Towards a Criticism of Inner Colonialism: Reading Ōshika Taku's "Yabanjin" as a Response to the 1930s Japanese Literary Field

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Abstract

本稿は、大鹿卓の小説「野蛮人」（『中央公論』、1935 年）を、その語りの機能と 1930 年代の文学場の状況、とりわけ、同時代の主たる文芸潮流の一つである「転向文学」との関わりとに焦点化して考察するものである。「野蛮人」の語りは、「転向文学」における知識人像をパロディ化している。すなわち、政治と学問の実践を中心に築かれたアイデンティティの喪失に直面する男性知識人の「原始的生」への欲望が、台湾「原住民」への暴力を介して「野蛮性」を獲得しようと試みる主人公田沢の植民地主義的欲望と、同構造であることを開示する。しかし、田沢のアイデンティティの再構成をも担う語りは、その要件として、植民地主義を正当化する言説である「同時代性の否定」（Johannes Fabian）と「女性嫌悪」とを表出してしまっている。「野蛮人」の語りは、したがって、知識人の「原始的生」への欲望と共起する暴力、及び、アイデンティティの編成過程で動員される認識論的暴力の双方を批評する端緒となる。

Key Words: narrative, *tenkō* literature (conversion literature), Japanese intellectuals, Taiwanese indigenous resistance, denial of coevalness, misogyny

1. Introduction

"Yabanjin" (The Savage, 1935),[1] Ōshika Taku's (1898-1959) representative work, stands out for its critical observation of a young Japanese intellectual named Tazawa who is fascinated with the "primitive" in colonial Taiwan.[2] The story deserves careful examination from the perspective of modern Japanese literary studies as well as colonial and gender studies because it traces how an urban man's loss of his intellectual identity as a leftist leads to his pursuit of the "primitive," a prevailing theme in 1930s Japanese literature. However, the narrative also problematizes the gaze of these intellectuals, which works within each story to construct the idea of the "primitive."

Whereas "Yabanjin" has drawn critics' attention for challenging the dichotomy of "civilization" and "savagery," particularly through the narrative of Tazawa's identity

reconstitution,[3] it has also been argued that this novel's challenge to the colonial dichotomy paradoxically contributes to the reproduction of that dichotomy.[4] This is due not only to the binary of "civilization" and "savagery" that remains inherent in the process of inversion, but also because such inversion is achieved through Tazawa's killing of an indigenous insurgent and his patriarchal control over Taimorikaru, an indigenous woman. Although previous studies have revealed quite persuasively the complicity of Tazawa's colonial and gendered violence and the colonial dichotomy, little attention has been paid to the narrative's historical relationship to the 1930s Japanese literary field. In other words, to understand the mechanisms that incite an intellectual of this period to inflict violence, it is necessary to historicize his quest for the "primitive" as more than an articulation of colonial discourse.

In pursuit of this objective, the following essay argues that the narrative constructs an intertextual relationship with *tenkō bungaku* or "conversion literature" (hereinafter referred to as *tenkō* literature), a significant literary genre in the 1930s. The literary critic Andō Hiroshi argues that *tenkō* literature became a vital presence in literary journals after the destruction of the proletarian literary movement.[5] In response to Kobayashi Takiji's death at the Tsukiji Police Station in 1933, as well as the declaration in the same year by two leaders of the Japan Communist Party, Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika, that they had renounced their communist practices, proletarian writers began to abandon communist movements. In *tenkō* literature, ex-communists' complex attitude toward their fragile selves (a result of their denial of their previous communist stance) is depicted simultaneously with their retreat to the countryside, their developing interest in agricultural life and physical work, and their allegiance to blood relatives and the *ie* system, all of which are related to the "primitive."[6]

In this way, *tenkō* literature repeatedly incorporates representations of the "primitive." However, in terms of analyzing "Yabanjin" in relation to *tenkō* literature, two main factors should be considered. The first is how leftist intellectuals' renunciation of their communist beliefs during the political crackdown led to their "primitivism."[7] The second is how "Yabanjin" critically intervenes in such a literary tradition. This paper aims to illustrate how "Yabanjin" uses colonial Taiwan and the figure of Tazawa to parody intellectuals' fascination with the "primitive" and in doing so creates an intertextual relationship with *tenkō* narratives. In order to elucidate this point, I will compare "Yabanjin" with three similar works by *tenkō* writers: Nakano Shigeharu's "Mura no ie" (The House in the Village, 1935), and two works by Shimaki Kensaku, "Rai" (Leprosy, 1934) and *Seikatsu no tankyū* (Quest for Life, 1937). A comparative reading reveals that "primitivism" as expressed in *tenkō* literature is structurally homologous with Tazawa's colonial desire to transform his identity from "civilization" to "savagery." It also demonstrates that by using Japan's historical issues to frame and emphasize intellectuals' weakness and agony, *tenkō*

narratives may conceal male intellectuals' strong will to violence, apparent in their pursuit of the "primitive" and its correspondence to colonialism. This paper uses the term "inner colonialism" to refer to this sort of covert "primitive" impulse, inherent in 1930s Japanese intellectuals. By putting the preference for the "primitive" and the subsequent violence prevailing in the Japanese mainland in proximity to those in a Japanese colony, the notion of "inner colonialism" serves to unsettle the center/periphery and metropole/colony binaries, which mask the implied colonial attitudes in the former. It should also be noted that both epistemic colonial violence and misogyny are inscribed in the narrative of "Yabanjin." It is the narrative itself that facilitates Tazawa's identity transformation, which in turn is the cause of his involvement with the colonial "expedition" and his exercise of patriarchal power.

