jungbo, however, is not traceable.

This newsletter's mid-road leaning character in the Korean press in Japan during the occupation can be linked to its dry, uncontroversial reporting of political developments in North and South Korea. The news agency obviously differed from Korean leftwing and rightwing-oriented newspapers, which

³⁷⁴ Chosun Jungbo (17 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁷⁵ Chosun Jungbo (25 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁷⁶ Chosun Jungbo (1 February 1947).

distinctively chose to emphasize their preference for either North or South Korea. Unlike the leftwing and rightwing publications, this newsletter was consistent in providing fact-based reportage with very few editorials and making few political arguments. Chosun Jungbo also maintained a polite respect for Korean political figures from both North and South Korea. For example, this newsletter continued to refer to Syngman Rhee, the South Korean political leader at the time, as “Dr.” Syngman Rhee and Il-Sung Kim, the North Korean leader as “General” Il-Sung Kim. This was the same way that ordinary Koreans would refer to the leaders. This contrasted greatly with the way Korean rightist publications called Kim merely by his name, and the leftwing press would refer to Rhee without his doctoral degree.

This newsletter’s mid-road content indicates that it served primarily as a conveyor for straightforward and less politicized stories from both Seoul and Pyongyang. This agency’s major news stories quoted those broadcast on Seoul Radio, Pyongyang Radio, and offered by the Chosun News Agency, which mainly offered news service both from Seoul and Pyongyang to Korean newspapers in Korean peninsula. Furthermore, it appears that Chosun Jungbo practiced an arithmetically balanced system for adopting news items from the South and North.³⁷⁷ From 1 January 1947 to 10 September 1947, before the newsletter returned to publishing in a mimeographed format, Chosun Jungbo ran a total of 332 news reports. Of these, reports from Pyongyang totaled 160 and reports from Seoul totaled 156. The rest of the news reports were from Tokyo (12), New York

³⁷⁷ See Table 3.

(2), Osaka(1), and Newsweek Magazine (1).³⁷⁸ This arithmetic balance of news reports from Seoul and Pyongyang may be regarded as an indication of the mid-road oriented characteristic of Chosun Jungbo.

Kukdong Shinbo (Far Eastern News)³⁷⁹

Kukdong Shinbo was a weekly newspaper published in Osaka. This newspaper clearly indicated its mid-road leaning tendency from the outset. In its inauguration edition, this newspaper pointed out that “the existing newspapers in Korean community in Japan are preoccupied with [being] either leftwing or rightwing.”³⁸⁰ This newspaper emphasized that if the northern and southern halves went their own extreme ways, then the unification of the fatherland and national development would not be realized. Kukdong Shinbo tried to develop its own weekly newspaper market in the Korean community in Japan by convincing readers that it followed examples in the American newspaper market. It argued, “In the United States, where the modern journalism is more evolved, the daily newspapers are not dominant over the weekly newspapers. That is, there are important distinct roles filled by dailies and weeklies.”³⁸¹

The publisher-editor-printer of Kukdong Shinbo was Daekwan Kang, but his political activity is not known. From Kang’s own inaugural remarks, we may

³⁷⁸ See Table 3. In the Chosun Jungbo returned to mimeograph, from No.408 (11 September 1947) to No.432 (17 October 1947), however, the arithmetic balance was completely broke down. That is, among a total of 80 news reports purveyed by this newsletter, 77 were from Seoul while 2 were from Pyongyang and 1 was from Tokyo.

³⁷⁹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NK2553. Kukdong Shinbo, No.1-No.3 (11 May- 25 May 1949).

³⁸⁰ Daekwan Kang, “Inaugurational remarks of the newspaper,” Kukdong Shinbo (11 May 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁸¹ Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

assume that he pursued the mid-road path. This perspective did not provide a very broad arena for expression amidst the competitive and combative leftwing / rightwing atmosphere prevalent at the time. In his writing, Kang said, “This [mid-road leaning] newspaper will pursue a compromise between [political] realities and an ideal future with the correct recognition of the world tide through abandoning extreme conservative views.”³⁸² A Kukdong Shinbo editorial appeared in its second issue supporting publisher Kang’s views:

The mission of newspaper and newspapermen is to point to a more plausible way for readers to regard fluctuations of contemporary world history. However, a newspaper is also a production organization that creates cultural commodities and it, therefore, must consider objective conditions and prevailing social limitations. Kukdong Shinbo is aiming to accomplish objective reporting by not hiding behind profit-seeking purpose or irresponsible [ideological] targets.³⁸³

Kukdong Shinbo claimed that it published every Wednesday and brought out four-page editions based on printing front and back.³⁸⁴ The number of copies printed of this newspaper is not known but the subscription fee was 50 yen per month.

Shin Sanghwal (New Life)³⁸⁵

³⁸² Ibid. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁸³ “Editorial,” Kukdong Shinbo (18 May 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁸⁴ Kukdong Shinbo can be included in the untypical Korean publications in the sense that it printed four-page issues like the leftwing-oriented Minjung Shinmun and Daejung Shinmun. However, in the Prange collection, only three copies of Kukdong Shinbo are preserved and this hinders a researcher in tracing further publishing environment of it.

³⁸⁵ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NS 1921. Shin Saenghwal, No.1-No.5 (20 January- 10 July 1948)

Shin Saenghwal was an organization newspaper for Shin Saenghwal Wundong Bonbu (New Life Movement Center), a movement affiliated with the leftist-leaning Choryon (League of Koreans in Japan). The newspaper claimed that it was published twice a month. It was, however, actually only published monthly. Each issue consisted of two-page printing on the front and back of a single sheet. The price of one copy of this newspaper was just one yen for the issue No.1 (20 January 1948) and No.2 (10 March 1948). The price increased to two yen per copy beginning with issue No.3 (10 April 1948). The circulation of this newsletter was not identified.

The publisher-editor of Shin Saenghwal was Sangdae Kang, who led both the Movement of New Life and also published this newsletter. The Movement of New Life and the Shin Saenghwal newspaper both emphasized a new spirit in the Korean community and unification of Korean factions. There was a clearly mid-road tone even though this movement was under the wider umbrella of the leftwing leaning Choryon movement. The newspaper of Shin Saenghwal was more interested in issues of Korean ethnic marriage between young Koreans in Japan and whether or not there should be dual or separate celebration of New Year Day in both lunar and solar calendars than in political debate. Kang announced a mid-road leaning tendency at the top of the front-page article entitled, “Let’s begin the Movement of New Life that is the first step for spiritual revolution”:

The spirit of our Korean race is confused like a tangled roll of threads. It is an unforgivable mistake that we [Koreans] are giving

up our eternal happiness by hating, hurting, and veiled enmity toward one another. Have you ever imagined what kinds of images foreigners get when they view the landscape of our fatherland of Chosun [Korea]? Perhaps they would say, “There were scattered humble houses under the red colored [without green trees because of long time exploitation with no plantation] mountains.” We have to reconstruct our own rivers and mountains and our houses with our own hands. Even though [Allied] Powers have promised us independence, the [real] independence will be impossible without recreating our racial spirit and our own voluntary unification.³⁸⁶

Shin Saenghwal newspaper insisted that Koreans should adopt the use of the solar calendar to standardize with practices of other countries throughout the world. An article appearing in the first issue said, “Only China and Chosun [Korea] are using the lunar calendar, while the rest of the world unanimously use the solar calendar. This immediately reveals we have been left behind the tide of the world and are retarded in the sense of enlightenment.”³⁸⁷

Shin Saenghwal tried to be a matchmaking organization for young Korean males and females in Japan, but efforts turned out to be less than fruitful. The New Life Movement Center created from its outset a department of marriage [among Koreans in Japan]. However, the traditional shyness of young Korean women and the customs of matchmaking of children’s marriages by their parents likely hindered the newspaper’s success. Shin Saenghwal informed readers of the frustrating result of its efforts at ethnic matchmaking among Koreans:

Our New Life Movement Center regrets the frustrating result of our efforts at matchmaking among our Korean race. So far, no event has happened to introduce anybody to someone else. The Yomaeng (Korean Women’s League in Japan) has a close connection with the

³⁸⁶ Shin Saenghwal (20 January 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Translated by the author of this dissertation.

New Life Movement Center and has established a similar department of Marriage Counseling. As a matter of fact, New Life Movement Center has identified many male applicants willing to marry any Korean female applicants. Now, Yomaeng is waiting for applications of female Koreans in Japan. [If you feel more free to apply to Yomaeng rather than male dominant New Life Movement Center,] please apply directly to Yomaeng.³⁸⁸

This newspaper wanted to create a sponsorship path for its movement that was different from that of other Korean leftist and rightist movement groups, which usually depended exclusively on donations of Koreans in Japan. Instead, the New Life Movement Center tried to mediate or sell low-cost fire insurance contracts for poor Koreans who were often exposed to the danger of conflagration. Sometimes due to a concentration of low-income Korean families in one area, dangerous shantytowns developed in Japan that were very susceptible to fire. Shin Saenghwal announced, “Because other Korean movement groups already depend on donations from our brethren Koreans, the New Life Movement Center cannot impose another burden of donation for this unique movement upon our Korean community.”³⁸⁹ It explained that it wanted to cover New Life Movement costs by handling the purchase of much-needed fire insurance. It wanted to obtain justifiable commissions through new and renewed insurance contracts.

Children’s newspaper and magazines

The Prange collection contains one children’s newspaper and four different children’s magazines that were published during the occupation in

³⁸⁸ Shin Saenghwal (10 July 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation

³⁸⁹ Shin Saenghwal (20 January 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Japan. This indicates that the Korean community in Japan at the time was quite devoted to bringing up its second generation, considering the fact that the entire group of Korean publications was composed of 19 newspapers and 14 magazines. Unlike the complicated world and political environment addressed in Korean adult publications, the publications for children commonly hoped to offer the second generation a less ideologically tainted world. The world of Korean adults was being governed by the nominal Japanese government, which had colonized Korea and governed Koreans in a harsh imperialistic way. Behind the Japanese control over Koreans in Japan was American occupation control. Their homeland was divided by the rivalry of the United States and Soviet Union, which expedited severe conflict between leftists and rightists both in Korea and in the Korean community in Japan. These issues were generally not addressed in Korean children's publications.

Orini Shinmun (Children's Newspaper) was the only children's newspaper published in Japan by Koreans.³⁹⁰ Sungkyu Kim published this newspaper in Yokohama. This newspaper was mimeographed and never had a typed version. It was a two-page publication printed on the front and back in one sheet. The newspaper said it was a weekly newspaper being published every Sunday. However, it is not clear how many times Orini Shinmun was published, or what the number of copies printed and unit price of the newspaper were. The publisher Kim apologized to its child readers for combining issues of No.3-No.4. He informed them that difficulties in securing printing paper and other financial

³⁹⁰ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NO 0243. Orini Shinmun, Combined No.3-No.4 (5 May 1947).

concerns had forced him to combine those issues. This newspaper recruited child reporters by taking applications from young readers who wanted to write for it. One article in the newspaper revealed that Korean children admired the United States and its way of thinking at the time:

[Dear Korean children], do you happen to know the island of Kiska in the Aleutian Islands? It is an island that the Japanese navy once occupied. The U.S. navy recaptured Kiska from the Japanese [during the World War II]. After recapturing it, the U.S. military constructed military facilities worth millions of dollars on this island, but these turned out to be useless because the war ended. Recently, a U.S. magazine carried an interesting article saying, "The U.S. government seems to have a plan to sell this island to anybody who is interested." Isn't this a marvelous story that only [a great and generous nation like] America deserves?³⁹¹

A children's magazine, Sonyon Saenghwal: Boys' Life, was the organization magazine for the Korean Federation in Japan of International Boy Scouts.³⁹² It claimed to be a monthly magazine but the publishing seemed to be rather irregular. The number of copies of the magazine published varied from 1,500 to 2,000 copies per issue. The unit price of the magazine was 50 yen per copy. The publisher-editor-printer of Boys' Life was Haisung Kim, who established and strengthened the Boy Scout movement among Koreans in Japan. The main topic of this magazine was definitely how to train and organize boy scouts. Though the other topics such as how to draw the [South] Korean national flag and how to learn the Korean national anthem were included, Boys' Life also

³⁹¹ Orini Shinmun (4 May 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁹² Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. B 202. Sonyon Saenghwal: Boys' Life, Vol.1 No.2-Vol2. No.5 (December 1947- May 1948). This magazine is the only publication that had its own English title as well as a Korean title among all the Korean publications in the Prange collection.

put a significant emphasis on the Korean alphabet and the Korean language. The publisher Kim seems to have been helped a lot by Americans among the occupation authorities who had been involved with Boy Scouts in the United States. An editor's note of the January issue of Boys' Life specifically acknowledged help from an American in the Civil Information and Education Section (CI&E) of the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP):

Boys' Life received a pair of precious books covering the Boy Scouts movement thanks to the help of two Americans. Mr. David L. Sills in CI&E introduced [to the editor] Mr. M.D. Typer, who is also working in the CI&E. Mr. Typer was willing to donate two invaluable books, Aids to Scout Mastership by Baden Powell and Ten Steps to Organize a Boy Scout Troop. I appreciate these with my whole hearts and will try to do my best to introduce and cover the important contents of these books in upcoming issues. I would find it most helpful if there were anybody [else in the Korean community] who knows something about the Boy Scouts, I alone organize, edit and write everything in this magazine.³⁹³

Orini Tongshin (Children's Newsletter) was a children's magazine published by the headquarters of leftwing leaning Choryon (League of Koreans in Japan) in Tokyo, but it showed less ideologically oriented tendency than adult publications of Choryon.³⁹⁴ The publisher was Keun Yoon, the chairman of Choryon at the time, and the printer was Sanghyo Rhee, the Director of Cultural Department of Choryon.³⁹⁵ The magazine was published twice a month. Each edition of Orini Tongshin usually had 16 pages per copy. The unit prices of this magazine varied from 2.5 yen to 3.0 yen per copy. The number of copies printed

³⁹³ Boys' Life (January 1948), 69. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁹⁴ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. O 120. Orini Tongshin, Vol.1 No.1-Vol 1. No. 8 (1 July- 15 October 1946).

³⁹⁵ Orini Tongshin (1 July 1946), 16.

of this children's magazine could not be determined. Distribution of the magazine seems to have been smoother than that of other children's magazines, because it depended on the network of Korean ethnic schools established by Choryon, which were dominant in the Korean community in Japan.

At the time of this magazine's publication in 1946 and despite the presence of occupation forces of the U.S. Army in the South and the Soviet Union Army in the North, Korea was not yet officially divided into two different regimes. Therefore, the Taeguk [the symbol of the dual principle of Yin and Yang] Flag, which later became the basis for the official national flag of South Korea, was described as the national flag of "new" Korea in this magazine. In a similar vein, the former fighters against the Japanese colonial army such as Moojung and Il-Sung Kim were introduced to Korean children readers in Japan as role models described as "Racial Heroes."³⁹⁶ By the way, a comic strip appeared in Orini Tongshin that illustrates the difficulty that Korean children and families faced trying to recover and maintain their mother tongue living in Japan:

- #1 Elder brother: "From now on, let's decide that anybody speaks in Japanese [at home] should pay penalty in this box."
Sisters: "Hai, hai. [Yes, yes, in Japanese]"
#2 Elder brother: "Oh, you are fleeing without pay penalty? Kora!
[Stop, in Japanese]"
#3 Elder brother: Hai? Isn't that a Japanese word? Pay the penalty.
#4 Sisters: Hah hah hah. You did say a Japanese word as well,
didn't you? You pay the penalty, too.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Orini Tongshin (15 July 1946),1 and Orini Tongshin (1 August 1946),1. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

³⁹⁷ Orini Tongshin (1 August 1946), 16. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Uridongmu (Our Friends) was a children's magazine published in Osaka and later in Tokyo beginning with issue No.21 (20 May 1949).³⁹⁸ It had the subtitle "Educational Magazine" on each edition. The parent company for this magazine was Chosun Shin Minsaeng Sa (Korean New People's Life Co.), which was owned by Chungryong Lim. The publisher-editor was Jaehyon Rhu. This children's magazine focused on introducing readers to traditional homeland Korean culture through the stories of great figures in Korean history. It also printed Korean geography articles. It was not typed but mimeographed. This magazine was voluminous compared with other children's publications, generally publishing 20, 26 or 32 pages. Eventually the magazine diversified its editions into two levels: one for grades from the first to third and another for grades from the fourth to sixth. The unit prices of the magazine varied from 30 yen to 35 yen. The circulation increased from 8,000 to 27,000 as the publication matured.³⁹⁹ It may be assumed that the large number of pages and good circulation became possible as the printing paper shortage lessened around 1949, the fifth year of occupation in Japan.

As with other Korean children's publications, Uridongmu generally maintained a mid-road political perspective in its articles and content. It seldom expressed any ideological orientation. However, it may be said that Uridongmu would be counted among those publications supporting the North Korean regime.

³⁹⁸ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. U 78. Uridongmu, No.16- No.21 (January 1949- July 1949)

³⁹⁹ Prange collection. "CCD#188, Magazine Examination" attached respectively to Uridongmu No.17 (April 1949), No.18 (May 1949), No.19 (June 1949), and No.21 (July 1949).

The signs of this tendency showed up exclusively in the editor's notes The following editor's note appeared in issue No.18 (1 April 1949):

You [beloved Korean children] are wonderful sons and daughters of the People's Democratic Republic of Chosun [North Korea's official name since 1948]. You should be proud of yourselves. Let me ask you a question. Have you seen any Japanese people who do not understand the Japanese language? We [Korean children] should work hard to avoid having any Korean who does not understand our national language among us.⁴⁰⁰

A play appearing in the No.21 (July 1949) indirectly lectured readers of Uridongmu in a more cunning way. In this play, a teacher in a Korean ethnic school located in rural Japan answers question from students about "the meaning of Liberation Day [of Korea]":

Teacher: Listen. After a long war on was 15 August 1945 the Allied Powers erased the fascist and imperialist Japan and Germany. Allied Powers liberated the people of the two countries and those of other countries who had been oppressed under colonial invasions. Therefore, that date, as the anniversary of liberation, is certain. However, you should know this. Those liberated countries are not all the same. Those countries such as the democratic northern part of the fatherland [North Korea] that the Allied Army [Soviet Union] supported and cared for remain joyful. However, those countries that did not follow this path [obviously this meant South Korea] are suffering from the resumption of fascists and imperialists disguised with fake democracy trying to oppress the people again. Therefore, such places [including South Korea] have not welcomed genuine liberation.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Uridongmu (1 April 1949), 31. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁰¹ Jaehak Choi, "Liberation date," Uridongmu (July 1949), 10-11. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Pyollara (World of Stars) was a children's monthly magazine published in Yokohama.⁴⁰² The publisher-editor of this magazine was Sungkyu Kim, who published Orini Shinmun (Children's Newspaper) as well. The magazine was mimeographed, even though the publisher Kim hoped to offer a typed edition. To Kim's regret, however, Pyollara could not secure movable types. Instead, it had to decrease the pages from 36 pages in its inaugural edition in March 1947 to 24 pages in the April edition. The publisher said in the April edition, "I should apologize to every child reader that the volume was forced to dwindle due to the shortage of printing paper."⁴⁰³ Furthermore, the magazine could not publish its third issue for six months. Publisher Kim apologized again to the child readers, "Due to unavoidable reasons, I have not published the third issue. But, from now on, I promise to keep publishing this magazine."⁴⁰⁴ The number of copies printed of the magazine was 7,000.⁴⁰⁵ The unit price was 50 yen in December 1947.⁴⁰⁶

Pyollara obviously tried to imitate the western publication styles of the time. It seems that the mid-road publisher Kim admired the United States and wanted to show the child readers western content. The magazine created a corner for Korean crossword puzzles and named its December 1947 issue as "special edition of Christmas," introducing the Bible story of the birth of Jesus Christ and

⁴⁰² Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. P 96. Pyollara, Vol.1 No.1- Vol.1 No.2 (April 1947- May 1947) and December 1948.

⁴⁰³ Sungkyu Kim, "Editor's note," Pyollara (1 May 1947), 24. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁰⁴ Sungkyu Kim, "Resuming the publication of Pyollara," Pyollara (1 December 1947), 2. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁰⁵ The circulation of this magazine is handwritten on the cover of the inauguration issue by an examiner of the censorship office. Pyollara (1 April 1947).

⁴⁰⁶ Pyollara (1 December 1947), 2.

Christmas season songs. The publisher of this children's magazine repeatedly expressed concern about Koreans in Japan returning to their homeland and the subsequent future of Korean children in Japan:

Dear my [Korean] children readers. Are you studying hard so as not to be left behind by children in our homeland that seems so far away from Japan? Our Chosun [Korea] was liberated in the summer of 1945 and we were promised it would become an independent nation soon. In order to accomplish this goal, your parents, elder brothers and sisters are endeavoring much both in the homeland and here in Japan. I know your friends in the homeland are studying hard in order to contribute toward the interests of our new nation. I also know that you are making many efforts not to be left behind by other children in the homeland. After considering some way I might help you with your efforts I decided to publish this magazine, Pyollara.⁴⁰⁷

Literary magazines

Baekmin (The White-clad Folk) was a mimeographed literary magazine that clearly announced its mid-road tendency by steering clear of any ideological preference.⁴⁰⁸ The publisher-editor of this magazine was Kietae Bae. The magazine was a monthly publication, but it is not clear how well the magazine accomplished its goal of being a monthly since only one edition is preserved in the Prange collection. The circulation of the magazine is not known. The unit price of this 74-page magazine was 30 yen per copy. In the prologue of the magazine as of February 1948, the editor said, "The liberation means the emancipation of all the humanities, thus, we would like to present our literature

⁴⁰⁷ "Asking for [Korean] children living in Japan," Pyollara (1 April 1947), 4-6.

Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁰⁸ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. H 123.1. Baekmin, Vol.2No. 1 (February 1948).

following the unpartisan principle without leaning to a prejudiced ideology.”⁴⁰⁹ In the last part of the February 1948 issue an editor initialed Kim wrote about why this literary magazine was being published in Japan:

Everybody may agree there is a huge difference between Korean literature in Japan and the literature in Korea. Koreans in Japan are under a more difficult situation [than those in the homeland] in developing good expression of Korean language. The title of this magazine indicates the Korean tradition of admiring white clothes and the symbolic meaning of an honest and peace-loving people. This magazine is a trial for Korean writers living in Japan to master and present their ability of mother [Korean] language. We have a plan to introduce foreign literature as well through this magazine. Anyway, it is shameful for us to publish this magazine so late [It's uncertain how late it was.] even though we wanted to have the magazine as a monthly.⁴¹⁰

Chosun Munye (Chosun Literary Art) was another mid-road literary magazine in the Korean community in Japan during the American occupation.⁴¹¹ Chosun Munye was a mimeographed magazine. The publisher-editor was Sammun Pak. Only this magazine's inaugural edition in March 1948 is preserved in the Prange collection. A handwritten note by the censors on its cover indicates that the number of copies printed of Chosun Munye was 1,500. The number of pages in the inaugural edition totaled only 16. The unit price of this magazine was 10 yen per copy. This literary magazine's mid-road ideology is partially revealed in the lead article written by Dalsoo Kim:

⁴⁰⁹ “Prologue,” Baekmin (February 1948), 2-3. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴¹⁰ “Epilogue,” Baekmin (February 1948), 73. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴¹¹ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. C 176. Chosun Munye, Vol.1 No.1 (March 1948).

Consciously and unconsciously, we [Korean literary writers in Japan] have been under the strong influence from Japanese literature and there may be many remnants of it [in our own writing and way of thinking] without considering both the advantages and disadvantages of its influence. Generally, we find in literary writers such as ourselves a tendency to indulge romantic pursuits in the Japanese vagabond style. [We have been afar from the people.] However, the theme of the people or the masses should be understood as the main body of history and literature. The most pressing problem for Korean writers in Japan might be how to collaborate with the people or the masses and then identify and realize the mission of the [national] history.⁴¹²

Shipjaga (The Holy Rood) was a Christian magazine that the Korean Christian Youth League in Tokyo published in 1947.⁴¹³ Each edition had only 14 pages and reflected the severe shortage of printing paper by being mimeographed with very small-sized letters without leaving even the necessary spaces between adjacent words. On the front cover of the April 1947 edition, the number of copies printed is scribbled to be an unbelievably low 70 copies, and is not verifiable. The publisher was Kyongsei Oh, Director of the Cultural Department of the [Korean] Christian Youth League in Japan at the time, and the editor was Kyongyon Chon. The April 1947 edition of Shipjaga was a special edition for Easter on Jesus Christ. There is other evidence that this religious magazine was also under the stress, as so many publications were, of trying to procure printing paper at the time. In the June 1947 edition, the editor Chon wrote, “At the time of this severe

⁴¹² Dalsoo Kim, “On the literary writers: First confession,” Chosun Munye (March 1948), 1-5. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴¹³ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. J 354. Shipjaga, No.7- No.8 (April 1947- June 1947).

shortage of printing paper, I appreciate that God allowed us to publish this magazine.”⁴¹⁴

2. The major social roles that Korean mid-road press in Japan pursued

In Japan the social roles that the Korean mid-road taking press wanted to play in the Korean community were not too different from the typical roles that leftist and rightist publications pursued at the time. The mid-road press placed high priorities on social integration, identity formation, and social agenda setting for Koreans in Japan. One particular social goal of mid-road publications was their reluctance to become involved and identified with specific ideological factions such as leftist supporting North Korea or rightist supporting South Korea. Rather, the mid-road publications were faithful to dry straight news reportage from both North and South Korea.

The basic logic of mid-road publications can be abstracted in this way: Because Korean people of the late 1800s were split into various political factions, Korea had to suffer the colonization by Japan [1910-1945]. Thus, we liberated Koreans should not fight with one another again but instead seek compromise with others' opinions or even yield if necessary to maintain Korean unity. It was silly, mid-road publications held, to believe that only the southern political faction or the northern political faction was right and legitimate. The southern half and the northern half are both halves of Korea, therefore, [the mid-road] press should offer factual news reports to readers rather than persuading them to ally with one

⁴¹⁴ Shipjaga (June 1947), 14. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

of the political factions in the Korean Japanese community and the Korean homeland.

Through children's newspaper and magazines, we can deduce that the journalists, editors, and publishers of those publications felt it was inappropriate to lead the second generation toward one particular ideological faction or another. Therefore, children's publications seldom showed any preference for either of the two major political factions that were developing in the north and south of the fatherland and in the Korean community in Japan.

The social integrative role of mid-road leaning Korean press in Japan

A catch phrase appeared in the Chosun Jungbo on 28 January 1947. It said, "Let's not be greedy with others' property, but be industrious with our own sweat and enjoy our meals."⁴¹⁵ This kind of catch phrase seems to have originated from the atmosphere of conflicts often witnessed between young Koreans in Japan and the Japanese people. In a sense the phrase represents an admission by Koreans that some people from their community were instigating trouble, and this was creating a negative image of Koreans around Japan. An article in Shin Saenghwal also published an account of one such incident and urged spiritual reform of some deviate Korean young men:

It was near to a station of trolley car in Tokyo. A trolley car driver caught a tough Korean young man's hand and pulled him toward a police box, while the conductor of the trolley car was pushing him. What happened to this Korean young man? It was reported later that this guy smoked in the trolley car and made other passengers upset. He reportedly argued that he was "a liberated national, [and thus had a right to smoke inside the trolley car]." He

⁴¹⁵ Chosun Jungbo (28 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

even slapped the cheek of the conductor who tried to solve the trouble.

Oh, Chosun [Korean] young men! Don't you feel ashamed even though you are habitually sent to jail as if it were your home? Don't you feel shameful when you are believed to be awake all night stealing and robbing other people's property?

Please listen to the voice of your conscience!

Please keep and obey the rules of public virtue!

If you dare to say that you love your fatherland and the Korean race, then shake your hands with Japanese neighbors!⁴¹⁶

Woonyong Huh, the former publisher of a Japanese newspaper named Kukje Times (International Times), offered his own mid-road argument. He argued that Koreans in Japan should be blamed more than the Japanese in some ways for social turbulence between Korean youths and the Japanese during the occupation:

My point is that Korea was not one of the winners of World War II. We may call ourselves the liberated people, but we were not winners. However, for quite a time after the War, many Koreans in Japan pretended as if they were winners. For example, hither and thither, there were Koreans who drank liquor in a bar but refused to pay, used trolley car system without tickets, and fought with Japanese for unjustifiable reasons. Japanese people admitted that they forcefully had taken many Koreans to Japan during the colonial time. However, it is of no use to repeatedly bring up the past all the time. I believe that Koreans should have lived politely pursuing a life equal to the Japanese while making even more effort than the Japanese people. Why? Japan is a foreign country to Koreans.⁴¹⁷

Huh argued, in the same vein, that the conflict between the leftist and rightist Korean movement groups was ridiculous in the eyes of those with a mid-road perspective. He believed that Koreans in Japan were destined to remain in Japan and would lose the opportunity to live in either the north or south. Therefore, he argued, Koreans in Japan should not fight each other. He believed

⁴¹⁶ Shin Saenghwal (10 July 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴¹⁷ Woonyong Huh, interview by author, December 16, 2002, Tokyo, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

that the top priority of Koreans in Japan should not have been developing ideological factions and quarreling, but rather figuring out how to survive in Japan and then educating the next generation. Huh said that he had maintained his mid-road belief in newspaper management and news reporting even though there was not much space for him to realize this view.

The identity formation role of the mid-road leaning Korean press in Japan

The top front-page article of Orini Shinmun on 4 May 1947 was about the first place prize won by Korean marathoner Yoonbok Suh in the Boston Marathon.⁴¹⁸ This children's newspaper celebrated the victory by identifying Suh as a Korean like other Koreans in Japan. The title of this article said, "Another joy of liberation: Everybody is proud of our [Korean] athlete's victory in the Boston Marathon." Another children's publication, Orini Tongshin, addressed the the topic of ethnic identity even more directly to the Korean children:

Dear friends. Why must we have our own communication tool? First, we are eager to know about Korean friends in Korea and Japan. Second, we long to know about friends who live in Allied Powers such as the Soviet Union, the United States, China, and England. For a long time we have been told to fight to win [the War against westerners], and to become "real" Japanese. But we are not Japanese. We are boastful Chosun [Korean] people with an amazing history and culture. We haven't had the chance to study our history and culture because the "barbarous" Japanese militarists forbid such studies. Friends, if we want to be the remarkable Koreans truly are, then all we have to do is to know and study everything.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Orini Shinmun (4 May 1947).

⁴¹⁹ Orini Tongshin (1 July 1946). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

An appeal appeared in Chosun Jungbo that tried to convince the Korean readers to uphold the identity of Chosun [Korea] as well and not to indulge in conflict among them a position which can be considered to mid-road:

[Title] We are laborers of Chosun.

Dear Korean Brethren, let's become faithful laborers for the reconstruction of our fatherland. Let's abandon the slandering of others and the hatred among us [between the South and the North]. The South is Chosun. The North is Chosun, too. Chosun is ours. If we do not work harder, who then will work for our lives?⁴²⁰

Chosun Jungbo, a representative mid-road newsletter among Korean publications during the occupation in Japan, also appealed to the emotional homogeneity of Koreans in Japan. In the corner of the newsletter on 26 January 1947, Chosun Jungbo ran this heartbreaking prose: "You, who recently arrived from our hometown. You certainly know [remember] my hometown. Were the blossoms of the rose of Sharon [national flower of South Korea] in front of the window at my [parents'] home?"⁴²¹ Another poem reminded ordinary Koreans in Japan of their common racial identity and their yearning to someday return to their homeland. The following aroused a sense of nostalgia deep in their minds:

I can see my hometown's southern hills.
How can I ever forget the azaleas on the hills.
Certainly, they will bring wonderful laughter [blossoms] again this year,
I want to go back to my hometown, I miss the hills.
I am sure the hills and streams of my home never changed,
Why am I wandering here [in Japan] without having my family near,
I desire to live with joy dressing my mind with colorful [Korean] clothes,

⁴²⁰ Chosun Jungbo (24 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴²¹ Chosun Jungbo (26 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

I want to go back to my hometown, abandoning everything around me.⁴²²

Another mid-road newspaper Kukdong Shinbo announced that all Koreans would celebrate King Sejong's birthday 15 May every year, according to the solar calendar. In the lunar calendar the corresponding date was 10 April.⁴²³ Kukdong Shinbo then claimed that Korean literature could not exist without the Korean language and the Korean alphabet. Therefore, the newspaper continued: "Korean language has been liberated along with the land of Korea. The reconstruction of the [Korean] national language is the foundational work for Korean literature."⁴²⁴

The agenda setting role of Korean mid-road leaning press in Japan

Chosun Jungbo, a representative Korean mid-road press in Japan, tried to set a social agenda for the new and restructured Korea that reflected the United States in every area. This newsletter organization considered the U.S. to be the most advanced country. Specifically, the well-established American court system based upon human rights was seen as a worthy model for the new Korea. Chosun Jungbo ran a top article on its front-page about the U.S. court system's foundation in human rights entitled "The desirable human rights advocate system in the U.S.: A report from representatives who visited the U.S. to learn about its court system":

⁴²² Chosun Jungbo (30 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴²³ Kukdong Shinbo (11 May 1949). King Sejong, born in 1397, was the fourth king who reigned in mid-1400s of Yi Dynasty, which lasted until the time of forced annexation of 1910 by Japan. King Sejong has been admired as the best king in the history of Chosun [Korea] and famous for boosting scholars to create Korean alphabet and other cultural developments.

⁴²⁴ Kukdong Shinbo (25 May 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Representatives visited the U.S. for three months to learn about the U.S. court system. Those who went were the Korean supreme court judge Sangkie Rhee and the president of the district court of Seoul Kyungkeun Chang. They have reported what they saw and learned. First, they said that the U.S. court has a well-established court appointed lawyer system, which enables a poor defendant to be represented by a lawyer, even though the defendant could not financially afford a lawyer. That is, U.S. court does its best to protect even the human rights of criminals. Second, the official visitors reported that the U.S. court has a well-adjusted principle of legality. U.S. laws describe and detail specific crimes and no person can be indicted without specifically violating a particular existing law. Third, they reported that U.S. citizens are advanced and enlightened in how they publically maintain rules by observing and reporting violators in their communities, which keeps national law enforcement from intervening too often in people's daily lives.⁴²⁵

Chosun Jungbo had a policy to admire and model the court system and the civic enlightenment of the United States. However, this agenda seems to have been hampered by a disgraceful incident by some U.S. troops stationed in South Korea. The incident was a criminal assault on three Korean women by American soldiers on a train in 1947. Chosun Jungbo sought to soften the impact of this incident and the actions of the U.S. Army in South Korea, by reversing the ordinary sequence of news reportage. That is, in its newsletter of 17 January 1947, Chosun Jungbo first ran the reactions of the U.S. Army. Later the paper reported details of the incident itself. This is opposite of how news is usually reported. Moreover, there is not one word in either the statement made by General Hodge nor in the incident report that indicates that the criminals were American soldiers. It can be argued that the editors of Chosun Jungbo played a role in setting the agenda so as to soothe ordinary Korean readers in Japan, whose anti American

⁴²⁵ Chosun Jungbo (16 September 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

sentiment was likely to escalate in the wake of the terrible incident. There is also another possibility. The occupation authority in South Korea may have taken actions to block news reports about the incident. The report on the reactions of the U.S. Army was from Seoul; while the report on the details of the assault was from a Pyongyang source. Here are Chosun Jungbo's two reports:

(Seoul, 15 January 1947) Major General Hodge announced the following statement: "I know Koreans are very mad at the assault incident to Korean women happened in Taejon Station. I have not heard the details of this incident but I had dispatched excellent investigators there. When the identities of criminals are revealed, they will be relentlessly punished. Assault crime is dealt seriously in the United States. However, I also know there are exaggerations in the news reports by newspapers [in Korea]."

(Pyongyang, 15 January 1947) [It was reportedly said that] There was an assault to three Korean women in a train from Seoul to Pusan [in fact the train was heading for Mokpo, a southwestern port city]. According to witnesses, two women taking their young children [on a trip], were covered with blood, each of them being naked, because they refused and resisted [the criminals]. When the train arrived in Taejon Station, the criminals ran away, while the two women [who had refused to be assaulted] had fallen unconscious.⁴²⁶

A further report by Chosun Jungbo about this incident stated that the criminals were later arrested and indicted to try in an American army court. A report on 12 March 1947 briefly stated the following:

Of the four American soldiers involved in the assault incident of Korean women on a train, three were sentenced to prison for 6, 7, 10 months respectively. One was judged to be innocent. [The American army court judge] applied only the crime of violence and assault. There was no conviction of rape or [attempted rape].⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Chosun Jungbo (17 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴²⁷ Chosun Jungbo (12 March 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

No other news related to this incident was reported in Korean newspapers and magazines in Japan. Only Chosun Shinbo, which at the time generally demonstrated a mid-road tendency rather than its later rightist-leaning tendency reported it. Chosun Shinbo carried the report with the very small and extremely ambiguous title, “Opposition against the innocent sentence for the undesirable incident in a train.”⁴²⁸ There were no other explanations or details either prior to or following the incident. Moreover, the Chosun Shinbo report on this incident ran nine days late compared with its usual punctual reportage of events. It could be argued that censors tried very hard to manipulate news reports on this matter and were partially successful in controlling and manipulating the spread of this information through the Korean community in Japan. However, there is no substantiating evidence found to support this argument in censorship documents preserved in the Prange collection.

3. Censorship and the Korean mid-road press in Japan

There is a unique censorship document that reveals the address where publishers of magazines in Japan during the occupation had to submit every publication for censorship. The address appears in a “Report of Magazine” for the mid-road children’s magazine Boys’ Life on 10 October 1948. The publishers of magazines were to submit the volume and issue number, publisher’s name, publisher’s address, the date of issue [because the magazines usually were under post-censorship, the date of issue was several days before the date of report], circulation, and the headlines of contents to the following address:

⁴²⁸ Chosun Shinbo (21 March 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

The Magazine, Press and Publication Section
Press, Pictorial and Broadcast, District I
Civil Censorship Detachment
Fourth Floor, Kanto Haiden Bldg.,
Tamura-cho, Shiba Minato-ku, Tokyo⁴²⁹

There is an evidence that the first examiners or translators treated children's magazines in a softer way than other magazines or newspapers. An examiner left this note onto the examination document of children's magazine, Uridongmu, in May 1949:

Brief: This is not [nothing] but a picture-book for school children which is written the attitude of children both at home and school, and which is no [not] any political anxiety.

Examiner's Note: It seems to me that the author paid a good attention in writing the book for planting the Korean language in the children's heads. No value reporting in part.⁴³⁰

As reported in the Chapter IV of this dissertation, only seven examples of articles held for examination were from publications classified as mid-road leaning in the Prange collection. Among them, four articles (57.1 percent) were suppressed, one was partially deleted, and two passed through censorship unaltered and were published.⁴³¹ Several possible reasons can be assumed for the relatively small number of censored documents from mid-road publications. One possible reason is the fact that there was a very narrow market for mid-road Korean community publications at the time. That is, a smaller number of mid-road publications might have resulted in fewer censored articles. Another reason

⁴²⁹ See Appendix G.

⁴³⁰ Prange collection. "CCD#192, Magazine Examination" attached to U78. Uridongmu No. 19 (20 May 1949). Written by a Korean examiner Youngchu Chung.

⁴³¹ See Table 2.

might be that the mid-road publications adapted more successfully to the censorship environment. That is, the mid-road editors and publishers might have known how to circumvent the censors' and examiners' censorship better than leftist and rightist-leaning editors and publishers. One other possibility is that the content of mid-road publications (i.e. less direct political advocacy and stories focused more upon Korean unity and soothing community conflict) were far less controversial and provocative than the content of leftwing and rightwing publications. Still another reason may be attributed to the fact that censors understood and expected all publications for Korean children to be both mid-road and politically neutral.

A. Held, Passed, Partly Deleted, and Suppressed

Suppressed and partly deleted articles from Korean mid-road publications

As in leftist-oriented publication censorship, examiners and censors of mid-road publications suppressed or edited articles that suggested anything positive about the northern part of Korea at the time. Two major news reports about the commodity prices in South and North Korea were suppressed from Chosun Jungbo on 2 June 1948. Both articles stated that controlling the hike of necessary commodity prices in North Korea was desirable, compared to the price increases in the South. The longer article on this issue translated by a Japanese examiner and subsequently suppressed follows⁴³²

⁴³² The two news reports that were suppressed from Chosun Jungbo on 2 June 1948 might be the same article. However, the shorter article was suppressed by the censor Mercola and translated by an examiner named S. Miura, while the other longer article was processed by the censor Mr. Kawamoto and translated by Sameshima. Therefore, the author of this dissertation counted these very similar articles as two in the research.

(Pyongyang, 2 June 1948) The North Korean People's Committee decided upon large scale lowering of the necessary commodity prices recently. In regard to this, Mr. Rhee, the head of the Industrial Department made the following statement:

In No.65 session of the People's Committee carried out a large scaled lowering of necessary commodity prices. This tells the real story of complete success of the people's economic plans. While the commodity prices are daily rising up in the South Korea, the lowering of commodity prices [in North Korea] from 200 percent to 250 percent means the victory of the North Korean government by people, and the good result of people's economic plans only in one year. All the Korean people should not forget that this successful economical results are the gift of wise guidance of Mr. Kim Il-Sung, the chairman of the Korean People's Committee, correct economical plan for the prosperity and happiness of North Korean people as well as the kind assistance from the Soviets, our friendly nation.

We, not self-contented with the present lowering of the commodity prices, should work hard to increase the production rate of labor while promoting the welfare of the North Korean people in general. Moreover, by increasing the governmental and the cooperative stores, we must endeavor further lowering of the commodity prices and at the same time, we should start the relief work for the South Korean people who are now suffering from the threats of life by the ever increasing inflation and ceiling less prices of commodities.⁴³³

In the similar vein, censors suppressed both an on the scene report by Chosun Jungbo about an iron foundry in the northern part of Korea and a report on a riot in southern part of Korea. The report on a restored iron foundry described how workers there opposed a separate general election in South Korea and emphasized the goal of establishing a unified independent government in Korea. The news report about the rioting in South Korea said there had been continuous riots erupting around South Korea:

⁴³³ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 48 FRN 1852. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (2 June 1948). Translated by a Japanese examiner named S. Miura.