2. Loss and the Pursuit of the "Primitive"

"Yabanjin" begins by explaining the reasons that Tazawa, a young Japanese intellectual, must go to Taiwan, in a way that suggests to readers that the story itself is implicated in the political and cultural crises faced by metropolitan intellectuals in the 1930s. After being dismissed from a university in Tokyo, Tazawa returns to Chikuhō, a well-known coal-mining region in Kyūshū. There, in a mine owned by his father, Tazawa instigates a labor dispute. Due to his involvement in the strike, Tazawa's father is determined to send him to Taiwan. He insists that his unmanageable son be dispatched to Musha (Wushe), a mountainous area located in the center of Taiwan. Although Tazawa expresses no excitement or hope regarding his new position, when he first arrives in "bankai," literally the "savage lands," his work as a guard and his encounters with the steadfast head of the local police station, Ino, gradually encourage him to begin building a "new life." Tazawa is inspired by the atmosphere in Musha and admires Ino's fierce spirit. He begins to foresee the beginning of a "new life completely unshadowed by his past" [*mattaku kako no kage no sasanai atarashii seikatsu*] (292).

In the opening scene, the narrator consciously alludes to various intellectual crises, including intellectuals' leaving university because of their involvement with communist movements and their defeat in labor disputes. It is of utmost importance to note here that these themes are frequently present in *tenkō* literature. Due to the loss of their own identity as political intellectuals, ex-communist writers frequently depict feeble intellectuals who cannot but renounce their political and intellectual identity, and in turn lose the meaning they had previously attributed to their lives. According to Andō, "life" [*seikatsu*] was a "keyword" consistently used in literature during the first decade of the Shōwa period (1935-1944) because writers of this period had to seek a life separate from one based on Marxist theory.[8] "Yabanjin," published in 1935, ascribes Tazawa's relocation to Musha to his dismissal from university and his defeat in the labor struggle.

His political and intellectual defeat in Japan led to both an inner emptiness and a yearning for a "new life," a pattern that is also seen in a number of characters in *tenkō* literature.[9]

The narrative introduces Tazawa in the opening scene by depicting his mental impotence, caused by his father's intervention and his betrayal by a labor union organizer named Komiya.

> He [Tazawa] encouraged the miners to flood one part of the mine with water. Learning of his role, his father rushed, trembling with anger, into the headquarters of the strikers. Komiya coldly betrayed Tazawa, pressuring the miners who tried to hide him and saying that he should just go home. He was taken home by his father and confined in a room. He spent several days feeling depressed. Komiya's betrayal shocked him much more than his father's abuse. He had, as a result, lost his emotional underpinnings, and, when his father ordered him to go to Taiwan, he surrendered himself to despair and obeyed with the same feeling of pride he had possessed when he opposed his control (291).

After his academic and political defeat, Tazawa lost the "emotional underpinnings" previously provided by political movements and his leftist identity. It is important to note here that the narrative implies an intersection between Tazawa and intellectuals of his time by employing tropes often used in *tenkō* literature to represent the urban intellectuals' mental emptiness. Tazawa's powerlessness and emptiness, caused by the loss of his identity, should thus not be viewed as unique to his particular case. His predicament is inherently connected to the pervasive crises faced by innumerable young intellectuals in 1930s Japan.[10] In order to elucidate this point, I will compare "Yabanjin" with some examples of *tenkō* literature. A comparative reading of these works reveals that the narrative of "Yabanjin" uses Tazawa to parody the seemingly weak Japanese intellectuals of the 1930s often depicted in *tenkō* literature. In doing so, the narrative illustrates the "inner colonialism" inherent in these intellectuals' pursuit of the "primitive."

In "Mura no ie," by Nakano Shigeharu, the protagonist, Takabatake Benji, is Tazawa's contemporary, studying at a university in Tokyo, who is arrested for his involvement with communist movements. He is forced to return to his home in a small village to do translation work because his father Magozō states at court that he will take responsibility for supervising his son. Benji and Magozō's relationship is similar to that of Tazawa and Ino, who becomes a father figure for him, in that both fathers decide to take care of their sons after they are forced to abandon their leftist practice in urban areas. Another similarity between "Mura no ie" and "Yabanjin" is that both Benji and Tazawa lose their "emotional underpinnings." By depicting Benji's weak physique and vacuous mental state, the narrator underlines how powerless Benji feels due to the loss of his political beliefs. This suggests that it is the loss of his identity that

makes him powerless. The passage below describes the inner emptiness Benji feels when he is taken to the courthouse as an "ideological offender" [*seiji hannin*].[11]

> The last day of his custody, Benji got into the car wearing the same clothes. Upon passing a group of elementary school students on the way to the courthouse, he felt the urge to cover his mouth with his hand because he felt he might challenge the chief justice. However, at the court, he was an empty shell of himself [*shikashi hōtei e tatta toki wa nakami o nuita hōzuki no yō ni natteita*].[12]

The narrator stresses both Benji's gaunt physique and his mental emptiness by comparing his body and mind with an "empty Chinese lantern plant" [*nakami o nuita hōzuki*]. Benji's urge to silence himself by covering his mouth may also suggest the Peace Preservation Law, promulgated in 1925, under which Benji would have been prohibited from verbally identifying himself as a communist intellectual. In other words, Benji completely loses the means to reconstitute his political identity with his own words. Also, the fact that Benji works as a translator, a position that Naoki Sakai calls "transitory and temporary,"[13] alludes to the oscillation Benji experiences because he cannot articulate his thoughts.