(Seoul, 6 June 1947) The reporter visited the Yulim Iron Foundry with a ‘representatives’ party on April 24th. As soon as he entered the iron foundry, posters indicating “Objection to the election and the government in South Korea” and “Establishment of a Unified Kingdom of Democracy” attracted his attention. This foundry had been managed by Japanese since 1918 originally to manufacture equipment of her aggression and when Japanese left it, they filled the melting furnace with concrete [and] with melted iron and they destroyed a furnace for melting cokes. But in August 1946, workers of the factory started repair of it, and the first and the third melting furnaces and the second coke-melting furnace were restored, so that, they made 250 percent of increasing production. There are forty buildings in the factory.....⁴³⁴

In Kyongsang and Cholla provinces, there are continuous riots (Pyongyang broadcast June 4th P.I.K.). In different districts in South Korea, the movements opposing the separate provisional government turned into a great 3-day disturbance. From May 30th to June 1st attacks on the police stations were made and rioters were slain. In Kyongsan county, Kyongsang Nam province, during the night, Rhee Ryong Tok’s house was attacked; the house was burnt, while Mr. Rhee Ryong Tok was beaten and killed by blows sticks. Across the northern districts, many flares were sent up, daring attacks were made, and leaflets were scattered against the separate provisional government. In south Kyongsang province, Mr. Kim Lang Ki, executive of the People’s Party was killed in his house as it burned; in Jen-Kyong, Kyong Seng county, Mr. Rhee Tong Meong, the branch head of Independent People’s Party was attacked, his house was burned and he was killed.⁴³⁵

Interestingly, a news report on the statistics of illegal entrants from Korea to Japan was originally held for action but eventually passed through censorship to be published. This report states that the recorded number of illegal entrants did not reflect the actual number of illegal entries. It was argued that there were possibly as many as 66 percent more entries than previously recorded into Japan of Koreans who had illegally avoided the Japanese coast guard. The

⁴³⁴ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 48 LOC 1532. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (18 May 1947). Translated by a Japanese examiner named S. Konishi.

⁴³⁵ Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles, 48 FRN 2008. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (2 June 1948). Translated by a Japanese examiner named S. Miura.

reason this report passed through censorship is because illegal entries from Korea to Japan had emerged as a pressing problem for both American occupation authorities and the Japanese government. The issue of illegal entrants was also closely related to the control of Koreans in Japan by making them register as foreigners:

(Seoul, 2 May 1947) According to an announcement made by the Protection of Repatriates Board of the Japanese government, the number of the illegal entrants from Korea to Japan is as follows:

In April 1946-----	(102)
May-----	(842)
June-----	(443)
July-----	(8,785)
August-----	(1,138)
September-----	(2,344)
October-----	(329)
November-----	(387)
December-----	(217)
In January 1947-----	(508)
February-----	(137)
March-----	(1,167)

Total	26,645
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Additional statements from the board indicated that the numbers above only reflected those Koreans who were arrested and deported to Korea while illegally entering or at the time of landing their craft, and that the illegal immigrants who were not arrested accounted for two-thirds of the previously mentioned figures.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ Chosun Jungbo (13 May 1947). Because the actual publication of Chosun Jungbo from 13 March 1947 to 1 September 1947 are missing in the Prange collection, it was not identifiable whether this article appeared on the publication. However, the censorship documents are showing an English translated version of this report and have a rubber stamp on it saying "PASS." See Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles. 47 FRN 373. Translated by an unknown examiner.

B. Consensus of journalists in mid-road leaning Korean press in Japan

Yearning for unified homeland without conflict

The yearning among mid-road publications in Japan for building a unified Korean homeland was as strong as that of leftist and rightist-leaning publications in the Korean community. While the leftist publications supported a unified homeland mediated by the northern political entity and the rightist by the southern political power, the mid-road publications revealed a dream of a unified nation without inner conflict among Koreans. The yearning of mid-road publications sounded idealistic and impractical at the time, and thus, the mid-road journalists did not enjoy as much space for expression as did the opposing leftist and rightist-leaning journalists who were fueled by the turmoil and conflict. Chosun Jungbo, as a mid-road Korean newsletter, seldom had editorials, but ran a unique editorial on New Year's Day in 1947:

[Title] Dear white-clad brethren, never neglect our duty.

The year of 1946, being [uselessly] spent for the arguments about whether to accept or to oppose trusteeship by 4 powerful countries [United States, England, Soviet Union and China], left 30 million [Korean] people with only bitter tears. Even though our body was liberated from the oppression of Japan, our mind doesn't seem to be freed yet. [Koreans are] begging provisions from foreign countries. Patients without the care of medical services are struggling to breathe their last breath in a room in a shantytown. Students are engaged in fruitless though very vocal philosophical debates about democracy [rather than practical contribution of nation building]. Dear Korean brethren in Japan! We should devote our blood and bones, whether we are dead or alive, to the mission of reconstruction of our fatherland. We should never neglect our duty.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ Chosun Jungbo (1 January 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

The mid-road Boys' Life also illustrated its non-partisan tendency in its January 1948 issue, but emphasized loyalty to the homeland. This magazine showed a Korean peninsula map, in which the 38th parallel divided the homeland into two parts. In the southern part of the peninsula in this map was a picture of a bird caught in a cage. In the northern half of the map was a drawing of an ax as a symbol of breaking down the obstacle of division and freeing the bird. The prose surrounding this picture further suggested building a unified nation without inner conflict:

Let's go for work, let's go for work
For the sake of the fatherland, beautiful Korea
Without saving our body and sincerity,
For the sake of the land endowed from the heaven
Oh, my dear, Oh, my love of Korea
The rivers and mountains are our homes
Throughout the five thousand years engrained into our blood
Let's live together long, without conflict, without hatred among us.⁴³⁸

Woonyong Huh, the publisher of Kukje Times, repeated the consensus arguments of mid-road journalists in the Korean community in Japan during the occupation. He insisted that, without asking who was right or wrong, the liberated Korean race should have united to form a Korean consensus, a single Korea. Huh, however, to an extent blamed leftists Koreans in Japan for failing to accomplish a unification of views among Koreans because he believed the leftists were too stuck upon their own political perspective:

I did not like to involve myself either with anti communist or pro-communist concerns. I was sure that, first of all, the Korean political powers in the north and south had to be united, because the Korean race had been liberated after a long time of oppression and

⁴³⁸ Boys' Life (January 1948), 24. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

exploitation under Japan, and was looking forward to building an independent nation. I earnestly hoped it was possible to cooperate with each other without sticking to their own logic of [leftists and rightists]. Some called me as an opportunist; others abused me as a traitor to the homeland. But I was so sure of my own thoughts that I often ordered editors to write articles enforcing this mid-road taking view. However, at the time, smarter Koreans in Korea and in Japan easily indulged in leftist views and refused to cooperate with other rightist or mid-road people who had different views.⁴³⁹

4. Conclusion

This chapter has explored Korean mid-road taking newspapers and magazines published during the occupation in Japan. From the research, it was found that the Korean mid-road publications were reluctant to become involved in the very obvious conflict between leftists and rightists, both on the Korean peninsula and within Japan's Korean community. It was also shown that the mid-road publications could not secure much journalistic influence in Japan during the occupation because conflict between the two competing ideological powers was so pronounced. The political division in the Korean homeland was so intense that these issues monopolized the news of Korean publications in Japan in general.

In spite of this limited environment for expression, the mid-road publications tried to be neutral by balancing the news from Seoul and Pyongyang. In the case of Chosun Jungbo the balance of stories was so closely matched that opposing content may have been carefully and deliberately calculated; though it is not possible to verify that the publication intentionally did this. This chapter also shows that Koreans in Japan made a concerted effort to protect their children from the raging divisive conflict in their community and in their homeland by

⁴³⁹ Woonyong Huh, interview by author, 16 December 2002, Tokyo, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

producing children's newspapers and magazines without leftist or rightist ideological arguments. Korean mid-road literary magazines in Japan seemed to abandon writers' usage of Japanese stylistic romantic and vagabond literary influence as a way of throwing off Japanese rule and asserting their liberation. Korean literary writers intended to produce the works that would be regarded to penetrate into the lives of Korean people. However, they seem to have failed to identify pressing problems and carry out initiatives in the Korean community during the occupation.

Even though it was obvious that Korean mid-road publications tried to play a role in Korean social integration, identity formation, and agenda setting, the characteristics of these social goals differed from those of leftist and rightist publications. The mid-road publications argued that it was the time for Koreans in Japan to live collaboratively with the Japanese without questioning and digging up the past. That is, mid-road publications found it counter-productive to mention the wrongful control and discrimination of Koreans by the the Japanese government. Instead mid-road publications sometimes blamed Korean toughness and ignorance for the problems Koreans faced. As well as serving an identity formation role, mid-road publications also held an idealistic stance. They encouraged mutual sacrifice and an unconditional agreement between leftists and rightists for the sake of collective Korean identity, Koreans as brethren. The reality, however, was a harsh conflict between two competing political powers. The social agenda to imitate that of what was perceived to be the most democratic country, the United States, was a goal of mid-road journalistic activity. However,

as reports on the attempted rapes by American soldiers showed, mid-road publications were forced to report the negative side of their U.S. role model, even though these articles were written with ambiguous language and treated carefully with nonstandard news reporting practices.

Censors reviewed all articles of mid-road publications including children's publications. They suppressed comparative news reports which reported things going well in the northern half of Korea, while the southern half struggled with social contradictions. Censors again, as in the cases of leftist and rightist publications, limited the flow of the information on the homeland to Koreans in Japan.

Even under this extremely controlled journalistic environment, Korean mid-road publications zeroed in on the yearning for a unified Korea, just as the leftist and rightist publications did. The primary difference that existed between the mid-road and leftist or rightist-leaning publications can be summarized this way. At the time, the leftist-oriented publications tried to disseminate the idea that Korea should be a unified entity led by the North Korean political perspective, while the rightist publications concentrated on the realization of a unified fatherland reflecting more of the political perspective of South Korea. In the case of mid-road oriented publications in the Korean community in Japan during the occupation, the consensus of mid-road journalists and publishers was apparently that Korea should be a unified entity, no matter what differences existed between leftist and rightist perspectives.

Table 6: Korean Mid-road Learning Publications, Prange collection

Call #	Korean Title	English Title	Circulation	Subscription Fee (Unit Price)	Printing type
Newspapers					
NS0244	Chosun Jungbo	Korean Information Press	Unknown	30 yen/m	Mimeograph, later typed
NK2553	Kukdong Shinbo	Far Eastern News	Unknown	50 yen/m	Typed
NS1921	Shin Saenghwal	New Life	Unknown	1-2yen /copy	Typed
NO0243	Orini Shinmun	Children's Newspaper	Unknown	Unknown	Mimeograph
NK2415	Kyodong News	News for Educational League	Unknown	Unknown	Typed
Magazines					
B202	Sonyon Saenghwal	Boys' Life	1,500-2,000	50 yen/copy	Mimeograph
O120	Orini Tongshin	Children's Newsletter	Unknown	2.5-3.5 yen /copy	Mimeograph
U78	Uridongmu	Our Friends	8,000-27,000	30-35 yen /copy	Mimeograph
P96	Pyollara	World of Stars	7,000	50 yen/copy	Mimeograph
H123.1	Baekmin	The White-clad Folk	Unknown	30 yen/copy	Mimeograph
C176	Chosun Munye	Chosun Literary Art	1,500	10 yen/copy	Mimeograph
J354	Shipjaga	The Holy Rood	70 (unclear)	Unknown	Mimeograph
M403	Minju Chungnyon	Democratic Youth	Unknown	Unknown	Mimeograph

* yen/m = yen/month

Chapter VII: Korean Women's Union Newspaper in Japan

This chapter examines Yomaeng Sibō (Korean Women's Union Newspaper in Japan)⁴⁴⁰ and articles related to women's issues that appeared in other Korean publications in Japan during the occupation. This chapter probes what the organization newspaper of Yomaeng (Korean Women's Union in Japan) wanted to say to its members in Japan. This chapter also investigates the social roles that Yomaeng Sibō sought to play in the Korean women's community in Japan at the time in terms of social integration, identity formation and agenda setting. This chapter examines how the women's newspaper divided its emphasis between pursuing women's emancipation and contributing to new nation building in Korea. This chapter also compares the themes of Yomaeng Sibō with those that appeared in the other publications related to the issues of Korean women in Japan.

Unfortunately, censorship documents on this women's newspaper were not found in the Prange collection. Therefore, it is not possible to investigate the relationship between censorship and the responses of women's newspaper journalists in Japan during the occupation. It is, however, very probable that Yomaeng Sibō went through the censorship process like other publications in Japan at the time. Every copy of Yomaeng Sibō in the collection has been stamped with a rubber stamp identifying each document as "NEWS DEPT. FILE" or, "FILE," which implies that each issue came under examination of the

⁴⁴⁰ Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park. NJ0372. Yomaeng Sibō, No.1-No.16 (29 December 1947-1 March 1949).

ensorship offices of the occupation authorities.⁴⁴¹ Therefore, this chapter aims to find a consensus among the women's movement activists and journalists of Yomaeng Sibō that can be compared with that of the journalists in the Korean leftwing, rightwing and mid-road publications under the American occupation in Japan.

Korean Women's Union in Japan

As shown in Chapter IV of this dissertation, Yomaeng Sibō was the organization newspaper of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan, Yomaeng, which was subsequently affiliated with the leftwing Korean group, Choryon (League of Koreans in Japan). The organization of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan (KWUJ) seemed to be expedited by active organization of women's groups in the homeland.

According to Seunghee Lee, the North Korean Democratic Women's Union (NWU) was formed on 18 November 1945 and protected by law.⁴⁴² The northern Korean women were able to organize and network under far better conditions than southern Korean women. Northerners apparently could work for women's rights and interests and focus on eradicating women's illiteracy and, furthermore, enlarge women's political power. Lee explained that, in South Korea, several women's movement organizations were established right after the

⁴⁴¹ Especially, the No.2 (1 February 1948) and No.3 (10 March 1948) of Yomaeng Sibō which had markings from a rubber stamp that said "NEWS DEPT. FILE."

⁴⁴² Seunghee Lee, Women's movement and political theories, (Seoul, Korea: Nokdu, 1994), 245. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

liberation from the Japanese army rule.⁴⁴³ These organizations could be roughly classified into two types, the rightist and the leftist. The rightist women's movement organizations were strongly supported by the American occupation authority in South Korea, although the rightist group was composed of pro-Japanese Koreans from the colonial period and thus it did not draw much support from ordinary women. Lee added that, because of the bad reputations of the pro-Japanese activists, Korean women generally supported the leftist women's movement organization, the South Korean Democratic Women's Union (SWU), which was formed on 10 February 1947.⁴⁴⁴

Yomaeng was formed in Japan in October 1947.⁴⁴⁵ Yomaeng Sibō reported the national [Japan] organization list of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan in its second issue on 1 February 1948. The organization had one primary center in Tokyo and 28 prefecture sub-centers including ones in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto.⁴⁴⁶ By July 1949 Yomaeng had extended its organization to include sub-centers in 40 of the 48 prefectures in Japan.⁴⁴⁷ Each prefecture includes several cities and/or towns. Each sub-center appears to have had several units under its control. For example, the sub-center of Tokyo City had as many as 12 units under its control.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴³ Ibid. 244-245. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid. 243. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁴⁵ Eunsoon Kim, "Retrospect and prospect of our women's movement," Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁴⁶ Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948).

⁴⁴⁷ Yomeang Sibō (25 July 1949).

⁴⁴⁸ Yomaeng Sibō (25 April 1949). In this issue, Yomaeng Sibō carried a table of accomplishment of Korean women's movement on supporting Korean ethnic education by the individual units of Yomaeng sub-center of Tokyo City. See Table 7.

The total membership of Yomaeng is not known. Eunsoon Kim, the chairman of Yomaeng, asserted that KWUJ represented at least 200,000 Korean women at the time.⁴⁴⁹ Kim's membership claim matches the number of Korean women estimated to live in all of Japan at the time; thus, her membership claim is questionable. However, Yomaeng Sibō did report that around half of the 5,000 attendees at a rally on 17 October 1948 to celebrate the establishment of Democratic People's Republic of Chosun [North Korea] were members of Yomaeng [the leftwing].⁴⁵⁰ Considering the fact that the rally was held in Tokyo and would have been difficult for the members of distant sub-centers of Yomaeng to attend, the number of members of Yomaeng could easily be in the tens of thousands. However, there are no sources available to corroborate this estimate.

Meanwhile, the number of Yomaeng leaders can be more accurately estimated. First of all, Yomaeng Sibō reported in July 1949 that the number in the Central Committee, the central administrative organization, totaled 56 from the 40 sub-centers of Yomaeng.⁴⁵¹ Choryon Joongang Sibō, the organization newspaper of leftwing Choryon, reported on and carried a photograph of approximately 60 of Yomaeng's leading women's movement activists who attended a workshop held for three days starting on 26 June 1949. Choryon Joongang Sibō revealed how Yomaeng had become more leftwing-oriented, stating that more than 30 Yomaeng leaders had joined the Japanese Communist Party after this workshop.⁴⁵² Yomaeng Sibō reported that about 200 representatives attended the

⁴⁴⁹ Yomaeng Sibō (27 December 1947).

⁴⁵⁰ Yomaeng Sibō (25 October 1948).

⁴⁵¹ Yomaeng Sibō (25 July 1949).

⁴⁵² Choryon Joongang Sibō (7 July 1949).

second national assembly [in Japan] of Yomaeng on 11 October 1948.⁴⁵³ From these reports, it can be estimated that the core Yomaeng leadership in Japan during the occupation period totaled at least 250.

According to Yomaeng Sibō's report, Yomaeng's aggregate center, located in Tokyo, had nine full-time activists including the chairman Eunsoon Kim.⁴⁵⁴ Each sub-center located in 40 different prefectures appears to have had four or five leading activists.⁴⁵⁵ And each local outlet of Yomaeng, under control of and affiliation with each sub-center of Yomaeng, had several women activist leaders.⁴⁵⁶ It seems that the leaders of local sub-centers and units composed the Central Committee and Representative Assembly of Yomaeng.

KWUJ had its own organizational flag, made badges for the membership, and more importantly, had its own anthem. The prose for this song was written by Namjin Huh, a famous Korean writer at the time living in the Korean community in Japan.⁴⁵⁷ Eunsoon Kim, the chairman of Yomaeng in Japan, recorded that the

⁴⁵³ Yomaeng Sibō (25 October 1948).

⁴⁵⁴ The second national assembly of Yomaeng reportedly decided upon the following full-time leadership members for the aggregated center of Yomaeng in Tokyo: Chairman Eunsoon Kim, Vice-chairman Seongkeun Kim, General Affairs Department Youngae Kim and Seongnyon Kim, Organizing and Propaganda Department Haeok Choi, Seungae Choi, and Jeongja Seo, Cultural Department Sooja Kang and Soonhee Song. Yomaeng Sibō (25 October 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁵ For example, the sub-center of Yomaeng in Kunma Prefecture had an activist leader named Maeja Cho with three other supporting women activists. Haebang Shinmun (20 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁶ For example, the local outlet in Shikma-ku, Heero City, Hyoko Prefecture had five women activists including the chief named Yonee Kim. Haebang Shinmun (25 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁷ "Yomaeng Song," Yomaeng Sibō, (25 September 1948). The first section of this prose can be translated as follows: It has been a dark history [for Korean women] during the last 5,000 years/ Finally, the day has come to break through the iron chains [of harassment]/ The day has come to build up a new nation and new history [by the foregoing women] / Come hence kicking out long-established conventions/ The flag of Women's Union flies [in the blue sky]. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

formation of the Korean Women's Union in Japan was started by the women's movement in the Korean homeland. Kim wrote:

Looking back on the year of 1947, it was a most distinguished but tormenting year for the history of the Korean women's movement. First of all, we saw the establishment of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Korea. Especially, in South Korea, as many as one million members of the Union participated in the Democratic National Front and played a major role in the strife of advocating livelihood. In October 1947 Korean women in Japan successfully organized the Korean Democratic Women's Union into a nationwide organization corresponding to the women's movement in the Korean homeland.⁴⁵⁸

1. Yomaeng Sibö preserved in the Prange collection

The availability of Yomaeng Sibö and the opportunity to review it is an unique opportunity for me. I am so far the only researcher to study this Korean women's activist publication that was produced solely by women journalists in Japan. Neither the organization newspaper of the South Korean Women's Democratic Union (SWU) in South Korea nor that of the North Korean Women's Democratic Union (NWU) are available for research in other repositories. In South Korea, no copies of the South Korean Women's Democratic Union have ever been identified. Seunghee Lee wrote, "the organization newspaper of SWU is nowhere preserved and thus nobody knows about the contents of the newspaper and there is no record left that this newspaper was well distributed and read by the local branch union members and [women's movement] activists."⁴⁵⁹ The possible existence and preservation of the organization newspaper of the North Korean Women's Democratic Union (NWU), the North Korean counterpart to the SWU,

⁴⁵⁸ Yomaeng Sibö (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁹ Seunghee Lee, Women's movement, 279. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

could offer some very informative comparisons with Yomaeng Sibō preserved in the Prange collection. However, for political reasons and due to the existing conflict between the North and South Korea, information on the NWU, is not accessible.

Yomaeng Sibō, an organization newspaper of the leftwing-oriented women's movement group of Yomaeng, naturally took positions that expressed a leftist-leaning tendency. Although each month's publishing date varied, this newspaper was a monthly publication.⁴⁶⁰ It was published only 16 times from 27 December 1947 to 25 July 1949. Each issue had two pages. The inaugural issue of this newspaper on 27 December 1947 was mimeographed; but the following issues from No.2 (1 February 1948) to No.16 (25 July 1949) were printed. By issue No.11 (25 December 1948) the printing paper size of Yomaeng Sibō had become a tabloid. From issue No.12 (25 February 1949) on, Yomaeng Sibō was printed on newspaper sized printing paper. The unit price of this organization newspaper was not marked in the masthead. There are several implications, however, that this newspaper was not distributed for free. One article appealing for support of Yomaeng Sibō informed readers that it was three yen per copy for issue No.13 (25 March 1949) and that the price was to be raised to five yen per copy as of No.14 (25 April 1949).⁴⁶¹ In issue No.13 (25 March 1949), there was the following announcement in Yomaeng Sibō, "Please send subscription fees of

⁴⁶⁰ For examples, the issue No.1 was published 27 December 1947, No.2 was on 1 February 1948, No.3 on 10 March 1948, No.4 on 10 April 1948, and No.5 on 25 May 1948. The issue No.2 marked that Yomaeng Sibō was a "monthly" publication.