Although Benji and Tazawa face similar identity crises after their withdrawal from university in Tokyo and their renunciation of communist practices, they take different paths. Benji decides to use writing to confront the pain brought on by the loss of his identity. Tazawa finds his own path to recovery and fulfillment in his "new life" managing "savages" in the "savage lands." The difference between Benji and Tazawa can be interpreted as two reactions of Japanese intellectuals recanting their political convictions in the 1930s. Also, their fathers can be interpreted as representative of Japanese patriarchy. Strong fathers are a salient theme in *tenkō* literature, and these fathers often forbid their sons to have any future involvement with leftist movements. In "Mura no ie," after abandoning his communist activities, Benji discusses his future with his father Magozō, who works as a farmer. Although Benji's father admonishes him to stop writing and engage in physical labor such as agricultural work in the village, Benji rejects his father's advice, saying "I thoroughly understand what you are saying, but I will still keep writing."[14] Throughout the struggle with his father, Benji remains dedicated to his words and his writing. In comparison, Tazawa initially opposes his father's control but generally depends on the quasi-paternal relationship with Ino in order to fill his psychological emptiness. The literary critic Robert Tierney points out that regardless of Tazawa's failure in the "oedipal struggle" in Japan, "under the guidance and with the warm encouragement of this new father figure (Ino), Tazawa directs his energies in more productive directions and joins the patriarchal order of colonial

administration."[15] Tazawa's adoptive father-figure, Ino, gives him a chance to pursue "a new life" of "primitiveness" acquired through enthusiastically engaging in the management of aboriginal resistance.[16] Tazawa does not write because writing is a mental activity. Much like the protagonists in Shimaki Kensaku's "Rai" and *Seikatsu no tankyū*, Tazawa pursues his "primitive" self through physicality and the unity between body and soul.

"Rai" traces a young intellectual's desire for and fear of bodies infected with leprosy. This work also uses a plot structure similar to the one seen in "Yabanjin." In "Rai," the protagonist Ōta is imprisoned for leading a labor dispute in a rural farm village. In prison he encounters Okada, a leper who has held firm to his communist beliefs while incarcerated. Like Tazawa and Benji, Ōta finds himself falling into depression, and his "heart becomes as cold as gray ash."[17] Ōta thinks he has a "gray and monotonous life,"[18] and he begins to yearn for the kind of life force he sees displayed by the lepers. Ōta is overwhelmed by their "powerful vitality" [*nanto sono seikatsuryoku no sakan na koto!*], while also being "impressed with and horrified by the strength of their blind and animalistic urges."[19] This yearning is a reaction to Ōta's own worry that "the knowledge and beliefs he had relied on may not merge with his body at all."[20] In "Rai," the "animalistic" characteristics expressed by the lepers' bodies form the basis for what Ōta sees as an authentic life. Okada thus becomes the object of Ōta's "veneration." Ōta feels that Okada's "thoughts merge into his blood" and that he is "ceaselessly alive in his life."[21] Ōta reveres Okada as a communist who adheres to his political identity by relying on a sufficient base of physicality.

It is important to note here that Ōta is impressed with the lepers' life force and that this interest in human strength surviving the discipline of prison life is similar to Tazawa's interest in Taiwanese aborigines. The cultural anthropologist Murai Osamu equates the system of Japanese colonial discipline in the mountainous regions of Taiwan with "prison," because both the prison and the colonial system were designed to discipline subordinate bodies.[22] As part of policies put in place to "manage the savages," Japanese authorities fenced off mountainous districts where aborigines lived, installed fortified guard lines and established police stations in order to transform aborigines into "disciplined subjects." One should make note not only of the political commonality between the disciplined bodies of prisoners and those of the Taiwanese aborigines, but also the parallels in the way they are described. Focusing on Tazawa's relationship with the indigenous village people under Japanese police control, the narrator underlines his strong desire for the "animal life force" he sees in two indigenous women. "He was keenly excited by Taimorikaru because an animal life force [*dōbutsu no seikatsuryoku*] existed in her body" (338). Also, "Tazawa stole a glance at her (Yauināge) and witnessed feverish blankness in her moist eyes. He thought them like a wild animal's eyes. […] Tazawa was stricken with horror" (326-327). In this way, Tazawa is attracted by the aboriginal women's "animal life force" and cannot restrain his

excitement and horror. He recovers from his mental emptiness by consuming the "animal life force" he sees in these women and acting to protect it from "civilization." This type of encounter with the "primitive" enables both Tazawa and Ōta to regain the energy and passion lost after their defeat in politics.

What should be examined here is the relationship between the yearning for the "primitive" and the crises experienced by leftist intellectuals, including the loss of the language and the ideas necessary for identity formation. According to Andō Hiroshi, "what is critical [for *tenkō* literature] is the collapse of their [*tenkō* writers'] linguistic logic, which had previously enabled them to identify themselves as the 'avant-garde proletariat.' […] Loss of their language led to the emergence of an unidentifiable self."[23] The enactment of the Peace Preservation Law deprived young intellectuals of the language needed to define their political identities through their literary practices. Just like the young intellectuals in *tenkō* literature who fill their inner void with symbols of the origin of the human species such as the "savage" and agriculture, Tazawa "discovers" the "primitive" in Taiwanese aborigines. In this way, the structure of Tazawa's story parallels the desires of characters in *tenkō* literature. Their fantasy of the "primitive" is produced by their desire for an authentic foundation on which to base a life that had been previously undermined by the loss of political identity and language.[24] By employing tropes from *tenkō* literature, the narrative of "Yabanjin" establishes an intertextual relationship between "Yabanjin" and *tenkō* literature, which suggests that colonial Taiwan may be another "primitive" space where weak intellectuals can escape from cultural crises.

A comparative reading of "Yabanjin" and Shimaki's later wartime best seller, *Seikatsu no tankyū* is useful here because it not only clarifies the intention of "Yabanjin"'s narrator to put critical distance between his work and *tenkō* literature via parody, but also shows that the intellectuals' desire for the "primitive" tends to result in violence. *Seikatsu no tankyū* describes the process through which a communist youth who returns to his hometown becomes a strong patriarch and the head of his village under the guardianship of his father. After renouncing his communist ideals and leaving his university in Tokyo, the protagonist Sugino Shunsuke comes home to help with his father's agricultural work. The important theme of this work is Shunsuke's effort to incorporate "all of his desires into a realistic social life."[25] The unification of Shunsuke's desires and actions should not be referred to as his job or "occupation" [*shokugyō*], but as "authentic work" [*honrai no shigoto*].[26] As in "Rai," the main character in *Seikatsu no tankyū* also sees basic, "primitive" desires as authentic.

Shunsuke's repairing of an old well with his father is an example of this "authentic work." While repairing the well, Shunsuke "felt a savage, reckless power so strong that he could not but smash something. He took pleasure in this power as if he could compete with and conquer his

opponent."[27] What is significant in this scene is that Shunsuke reclaims his "power" through his father's support and physical labor. His violent impulse is directed towards not only the real object before him, but also his past life of communist activism, which stands in stark contrast to his current "practical life" [*jissai seikatsu*]. Also, Shunsuke's "authentic work" is described with such colonial tropes as "a savage, reckless power," which made him feel as though "he could not but smash something" and "conquer his opponent." When analyzing Shunsuke's actions within the framework of colonialism, it becomes clear that his discovery of "savagery" is required for his growth as a patriarch because patriarchy is connected with power and "authenticity."

By understanding *Seikatsu no tankyū*'s intertextual relationship with "Yabanjin," we find an important implication within "Yabanjin." While Shunsuke's desire for "primitive" work does not seem violent because it involves simply repairing an old well, it is actually similar to Tazawa's colonial violence against the indigenous people he encounters. Like Shunsuke, Tazawa also demands "a primitive job." Tazawa defends his decision to initiate an intimate relationship with Taimorikaru and her younger sister Taimonamo, a relationship that his colleagues ridicule, by saying that the relationship is necessary for him to show "any capacity for a mental response" (297). He argues that he would not need the relationship if only he were given more demanding work that would provide him with mental stimulation. He shouts in his mind, "Give me work! Work" (297). Since the term "work" [*shigoto*] is used broadly in *tenkō* narratives to refer to communist activities,[28] both these activities and his new physical labor are implied when Tazawa shouts "work." This desire for "work" thus symbolizes a metropolitan intellectual's displaced desire for practical and authentic activity. Just as Shunsuke, who is "absorbed in his new life" as a farmer,[29] pursues unity between body and soul through labor, Tazawa also seeks out "mental response" through his work, which involves "managing" aboriginal riots. Both Shunsuke and Tazawa strongly believe that congruence between body and soul can be achieved through physical labor in "primitive" spaces such as farm villages and "savage lands." Deprived of the mental and emotional strength needed to support their political beliefs and the political language needed to construct their communist identities in urban communities, these intellectuals resort to the physical in rural, "primitive" spaces in order to consolidate their unstable souls and/or identities.

By trans-contextualizing the violence of the main character into a colonial context, the narrator of "Yabanjin" shows that pursuing the "primitive" as a result of the loss of one's identity as a leftist intellectual leads to violence. Due to its setting, the story can be seen as a critical response to the genealogy of literary representations about "primordial" spaces. By the 1930s, stories about the pursuit of the "primitive" in agricultural villages lacked freshness, as this theme had been explored repeatedly since the middle of the Meiji period. The time-worn nature of the

theme is acknowledged in Shimaki's *Seikatsu no tankyū* when Shunsuke discusses his return to his village with his superior, a man named Shimura. Although Shimura also returned to the village after withdrawing from university in Tokyo, he sardonically criticizes Shunsuke's desire for a more "primitive" way of life, saying that it is old-fashioned.

> "Outdated things, things that have already been tested and critiqued on both a theoretical and practical basis, re-emerge, transforming themselves and taking on forms appropriate for the times. By doing so, they mislead the younger generation. Even if their appearance looks fresh, they are generally reproductions of the old. Your (Shunsuke's) case is extremely self-evident. It's enough to raise a few examples: Mushanokōji Saneatsu's *Atarashii mura* [New Village], Roka's *Mimizu no tawagoto* [*An Earthworm's Silly Talk*], and Etō (Tekirei), who was a weak, diminished version of Roka."[30]

Shimura critiques Shunsuke's return to the farming village saying that this action is like "a reproduction of old stories" told by Mushanokōji, Roka, and Etō. He later criticizes Shunsuke's actions in the village as well, saying that they are like deeds recorded in the works of Sōma Gyofū and Shimazaki Tōson. Shimura's criticism can be considered a comment on the 1930s literary scene. In his critique he refers to intellectual and literary history and argues that the trend of returning to the village to pursue the "primitive" is a pattern that had been repeatedly reproduced even before the 1930s. Whereas *Seikatsu no tankyū* uses Shimura's words to reflexively show its critical stance against the genealogy of intellectuals who return to agriculture, "Yabanjin" uses parody. It avoids reproducing a clichéd agricultural theme by setting its stage in colonial Taiwan. This in turn results in a double parody. By distancing itself from the contemporary literary field and using an explicitly colonial setting (and thus triggering the setting's violent associations), "Yabanjin" is offering up a critical response not only to the trend in modern Japanese literature to return to the rural, but also to the inner colonialism inherent in *tenkō* narratives.