⁴⁶¹ Yomaeng Sibō (25 June 1949).

Yomaeng Sibō on time.”⁴⁶² In issue No.15 (25 June 1949), this newspaper appealed to its readers, “Let’s make Yomaeng Sibō prosper by complete payment of subscription fees.”⁴⁶³ And in issue No.16 publishers added the catch phrase, “Let’s help Yomaeng Sibō survive [by financial support]. It is the bright eyes, ears and mouths of 200,000 [Korean Women’s Union] members.” The line was placed directly under the title.⁴⁶⁴

Meanwhile, according to censor’s scribbled marks, the number of Yomaeng Sibō copies being printed totaled 5,000.⁴⁶⁵ The actual circulation of this newspaper could not be traced since there is no explicit document mentioning circulation numbers. Like other leftist-leaning publications at the time in Japan, Yomaeng Sibō suffered severe shortages of printing paper. A note from the editor of Yomaeng Sibō said, “Due to the shortage of printing paper, Yomaeng Sibō cannot be allocated to each [Korean Women’s Union] member. Therefore, please take turns reading this newspaper among members of local sub-centers and units.”⁴⁶⁶ This implies that Yomaeng Sibō’s potential readership of Yomaeng members represented a multiple of the 5000 published copies. Therefore, the number of readers could possibly reach into the tens of thousands depending on the size of the overall membership total who took turns reading each issue. However, no actual documentation is available that references the actual readership. Yomaeng Sibō also carried a major article in the first issue of 1948

⁴⁶² Yomaeng Sibō (25 March 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁶³ Yomaeng Sibō (25 June 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁶⁴ Yomaeng Sibō (25 July 1949).

⁴⁶⁵ Yomaeng Sibō (25 April 1949).

⁴⁶⁶ Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

asking for support from Korean women readers to help it obtain printing paper.

The article, which appeared on 25 April 1949, argued:

There is no good news from the Printing Paper Allocation Committee under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, even though Yomaeng Sibō applied over one year ago for printing paper. If this situation does not improve, we fear that we may not be able to continue publishing Yomaeng Sibō next month. It is obvious that the Japanese government [under the control of the United States occupation authorities] is allocating more than enough printing paper, but only to politically conservative party newspapers and such commercial newspapers as Mainichi and Asahi. Please [our women readers] send notes to the Allocation Committee for printing paper allocation.⁴⁶⁷

Yomaeng Sibō was the only organization newspaper bringing news, information and opinion to the Korean women's movement in the post war period not only in Japan but also in Korea. The publisher-editor of Yomaeng Sibō, Eunsoon Kim, was the chairman of the women's movement group of Yomaeng in Japan. Yomaeng Sibō writers were nearly all Korean women and Yomaeng activists.⁴⁶⁸ The most frequent writer for this women's newspaper was Eunsoon Kim, who led the Korean women's movement in Japan at the time. A similar frequent writer and prominent woman activist, Kyungsook Seo, was the leader of the Yomaeng sub-center of Tokyo City.⁴⁶⁹ Since the masthead of this newspaper

⁴⁶⁷ Yomaeng Sibō (25 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation. The exact reason for the missing May 1949 issue of Yomaeng Sibō is not entirely clear. However, due to the existence of this article, it may be argued that this women's newspaper was forced to skip publishing for one month and then resume publication with its June 1949 issue.

⁴⁶⁸ There were several exceptional contributions written by male writers. One contribution was from Jungyang Nam, the [male] vice-chairman of Minchung, a leftwing youth movement group, encouraging the development of Yomaeng Sibō on 1 February 1948. The other contribution was from a popular male writer Eunjik Rhee, enlightening Korean women on 10 March 1948.

⁴⁶⁹ Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948).

only revealed Eunsoon Kim as the publisher-editor, many details about the Yomaeng Sibō newsroom and its writers cannot be identified.

Yomaeng Sibō's destiny depended upon the fate of the affiliated Korean leftwing movement group, Choryon. Yomaeng Sibō published its final and sixteenth issue of 25 July 1949 just one month prior to the Choryon's forced dissolution on 8 September 1949. When Choryon, Yomaeng's patron organization, disappeared, it apparently took Yomaeng Sibō, the only major women's leftwing newspaper published for and by Korean women in Japan, down with it.

2. The major social roles that Yomaeng Sibō sought to fulfill

The major social roles that Yomaeng Sibō wanted to play in the Korean women's community are well described in two articles of the newspaper. One appeared in the inaugural comments written by the publisher-editor Eunsoon Kim. Kim argued that the purposes for publishing the organization newspaper were mainly to integrate the Korean women's community in Japan and to help form Korean women's identity:

This newspaper [Yomaeng Sibō] will organize us [Korean women in Japan]. It will promote our [motto] and educate us. It will also become a weapon to help us fight and remain committed to the self-determination and independence of our [Korean] race and the accomplishment of [real] democracy that prohibits interventions from foreign countries. I expect absolute support and efficient help not only from democratic Korean women but also from Korean people in both Japan and in the Korean homeland.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Eunsoon Kim, "Inaugurating Yomaeng Sibō," Yomaeng Sibō (27 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

The other article came from a vice-chairman of Minchung (League of Korean Democratic Youths of Japan) under the title of “The missions of Yomaeng Sibō.” Minchung was another youth movement group, which was male-dominant and came under the umbrella of the leftwing Choryon. The writer Jungyang Nam argued:

Seeing the official visit of the Korean Committee of the United Nations and the prevailing conspiracy to establish a separate South Korean government, we are sure to refresh our determination [of unification of our homeland] and remain convinced that we [young Korean men and women] should be united. I expect Yomaeng Sibō to be a great compass and pioneer of development of the Korean Women’s Union in Japan. Yomaeng Sibō is expected to play an important role in organizing, enlightening, and promoting the 200,000 Korean women in Japan.⁴⁷¹

A. Social integration

Eradication of illiteracy

As for Korean women, the fight against illiteracy for Korean women in Japan was one of the most pressing problems that they faced. Merciless colonial policies of Japan forced Koreans to use Japanese as the official language in their homeland. Speaking, writing and even reading in the Korean language were severely forbidden throughout Korea after the late 1930s. Korean women, already struggling to overcome illiteracy, were forced to focus on Japanese and, therefore, could not avoid Korean language illiteracy. The Korean Women’s Union was convinced that eradication of Korean language illiteracy among Korean women in

⁴⁷¹ Jungyang Nam, “The missions of Yomaeng Sibō,” Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Japan was critically important for integration of Korean women into the Japanese community.

Yomaeng Sibō introduced Korean language study in its December 1947 inaugural issue and continued this practice of offering a significant portion of one page in every issue to Korean language skills development. For this purpose, the editors of Yomaeng Sibō utilized graphics so as to help readers understand the language better.⁴⁷² The editors sometimes placed certain Japanese words next to their Korean word equivalents to help Korean women make the transition.⁴⁷³ In Yomaeng Sibō's Korean study column on 25 December 1948, one Korean practice sentence appeared, “The emancipation of [Korean] women begins with the eradication of illiteracy [in Korean].”⁴⁷⁴ A paragraph appeared in the Yomaeng Sibō Korean study column emphasizing the importance of becoming literate in the Korean language and suggested this paragraph as a model for practice:

Eradication of illiteracy: So as to accomplish our dream of building a real democracy, it is essential that all the people aged between 15 and 50 should know how to read and write the Korean language. This is what we Korean youths [women and men] have as our mission. Let's become involved in eradicating illiteracy by going forward into the countryside and factories, firmly united [under the same consciousness of this mission]. This movement should continue until there are no more illiterate Koreans in Chosun [Korea].⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² For examples, Yomaeng Sibō on 1 February 1948 showed the pictures of a pine tree, a hammer, a bridge, and a shoe with putting matching Korean words respectively next to each picture.

⁴⁷³ Yomaeng Sibō (25 August 1948).

⁴⁷⁴ Yomaeng Sibō (25 December 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁷⁵ Yomaeng Sibō (25 March 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Korean women's movement activists in Japan tried to extend the scope of their activism to include Japanese women who married Korean males by inviting the Japanese wives to Korean language lectures at local branches of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan. The activists believed that this would accomplish more social integration among women in Japan regardless of their racial origins. Yomaeng Sibō reported a discussion from a Central Committee meeting of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan:

There are a good many Japanese women who have married Korean males in the [disorganized] local area. If we want to work together with them and include them in our Korean women's movement, we need to help them learn the Korean language. In order to do this, we need to lead them to participate in [Korean women's movement] meetings, including at first Korean language lecture meetings. Through this participation, they [Japanese wives] will pick up the much-needed spiritual consciousness of [Korean] women and of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Chosun [North Korea].⁴⁷⁶

Equal treatment of women and men

As illustrated in the preceding case where Korean women's movement activists in Japan pursued participation from Japanese women who had married Korean males, Korean women in Japan seemed still oriented to a male-first point of view. They seemed to have believed that Japanese wives, despite a belief in equality, should follow their Korean husband's racial origin once they were married. In spite of this revealing sub-consciousness conflict (even among women's movement leaders), activists maintained that it was the time for women to be treated equally to men. A short fictitious story appeared in Yomaeng Sibō

⁴⁷⁶ Yomaeng Sibō (25 July 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

addressing the issue of equal treatment of women and men. The story began with a woman admiring an American soldier's kindness in helping a girl get on a train at a platform:

Sister asked, "Look, brother. What do you think about the kindness of the American soldier educated in a democratic country? Do you not think the soldier would be a role model for [unkind] Korean men?" Another train has come. A group of [Korean] males, seemingly manual workers, got off from the train. The males seemed to be on their way to participate in an assembly of labor movement. They had pickets saying, "Equal payment for [women's] equal labor," and "Menstruation leave for women laborers." Brother asked to his sister, "Do you not think the laborers are real kind males?"⁴⁷⁷

Yomaeng Sibō compared two contrasting cases of Korean women being treated unequally to men. One was about an old woman, beginning to recognize the equality of women to men, who encouraged her daughter-in-law to work for women's emancipation as well as for democratic independence of the fatherland. The newspaper praised this old woman as "a considerate mother-in-law" in its inaugural issue:

We would like to spread the good news through Yomaeng Sibō that there is a progressive mother-in-law in the Korean women's community, which is still imprisoned by a feudalistic family system [by male-first dominant consciousness]. This old lady's name is Kyungdong Hahn, aged 52, living in the Nigata city. Lady Hahn's new daughter-in-law, Eulnyon Seo, has devoted very precious energy in our Women's Union movement as the leader of Yamaguchi prefecture. Hahn reportedly said to Seo, "Let me do the housekeeping, but you go out and work for the women's emancipation movement and achieve democratic independence for our fatherland. Young women like you should construct the new world of equality between men and women. Go out and work for

⁴⁷⁷ Eunjik Rhee, "Real kindness of men," Yomaeng Sibō (10 March 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

equality, and we old women will support you young women.” Yomaeng Sibō admires her as a role model of motherhood. We look forward to having these mothers all around our Korean community.⁴⁷⁸

The other case appeared in a short novel carried in the issues of 25 June 1949 and 25 July 1949 that was split into two parts.⁴⁷⁹ In this novel, a grandmother, described as a very conventional old lady, had raised her granddaughter by herself since her only son had died young. The grandmother, being a typical Korean woman at the time, believed that a girl did not need any improvements or changes in the educational system. She should stay at home until the time of marriage and become a wise mother and good wife to a man. Therefore, the grandmother opposed any idea that her granddaughter would become an actress in a play. The novel ends with the granddaughter’s self-determination to participate in the play as an actress even though it would be considered a betrayal of the norms of filial piety held by her grandmother. The preceding two cases illustrate that despotism at homes in the Korean community in Japan still prevailed, even though Koreans were trying to build a new truly democratic nation.

Another article in the Yomaeng Sibō showed how the women’s movement emphasized the need to encourage Korean women to fight toward eradication of despotism at home based on male-first thoughts:

In Korean society, there are women that have been abandoned merely because they cannot conceive children [more

⁴⁷⁸ Eunsoon Kim, “A considerate mother-in-law,” Yomaeng Sibō (27 December 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁷⁹ Taesoo Pak, “Grandmother,” Yomaeng Sibō (25 June 1949 and 25 July 1949).

specifically, sons]. Unreasonable civil laws that condone this are not acceptable. Women should be courageous and fight against the head of a household or husband who holds such beliefs. [so as to get equal rights of women].⁴⁸⁰ Many women have been forced to marry unwanted men for the sake of family tradition. How mean and slave-like women have been treated! Therefore, so as to be equal to men and to get equal rights as men, we have to be learned.⁴⁸¹

B. Identity formation

Searching for genuine identity of Koreans

Like other Korean leftist-leaning publications in Japan during the occupation, Yomaeng Sibō reflected prevailing leftist views. Therefore, this newspaper tended to support North Korea and be critical of South Korea. This newspaper, however, apparently tried to stay somewhat neutral in sensitive questions on the relationship between southern and northern Korea until South Korea established a separate government in August 1948. Harsh words directed toward the South Korean government appeared vigorously in Yomaeng Sibō from the 25 August 1948 onward. At the same time, propagandizing articles supporting North Korea accompanied the articles denouncing South Korea. These argued that the new People's Republic of North Korea was the only legitimate and well-regarded homeland government on the Korean peninsula.⁴⁸² Before August 1948, Yomaeng Sibō warned that the rumor of political progress in the South toward a

⁴⁸⁰ The head of a household means that the oldest son, husband or father-in-law. In Korean (and Japan at that time as well) civil laws, women could not become a head of a household even when she was widowed by her husband's death. When getting divorced, women could not be a person in parental authority without husband's concession.

⁴⁸¹ Yungduck Chon, "Making out a new family life: eradicate despotism in family," Yomaeng Sibō, (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁸² "What is the People's Republic of Korea?," Yomaeng Sibō, No.8 (25 August 1948).

separate government should be denounced as “a conspiracy of conservative reactionaries and Korean rebels.”⁴⁸³ An example of Yomaeng Sibō’s openly expressed preference for North Korea appeared in its 25 February 1949 issue, after the establishment of a South Korean government. A text taken for Korean language practice contended:

We need to construct a new nation. The nations we [Koreans] have known so far have been tormenters of people. However, the newly established “Democratic People’s Republic of Chosun [North Korea]” is a nation established through the power of the Korean people that truly administers the affairs of state for the people.⁴⁸⁴

Eunsoon Kim, the publisher-editor of Yomaeng Sibō and chairman of Korean Democratic Women’s Union in Japan, addressed Koreans in Japan in a commemorative assembly on the thirtieth anniversary of “March 1 Movement of 1919 in Korea.” In this address, appearing in the March 1949 issue of Yomaeng Sibō, Kim argued that Koreans were still struggling and searching for independence and racial identity. She contended that the political and general education movement of the Korean Democratic Women’s Union could be called the movement of searching for the genuine identity of Koreans. Kim spoke:

As you may already know, Korean women in the northern part of our homeland are participating in production in the industrial factories and they are being trained to be boastful laborers and heroines of the new society. In the southern part, we women are fighting and bleeding like men so as to accomplish that kind of society seen in the north. Then, let me ask you a question. Can we [Korean women in Japan] justifiably be compared with

⁴⁸³ Keun Yoon, “To Chosun women welcoming a new year,” Yomaeng Sibō, No.1 (29 December 1947), 1. Translated by the author of this paper.

⁴⁸⁴ Yomaeng Sibō (25 February 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

those in our homeland? Can we say that we have cleared the remnants of the Japanese imperialist period? Without having our own perspective, simple Japanization and Americanization will result in our being trapped into a life of slavery. We should clear up the remnants of Japan and the rotting factors of American capitalism even though we accepted it as a role model. The focus of the political and general education movement of Yomaeng is to determine a genuine Korean identity.⁴⁸⁵

Identifying North Korea as a legitimate regime

In Yomaeng Sibō the South Korean government was continually described as a negative illegitimate regime, while North Korea was seen as the true, positive and legitimate regime. This women's newspaper argued that South Korea had become a horrible part of the homeland where the dominant political power was killing Korean citizens. Yomaeng Sibō therefore made it clear that Korean women in Japan would and should support North Korea as the new and the only nation for liberated Koreans, a place where there would be no such trafficking of women as there was in the south:

South Korean women suffer under very dark conditions because trafficking of women is still prevalent there. It has been reported that South Korean women's movement activists have requested the abolition of officially sanctioned prostitution for soldiers of the United States army government in South Korea. The U.S. Army government supposedly responded to this request. Indeed, the official title of prostitution has disappeared; but the reality is that tens of thousands of Korean women are wandering the streets of cities in order to survive by prostituting their bodies. The number of prostitutes in South Korea is not decreasing but increasing.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁵ Yomaeng Sibō (25 March 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁸⁶ Yomaeng Sibō (25 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

The eleventh issue (25 December 1948) of Yomaeng Sibö contended that North Korea was a land of peace, justice and the protection of equal rights, while South was a “killing field of the brethren Korean people.” An article in this issue recorded:

The Korean American Treaty has changed South Korea into an imperialist colony again. The enlightened and dissenting Koreans [to this unequal treaty] are [harshly oppressed and] even hanged. According to the South Korean newspaper reports, the puppet government of Syngman Rhee and his army in South Korea have killed dissenting people every day, 96 in Yosü, 890 in Cheju, 70 in Sunchon, 40 in Kwangju, and 200 or more in Taejun.⁴⁸⁷

Yomaeng Sibö on 25 March 1949 carried a big picture of Kim Il Sung decorated by a ring of flowers in the center of the front-page. And the article about the Fourth Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Women’s Union in Japan contended:

The 200,000 Korean women in Japan will pour our whole power on the development and enforcement of the Democratic People’s Republic of Chosun. We support General Kim Il Sung, the brightest leader of Korean people and the greatest patriot. Long live General Kim Il Sung.⁴⁸⁸

The North Korean government became official on 13 September 1948. Yomaeng Sibö welcomed and legitimized the North Korean government’s inauguration as the start of a true people’s nation. The paper repeated its preference for the North Korean regime by welcoming the thirtieth anniversary of the “March 1 Liberation Movement in Korea.” Yomaeng Sibö continually

⁴⁸⁷ Yomaeng Sibö (25 December 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁸⁸ Yomaeng Sibö (25 March 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

identified Koreans in Japan as “the overseas residents of Democratic People’s Republic of Chosun [the official name of North Korea]”:

We, Koreans in Japan, now have become the boastful and wonderful people of Democratic People’s Republic of Chosun [Korea]. Even though we are still suffering scornful discrimination in this Japanese land, it is not permanent, but temporary.⁴⁸⁹

The People’s Republic, that 30 million⁴⁹⁰ Koreans have yearned for and are looking forward to, is finally born with complete support and inspiration. This is the [legitimate] Korean government that represents all of Korea unifying both South and North.⁴⁹¹

C. Agenda setting

Education of the second generation

According to the frequency of articles appearing in Yomaeng Sibō, the issue of ethnic education of Korean children in Japan was apparently one of the highest priorities in Korean women’s minds.⁴⁹² Koreans in Japan, mainly Korean women, argued strongly for the freedom to have Korean ethnic education programs in Japan. In April 1948 when the education authority of Japan, with permission from the occupation authority, did not authorize Korean educational programs, Koreans demonstrated violently. Korean women in Japan during the occupation considered Korean education of their second-generation Korean children as to be critically important if there was to be any eventual return to their

⁴⁸⁹ “Observing the day of March 1(Big Protest Memorial Day of 1919),” Yomaeng Sibō, No.12 (25 February 1949), 1. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁹⁰ The population of Korea in the late 1940s was roughly 30 million. Now it is estimated that South Korea has 43 million and North Korea has about 25 million.

⁴⁹¹ “Let’s protect the People’s Republic, the nation of people,” Yomaeng Sibō, No.9(25 September 1948), 1. Translated by the author of this paper.