It is important to note here, that by repeatedly incorporating tropes from *tenkō* literature and simultaneously leaving an ironic distance between "Yabanjin" and the literary genealogy, the narrator trans-contextualizes Japanese intellectuals' demand for identity reconstitution in the colonial context. In this sense, "Yabanjin" can be positioned as a parodic text. Positing irony as the rhetorical strategy of parody, Linda Hutcheon argues that parody is made possible by the narrative's incisive attention to and intended distance from the literary works and genres that are its target.[31] Such incisive attention and intended distance is apparent in "Yabanjin." By carefully repeating the surge of interest in the "primitive" among protagonists in 1930s left-leaning literature and making Tazawa their caricatured portrait, a man whose violence is concrete and

extreme, the narrator of "Yabanjin" reveals that, while protagonists in *tenkō* literature experience mental and physical fragility, they also exercise an implied violence in an attempt to ease the pain of their identity loss. Hutcheon points out that parody is "repetition, but repetition that includes difference,"[32] and argues that one of the crucial elements of parody is to "trans-contextualize" characters, plot details, and verbal quotations from a parodied text or genre while keeping "a critical distance" from them.[33] In the sense that the narrator of "Yabanjin" does not merely superimpose the story/tropes of *tenkō* literature on "Yabanjin" but also trans-contextualizes the tropes of *tenkō* literature in the context of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, its narrative can be considered a parody. Because the narrative of "Yabanjin" functions as a parody, it signals readers to respond to and think critically about the colonial gaze inherent in intellectuals' pursuit of the "primitive." It is also important for us to examine how the violence inflicted by these intellectuals is constructed within the narrative, because parody exposes the naturalized characteristics of its target. To further pursue an understanding of this point, the next section will address how the narrator is complicit in the colonial and gendered violence which Tazawa exercises to reconstitute his political and patriarchal identity.

3. Misogyny and the Denial of Coevalness

The opening scene that we have already examined reveals a dual meaning in Tazawa's loss of identity. As a result of Komiya's betrayal and his father's intervention, Tazawa loses his political identity as well as what the literary critic Tarumi Chie calls his identity as a son who "should succeed in the traditional paternal relationship."[34] In order to resolve this twofold political and "oedipal struggle" of identity-loss,[35] the narrative facilitates Tazawa's reengagement in a political movement in the "primitive" realm under the guardianship of fictive fathers such as Ino and the aboriginal village headman Ibantaimo.

The narrative primitivizes the aboriginal resistance so that Tazawa can achieve his goal of uniting his body and soul in a "primitive" space, even though the aboriginal resistance was actually a political movement contemporaneous with mining strikes.[36] For Tazawa, engaging in this "expedition" is crucial because it not only satisfies his desire for the "primitive" but also enables him to restart his political practice. Six weeks after Tazawa arrives at the Hakku police station, the indigenous people of Kaiyai village, located north of the Sramau police station, rise in revolt. In order to subdue the resistance, a troop consisting of 70 people, including Tazawa, is immediately organized under the command of Ino. The police captain raises the troop's morale by insisting that they have to complete their mission in the "expedition" to "enlighten obstinate and ferocious people" even at "the risk of their lives" (304). As if reproducing the stigmatization of indigenous people apparent in the police captain's speech, the narrative describes indigenous

people as "fierce enemies whose hair swung wildly" (308) and who "rushed together towards him in the forest, baring their teeth, their voices raised in uncanny cries" (308). It can be argued that the resistance needed to be portrayed as "primitive" in order to satisfy the equation of *tenkō* literature, in which the emotionally defeated intellectual finds a sense of self in the "primitive."

What is important to note here is that the narrative's insistence on describing the aboriginal revolt as "primitive" leads to depoliticizing the indigenous resistance. It refuses to acknowledge the aboriginal resistances' contemporaneity with the mining strike by reproducing colonial rhetoric, particularly that the indigenous people resist Japanese imperial policy because they are "obstinate," "fierce," and "savage." The literary critic Faye Kleeman correctly states that "Yabanjin" fails to explain why the indigenous rebellions took place, which leads to colonial discourse claiming that instances of resistance were "random, irrational eruptions of violence rooted in the barbaric nature of the aborigines."[37] In the sense that the narrative construes the indigenous people as "barbaric" and without history or political consciousness, it employs what the anthropologist Johannes Fabian calls a "denial of coevalness." According to Fabian, through identifying the "styles of thought" of a subject as "savage" or "primitive," anthropological discourse systematically posits them "in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse."[38] In "Yabanjin," the denial of coevality in the narrative justifies the "expedition" undertaken for the reconstitution of Tazawa's identity. The narrative denies the political validity of the indigenous people's movement by attributing the movement to the aborigines' innate "fierceness" and "uncanniness." The denial of coevalness in the narrative serves to validate Tazawa's enthusiastic involvement in the "expedition" in order to facilitate the construction of a new sense of identity and of patriarchal lineage, which were previously undermined by Komiya's betrayal and his father's intervention.