⁴⁹² See Table 8.

homeland. Yomaeng Sibō actively tried to frame this issue as one of the most important goals of Korean women in Japan. A special report on the problems facing Korean ethnic education in April 1949 reveals why this issue was so important to Korean women in Japan:

When Japan was defeated in the World War II in August 1945, we Koreans in Japan began to return to our homeland. At the time, Korean brethren made their children withdraw from their Japanese schools. One of the most pressing problems for Korean parents was that our children were ignorant of Korean language, Korean alphabet, and Korean history [because Japan had forbidden any Korean education during the colonial period]. Then, Koreans began supporting Korean ethnic education without any help from the Japanese government. Thanks to the Korean community's full recognition of the importance of such education, 541 elementary schools, 7 middle schools, 22 youth vocational schools and 8 high schools were established.⁴⁹³ The Japanese government, however, remained indifferent and did not financially support any effort by Koreans to learn about their own language and culture. Suddenly, last spring, the Japanese government made efforts to suppress Korean ethnic education citing incongruence of Korean education with Japanese standards. Koreans in Japan regarded this attempt as another ill-minded trial imposed by Japan to further subjugate Koreans under Japanese influence. Koreans protested. Thousands of Koreans, including a number of Japanese sympathetic to the Korean plight in Japan, were arrested. More than 30 Koreans were sent to prison. The Japanese government destroyed many offices, cars, and other Korean movement group facilities. In the middle of demonstration, an open fire order was issued and Japanese police killed a 15-year-old boy named Taeil Kim. Another 14-year-old boy

⁴⁹³ Sonia Ryang provided the numbers of Korean schools in Japan citing works by two researchers (Ryang, North Koreans in Japan, 84). That is, Kyungshik Pak noted that as of October 1949 Choryon sponsored a total of 578 primary, middle, and high schools with about 50,000 students. Cited from Kyongshik Pak, Kaihogo Zainichi Chosenjin Undoshi (The History of Korean Movement in Japan: After the Liberation), (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1989), 31. Changsoo Lee calculated that in September 1949, Choryon operated 337 schools. (Quoted in Changsoo Lee, Koreans in Japan, 165.) Ryang contends that the fluctuation of figures might be attributed to different methods of calculation (whether or not to include the number of youth and adult schools). I agree with her view.

was arrested and tortured by the Japanese police and forced to kill himself.⁴⁹⁴

This newspaper covered the conflict between Koreans in Japan and the Japanese government over Korean education in top front-page articles on four occasions. This means that of the 16 issues published, 25 percent of the top front-page articles were about this conflict. On 10 April 1948 Yomaeng Sibong carried a statement announced by the South Korean Democratic Women's Union (SWU) on the top of its front-page that protested against the order of Japanese government to abolish Korean schools in Japan. The statement supported the protest of Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan against the order. On 25 May 1948 Yomaeng Sibong carried three major reports on the topic of Korean ethnic education and Japanese government suppression. These reports included news about women activists who were sent to jail with their children. Eunsoon Kim, the chairman of the Korean Women's Union in Japan, insisted, "The intrinsic nature of the Korean ethnic education suppression is that the Japanese government is subjugating a minority [Korean] people and eliminating Korean national culture."⁴⁹⁵ On 25 June 1948 Yomaeng Sibong again carried a front-page top story about a woman activist arrested in the middle of a violent demonstration:

One of the four activists, Soonkeum Lee, was taken into custody at a police station of Changjun due to conflicts over Korean ethnic education. She had to take her three-year old child

⁴⁹⁴ "Why was the ethnic education conflict brought up?" Yomaeng Sibong (25 April 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁹⁵ Eunsoon Kim, Yomaeng Sibong, (25 July 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

into the police cell with her. Moreover, her seven-year old child is currently hospitalized due to an illness; but the inhuman Japanese police refused to release her even on parole.⁴⁹⁶

Emancipation of women

Three platforms of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan appeared in Yomaeng Sibō. Of these, women's emancipation was placed as the top priority. However, Korean women activists in Japan were pressured by men [and even by other women] to put more emphasis on contributing to construction of a new democratic nation in their homeland and to maintenance of family stability fully supported by women rather than focusing upon women's emancipation. This encouragement was interesting in the light of the prevailing attitude that political and social agendas of constructing a democratic nation in homeland were in the hands of men. Nonetheless, leaders of the Korean women's movement in Japan recognized that the real liberation of Chosun [Korea] could not be accomplished without first achieving women's emancipation. The three platforms of Yomaeng were located on the left-hand side of the masthead of Yomaeng Sibō and appeared for the first time in the 1 February 1948 issue. Those platforms were as follows:

One: Pursue the complete emancipation of Korean women in political and economic terms.

Two: Contribute toward and continue efforts to establish a liberal democratic nation and its development.

⁴⁹⁶ "Women activists struggling on the forefront," Yomaeng Sibō, (25 June 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Three: Strive for cultural improvement and friendly international relations with and among Korean women, and contribute toward the consolidation of world peace.⁴⁹⁷

As the leader of the Korean women's movement in Japan, Eunsoon Kim shared her visions on the women's emancipation movement. Kim thought that contributing toward construction of a new democratic nation in the homeland was not at all an issue separate for Korean women in Japan from working for women's emancipation. She believed that women's emancipation was a pre-requisite for the true liberation of Korea. Kim wrote:

I should say Korean women [activists] in Japan are in a very fragile situation. There are a good many Korean women who scornfully say, "What arrogant women they are, those who participate in organizing, grouping, and [women's] movements like men! The best way for [Korean] women should be as wise mothers and good wives who stay at home." This is rotten feudal thought. I believe that emancipation of women cannot be achieved without women's self-enlightenment and participation. Women's emancipation is not given to those who are economically dependent [on men]. The movement for women's emancipation represents the liberation of humanity in the world. In the same vein, if we want our nation of Chosun [Korea] to be completely liberated, then it will be impossible without the [Korean] women's emancipation.⁴⁹⁸

One prominent Korean male writer in Japan, Eunjik Rhee, who I interviewed in Japan in December 2002, saw that the enemy of women's emancipation was not other women but rulers of the society who had privileges. He admitted that old Korean women, in particular, were a kind of obstacle blocking the enlightenment of women. He suggested, however, that old women

⁴⁹⁷ Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁴⁹⁸ Eunsoon Kim, "Let's get united, Korean women in Japan," Yomaeng Sibō (25 February 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

were not born opposing the emancipation of women, but rather, they were forcefully educated to be closed-minded. Rhee wrote in Yomaeng Sibō:

An American women's movement activist has contended, "The enemy of women's emancipation is no other than women themselves." I've heard that the harshest opponents are the families of Korean women who want to participate in racial rallies or school education. Yes, older women tend to be feudalistic and misunderstand younger women's activities. However, let's look back at their past. They have been put into a narrow space [according to feudalistic views] and forced to work [in the family] like cows and horses. Isn't it natural when a person is secluded from the outer world to have fear of being exposed to it? The enemy of women's emancipation is located somewhere else. It is [the class of] those who enjoy privileges by oppressing and hindering the enlightenment of women. I would say they are kings, aristocracy, capitalists, and Korean traditional Yang-Bhan [the ruling class during the Chosun dynasty]. I argue that with this existing privileged ruling system, the real women's emancipation and equal rights of women to men will not be accomplished.⁴⁹⁹

Rhee was victimized by the prejudices of the Korean community in Japan, which believed that Koreans should marry Koreans even in Japan. His wife was also hurt by the social prejudices among Japanese, who regarded Japanese women who married Koreans as deviant [because Koreans had been third class people in the eyes of colonial Japan]. He himself married twice; both of his brides were Japanese women. His experience implies that, during the post-war period, the Korean community in Japan leaned toward extreme views on the matter of racial homogeneity. Rhee discussed this during an interview with the author of this dissertation:

⁴⁹⁹ Eunjik Rhee, "The enemy of women's emancipation," Yomaeng Sibō (25 May 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Do you know my wife [pointing his wife sitting next during the interview] is Japanese? I met her while attempting to establish an ethnic middle school in Yokohama after Choryon was forced to dissolve. I got divorced from my ex-wife [because she did not understand his Korean ethnic movement orientation] even though we had three sons. My wife graduated from a famous women's college in Japan, and thus she was liberal. Korean brethren, however, criticized me that I again married a Japanese woman. They argued, "If you have to divorce a Japanese woman, then why don't you remarry a Korean woman?" and they disliked me due to this fact. Conversely, Japanese denounced my wife that she married a Korean guy even though she was well off, highly educated and intelligent. My wife has raised her three stepsons well and has endured every hardship to support me for more than 50 years.⁵⁰⁰

Yomaeng Sibō did not always carry articles that might instigate quarrels in the feudalistic family. Rather, this newspaper once suggested methods for wives [women's movement activists] to get along with husbands without fighting. From the women's emancipation movement perspective, this article's suggestions may seem contradictory and passively to compromise with existing patriarchal power and feudal consciousness. The article, appearing in Yomaeng Sibō on 25 December 1948, considered the following behaviors unwise: A wife who would not treat her husband [with food] if he does not say he is hungry; A wife who does not suggest a cup of Sake [a mild liquor prevalent in Japan] even though the husband returning home says it is very cold out there; A wife who says, "Who will keep the house?" when husband suggests they go out to see a movie over the coming holiday.⁵⁰¹ This article concluded that, if wives behaved more attractively,

⁵⁰⁰ Eunjik Rhee, interview by author, 5 December 2002, Yokohama, Japan. Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁵⁰¹ "The way for couples to get along," Yomaeng Sibō (25 December 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

as did the hostesses of liquor houses and geishas in expensive restaurants, husbands might not go often those places.

3. Perspectives on women's movement in other publications than in Yomaeng Sibō

Chosun Shinbo, a rightist-leaning newspaper in the Korean community in Japan, occasionally carried a column for women, which suggests that this newspaper saw women as one of its important market segments. However, perspectives expressed in these articles essentially mirrored traditional coercive attitudes about women. One serial article appeared in Chosun Shinbo's women's corner that admiringly recounts the tradition of female chastity during the Chosun Dynasty:

The women of Chosun [Korea] have maintained the tradition of remaining gracefully and unyieldingly chaste under all circumstances. This has been regarded an unchanging virtue of women since older times. Even though we are living in modern times, the meaningfulness of chastity [for both virgins and widows] is an eternal virtue. We can find many historical role models of faithful women from Chosun, who sacrificed their lives so as to remain chaste.⁵⁰²

Chosun Shinbo's contradictory attitude toward women's issues can be seen in how it handled women in photographs. Chosun Shinbo carried special photos welcoming the spring of 1947.⁵⁰³ These photos showed five women models posed as the photographer had directed. Models were dressed in skirts and placed in somewhat sexually suggestive positions: For example, sitting on swings stretching their legs into the air or jumping up high as if they were welcoming the

⁵⁰² "The chastity of Chosun women and modern thoughts (II)," Chosun Shinbo (16 February 1947). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁵⁰³ "Energetic spring, No.1 and No.2" Chosun Shinbo (29 April 1947 and 1 May 1947).

new spring into their skirts. These pictures leave the rather negative impression of exploiting sexual cues to attract the eyes of male readers for commercial purposes. Even if not consciously intended to do so, the photographs manage to produce this impression. In contrast, Yomaeng Sibō and other leftist-leaning newspapers never dealt with these kinds of pictures. Another example of sexual exploitation in Chosun Shinbo was a photo of a smiling woman under a tree in summer garments. Taken by itself it was not explicitly sexual; however, the caption that accompanied this photo was:

Women of June: Sunny sky refreshes spirits. Wind from the river sweetly touches the branches of peach trees. Stronger smells than the spring flowers come out of women's exposed bodies [in June] while the sunshine gets hotter. Women of June make the nerves of men very sensitive.⁵⁰⁴

An editorial in the rightwing newspaper, Shinsegye Shinmun, titled "Women's emancipation of new Chosun," harshly attacked the activists of the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan. Even though the newspaper admitted the necessity of Korean women's emancipation and the women's movement, the editorial repeated suspicious propositions and arguments in its attack of the Korean women's movement in Japan:

We must assume the women's movement organization [in Japan] is not trying to truly win emancipation for women but rather to accomplish something else. In other words, we suspect that these women's movement activists are blindly following their confused husbands, acquaintances, or propagandists [per se, leftists]. We think these women are participating in street rallies without any accurate purposes. If these assumptions are true, this

⁵⁰⁴ "Women of June," Chosun Shinbo (8 June 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

kind of women's movement group should not be appreciated for having any valid political or social ideology. Rather, this kind of movement group should be denounced as following old feudalistic ways of women and far different from actual women's emancipation. If our suspicions are true, how can we ever expect women's emancipation or other merits from these [activists]?⁵⁰⁵

A short-short story appeared in the mid-road leaning newspaper Kukdong Shinbo described a procedure for resolving a quarrel between a husband and wife, which had a happy ending.⁵⁰⁶ In this story, a husband and a wife, who got married for love [instead of through a matchmaker] quarreled on how to raise their boy child. Each argued his or her side on whether to allow the boy more outdoor playing or limit him to playing more inside. As the argument escalated, they found fault with each other and began using denouncing remarks. The husband, who finally got furious from his wife's remarks, beat her several times with his hand. The wife insisted that her husband beat her more so she could die. Then, the husband was bewildered. He grabbed her shoulder tight with his hands, but did not know what to do next. At the moment, the wife thought about her husband in two ways: "My husband is like a wild beast to beat his wife, but is like a wise beast to be regretful for his behavior." The wife suddenly felt that she had been exposed to a sweet shower in spite of his beating. She tried to hug him more tightly in spite of vainly arguing, "Beat me more. Beat me more." This amazing and disturbing story indicates that the writer held strong prejudices about women. The writer should be blamed for regarding Korean wives as naturally masochistic.

⁵⁰⁵ "Women's emancipation of new Chosun," Shinsegye Shinmun (15 March 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁵⁰⁶ Beaseok Chung, "Happiness of wife, (I) and (II)" Kukdong Shinbo (11 and 18 May 1949).

His way of thinking is obviously based on patriarchal notions that represented exactly the opposite view as those expressed by Korean women's movement activists. It was this way of thinking that Yomaeng Sibō was trying to overcome.

4. Consensus of journalists in Yomaeng Sibō

The consensus of journalists and activists of women's movement in Korean community in Japan who worked for Yomaeng Sibō was similar to that of other leftist-leaning writers and activists at the time. That is, Korean women journalists believed that Korea was and should be one nation, especially one that reflected the development of North Korea. In the same vein, Yomaeng Sibō declared that the separate general election in South Korea in May 1948 should have been nullified. This newspaper labeled the separate nation building activity of South Korea as illegitimate because there existed a clear consensus among Koreans that they should build a self-determined democratic nation that covered the entire Korean peninsula.⁵⁰⁷ Yomaeng Sibō also contended that the separate election should have been nullified because it was carried out in a very coercive way through the force of police and the military:

It is the era of democracy. The general election on 10 May in South Korea excluded North Korea. Who can accept the permanent separation of Chosun [into two nations]? There is no legitimacy for a nation to have two different governments. It is obvious that two governments will make two nations? The separate general election in South Korea is just false. Many Koreans were opposed to having a separate election, but they [South Korean rightists] forcefully executed the election, threatening the people with police and military power. Election means to freely select representatives that people want to have. However, in South Korea,

⁵⁰⁷ "The separate election in South Korea should be nullified," Yomaeng Sibō (25 May 1948).

many people were coercively forced to vote for somebody they did not support. Therefore, the recent election is a dead election and it should have been immediately nullified.⁵⁰⁸

When South Korea inaugurated its separate government on 15 August 1948, Yomaeng Sibō stated clearly that Koreans in Japan supported North Korea as the only legitimate political power in the homeland. The newspaper denounced South Korea, “In South Chosun, Syngman Rhee built up a puppet regime that all of the Korean people have opposed with blood and deaths. He even officially asked foreign [American] armies to stay there for longer.”⁵⁰⁹ In August 1948 in an effort to contrast the North and South Korean regimes and further denounce South Korea, Yomaeng Sibō introduced readers to the People’s Republic. The article titled “What is the People’s Republic,” propagandized that the People’s Republic [being prepared in the North Korea] guaranteed the rights and interests of all Korean people.⁵¹⁰

Korean women’s movement activists in Japan were firmly convinced that the newly liberated Korea should have been a unified democratic nation. In the beginning they tried to maintain neutrality toward both the South and the North, but then they started to become nervous about the formation of the separate government in South Korea. What the Korean Democratic Women’s Union in Japan hoped to see occur appeared in Yomaeng Sibō in early 1948. Eunsoon Kim wrote:

⁵⁰⁸ “How did the general election in South Korea come?” Yomaeng Sibō (25 May 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁵⁰⁹ Eunsoon Kim, “Observing third anniversary of 15 August [Liberation Day],” Yomaeng Sibō (25 August 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁵¹⁰ “What is the People’s Republic?” Yomaeng Sibō (25 August 1948). Translated by the author of this paper.

Early in 1948, we must force both American and Soviet Union armies to withdraw from our homeland. We have to have a unified government of South and North without any intervention of foreign countries. Let's break down the conspiracy of building a separate South Korean government.⁵¹¹

The journalists of Yomaeng Sibō and Korean women's movement activists in Japan regarded the presence of foreign forces not as a facilitator but an obstruction to unification of the homeland. Their consciousness was expressed in a fictitious conversation between a grandmother and her grandson in the "corner of ironies" of Yomaeng Sibō:

Grandson: Grandma, I believe Chosun cannot be truly independent unless the high-nosed people [the U.S. and Soviet Union] get out of our fatherland.

Grandma: Well, our country has been liberated [from Japan] thanks to those high-nosed people. How can we keep them out?

Grandson: Can't you see, grandma, their greed for remaining in Chosun?

Grandma: I know they are remaining in Chosun so as to help Koreans get independent.

Grandson: You are damned ignorant about the outer world.

Grandma: What? You are a spoiled boy. How dare you try to instruct me?

Grandson: You should know the truth that they are trying to take over our homeland.

Grandma: Really? Are you sure? Oh my, then, we should get united and force them to go out?⁵¹²

A significant article in Yomaeng Sibō's sixteenth and last issue on 25 July 1949 reported in detail on the Organizational Rally of the Homeland Unification Front in Pyongyang [North Korean capital city] on 25 June 1949. In this article,

⁵¹¹ Eunsoon Kim, "Retrospect and prospect," Yomaeng Sibō (1 February 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

⁵¹² "Ironies," Yomaeng Sibō (25 October 1948). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Yomaeng Sibō expressed the opinion that efforts to build a unified nation in the homeland had obviously failed. Furthermore, the article, located at the top of the front-page, implied that Korean consensus should continue to be pursued even if it meant a civil war on the Korean peninsula. It said reluctance of the Rhee government in South Korea to pursue peaceful resolutions had hindered the unification progress. [As it happened the Korean War broke out on 25 June 1950, exactly one year after the 25 June 1949 rally.] The article, encouraging Korean women to participate in Korean unification, began with the following sentence:

The 704 representatives of the patriotic political parties and social groups [of Korea] unanimously seconded a suggestion by a Chosun Labor Party member Sunmyong Chang that they will overthrow the regime of Rhee by force.⁵¹³

5. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the 16 issues of Yomaeng Sibō, the organization newspaper of Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan, preserved in the Gordon W. Prange collection. As in the cases of other publications in the Prange collection, research focused on investigating social roles that Yomaeng Sibō wanted to fulfill in the Korean community [particularly the Korean Women's community] in Japan during the occupation period.

Unlike other publications studied in the Prange collection, no censorship materials were available that related to Yomaeng Sibō. However, some marks or rubber stamps placed on copies of this newspaper implied that Yomaeng Sibō also came under the influence of censorship. Yomaeng Sibō is given an independent

⁵¹³ "The day of longed-for unification of fatherland is coming: Let's all Korean women stand up," Yomaeng Sibō (25 July 1949). Translated by the author of this dissertation.

chapter in the dissertation for several reasons. First, Yomaeng Sibō is the only publication for Korean women in Japan during this period that has been found. Second, except for a few contributions by Korean male writers, Korean women in Japan solely produced the newspaper. Therefore, Yomaeng Sibō was a uniquely women's newspaper where Korean women journalists and activists could participate in newspaper writing. Third, the newspaper addressed gender issues such as equal treatment of women with men and power relations within the household that are still core issues in general Korean society today. Even among the Koreans who were liberated from Japanese rule in 1945, Korean women were marginalized as a group. Fourth, other publications studied, ranging from leftist, mid-road, and rightist-leaning, reflected male-oriented perspectives, so I thought it was important to hear the voices of woman as reflected in this publication. Fifth, I wanted to interpret and describe how voices of Korean women were under pressure from three different political influences in Japan. Influence from (1) the Japanese government, (2) the American occupation authorities, and (3) the traditional Korean male dominant environment that complicated women's political views substantially. In fact, Korean women in Japan were expected to play diverse roles such as the good wife, the wise mother, and as the wage earner. That is, Korean women in Japan were always expected to sacrifice themselves to be good wives and wise mothers at home. At the same time, the bad economic situation in Japan during the post-war period forced Korean women to work hard in the black market in order to support their families economically.

The Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan published Yomaeng Sibō with the contention that women's emancipation was closely connected to the establishing a new independent nation in the homeland. Moreover, Korean women activists wanted to ensure that women's emancipation was a pre-requisite to true democracy in Korea. This chapter discusses major issues defined by the Korean women's movement in Japan in the pages of its newspaper. These issues were the eradication of illiteracy, achieving equal treatment of women and men, overcoming patriarchal values, and providing Korean ethnic and language education for children. Korean women in Japan placed their top priority on bringing up their children with their own language and their own ethnic educational programs even though they still lived in Japan. It was believed that sooner or later they and their children would return to the Korean fatherland. They hoped that young children would become proud Koreans even though they were the descendants of immigrated mothers during the colonial period.

Yomaeng Sibō showed that there was a consensus among Korean women journalists and activists that the Korean peninsula should not be developed into two countries, South and North Korea. Korean women writers in Japan were eager to see their homeland restored from Japanese imperial rule not as two countries but as one unified nation, even though they could not return immediately. On this matter, Yomaeng Sibō mirrored the perspectives of leftwing publications discussed in the Chapter IV of this dissertation. In a similar vein, this newspaper remained very critical of South Korean government and regarded the North Korean regime as the only legitimate government on the Korean peninsula.

Korean women activists believed that when the southern regime chose to be a separate nation it ignored the yearnings of ordinary Korean people.