If we understand Tazawa's "expedition" as a mirror of the mining strike, it could be argued that his colleague Araki and Ino, who contribute to Tazawa regaining his male identity, are reflections of Komiya and Tazawa's father in Japan. Although Tazawa works in concert with Araki at the Hakku police station and in Ino's troop, he dislikes Araki because he often makes him "feel irritated" and provokes him by ridiculing his relationship with Taimorikaru (297). Araki is not only a rival but also a surrogate for Komiya because, by rescuing Araki during the "expedition" at Kaiyai village and by overcoming Araki's betrayal surrounding Tazawa's relationship with Taimorikaru, Tazawa heals the wounds created by Komiya's betrayal. When Araki is shot and critically injured, Tazawa tries to help him by hiding with him in a cave. Araki asks Tazawa to kill him, fearing that his loud groans of pain will alert the indigenous people to their whereabouts. Although Tazawa indulges in a fantasy of killing Araki, in the end he cannot commit such a "dishonest" deed. Tazawa and Araki's situation in this scene is related to the relationship between

Tazawa and Komiya because, as the narrator emphasizes, unlike Komiya, Tazawa is able to accomplish his own political objective in Taiwan without betraying his colleague. After the end of the "expedition," the narrator begins to describe problems in Tazawa's relationship with Taimorikaru. The biggest problem for Tazawa is that Araki betrays him. Araki suddenly proposes to Taimorikaru even though he previously expressed disinterest in her and a disdain for her relationship with Tazawa. Perplexed by Araki's sudden betrayal so shortly after he rescued him, Tazawa tries to deal with this "challenge" by getting permission to marry Taimorikaru from Ibantaimo, another of Tazawa's father figures. Tazawa's previous betrayal by his colleague (Komiya) led to his defeat in the political domain, but with Ibantaimo's support, this time Tazawa is able to overcome his colleague's (Araki's) betrayal.

The narrative also posits Ino as a pseudo-father who plays a large role in Tazawa's identity reconstitution. The fact that it is Ino who rescues Tazawa and Araki from the cave alludes to not only salvation by a father but also to Tazawa's rebirth as a son in a psychoanalytical frame. As a son of Ino, Tazawa can restart his "oedipal struggle." Shortly after the first "expedition" at Kaiyai village, Ino tells Tazawa to rest at the Hakku police station to recover from his fatigue and makes no mention of Tazawa's participating in the next impending "expedition." Interpreting this to mean that he has gained his "reliable" father's "disfavor," and feeling ashamed about his absence from the troop, Tazawa decides to participate in the second "expedition" without Ino's permission. When Tazawa unexpectedly shows up at Kaiyai village, Ino is angry with him because he regards Tazawa's decision as an act of disobedience. It is important to note the differences between the responses of father figures. While Tazawa's father in Japan completely represses Tazawa's resistance, Ino eventually accepts Tazawa's desire to participate in the "expedition":

> "That said, I don't care if you have your head cut off immediately," [said Ino].
>
> "I've already taken one head; so having mine taken just makes it even."
>
> So said Tazawa as if he were striking himself with a whip. It was an expression of his excitement about training himself in primitive human battle amidst the rough breath emitted by the vastness of nature surrounding him. He wished that his veins would expand, so as to let his ancestors' blood flow within him. Skipping generations, their essence would come alive in him. Then, my spirit will never be defeated by the savages——so he murmured in his mind, his eyes shining (320).

By focusing on Tazawa's excitement, the narrative reveals that it is under Ino's protection and with Ino's permission that Tazawa can rebuild his identity by participating in this "primitive human battle." When Tazawa is exposed to a life-threatening crisis at Kaiyai village, Ino again

rescues him and embraces him, clinging to him and saying "you made a great effort" (323). Ino's affirmation signals that Tazawa's "oedipal struggle" is over and that he can acquire a male subjectivity through his "work." Tazawa's identity reconstitution is the product of a narrative that drags the mining strike into the terrain of the "primitive" and resolves a colleague's betrayal and Tazawa's defeat in the "oedipal struggle." Here, the narrative finally allows Tazawa to realize his desire for the "primitive."

The narrative's complicity with Tazawa's identity reformation should be critically analyzed in terms of gender not only because it involves the construction of his masculinity and leads to his patriarchal violence against Taimorikaru, but also because, in "Yabanjin," it is the female characters who most keenly reveal the imperfection of Tazawa's reconstituted identity and thus are exposed to his violence. Tazawa vows that "his soul will be never defeated by that of the indigenous people" (320). This is clearly a reaction to Tazawa's fear of Taimonamo and Taimorikaru. Tazawa describes the former as a woman whose "savagery" "solemnly pulses with the uncontrollable spirit of a giant tree" (314). Her behavior makes Tazawa recognize that he is "only a weak, transplanted sapling" (314-315). The narrative posits Tazawa's fear as a "crisis" because Taimonamo reveals that the foundation of his new identity is still fragile. The narrative is correct in the sense that Tazawa still sees himself as the "non-savage" and Taimonamo as the "savage" in the frame of colonial dichotomy. For Tazawa, "civilization" is weak and inauthentic, while "savagery" is vital and powerful. Tazawa obstinately remains in the position of "civilization" because he still internalizes the colonial dichotomy as an epistemic schema produced by colonial discourse.