Table 7: Accomplishments of Korean ethnic education movement by the individual units of Yomaeng district of Tokyo City

Name of Units \ Items	Collecting rice for the arrested activists (liters)	Fundraising for the arrested activists (yen)	Signatures for asking releases of the arrested (persons)	Women students attending lectures of Korean language (persons)
Galsik	99.2	2,127	217	65
Daedong	27.0	--	1,000	20
Daejon	145.4	--	1,000	--
Hahng	25.2	876	500	10
Joongbu	10.8	--	--	6
Joongya	--	1,000	300	7
Mookjon	39.6	--	--	--
Hwangchon	14.4	1,000	--	--
Jokrip	18.7	158	250	30
Mokheuk	27.0	4,000	500	30
Poomchon	--	2,300	--	15
Seobuk	27.0	2,300	--	57
Total	434.3	15,371	3,767	240

Source: Yomaeng Sibō (25 April 1949)

Table 8: Yomaeng Sibō and the Korean ethnic education conflicts in Japan

	Front-page top articles	Front-page sub-articles	Inside articles
Issue No.4 (10 April 1948)	--“A note of protest from the Democratic Women’s Union in Seoul”	--“Let’s keep our Chosen education independent” --“Parents pushed beyond their limits” --“Yamaguchi Yomaeng are doing a great job with education protests” --“Thirteen Korean women were arrested in Yokohama”	--“The public’s opinion worsens as Korean education is suppressed”
Issue No.5 (25 May 1948)		--“Brave Osaka-Kobe women colleagues” --“Even in jail, we continue our protests” --“Families visit the arrested colleagues”	
Issue No.6 (25 June 1948)	--“Struggling Korean women in the forefront”	--“Brave colleagues in jail”	
Issue No.7 (25 July 1948)	--“Protest movement seeks one million signatures”	--“The truth about the Korean education conflict” --“Japanese police torture Koreans” --“Criticism of Yol Pak” --“Statements from the mother of murdered boy activist, Taeil Kim”	
Issue No.8 (25 August 1948)	“Look at the power of Yomaeng and Korean women”	--Korean women activists in Yokohama”	
Issue No.14 (25 April 1949)	“Remember 24 April 1948”	--“Preserve our national culture through our own education” --“The activity of Tokyo center of Yomeang”	--“Yomaeng gathers signatures as protest” --“The reasons we protested and fought” --“Review of the year’s struggles for Korean education”

Chapter VIII: Conclusions

Findings of the study and general conclusions

This historical research project has explored Korean newspapers and magazines during the American occupation in Japan. Research has primarily covered Korean publications written in Korean. However, the study has also included Korean-related publications written in Japanese that were among the available censored documents and suppressed articles preserved in the Gordon W. Prange collection. To gain additional information for this study, the author of this dissertation made a research trip to Japan from December 2002 to January 2003 and interviewed several Korean journalists who worked in the Korean press at the time. These interviews contributed towards partial fulfillment of triangulation for this qualitative historical research.

Throughout this research, details about the Korean press in Japan during the occupation have been carefully depicted. Names of publishers, editors, and journalists have been identified; the frequencies, numbers of pages, and numbers of copies printed for each publication have been recorded; for some publications, the subscription fees per month or unit price of per copy have been verified; printing practices at the time have been described in terms of different publishing methods used; severe printing paper shortages have been noted and described along with responses of publishers to these shortages. So as to present important

findings from this research and draw some general conclusions, research questions need to be restated and summarized:

1. Was the Korean press in Japan one factor that facilitated the drastic switch in support from South Korea to support for North Korea in the Korean community in Japan? The answer is a qualified “yes.”

One of the most fundamental inquiries of this research was why an absolute majority of Koreans in Japan, who had strong connection to their hometowns and who was mostly from the southern part of Korea, came to prefer the northern regime according to a Japanese government survey in 1955. Revealing the relationship between the Korean press and the Korean community identifies part of the answer to this puzzle. Korean journalists in Japan convincingly repeated the idea that Korean publications were the eyes, ears and mouths of Koreans in Japan. Therefore, the endeavor to identify social roles played by Korean publications leads toward understanding the relationship and interactions of Korean press with their readers. Regardless of particular ideological leanings, this research has demonstrated that all Korean publications sought to play major social roles in community integration, identity formation, and agenda setting for Korean people living in Japan. The research showed that, as Korean publications served their community as integrators, identity formers and agenda setters, Koreans in Japan came to view political development in North Korea as more legitimate and more constructive than developments in South Korea for addressing their hopes and yearnings. Their yearnings were to be treated as truly liberated people in

Japan and to return to a unified fatherland. Meanwhile, many of the Korean publications in Japan regarded the separate South Korean general election as a betrayal of ethnic consensus and a symbol of the permanent division of their fatherland.

In terms of the community integration, Korean publications concentrated on emphasizing the need for Koreans in Japan to work together and to help each other contribute toward building a new democratic nation, an independent place that their second generation sons and daughters could return to and live happy lives. Regarding identity formation, publications showed there was a basic consensus of Koreans in Japan that they were all Koreans who had the undeniable right to live in a unified homeland. However, leftist-oriented publications tried to convince their readers that they were the “overseas residents of North Korea,” while rightist-oriented publications asserted that, due to the reality of the tide of the day, Koreans in Japan should consider themselves “overseas residents of South Korea.” Agenda setting activities of Korean publications reflected these two factions and the difficult choice of national identity that faced Koreans in Japan. Leftist-oriented publications tried to spread the idea that Korea should be a unified entity following the North Korean political perspective. They emphasized that North Korea was progressing well, while South Korea was on the wrong track in every area. Rightist publications concentrated more on realizing a unified fatherland reflecting the views of South Korea. These publications, without actively arguing the merit of the South Korean perspective, continued to

publish articles supporting South Korea and place them conspicuously in their papers. Mid-road publications, perhaps idealistically, wanted Korea to be a unified entity at all costs and were not too concerned with ideological differences existing between leftist and rightist perspectives.

The findings and evidence described in this study may not fully support the argument that the Korean press in Japan was the only factor facilitating attitude change. However, it can be convincingly argued that the Korean press was a significant factor in attitude change among Korean readers in Japan regarding their preference of one regime over the other.

2. Why and how, during a period of printing paper scarcity, did Koreans in Japan publish (or, claim to be publishing) a large number of newspapers and magazines? This is especially interesting when these numbers are compared to the actual Korean population in Japan at the time. The answer involves the desire of the Koreans to assert their nationality.

Koreans in Japan recognized themselves as Koreans who were temporarily living in Japan. They believed themselves to be the same community of Koreans as those in their homeland in spite of the geographical distances. They regarded it as their right and obligation to express their views through publications on matters of their fatherland. This research shows Koreans in Japan were eager to publish newspapers and magazines often and produce many copies because they saw that these publications served a critical organizing, enlightening, and leadership role to help promote their minority

presence while under the control of Japanese government and American occupation.

This research revealed that the Japanese government and the occupation authority discriminatively allocated printing paper to a small number of rightwing publishers. This resulted in false and exaggerated numbers of printed copies by rightwing publications and subsequently produced abundant access to unneeded printing paper for rightwing publications when Japan was suffering under severe printing paper shortages. Presumably, rightwing newspapers sold their extra printing paper on the black market, making tremendous profits for their owners. The need to publish forced most other Korean publications to buy printing paper on the black market. This led to accusations and protests from leftist publications. There were rumors of corruption between Japanese government officials, occupation authority officials supervising the Japanese government, and Korean rightwing publishers.

Therefore, this study often found that leftwing publications asked their readers to help them protest against the discriminatory printing paper allocation. This research also found that Korean leftwing publications also directed fundraising efforts toward their readers to secure more access to printing paper.

3. How did the Korean press in Japan report the treatment of Koreans in Japan by the Japanese government and occupation authorities?

This study found that Korean publications often reminded readers of the atrocities they had suffered under Japanese colonial rule. Korean publications in Japan carried many articles protesting the Japanese government's plan to abolish the Korean ethnic education system. Korean publications also reported on how Japanese police were mistreating jailed Korean captives based upon old imperial colonialist views.

Korean publications openly admired the fact that Koreans had been liberated and voiced strong thanks to the Allied Army led by the United States. However, they reminded readers that their Korean fatherland was being divided increasingly into two countries and that this was mainly because of intense competition between the United States and the Soviet Union as the Cold War began.

In reaction to these political activities around the Korean peninsula, leftwing, rightwing, and mid-road factions emerged along with more pointed reports, columns, and articles in Korean publications in Japan. Leftwing publications argued that they admired and appreciated the liberation by American and Soviet Union armies, but they continued to try and convince readers of the importance of self-determination and that foreign forces should withdraw from their fatherland and leave the future of Korea to Koreans. Rightwing publications remained passive and indecisive on the matter of withdrawal of foreign forces from the Korean fatherland. These publications tried to persuade their readers to admit the reality of the situation and compromise with the might and power wielded by the United States and

Soviet Union. Mid-road publications, even though their publication space was narrow, argued that there should be no fighting among Koreans and between Koreans and Japanese. They argued for a merging with Japanese culture and assimilation with the reality in Japan. Despite their differences, each publication faction expressed the same need to once again achieve a unified homeland country; and they tried to express this consensus through their publications.

4. How did the Korean press in Japan operate in spite of censorship by the occupation authorities and how did censorship policy affect Korean publications?

Censorship was imposed upon both Korean publications and Japanese publications. This study has determined that censorship of Korean publications remained in place even though the censors were not Korean language experts but relied on the help of Korean co-censors. Research has identified two main Korean co-censors or translators. Their names were Youngchu Chung and YI Hyun. This dissertation illustrates how Korean translators, being the first readers, screeners and controllers of articles, directly and powerfully influenced the Korean publications that Koreans in Japan read. The research determined that these two Korean translators had extensive authority to make censorship decisions on their own. When they reported their opinions and suggested possible actions to English censors they were nearly always approved without question.

For this study, a total of 149 articles were found in the Prange collection that had been examined by censors for possible violations of press policy in Japan under the occupation. Twenty-five articles passed through censorship without alteration, but the other 124 articles were either completely suppressed or partially deleted. In spite of the censorship, suppression and filtering of reports by censors, Korean publications continued to try and fulfill their social roles as community integrators, identity formers, and agenda setters.

It was revealed through this research that during the course of fulfilling such social roles, a couple of publisher-editors were arrested, indicted and convicted for occupation authority press code violations. This study has extended the knowledge of censorship in Japan during the occupation revealing that the censorship authority even censored some events in the Korean community assembly. In these cases, the assembly was forced to cancel its original schedule of programs. Films on the Korean leftwing movement group, Choryon, were not presented to the audience; instead, organizers of the assembly were asked to present U.S. Army propaganda movies and only then were the assembly plans authorized.

5. What topics were mainly suppressed from the Korean publications in Japan?

Among all the 124 suppressed or partially deleted articles, 68 articles (54.8 percent) were related to the political developments in the Korean peninsula. Of these 68 Korea-related reports, 27 articles (39.7 percent) were related to the division of Korea, the yearning for Korean unification or

concerns about the future of the Korean peninsula. As many as 30 articles (44.1 percent) were critical or negative reports on South Korea, whereas 11 articles (16.2 percent) were complimentary or positive reports on North Korean political development.

The second largest portion of suppressed articles from Korean publications was composed of articles about political developments in Japan. These accounted for 42 articles (33.9 percent of the 124 suppressed articles). Of these 42 Japan-related articles, 28 (66.7 percent) articles were about reports on the Korean leftwing movement group of Choryon and its arguments about the livelihood rights of Koreans in Japan and requests for their ethnic education, while the remaining 14 articles (33.1 percent) were critiques of Japanese government and police.

There were only three suppressed articles related to the United States. Ironically, a short factual report on unemployment statistics in the United States was among these suppressed articles. In no way did this report criticize the United States but it was nevertheless suppressed. This serves to illustrate the typical reflexive bureaucratic censorship process when certain key words were mentioned like “United States” or “unemployment.”

6. Was there a favorable attitude expressed by the occupation authority toward certain Korean publications depending upon their ideological tendency? If there was such favoritism, why was it there and how was it expressed?

The study shows that the occupation authority and the Japanese government [under occupation control] both maintained favorable attitudes

toward the rightist-leaning Korean press of the time. As mentioned above, this favoritism is evident in discriminatory allocation of printing paper to rightwing publishers. The research also found examples of favoritism by the occupation authority.

Documents and articles from the Prange collection show that leftist-oriented publications lost more articles due to censorship that were scheduled to appear than rightwing and mid-road publications did. The number of articles suppressed in the leftwing publications was 77 (62.0 percent) of the total 124. Meanwhile, it was estimated that rightwing publications lost 44 articles (36.0 percent) by suppression or partial deletion and mid-road publications lost 5 articles (4.0 percent). It is also telling that occupation authorities sent favorable letters to rightwing publications and censors allowed these positive letters and messages to be published openly in rightwing publications.

There was favoritism regarding printing paper allocation less often than there was suppression of articles. Censors remained strict on certain political issues. They uniformly suppressed or partially deleted any article from either the left, mid-road or the rightwing press that identified the U.S. and/or the Soviet Union as being responsible for the division of Korean homeland.

Although not aiming to generalize, this study certainly illuminates broader issues and problems that are not confined specifically to the Korean press in Japan during the occupation. In order to address these issues I would like to offer some more general conclusions resulting from this research:

- 1) This study illustrates how a marginalized ethnic minority group of people, like Koreans in Japan under the Japanese government and American occupation authorities, tend to identify themselves as members of one community belonging to one homeland in spite of their geographical distance. They are convinced of their affiliation and homogeneity with dwellers in their homeland. They personally feel sympathy or delight as people in their homeland experience hardships or successes. They would like to express their thoughts through publishing and making records through printed media.
- 2) This historical study was devoted to Korean publications in Japan during the occupation. It illustrates how the press is capable of playing important social roles as community integrators, identity formers, and agenda setters even under a tightly controlled mass media environment. That is, censorship and discriminatory printing paper allocation may hinder and limit the freedom of the press, but it is impossible to control a press from trying to fulfill basic social roles for its community.
- 3) This study shows that behaviors and responses of journalists under conditions of harsh media control, as is the case under censorship, can be identified at least two ways: negotiation with the controlling authority and attempts to circumvent control by implicitly criticizing the authority.

- 4) When there is a shortage of printing paper, allocation policies are more effective at hindering press freedom than directly filtering uncomfortable reports or articles through censorship. From a freedom of the press view, controlling physical media of communication [printing paper] is more damaging than control of the contents of communication [censorship]. This control policy, whether or not the allocation authority intended it, produces a side effect of corruption related to that allocation. In the case of Korean publications in Japan, some rightwing publishers sold their extra paper on the black market. They took advantage of their privilege of paper allocation instead of increasing the number of copies and propagating the occupation authority's preferred articles.
- 5) As this study demonstrates, when language barriers exist between censors and the materials they are working with, as was the case for American censors working in a foreign country, the authority to pass or suppress certain media contents depends more upon the actions of translators or co-censors than the actual censors. During the occupation in Japan, two Koreans were found apparently to have had sole authority over publications written in the Korean language.

Significance of the study

- 1) This historical study is unique. It is the first study to research and outline details of the interaction and shape of Korean press in Japan during the occupation. It differs from other limited research works on the history of

Koreans in Japan in that this study concentrated on understanding and interpreting mass media publications based upon censored materials. For example, Changsoo Lee and George De Vos presented political history on Koreans in Japan, whereas Sonia Ryang approached Koreans in Japan from an anthropological perspective.⁵¹⁴

- 2) This study revealed vivid voices of suppressed articles scheduled to appear in Korean publications that were cast away into the darkness by censors. Through this study, those voices are revived and can for the first time enjoy an open forum, as originally intended, where they can finally be heard. This study differs from several other pieces of research on censorship of Japanese publications during the occupation, in that this study focused almost exclusively upon Korean publications written in Korean. Marlene Mayo's conclusion that censorship in Japan was an "unavoidably necessary tool to educate the Japanese democracy" is questioned and possibly falsified by this research.⁵¹⁵ It is contradictory that democracy can be successfully taught through undemocratic and extreme methods of media control. Moreover, the Korean people were in no way responsible for the World War II. Rather, they were the victims of that war. Yet, Koreans in Japan suffered as if they, along with the Japanese, were being punished.
- 3) This study also makes a significant contribution to the existing body of translated works from Korean into English for the period during the American occupation of Japan. The author of this dissertation translated many pieces of

⁵¹⁴ Lee and De Vos, Koreans in Japan and Ryang, North Koreans in Japan.

⁵¹⁵ Mayo, 320.

primary data [censored Korean publications and suppressed articles] into English. Articles from that period were full of old-fashioned Korean language along with a complex mixture of Chinese characters. Few current Korean researchers have sufficient knowledge of Chinese character usage to carry out translations upon this kind of data set.

- 4) This historical study is important because it can be used to rectify the historical facts. Part of this study illustrates that the United States army government in Japan did not want Koreans in Japan to be well informed on the political progress in Korea. If the real purpose of the co-division of Korea with the Soviet Union was to efficiently liberate Koreans and help them build a democratic country, then there would have been no reason for the occupation authorities to try to block the flow of information on Korea to Koreans in Japan, who were anxiously waiting for their fatherland to develop as a place of peace and prosperity after the colonial rule of Japan.
- 5) The study examined an important Korean women's newspaper in Japan. I am so far the only researcher to study this Korean women's activist publication that was produced by women journalists in Japan. The study of this publication provided additional knowledge of Korean women in Japan, who numbered more than 200,000, during the occupation. The study has called attention to the organization and leadership of the Korean Democratic Women's League and identified that Korean women journalists in Japan at the time were also women's movement activists. The study will be a good

departure point for further study of Korean women's movement in Japan and women's journalism in Japan among Korean community.

- 6) The study illustrated how much Koreans in Japan yearned for and were eager to play a role in the unification of their homeland. The study shows that Koreans in Japan did not simply want to wait for new nation building in their fatherland right after the liberation from Japan. The research obviously revealed that Koreans in Japan were very determined to unify their fatherland no matter what part of Korea they supported, no matter what ideological perspectives they were interested in.

Limitations

Despite several contributions made by this study toward a better understanding of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation, the project had certain obvious limitations from the outset. The following factors significantly limit any generalization about this study's arguments.

First, because this study relied only on the Prange collection for its primary data set, some gaps occur because some copies of publications are missing. For example, issues from No.6 (late September 1946) to No.115 (early February 1947) of the leading leftist-oriented newspaper, Haebang Shinmun, were missing from the collection. Similarly, there were missing issues from the leading rightist-oriented newspaper, Chosun Shinbo, dating from its inaugural issue (4 July 1946) to No.126 (mid February 1947). Since no explanatory notes accompanied the collection, the reason for these missing issues could not be

traced. These gaps limited thematic analysis that could have provided a more fully developed picture of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation.

Second, and in a similar vein, this study lacks an analysis from the censors' perspectives. I have argued that Koreans who helped American or Japanese censors should be regarded as the true censors of various Korean publications in Japan. It was they who ultimately read Korean publications and carried out censorship directives. I identified and had planned to interview the two Korean translators, Youngchu Chung and Yi Hyun. However, I could locate neither of these individuals in Japan. Veteran Korean journalists who I contacted and interviewed said the names of the co-censors were not familiar to them. I assume this was partly due to the fact that the American occupation authority forbade censors from speaking directly with the public.⁵¹⁶ I could not determine whether these Korean co-censors were still alive or not. Their unavailability limited the scope of this study. For economic reasons and due to a shortage of time I was not able to extend my research to include American and Japanese censors.

Third, this study is vulnerable to criticism on grounds of subjectivity. I classified Korean publications as leftist, mid-road, or rightist-leaning based upon my own evaluations. The standards for these classifications were based upon the level of support for North Korea, South Korea, or unconditional collaboration with one or the other or with the Japanese. Even if these are the most feasible standards for efficient classification in such an analysis, final classifications were ultimately based upon my subjective choices regarding which publication

⁵¹⁶ John W. Dower, 408.

belonged in what category. This was complicated by the fact that none of the publications studied openly maintained a particular ideological orientation.

Fourth, similarly, when quoting from the Korean publications and the oral history interviews in order to support the thematic analysis, there were many subjective judgments that had to be made. For example, one interviewee was deeply critical of the current North Korean regime, even though he apparently had spent most his life supporting the North Korean position. He even suggested that it was possible and justifiable that the people of North Korea should topple the North Korean regime. He stated that North Korea has developed into a weird nation, farther from true democracy than he had ever dreamed could occur when its government was first compared with that of South Korea. Similarly, another interviewee who supported the South Korean position during the occupation criticized political progress of South Korea's successive governments. However, in order to keep arguments within the study's scope, I had to skip these profound and interesting changes in orientation.

Fifth, the author of this dissertation has translated various texts into English. The quotes provided from publications and interview transcripts may have resulted in errors through the process of interpretation and translation. Although unintentional, any such errors must be solely attributed to the dissertation's author. In contrast, there are instances in this dissertation of quotes from partially deleted and suppressed articles, which were translated from Korean into English by the original translators [co-censors]. These passages may also contain translation errors. In fact, significant portions of censored articles in the

Prange collection were accompanied by no original manuscripts or printed galleys written in Korean or Japanese. In such cases, the author of the dissertation had to rely completely upon the translated text provided by co-censors.

Sixth, no censorship materials relating to the women's newspaper, Yomaeng Sibō, were found in the collection. As a result, this study lacks an analysis of the relationship between censorship and women's newspapers. If there had been any censorship documents of the women's newspaper, they would have been invaluable for illustrating occupation authority perspectives on gender issues in Japan right after the World War II.

Suggestions for further study

First, this study is about the Korean publication and censorship of newspapers and magazines in Japan during the occupation. There was another, concurrent, American occupation in South Korea from 1945 to 1948. During the occupation in South Korea, there was no official censorship; but rather harsh media control was exerted directly and indirectly by the Korean interim government, under the complete control and at the behest of the United States Army.⁵¹⁷ The historical gap of study of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation has been partially filled by this dissertation. Future comparative studies on the Korean press in South Korea and in Japan during the each American occupation are desirable and useful. I expect it would be more meaningful if future comparative studies focused upon leftist-oriented

⁵¹⁷ One historical study on the media control in South Korea during the occupation is by Ilsang Ryu, "Media during the American occupation in Korea," Rewritten Media History in Korea (Seoul, Korea: Achim [Morning], 1997).

publications both in Japan and South Korea, where tolerance for leftwing ideologies was quite different; the Japanese Communist Party remained a legal entity during the postwar period in Japan. However, the leftwing movement was harshly controlled in South Korea even during the American occupation in Korea and has been illegal since the establishment of the South Korean government.⁵¹⁸

Second, more detailed study of the processes of censorship and further investigation into censored materials [more of which are expected to be found in the future in the Prange collection as materials continue to be cataloged] will greatly enhance our understanding of the Korean press in Japan during the occupation. Further, a comparative research effort to identify any different censorship strategies used by American occupation authorities in dealing with Korean publications and the Japanese press in Japan would be a significant contribution to the knowledge of censorship in Japan during the occupation.