Taimorikaru also reveals the unstable basis for Tazawa's new identity. While talking in the outdoor bath, Taimorikaru helps Tazawa to wash himself with soap, a symbol of "civilization." Noticing an indigenous man watching them, Taimorikaru angrily chases him away because, for her, "indigenous men smell bad." She goes on to tell Tazawa that "you do not smell bad" (316). Hearing her words, "Tazawa is exposed to a crisis again" (316). Focusing on Tazawa's point of view, the narrative explains that the "crisis" faced by Tazawa is the product of Taimorikaru's exposure of his "imperfect savagery" (317). The "bad smell" is derived from the colonial dichotomy in the sense that it serves to exclude colonial subjects from the "civilized" colonizers' community. The literary critic Komori Yōichi argues that curses like "you are dirty" and "you smell bad" are articulated on the condition that their exclusionary effects are broadly recognized and that an articulator has been stigmatized by them before.[39] By reproducing the colonial trope, Taimorikaru attempts to exclude the indigenous man from the intimate "civilized" relationship she seeks to build with Tazawa. Although Taimorikaru positions herself within the "civilized" with Tazawa, her words disrupt his new identity because the dichotomy of "smelling bad" and

"smelling good" allocates Tazawa to the latter, the "civilized." What disrupts Tazawa's sense of identity here is not just a woman but the colonial dichotomy Japanese colonial discourse has produced. It is ironic that Tazawa, a Japanese colonizer, cannot reconstitute his identity as a "savage" due to a colonial dichotomy that has been used to exclude the colonized.

Rather than leading him to consider how to disrupt this colonial dichotomy, the narrative facilitates Tazawa's violence against women. Owing to Ino's and Ibantaimo's affirmation, Tazawa succeeds in the "oedipal struggle" and becomes a patriarch who owns a house in the village with his wife Taimorikaru. He prevents her from washing clothes, wearing kimono, or using chopsticks because for Tazawa these things are associated with "civilization." While constructing his house, Tazawa indulges his "primitive" desires by sexually assaulting Taimorikaru and forcing her to chop down a tree with an ax. In order to express his strength as a "large tree" and defend himself from the "crisis" that reveals his unrooted identity, Tazawa must not only show his supremacy over Taimorikaru but also erase her "civilization" which had previously formed the source of his "crisis." What should not be forgotten is that Tazawa's authority is produced by the narrative, which unfairly allocates vulnerability to indigenous women. Although Tazawa feels that he achieves "real savagery" (339) through his patriarchal power, he just "fabricates savagery," as the literary critic Sakamoto Saori points out.[40] An intellectual's pursuit of the "primitive" results in nothing other than violence. This analysis is not limited to Tazawa's case, and can also be applied to intellectuals based within the main Japanese islands. The narrative of "Yabanjin" also attempts to parody young Japanese intellectuals' pursuit of the "primitive." Rather than categorizing the Japanese colonies and Japan proper as completely separate entities, it is crucial to realize that the violence exerted in the former is also seen in the latter.

4. Conclusion

This paper has revealed that the narrative of "Yabanjin" parodies the desire for the "primitive" and the inner colonialism inherent in *tenkō* narratives, while at the same time participating in gendered, colonial violence. Although these two factors seem to be positioned on two separate spectrums, they interact with one another. In both *tenkō* writings and "Yabanjin," metropolitan intellectuals attempt to reconstitute their male, political identity and fill their mental void by seeking out the "primitive." In other words, the narrative's differentiation enables "discovery." The narrative constructs "the other" as "primitive," which seems authentic and powerful to the "civilized" male intellectual. In contrast to Tazawa and the protagonists in *tenkō* literature, "the others" are depicted without humanity or political intentions. The narrative enacts such differentiation with colonial and misogynous tropes.

It is worth considering whether or not the narrative's intention to expose the violence of

1930s intellectuals reaches readers. According to Hutcheon, in order for parody to be activated, "there must be certain codes shared between encoder and decoder."[41] After the Japan Proletarian Writers' League (NALP) dissolved in 1934, a number of proletarian writers published *tenkō* literature based on their experiences in *Chūō kōron*, the general magazine in which "Yabanjin" first appeared.[42] Readers thus had ample opportunity to notice that the tropes commonly used in *tenkō* narratives were also present in "Yabanjin," and that Tazawa is a parodied portrait of an ex-communist intellectual. However, some literary critics like Kawamura Minato might object to this idea of parody within "Yabanjin," because he critically postulates that "Yabanjin" results in "barbarism" expressed through the lens of "civilization." Kawamura argues that without critical intervention in the perspective of Western "civilization," internalized by Tazawa, "Yabanjin" would work to naturalize the imperialistic Japanese slogans which were originally coined to "orientalize" non-Japanese Asian and Pacific cultures while "de-orientalizing" Japanese traditional culture.[43] Faye Kleeman may also oppose the idea of parody by pointing out that "Yabanjin" was read as a "romantic colonial novel" by metropolitan readers.[44] It should be noted here that the colonial gaze of readers is the product of politics in the 1930s: it can be argued that readers in this time period disregarded the narrative's parodic signals by commodifying the text as an expression of "barbarism" or as a "romantic colonial novel." As long as the colonial gaze serves to differentiate the colonizer from the colonized, Tazawa's experiences in colonial Taiwan seem unrelated to the lives of citizens in mainland Japan, and thus the contemporaneous readers were able to ignore their similarities to experiences closer to home. "Colonial literature," however, should be read not only as a commentary on Japanese colonial violence in its colonies, but also as a reference to the latent violence present in mainland Japan. This twofold reading will reveal a new interpretation of the mechanisms at work in colonial violence and the damaging perspective of the reader's gaze, and in doing so reveal the traces of inner colonialism.