Third, this study has presented several articles from Korean publications and interviews as evidence of favorable treatment of rightist publications by the American occupation. If any government documents [from Japan or from the American occupation authorities of the time] are found that touch upon the issue of printing paper allocation or enumerate rules for allocation of printing paper, such evidence would serve to either reinforce or falsify arguments made in this dissertation. These government documents possibly exist and would be good starting points for future research questions like these: For what purposes did American occupation authorities discriminate in the allocation of printing paper?

⁵¹⁸ Minhwan Kim, "The mass media during the American army government in South Korea," A History of Korean Media (Seoul, Korea: Nanam Publishing, 1999), 323-394.

Did occupation authorities use a preferential allocation policy to support or reinforce particular ideological views through rightist-oriented publications? Did the occupation authorities recognize the effectiveness of this method and did they specifically choose a preferential allocation as a means of handling and controlling the Korean press in Japan? Was the preferential allocation of printing paper important in the United States' overall political strategy regarding the Korean peninsula?

Fourth, this study has not dealt much with Korean ethnic and cultural education in Japan during the occupation. Some ethnic educational issues were mentioned in Chapter IV (Leftwing publications) and Chapter VII (Women's newspaper). Though there is an obvious language barrier for researchers who approach the Prange collection, a study comparing the contents of Japanese textbooks in regular Japanese schools and those used in Korean ethnic schools would make a tremendous contribution to our current understanding of historical conflicts between Japanese and Koreans.

Appendix A

Sample Questions for Interviews with Korean journalists

1. What is your or your parents' original hometown in Korea?
2. Which Korea did you or your parents prefer during the Occupation (1945-1952)?
3. (To the respondents who answered `South Korea' in the question number 1, but answered `North Korea' in the question number 2)
Why do you think that you or your parents decided to be friendly to North Korea even though most of them came from the South?
4. What do you think was the social role of the Korean press in the Korean community in Japan?
5. Why do you think there were too many newspapers and magazines published by Koreans compared with their population?
6. Why do you think the Korean press at that time was idolizing `General Kim Il Sung of North Korea?
7. Why do you think the Korean press at that time was criticizing the South Korean government?
8. Why do you think the Occupation authority in Japan censored the Korean press in Japan even though Koreans were the victims of the World War II?
9. Why do you think Koreans in Japan did not become pro-American even though Japan and South Korea became pro-America with the American Occupation?
10. Why do you think Koreans in Japan were inclined to be leftists rather than to be rightists?
11. Why do you think the Korean press designated big spaces all the time in newspapers and magazines for Korean language learning corners?

Appendix B

“30-item Check List”

25 November 1946

1. Criticism of SCAP: This is any general criticism of SCAP and criticism of any SCAP agency not specifically listed below.
2. Criticism of Military Tribunal: This is any general criticism of the Military Tribunal or specific criticism of anyone or thing connected with this Tribunal.
3. Criticism of SCAP Writing the Constitution: Any reference to the part played by SCAP in writing the new Japanese constitution or any criticism of the part played by SCAP in the formation of the constitution.
4. Reference to Censorship: Indirect or direct references to censorship of press, movies, newspapers, or magazines fall into this category.
5. Criticism of the United States: Any criticism, direct or indirect, of the United States, falls in this category.
6. Criticism of Russia: Same as above.
7. Criticism of Great Britain: Same as above.
8. Criticism of Korea: Same as above.
9. Criticism of China: Same as above.
10. Criticism of Other Allies: Same as above.
11. General Criticism of Allies: Criticism of Allies, not directed at any specific country falls into this category.
12. Criticism of Japanese Treatment in Manchuria: Criticism referring specifically to treatment of Japanese in Manchuria falls into this category. These are not to be listed under criticism of Russia or China.
13. Criticism of Allies' Pre-War Policies: Any criticism of any policies of the Allies, singly or together, which existed prior to the war falls into this category. If criticism falls into this category, it will not be listed under criticism of any specific country.
14. Third World War Comments: Deletions made on the subject of the Third World War will be included here, rather than criticism of any particular country.
15. Russia vs. Western Powers Comments: Comments on the situation existing between the Western Powers and Russia fall into this category, and will not be listed under criticism of Russia or any other Western Powers.
16. Defense of War Propaganda: Any propaganda, which directly or indirectly defends Japan's conduct of and in the World War will fall into this category.

17. Divine Descent Nation Propaganda: Propaganda, which either directly or indirectly claims divine descent for either the Nation of Japan or the Emperor will fall into this category.
18. Militaristic Propaganda: This will embrace all propaganda strictly militaristic in nature, which is not included under Defense of War propaganda.
19. Nationalistic Propaganda: This will embrace all propaganda strictly nationalistic in nature, but will not include militaristic, defense of war, or divine descent nation propaganda.
20. Great East Asia Propaganda: This will embrace only propaganda relating to Great East Asia, and will not include militaristic, nationalistic, defense of war, divine descent nation, or other propaganda.
21. Other Propaganda: This will include all other types of propaganda not specially included above.
22. Justification or Defense of War Criminals: Any justification or defense of war criminals will fall under this category. It will not include criticism of the Military Tribunal, however.
23. Fraternalization: This will include stories dealing strictly with fraternalization. These stories will not be included under criticism of the United States.
24. Black market Activities: Reference to black market activities will fall into this category.
25. Criticism of Occupation Forces: Criticism of the Occupation Forces will fall into this category, and will not therefore be included under criticism of any country.
26. Overplaying Starvation: Stories overplaying starvation in Japan will be under this category.
27. Incitement to Violence and Unrest: Stories of this nature will be included here.
28. Untrue Statement: Statements palpably untrue will fall into this category.
29. Inappropriate Reference to SCAP: *
30. Premature Disclosure: *

* No explanation was listed for these two categories.

Source: CCD Operational Document at the National Records Center, Suitland, quoted from "The Civil Censorship in Occupied Japan," by Jun Eto.

Appendix C: Korean Publications, Prange collection

Call #	Title	Publisher	Place	Holdings	Memo	Frequency
NC0216	Choryon Chungang Sibo	Newsroom of Choryon Chungang Sibo	Tokyo	No.1 (1947.8.15)- No.135 (1949.9.6)	Published in Korean & Japanese	Three Times a week
NC0221	Choryon Osaka Sibo	Organizational Paper of Choryon Osaka Center	Osaka	No.1 (1947.11.20)- No.3.4 (1948.1.5)	No.1 was published in Korean	Twice a month
NC0244	Chosun Information Korean Edition	Chosun Information Co.	Tokyo	No.244 (1947.1.1)- No.433 (1947.10.17)	Published in Korean, No.414 repeated	Daily
NC0253	Chosun Shinbo	Chosun Shinbosa	Osaka	No.127 (1947.2.16)- No.384 (1948.7.16)	Published in Korean, Re- titled from “Shinsekye Newspaper”	Every other day
NG0051	Let’s Keep National Schools	Counter measuring Committee of Korean Education	Tokyo	No.1 (1948.4.24)-No.7 (1948.5.11)	Published in Korean	Irregular
NG0129	Hakdong News	Korean Students League in Kwandong, Japan	Tokyo	No.1 (1948.6.25)- No.5 (1949.3.5)	Published in Korean & Japanese	Three times a month
NJ0372	Yomaeng Sibo	Democratic Korean Women’s League in Japan	Tokyo	No.1 (1947.12.29)- No.16 (1949.3.1)	Published in Korean	Monthly
NK0173	Haebang Shinmun	Haebang Shinmunsa	Tokyo	Combined No.1(1946.8.15)- No.5(1946.9.20), No.116(1948.25)- No.303 (1949.10.9)	Published in Korean	Combined 1-5 and No.116-157 =6 times a month, No.158-186 =10 times a month

Call #	Title	Publisher	Place	Holdings	Memo	Frequency
NK0899	Kondong Special News	Propagandizing Dept. of the League of New Korea Establishing	Tokyo	No.1 (1947.8.10)-No.2 (1947.8.12)	Published in Korean	
NK2415	Kyodong News	Korean Teachers' League in Japan	Tokyo	No.1 (1948.7.15)	Published in Korean	
NK2553	Kukdong News	Kukdong Shinbosa	Osaka	No.1 (1949.5.11)-No.3 (1949.5.25)	Published in Korean	Weekly
NM0459	Mindan News	Culture & Education Dept. of Mindan	Tokyo	No.8 (1947.4.30)	Published in Korean	
NM0588	Minju Shinmun	Minju Shinmunsa	Tokyo	No.21 (1947.11.1)-No.91 (1949.9.24)	Published in Korean	Weekly
NM0598	Minjung Shinmun	Korean Minjung Shinmunsa	Tokyo	No.11 (1946.2.5)-No.30 (1946.8.1)	Published in Korean	Six times a month
NO0243	Orini Shinmun	Korean Children's Shinmunsa	Yokohama	No.3,4combined (1947.5.4)	Published in Korean	Weekly
NS0743	Chongnyon Sibosa	Chongnyon Sibosa	Kunma	No.1(1946.9.16)-No.10,11(1946.11.25)	Published in Korean	Weekly
NS159	Shin Chosun	Shinchosun Newspaper	Osaka	No.1(1949.1.20)	Published in Korean	Six times a month
NS1921	Shin Saengwhal	New Life Movement Center for Koreans in Japan	Tokyo	No.1(1948.1.20)-No.5	Published in Korean	Monthly
NS1942	Shinsekye Shinmun	Shinsekye Shinmunsa	Osaka	No.385(1948.7.18)-No.606(1949.10.9)	Re-titled from Chosun Shinbo, Published in Korean	Every other day
NT0029	Daejung Shinmun	Daejung Shinmunsa	Osaka	Old No.9(1946.4.12)-No.17(1946.8.7) New No.1(1949.2.5)-No.22(1949.7.11)	Published in Korean	Weekly

Call #	Title	Publisher	Place	Holdings	Memo	Frequency
B202	Boy's Life	Korean Boy's Life	Tokyo	Vol.1 No.2 (1947.12)- Vol.2 No.5 (1948.5)	Published in Korean	Irregular
C156	Choryon Munhwa	Culture Dept. of Choryon	Tokyo	Vol.1 No.1 (1946.4)- No.2 (1946.10)	Published in Korean	
C176	Chosun Munye	Chosun Munyesa	Tokyo	Vol.1 No.1 (1948.3)	Published in Korean	
H123.1	Baekmin	Baekminsa	Tokyo	Vol.2 No.1 (1948.2)	Published in Korean	
J354	Shipjaga	Korean Christian Youth League in Tokyo	Tokyo	No.7 (1947.4)- No.8 (1947.6)	Published in Korean	
K1695	Korea Munye	Korean Literary Arts	Tokyo	No.9, 10 (1946.7.1)	Published in Korean	
M403	Minju Chongnyon	Korean Democratic Youth League in Tokyo, Japan	Tokyo	No.7 (1947.10)	Published in Korean	
O120	Orini Tongsin	Choryon	Tokyo	Vol.1 No.1 (1946.7.1)- Vol.1No.8(1946.10.15)	Published in Korean	
P52	Pongwha	Korean Literature in Japan	Tokyo	No.1 (1946.6)	Published in Korean	
P96	Pyollara	International Children's Culture Association	Chonki	Vol.1 No.1(1947.4)- Vol.1 No.2 (1947.5), 1948.12	Published in Korean	
S1160	Shijo	Kondong Branch	Tokyo	No.2 (1947.6)-Vol.2 No.1(1948.1&2)	Published in Korean	
S1312	Shin Chosun	New Korea Construction League	Tokyo	No.2 (1946.7)-No.3 (1946.8), Special issue of first anniversary of liberation (1946.9)	Published in Korean	
T881	Chongnyon	Kondong Culture Dept.	Tokyo	1946.7,8 combined- 1946.9, 1947.1,2-1947.4	Published in Korean	

Call #	Title	Publisher	Place	Holdings	Memo	Frequency
U78	Uridongmu	Korean New Life Co.	Tokyo	No.16 (1949.1)- No.21 (1949.7)	Published in Korean, Study book for elementary school kids	

Appendix D:

Recommendation Letter for Heesang Yoon

December 13, 2002

The Researcher for Ph.D. Dissertation: Yoon, Heesang
Research Institution: Journalism Major, College of Journalism, University of
Maryland, U.S.A.
Address: 12803 Twinbrook Parkway #101, Rockville, Maryland 20851, U.S.A.

To Whom It May Concern:

This researcher started his journalism career in the Dong-A Ilbo in Seoul, Korea, in December 1986 and had worked as a journalist until May 2001. He was an assistant editor for the Dept. of Economy and the Dept. of International News when he left the newspaper. Now, he is preparing his Ph.D. dissertation in the University of Maryland (near to Washington D.C.) in the United States.

This researcher is doing his research trip to Japan relating to his topic, "Korean Press in Japan under the Occupation after the World War II," and he wants to hear your personal experience and your memory at that time.

I cordially confirm that Mr. Yoon is the right person that I would guarantee his identification and, in turn, he will limitedly use the contents of the interview with you, only those are coping with his specific research topic. I strongly believe that his research activity will contribute for the improvement of living status of Koreans in Japan, who have been living under various discrimination and hard-times in Japan.

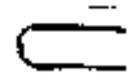
I hope again this letter would be directly or indirectly confirming his identification to anybody is able to help his research activity in Japan. Could you please trust him, help him get a signature on the consent form and allow him to do tape recording, which are essential procedure for his research activity in Japan as an academic researcher.

Cordially,

Kim, Choong-Seek (Signature)

Tokyo Bureau Chief,
The Dong-A Ilbo

Appendix E:



11

추천서

東京支社
金 忠 植
〒104-8011
東京都中央区新富町一丁目1番1号
朝日新聞新館
FAX: 03-3248-1254
E-mail: shunka@kaiyaku.com

박사님은 연구자: 金 忠 植
소속 대학: 美國 메릴랜드大學 저널리즘대 신문학 전공
주소: 12803 트윈브룩 파크웨이 #101, 락빌, 메릴랜드 20851

이 사람은 1956년 12월 東京日報 기자로 입사해 2001년 5월까지 사리부 공
재부 등에서 자갈을 치냈으며 현재는 미국 메릴랜드대학 (워싱턴 DC 인근)
에서 박사학위 프로그램을 준비중입니다.
이 사람은 자신의 논문주제인 2차 世界大戰 이후 米軍政下의 저널리스트 신문
검지와 관련한 현자 일본에서 조사연구 활동중에 있으며 당시 선생님의 연
수활동 경험담과 기억을 동경부시길 원하고 있습니다.
저는 이 소개서를 통해 이 사람의 신원이 확실하여 선생님과의 인터뷰 내용
을 자신의 연구주제에 순적하게 활용할 것임을 확인드립니다. 나다
가 그의 연구활동이 수신품을 각종 차원과 어려운 속에 있어야 할 서일동포들
의 지위향상에 크게 도움이 될 것으로 믿습니다.
저의 이 소개서가 이 사람의 연구활동에 도움을 주실 수 있는 모든 분들께
적절 간담으로 확산을 중 수 있기 바랍니다. 특히 이 사람을 믿고 그의 연
수조사활동을 감공에서 필요한 출연비용과 특별서 작성을 도와주시길 부탁드립니다.

2002년 12월 13일

東京日報 東京支社 金 忠 植 드림

金 忠 植

104-8011
東京部 中央区 築地 5-3-2
朝日新聞新館 東京日報 東京支社
전화: 03-3248-1251-3
FAX : 03-3248-1254

Appendix E:

Informed Consent Form

Korean Japanese Journalists during the Occupation oral history interviews

I state that I am over 18 years of age, in good physical health, and wish to participate in a program of research being conducted by Heesang Yoon in the College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, College Park.

The purpose of this research is to gather data on Korean Press in Japan during the Occupation and the Censorship done by the Occupation Authorities. I am free to ask questions or withdraw from participation at any time and without penalty.

The procedure will involve one interview session. It will be tape recorded with the facility that the researcher brought. After the interview, I will have the opportunity to edit the transcript. Once the transcript has been approved, a copy will be provided for me to keep. The interviewer will also keep a copy of the transcript, along with the original recording materials.

The material contained in the edited and approved transcript may be used in future research, which may or may not result in publication. In terms of confidentiality, unless otherwise stated, the information provided in the interview may be used and quoted for these research purposes.

The interviewer is: Heesang Yoon	Home phone: 301-881-7996
12803 Twinbrook Pkwy #101	Office phone: 301-405-7317
Rockville, MD 20851	Email: internet@wam.umd.edu
<u>U.S.A.</u>	

NAME OF SUBJECT: _____

SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D:

同意書

占領期における在日韓国人ジャーナリストの聞き取りインタビュー

私は 18 歳以上であり、健康状態は良好である。私は、メリーランド大学ジャーナリズム学部の尹喜根の研究プログラムへの参加を希望する。

この研究の目的は、占領期の日本における韓国の報道機関と占領当局者による検閲に関するデータを収集すること。私は質問をする自由があり、何の罰則も受けることなくいつでもプログラムへの参加から身を引く自由がある。

方法としては、インタビューが一つ含まれる。そのインタビューは研究者の持ち込んだ機材によって録音される。インタビューのあと、私にはインタビュー録を編集する機会がある。そのインタビュー録が承認されたら、私にそのインタビュー録のコピーが保管用として提供される。インタビュアー（インタビューする人）は、録音した原本とともに、インタビュー録のコピーを保管する。

編集された承認されたインタビュー録の内容は、将来の研究に使われることがある。その場合、結果として出版という形態を取ることもありえる。機密保持の観点から言えば、別途明白な規定のない限り、インタビューの中で提供された情報は、これらの研究目的のために使われたり、引用されたりすることがある。

インタビュアー：尹喜根（ヒサン・スン）

自宅電話：301-881-7996

事務所電話：301-405-7317

e-mail 757 以：inzerne@wam.umd.edu

本人の氏名：

本人の署名：

日付：

Appendix F:

21 December 1946

Civil Censorship Detachment
PPB, District II, Press-Publications
Newspaper Department

REPORT ON NEWLY SUBMITTED NEWSPAPER

Exr.

Part I.

REPORT BY THE PUBLISHER

1. PUBLICATION: CHOSUN SHINBO (Korean Edition)
SHINSEGYE SHINMUN (Japanese Edition)
2. PUBLISHER: CHOSUN SHINBO SA
3. EDITOR: RHU, Soohyon
4. ADDRESS & TELEPHONE: 8, Ikaino Higashi-5-chome, Ikuno-ku, Osaka
5. CAPITAL & STOCKHOLDER: Under partnership. Manager: RYU, Soohyon
6. PRICE: [No answer]
7. FREQUENCY: Jap. Edition---- Daily
Kor. Edition---- 6 [times] a month
8. CIRCULATION: Jap. 85,000, Kor. 62,000
9. DISTRIBUTION: Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, Nagoya, & other districts.
10. EDITORIAL POLICY:
Chosun Shinbo: The paper aims at contributing to the enlightenment of Korean residents in Japan.
Shinsegye Shinmun: The paper aims at observing a strict neutrality and reporting news in an attempt to promote friendly relations between Japan and Korea and also international goodwill.
11. PRINTER: Chosun Shinbo Sa
12. ALLOCATION: [No answer]
13. AFFILIATION: [No answer]
14. REMARK: [No answer]

Appendix G:

December 6th, 1947

[Civil Censorship Detachment
PPB, District II, Press-Publications
Newspaper Department]

**NEWSPAPER REPORT
APPROPRIATE ADDRESS**

Sir:

You are requested to fill out the following form for all publications now issued by your organization and forward promptly to the above address [the address of CCD is not shown on the form]:

1. Name & Nationality of Publication: CHOSUN SHINBO, KOREAN.
2. Name, Nationality, Address and Telephone Number of Publishing House:
CHOSUN SHINBO SA, KOREAN.
8, Ikaino Higashi 5-chome, Ikuno-ku, Osaka city.
PHONE: TENNOJI (77) 0508, 0509, 1185, 1769.
3. State whether a corporation, a joint stock company, an individual enterprise, a club, a subsidized research body, a publicity organ, or an agency of a commercial, cultural, economic, or political institution: INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE
4. Name, Nationality & Address of President, Owner, or Managing Director (fill in one appropriate space only):
 - a. President: RYU, SOOHYON
 - b. Owner:
 - c. Managing Director:
5. Financial Setup (fill in one appropriate space only):
 - a. Capitalization: Y 8,000,000 (EIGHT MILLION YEN)
 - b. Owner's Investment:
 - c. Amount of Subsidy:
6. Principal Investors (fill in appropriate space):
 - a. Name & Nationality of Major Stockholders: Percentage of Stock Held:
 - b. Name of owner: RYU, SOOHYON 100 percent
 - c. Name and Address of Subsidizer:
7. Name & Nationality of Chief Editor of Publication:
RYU, SOOHYON, KOREAN
8. Frequency of Publication: Every other day
9. Circulation: 61,700
10. Language in which Publication is Printed: KOREAN
11. Signature of Person Filling Out Form: Ito Bunzabiro, Misao Iwata [Japaneses]
P.S. You will take notice that the Chosun Shinbo Sa (The Korean Times) has no affiliation with any form of Korean Organization.

[Signature]

RYU, SOOHYON

President of the Korean Times

Appendix H:

REPORT ON MAGAZINE

Report of Boys' Life

10 October 1948

The Magazine, Press and Publication Section
Press, Pictorial and Broadcast, District I
Civil Censorship Detachment
Fourth Floor, Kanto Haiden Bldg.,
1-1 Tamura-cho, Shiba Minato-ku, Tokyo.