Notes

1. When I cite this work, I do so from Taku Ōshika, "Yabanjin," in *Teikoku Nihon to Taiwan・Nanpō: Sō, Korekushon sensō to bungaku 18*, ed. Jirō Asada et al. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2012). The translation is mine.
2. Kawamura Minato points out that "there is no question that he is a fellow traveler, would-be intellectual who shows sympathy for labor organizing." See "Popular Orientalism and Japanese Views of Asia," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, ed. Michele Mason and Helen Lee, trans. Kōta Inoue, and Helen Lee (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 281.
3. Kawahara Isao argues that one of Ōshika's motivations in writing the novel was to accuse Japanese colonial policy of brutality caused by Japanese "inner savagery." See *Taiwan shinbungaku undō no*

tenkai: Nihonbungaku tono setten (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1997), 84.

[4] Leo Ching argues that "Yabanjin" restores and reinforces the binary structure of "civilization" and "savagery." See *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001), 150-151.

[5] Hiroshi Andō, *Nihon kindai shōsetsushi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 2015), 149-150.

[6] The "primitive" is a salient "other" of *tenkō* literature. Murayama Tomoyoshi's "Kikyō" (1934) and Kubokawa Ineko's "Botan no aru ie" (1934) depict the retreat to the countryside and interest in agricultural life. "Mura no ie" and *Seikatsu no tankyū* deal with intellectuals' allegiance to blood relations. Intellectuals' return to the physical is an important motif of Shimaki's "Mōmoku" (1934).

[7] This point responds to Sakamoto Saori's brief but important reference to the reversal of leftist intellectuals' pursuit of equality and colonialism in the 1930s. See "Nihon kindai bungaku ni okeru 'neitibu' no hyōshō: Ōshika Taku 'Yabanjin' o chūshin ni," *Problematique* 4 (2003), 76.

[8] Andō, *Nihon kindai shōsetsushi*, 151.

[9] The intellectual's pursuit of a "new life" can be found in Murayama Tomoyoshi's "Byakuya" (1934).

[10] The representation of intellectuals' powerlessness can be found in Fujimori Seikichi's "Ame no ashita" (1934), Murayama's "Byakuya" and "Kikyō," and Shimaki's "Mōmoku."

[11] Shigeharu Nakano, "Mura no ie," in *Nakano Shigeharu zenshū 2* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1959), 78.

[12] Ibid., 92.

[13] Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism*, Public World 3 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 13.

[14] Nakano, "Mura no ie," 105.

[15] Robert Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 71-72.

[16] As an appellation for the Austronesian people who compose 2 percent of Taiwan's total population, this paper uses "Taiwanese aborigines" based on the Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China of 1997. Taiwanese aborigines themselves originally coined this appellation during the democratizing process of the Tangwai movement in the 1980s.

[17] Kensaku Shimaki, "Rai," in *Shimaki Kensaku zenshū* 1 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1976), 30.

[18] Ibid., 4.

[19] Ibid., 30.

[20] Ibid., 29.

[21] Ibid., 50-51.

[22] Osamu Murai, *Nantō ideorogī no hassei: Yanagita Kunio to shokuminchishugi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004), 229.

[23] Andō, *Jiishiki no shōwabungaku: Genshō toshite no "watakushi"* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1994), 123.

[24] The discussion here owes to Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

[25] Shimaki, "Seikatsu no tankyū," in *Shimaki Kensaku zenshū 5* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1976), 78.

[26] Ibid., 78.

[27] Ibid., 21.

[28] For example, "work" [*shigoto*] is used in this sense in such examples of *tenkō* literature as Murayama's "Byakuya," Kubokawa Tsurujirō's "Fūun" (1934), and Shimaki's "Mōmoku."

[29] Shimaki, "Seikatsu no tankyū," 158.

[30] Ibid., 58.

[31] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-century Art Forms* (New York and London: Methuen, 1985), 31-32.

[32] Ibid, 37.

[33] Ibid, 32.

[34] Chie Tarumi, "1930 nendai nihonbungaku ni okeru 'yaban' eno kyōmei o megutte: Ōshika Taku 'Yabanjin' • Tanizaki Junichirō "Bushūkōhiwa" • Yamabe Katsuko 'Banjin raisa' o chūshin ni" in *"Gaichi" nihongobungaku eno shatei*, ed. Ikeuchi Teruo et al. (Tokyo: Sōbunsha Shuppan, 2014), 36-37.

[35] Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery*, 71.

[36] According to Kawahara Isao, Ōshika's works about colonial Taiwan were written against the backdrop of the Musha Incident, an indigenous anti-colonial movement which took place in 1930 and the model of the resistance represented in "Yabanjin" is the Sramau Incident in 1920. See "Ōshika Taku 'Yabanjin' kaisetsu" in *Nihon shokuminchibungaku seisenshū 18: Taiwan hen 6* (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2000), 4-5.

[37] Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 25.

[38] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 30-31.

[39] Yōichi Komori, *Reishizumu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 57.

[40] Saori Sakamoto, "Nihon kindai bungaku ni okeru 'neitibu' no hyōshō," 76.

[41] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 26-27.

[42] "Yabanjin" was published in February 1935 in *Chūō kōron*. The following are representatives of *tenkō* writings which appeared in the journal up to the publication of "Yabanjin:" Murayama's "Byakuya" (May 1934), Shimaki's "Mōmoku" (July 1934), and Nakano Shigeharu's "Dai isshō" (January 1935).

[43] Minato Kawamura, *Nan'yō • Karafuto no nihonbungaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 38.

[44] Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 26.