The Magazine: "Boys' Life for Boymen. Vol.2 No.6 For August

The Name of the Editor and Publisher: Hai Sung, Kim.

The Boy Scouts of Korea, in Japan.

The Complete address: 302, 4-chome, Kitazawa, Setagaya, Tokyo.

The Date of Issue:

Printing: 28 September

Published: 5 October.

The Issue Quantity: 1,500. Set of Vol.

The Magazine Contents:

1. Photo: Sir Robert Baden-Powell (The Chief Scout of the World).
2. The Scout Oath, Motto and Law.
3. The Republic of Korea.
4. The Olympics in England, 1948. (Champions and Records)
5. Olympus and Zeus
6. Olympia
7. Displaying the National Flag.
8. "Han Keul"—Korean Language Chair for Tenderfoot.
9. The Editor's words.

The End

(Signature)

Hai Sung, Kim

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

1) Censored Periodicals

Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Microfilm Edition of Censored Periodicals (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park.

[Censored Newspapers]

_____. NC0216. Choryon Joongang Sibbo (The Central News of League of Koreans in Japan). No.1-No.135 (15 August 1947- 6 September 1949).

_____. NC0221. Choryon Osaka Sibbo (The News of League of Koreans in Osaka). No.1-No.3.4 (20 November 1947- 5 January 1947).

_____. NC0244. Chosun Jungbo (Korean Information Press: Korean Edition). No.244-No.296 (1 January- 13 March 1947), No.399- No.433 (1 September- 7 October 1947).

_____. NC0253. Chosun Shinbo (The Korean Times). No.127-No.384 (16 February 1947-16 July 1948).

_____. NG0051. Hakyorul Jikija! (Let's Protect Korean Schools!). No.1-No.7 (24 April 1948-11 May 1948).

_____. NG0129. Hakdong News (News of Korean Students' Union in Japan). No.1~No.5 (25 June 1948-5 March 1949).

_____. NJ0372. Yomaeng Sibbo (Korean Women's Union Newspaper in Japan). No.1-No.16 (29 December 1947-1 March 1949).

_____. NK0173. Haebang Shinmun (Liberation Newspaper), No.1 (15 August 1946). No.4-No.5 (10 September 1946-20 September 1946), No.116- No.303 (25 August 1948-9 October 1949).

_____. NK0899. Kondong Tukshin (Special News of League for Establishment of a New Korea). No.1- No.2 (10 August- 12 August 1947).

_____. NK2415. Kyodong News (News for Educational League). No. 1 (15

July 1948).

- _____. NK2553. Kukdong News (Far Eastern News). No.1- No.3 (11 May 1949-25 May 1949).
- _____. NM0459. Mindan Soshik (The News for the Association of Korean Residents in Japan). No.8 (30 April 1948).
- _____. NM0598. Minjung Shinmun (People's Newspaper). No.11-No.30 (5 February 1946-1 August 1946).
- _____. NO0243. Orini Shinmun (Children's Newspaper). No.3, 4 (4 May 1947).
- _____. NS0743. Chungnyon Sibon (The News of Youth). No.1- No.10, 11 (16 September 1946- 25 November 1946).
- _____. NS1593. Shin Chosun (The New Korea). No.1 (20 January 1949).
- _____. NS1921. Shin Saenghwal (New Life). No.1- No.5 (20 January 1948-10 March 1948).
- _____. NS1942. Shinsegye Shinmun (New World Newspaper). No.385- No.606 (18 July 1948-9 October 1949).
- _____. NT0029. Daejung Shinmun (The Newspaper for the Masses). Old No.9- No.17 (12 April 1946-7 August 1946) and New No.1-No.22 (5 February 1949-11 July 1949).

[Censored Magazines]

- _____. B202. Sonyon Saenghwal (Boy's Life). Vol.1 No.2-Vol.2 No.5 (December 1947- May 1948).
- _____. C156. Choryon Munhwa (Choryon Culture). Vol.1 No.1- No.2 (April 1946- October 1946).
- _____. C176. Chosun Munye (Chosun Literary Arts). Vol.1 No.1 (March 1948).
- _____. H123.1. Baekmin (The White-clad Folk). Vol.2 No.1 (February 1948).
- _____. J354. Shipjaga (The Holy Rood). No.7-No.8 (April 1947- June 1947).

- _____. K1695. Korea Munye (Korean Literary Arts). No.9, 10 (1 July 1946).
- _____. M403. Minju Chungnyon (Democratic Youth). No.7 (October 1947).
- _____. O120. Orini Tongshin (Children's Newsletter). Vol.1 No.1- Vol.1 No.8 (1 July 1946- 15 October 1946).
- _____. P52. Ponghwa (Watch Fire). No.1 (June 1946).
- _____. P96. Pyollara (World of Stars), Vol.1 No.1- Vol.1 No.8 (April 1947- May 1947) and (December 1948).
- _____. S1160. Shijo (Current Tide). Vol.1 No.2- Vol.2 No.1 (June 1947- January & February 1948).
- _____. S1312. Shin Chosun (Magazine New Korea). No.1- No.4 (July 1946- October 1946).
- _____. T881. Chungnyon (The Youth). (July-August 1946, September 1946, January-February 1947, March 1947, April 1947).
- _____. U78. Uridongmu (Our Friends). No.16- No.21 (January 1949- July 1949).

2) Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles

Civil Censorship Detachment, SCAP, Censorship Documents and Suppressed Articles (1945-1949): Gordon W. Prange collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland at College Park.

[Suppressed Articles from Newspapers and Magazines]

- _____. 47FRN607. "Korean League established a branch in Tsuthia." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (30 May 1947).
- _____. 48FRN1653. "South Korean separate election and unification movement from now on." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (19 May 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1533. "A Korean mass-rally against the election in South Korea." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (18 May 1948).
- _____. 47FRN569. "The emperor is a militarist." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (1 June 1947).

- _____. 48FRN1366. "Opposition to the separate government of South Korea." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (25 March 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1490. "Representatives for the League of Koreans in Japan to be sent to Pyongyang conference." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (7 April 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1663. "South Korean separate election is invalid." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (17 May 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1660. "Request for leaving Korea to UN Korean Committee." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (19 May 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1812. "Seven million unemployed workers in the United States within ten years." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (28 May 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2022. "Wakayama-Ken Koreans struggle for ethnic education." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (5 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1731. "Korean education oppression is against Potsdam Declaration." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (17 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1905. "Some traitors among Koreans in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (19 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1922. "Chinese labor union meeting held in Harbin." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (22 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2211. "General Hodge invited Japanese imperialists to Seoul." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (22 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2216. "Guo Min Tang government killed many Chinese laborers." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (22 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2234. "South Korean separate election splits motherland forever." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (22 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2237. "Canadian labor unions struggle against anti-communism bill." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (22 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2308. "North Korea complains non-payment of electric power from South Korea." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (23 June 1948).

- _____. 48FRN2627. "Japanese Communist Party faces inspection."
Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (26 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2931. "New phase of South Korean political situation."
Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (29 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN3011. "A newspaper in Pusan was forced to stop publication."
Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (30 June 1948).
- _____. 47FRN356. "America's view on the world situation: Korea."
Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (13 May 1947).
- _____. 47FRN0987. "Turning point of international situation: china accords with Russia and European communists." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (9 October 1947).
- _____. 47FRN1222. "British government perplexed with many people wanting emigration into other countries." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (13 October 1947).
- _____. 47FRN1366. "Chinese Communist Party gets more powerful."
Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (15 October 1947).
- _____. 48LOC1532. "An account of a visit to Yulin iron-foundry."
Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (18 May 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1852. "North Korea lowers necessary commodity prices."
Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (2 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1852.1. "The enforcement of price lowering of commodities."
Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (2 June 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2008. "Rioting in South Korea." Scheduled to appear on Chosun Jungbo (5 June 1948).
- _____. 47FRN0919. "Soviet Union drafts many laborers from North Korea."
Scheduled to appear on Chosun Tukshin (2 October 1947).
- _____. 47FRN0942. "North Koreans support Soviet Union's proposal for withdrawal of troops." Scheduled to appear on Chosun Tukshin (3 October 1947).
- _____. 47FRN1586. "Ladies and gentlemen are guests of Seoul black market." Scheduled to appear on Chosun Tukshin (22 October 1947).

- _____. 47FRN2776. "Prices in South Korean is second highest in the world."
Scheduled to appear on Chosun Tukshin (22 December 1947).
- _____. 47FRN2249. "South Korean Democratic National Front issues
statement." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (6 November 1947).
- _____. 47FRN2250. "Severe bloodshed in October strife in South Korea."
Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (6 November 1947).
- _____. 48FRN0424. "North Korea boycotts UN Korean Commission."
Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (4 February 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1302. "Koreans in China also struggle for independent Korean
government." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (24 March 1948).
- _____. 49FRN1303. "We aim at true liberty and rights." Scheduled to appear
on Minchung Sib0 (24 March 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1304. "South Korean leftwing movement group announced
constitutional law draft." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (24
March 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1549. "People shot dead opposing to separate election in
South Korea." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (26 April 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1550. "An address by North Korean women representative
Kwisun Kim." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (26 April 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1551. "Riots in Korea." Scheduled to appear on Minchung
Sib0 (26 April 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1552. "Unification of Korea." Scheduled to appear on
Minchung Sib0 (26 April 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2028. "Hodge's letter to South Korean Parliament."
Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (5 May 1948).
- _____. 48FRN2339. "Slogans of Korean convention in Japan." Scheduled to
appear on Minchung Sib0 (12 June 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1088. "Many policemen were scared to go work in the turmoil
of Cheju Island." Scheduled to appear on Haebang Shinmun (6 May
1948).
- _____. 48LOC1367. "Making fun of General Hodge." Scheduled to appear
on Haebang Shinmun (13 May 1948).

- _____. 47LOC0159. "Korean Legislatives investigates the treatments of Koreans in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (14 May 1947).
- _____. 47LOC0314. "The scorched lumber." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (17 June 1947).
- _____. 47LOC0371. "Worship of lottery-tickets in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (2 July 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1248. "A political crisis foreseen in Japan due to communists." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (16 October 1947).
- _____. 47LOC0481. "Establishment of independent Korean country." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (7 August 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1258. "G.H.Q. considers to allow Japanese delegate to international peace conference." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (19 October 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1318. "Counter policy needed against communist movement in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (22 October 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1399. "The possible results of ideological war in the world." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (30 October 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1605. "How should we Koreans act now?" Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (14 November 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1630. "Can we Koreans stand on our own feet economically?" Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (20 November 1947).
- _____. 48LOC1823. "Chinese medical scholars discover a new therapy for psychoses." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (15 December 1948).
- _____. 47LOC1835. "Criticism on the Japanese policy of ethnic education." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (17 December 1947).
- _____. 48LOC0432. "China town in Yokohama." Scheduled to appear on Chosen Shimbun (4 March 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0072. "Renew your resolution from the beginning of 1948." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibon (9 January 1948).

- _____. 48LOC0073. "Requesting to stop racial discrimination in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (9 January 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0079. "The meaning of the people's democracy." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (9 January 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0172. "Racial discrimination by Japanese police occurs often." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (14 January 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0239. "Rightwing terrorists assaulted Himeji branch of Minchung." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (18 January 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0372. "Campaign for living rights of Koreans in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (4 February 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0779. "The fourteenth central committee meeting of the League of Koreans." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (17 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0804. "Korean ethnic schools are forced to closed." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (19 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0809. "Fourteenth central committee meeting of the League of Koreans ended." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (19 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0736. "All Korean parents and teachers oppose to the interference on Korean ethnic education." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (16 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0909. "Korean young men and women held a meeting in Sapporo." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (26 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1086. "On Korean incident about ethnic education." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (6 March 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1453. "Ethnic education control and human rights." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (16 May 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1534. "South Korean people's uprising in Cheju Island." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (18 May 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1586. "An account by a Korean detained in a police station." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sib0 (20 May 1948).

- _____. 48LOC1712. "An address by a Japanese communist movement leader, Yoshio Shiga." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibo (12 June 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1912. "Koreans in Japan should cooperate for the independence movement." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibo (12 June 1948).
- _____. 48LOC2512. "Korean people's convention held at Hibiya public hall on 10 June 1948." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibo (12 June 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1017. "Criticism on the inconsistent attitude of some Korean leaders in Japan." Scheduled to appear on Minchung Sibo (17 June 1948).
- _____. Keum, Bokyong. "Forward-Korean national awakening." Attached to Prange collection T881. Scheduled to appear on Chungnyon (September 1946).
- _____. "The problem of the Korean people's republic." Attached to Prange collection C177. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Shinminpo (Korean New People's Magazine) (December 1946).
- _____. Kang, Weechang. "The deadlock of American-Soviet Union conference and the problem of new Korean independence." Attached to Prange collection C177. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Shinminpo (August 1947).
- _____. "Bourgeois democracy and Proletarian democracy as a from of state." Attached to Prange collection C177. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Shinminpo (August 1947).
- _____. "A socialistic state and the family." Attached to Prange collection C177. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Shinminpo (August 1947).
- _____. Rhee, Banghee. "Who obstruct the independence of Korea?" Attached to Prange collection C177. Scheduled to appear on Chosun Shinminpo (August 1947).
- _____. "New economic agreement between U.S. and South Korea." Attached to Prange collection P52. Scheduled to appear on Bonghwa (June 1949).
- _____. "Oriental culture." Attached to Prange collection P52. Scheduled to appear on Bonghwa (June 1949).
- _____. Pak, Wonjoon. "A crowd." Attached to Prange collection P52.

Scheduled to appear on Bonghwa (June 1949).

[Partly Deleted Articles from Newspapers and Magazines]

_____. 47FRN2028. "MacArthur soon helps Chang Kai-shek in China."
Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (29 October 1947).

_____. 47FRN2426. "Koreans expect little of the UN's role in the unified government." Partly deleted and appeared on Minchung Sibon (27 November 1947).

_____. 47LOC0015. "Korean movement for the protection of their rights of livelihood in Japan." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (21 January 1947).

_____. 47LOC0215. "Mission of the Korean Youth League." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (22 May 1947).

_____. 47LOC0303. "An advice to Korean women in Japan." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (31 May 1947).

_____. 47LOC1178. "Importing American cigarettes and reselling them to other Asian countries produces problems for Japan." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (7 October 1947).

_____. 47LOC1460. "Evil crimes increase in Japan." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (30 October 1947).

_____. 47LOC1615. "Criticism on the deterrence of independence of Korea." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (17 November 1947).

_____. 47LOC1791. "The standard for sugar distribution in Japan settled." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (11 December 1947).

_____. 47LOC1834. "What we demand from Japanese judicial officers." Partly deleted and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (17 December 1947).

_____. 48LOC0202. "Koreans operate a sawmill in Nagano Prefecture." Partly deleted and appeared on Minchung Sibon (15 January 1948).

_____. 48LOC0589. "May-day song of this year." Partly deleted and appeared on Minchung Sibon (7 April 1948).

- _____. 48LOC0697. "On Korean cultural movement." Partly deleted and appeared on Minchung Sib0 (15 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0865. "Traitor Korean Settlement Corporation supports separate election in South Korea." Partly deleted and appeared on Minchung Sib0 (23 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC1281. "Egoism in daily life." Partly deleted and appeared on Minchung Sib0 (12 May 1948).
- _____. "For the treatment of Koreans in Japan by American army government." Attached to Prange collection T881. Partly deleted and appeared on Chungnyon (July August 1946).
- _____. Hong, Hyonkie. "Our responsibilities in the New Year." Attached to Prange collection T881. Partly deleted and appeared on Chungnyon (January-February 1947).
- _____. Choi, Sun. "On the March 1st Commemoration Day." Attached to Prange collection T881. Partly deleted and appeared on Chungnyon (March 1947).
- _____. Heo, Woonyong. "United Nations and Korea." Attached to Prange collection T881. Partly deleted and appeared on Chungnyon (March 1947).
- _____. Kil, Wonsung. "Korean poets club started." Attached to Prange collection C156. Partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa (April 1946).
- _____. Rhee, Eunjik. "Love story of Chunhyang and Korean democratic spirit." Attached to Prange collection C156. Partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa (April 1946).
- _____. Cho, Kwansun. "Short history of tyranny of the Japanese empire in Korea." Attached to Prange collection C156. Partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa (October 1946).
- _____. Yi, Sukchoo. "The educational policies of the Democratic National Front and those of the educational department of the M.G." Attached to Prange collection C156. Partly deleted and appeared on Choryon Munhwa (October 1946).
- _____. Kim, Junghong. "Congratulating Address." Attached to Prange collection C177. Partly deleted and appeared on Chosun Shinminpo (Korean New People's Magazine) (December 1946).

- _____. Kang, Minju. "The Soviet Union's policies during the last war." Attached to Prange collection C177. Partly deleted and appeared on Chosun Shinminpo (December 1946).
- _____. Kim, Buyoung. "The condition of the Korean light metal industry under the Japanese Imperialism." Attached to Prange collection C177. Partly deleted and appeared on Chosun Shinminpo (December 1946).
- _____. "Characteristics of the American democratic politics." Attached to Prange collection C177. Partly deleted and appeared on Chosun Shinminpo (December 1946).
- _____. "On the United States-Soviet joint committee." Attached to Prange collection M403. Partly deleted and appeared on Minju Chungnyon (October 1947).
- _____. "Nearer views of Mr. Pak Yol." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (August 1946).
- _____. "For eternal peace of the world." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (August 1946).
- _____. "The situation of Korea as I saw them," attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (September 1946).
- _____. "A gift." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (September 1946).
- _____. "On the first anniversary of Korean liberation." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (October 1946).
- _____. Pak, Yol. "In presenting the letter of thanks to the Allied Forces." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (October 1946).
- _____. Pak, Yol. "Impressions." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (October 1946).
- _____. Pak, Yol. "Manifest," attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (August 1946).
- _____. Lee, Kanghoon. "On the memorial day of 15 August." Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (October 1946).

_____. Kim, Jungju. "On the first anniversary of Korean Liberation."
Attached to Prange collection S1312. Partly deleted and appeared on Shin Chosun (October 1946).

[Held but Passed Articles from Newspapers and Magazines]

_____. 48FRN1867. "Report for national language of Koreans." Passed and appeared on Haebang Shinmun (2 June 1948)

_____. 48FRN2639. "Hong Kong protests against the U.S. policy helping Japan." Passed and appeared on Haebang Shinmun (26 June 1948).

_____. 47FRN2334. "Why Soviet Union government not loving peace?" Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (23 October 1947).

_____. 47FRN2806. "The world is one." Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (22 December 1947).

_____. 47FRN0373. "Illegal Korean entrants to Japan rapidly increases." Passed and appeared on Chosun Jungbo (13 May 1947).

_____. 47FRN0518. "Submarine cable between Pusan and Fukuoka." Passed and appeared on Chosun Jungbo (29 May 1947).

_____. 47FRN0440. "Mass meeting for Koreans' unity held successfully." Passed and appeared on Chosun Tukshin (21 May 1947).

_____. 47FRN0920. "Koreans hope simultaneous withdrawal of the U.S. army and Russian army." Passed and appeared on Chosun Tukshin (2 October 1947).

_____. 48FRN0415. "Tension in the 38th parallel line since U.N. Korean commission reached there." Passed and appeared on Chosun Tukshin (4 February 1948).

_____. 48FRN0455. "South Korean separate election is vitally important to disturb Russia." Passed and appeared on Chosun Tukshin (5 February 1948).

_____. 48FRN0503. "A Filipino delegate states on the problem of Korea." Passed and appeared on Chosun Tukshin (6 February 1948).

- _____. 48FRN1437. "North Korean political parties are sure the success of South-North joint conference." Passed and appeared on Chosun Tukshin (4 April 1948).
- _____. 48FRN0994. "A number of people riot at two spots in South Korea." Passed and appeared on Minchung Sibon (13 March 1948).
- _____. 48FRN1484. "The Promoters' Association for One Independent Korea organized in South Korea." Passed and appeared on Minchung Sibon (8 April 1948).
- _____. 47LOC0108. "Japanese democratization is far from being perfect." Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (15 March 1947).
- _____. 47LOC0335. "The problem of foreigners' registration in Japan." Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (2 July 1947).
- _____. 47LOC0392. "What is the given liberty?" Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (17 July 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1473. "Inefficiency of the Japanese government." Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (30 October 1947).
- _____. 47LOC1968. "How to construct new Korea?" Passed and appeared on Chosen Shimbun (25 December 1947).
- _____. 48LOC0578. "Korean youths at coal mines in high spirits." Passed and appeared on Minchung Sibon (7 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0647. "Korean [leftwing] newspapers in Japan request printing paper allotment." Passed and appeared on Minchung Sibon (14 April 1948).
- _____. 48LOC0801. "Closing order issued to Korean schools in Tokyo." Passed and appeared on Minchung Sibon (19 April 1948).
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CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Heesang Yoon

DATE OF BIRTH: 25 May 1961

PLACE OF BIRTH: Kwangju, Republic of Korea

PERMANENT ADDRESS: Sky Villa 101, Buam-dong 40-2, Chongno-ku,
Seoul, Korea, 110-021.

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND:

1 December 1986- 18 May 2001

Reporter, The Dong-A Ilbo (East Asia Daily Newspaper),
Seoul, Korea

March 2004-

Director, Korean Government Information Agency, Seoul, Korea

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND:

August 2000- May 2004

Ph.D. Philip Merrill College of Journalism,
University of Maryland at College Park, U.S.A.

March 1994- February 1998

M.A. Graduate School of Newspapers and Broadcasting,
Choongang University, Seoul, Korea

March 1979- August 1985

B.A. Department of Economics, College of Commerce
Chonnam National University, Kwangju, Korea