

Subimperial Formations of Medicine: Taiwan and Korea



7-8 July 2014

Palazzo Pesaro-Papafava, Venice (University of Warwick)

This workshop features theoretically robust and empirically weighted approaches to the comparison and relational study of medical cultures between Taiwan and Korea. In the twentieth century, both regions experienced similar histories of colonial governance: from being situated on the periphery of the Qing geocultural orbit to constituting a key architect of the Japanese empire to forming a Cold War protectorate of American neo-imperialism. Invited papers will address the cultural transformations of medicine and healthcare in light of such trajectories of political affinity and potential divergences. (*Contact: Dr Howard Chiang, H.H.Chiang@warwick.ac.uk*)

Global History
& Culture Centre
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

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WARWICK

The D. Kim Foundation
for the History of Science and Technology in East Asia
現代東亞科學技術史

Programme

JULY 7, 2014

9:00-9:30 Coffee & Introduction

9:30-11:00 Panel I: Doctors and the Profession

1. **Struggling for Identities: The Exodus of Young Doctors from Taiwan, 1950s–70s**
Hung Bin Hsu (Assistant Professor of History, National Chung Hsing University)

From the late 1950s onward, many medical graduates in Taiwan decided to leave the island and pursue their further clinical training and careers in the western countries, especially the United States. Through the articles and letters collected in college journals for students and graduates of medical schools in Taiwan, this article hopes to address the structural reasons for this mass migration of young doctors during the post-war period. Three interrelated topics will be discussed. First, the paper describes the dramatic change in medical education in Taiwan under the great influence of the U.S. Aid. Second, it will analyze the changing political and socioeconomic condition on the island and the expanding medical human resources during this period. Third, it will examine the professional pathways available to and challenges for medical graduates, and how they struggled to establish their own personal and professional identities against the background of the dramatically changing political situation, medical education and market. It reveals that, among a myriad of personal issues that motivated a young physician to leave Taiwan, the uncertainty of identities, the lack of resources and the opportunities for pursuing more advanced and scientific career, as well as the disordered and highly competitive market loomed very large.

2. **The Elephant in the Room: The Medicalization of Korean Medicine**
Seonsam Na (DPhil Candidate in Anthropology, University of Oxford)

This paper addresses questions about Korean Medicine. I almost called it 'East Asian Medicine' in my previous publication on the subject though in the contents, I distinguished Korean Medicine from traditional East Asian medicine as I argued that Korean Medicine contains many biomedical elements in its practice. In that paper, I elucidated some methodological issues facing prior researchers who transposed the dichotomized view of the 'modern' and the 'traditional' onto the Korean situation,

by elaborating the ways in which this theoretical framework is not fitting to the Korean case where high flying students flock to schools of Korean Medicine deserting top Western Medical schools, and Doctors of Korean Medicine are enjoying the same degree of social, economic and legal recognitions with Doctors of Western Medicine. In other words, in that article, I more or less proposed the problem of 'the Korean Exception'.

This paper is an attempt to engage with the problematic, albeit in a paradoxical way. It is paradoxical because I will argue in this paper that the Korean case is not an exception, if we consider the past six decades, or even a century, of the process of 'medicalization' that took place within Korean Medicine. I will argue that the popularity and recognition that Doctors of Korean Medicine now enjoy is not unusual as it looks because, if we accept that they have been 'medicalized' under the sixty years of institutional pressure, it is also not surprising for us to find in them 'medicalized' practitioners, or medical doctors. All the issues of uniqueness and unusualness related to Korean Medicine prior researchers tried to tackle would then become 'pseudo-problems'. Because what the researchers were tackling actually were not the unusual aspects of 'traditional medicine' and 'traditional medical practitioners' in the context of South Korea, but turned out to be, under this perspective, the conventional aspects of 'the medicine' and 'the medical profession', though the medicine and the profession under discussion would not be the exact carbon copies of Western Medicine and its practitioners.

11:00-11:15 Coffee Break

11:15-12:45 Panel II: Gendering Hygiene

3. Young Girls and Menarche in Postcolonial Taiwan, 1945-2000

Hsiu-yun Wang (Associate Professor of Science, Technology and Medicine, National Cheng Kung University)

Drawing from oral history interviews and biographical accounts of 40 women born between the 1920s and 1970s, and from other primary sources, this paper examines the historical context of young girls' experiences with menarche in Taiwan from 1945 to the end of the twentieth century. Most of the interviewed women who were born between the colonial period and the 1960s were not told about menstruation before the arrival of menarche; mothers, daughters, and sisters rarely talked about menstruation. Moreover, there was little mention of menstruation in public. The

circumstances changed in the 1970s when medical practitioners in Taiwan, including physicians, nurses, and public health professionals, often working with sanitary napkin companies, began to advocate health education for school girls. Proper hygiene and blaming mothers for inadequately preparing their daughters for such facts of life were common themes in this broad-based campaign. In addition, girls were educated in the “correct knowledge” of the sexual and reproductive body and told to abandon their mothers’ and grandmothers’ superstition. At the same time, popular health manuals translated from Japan and the West widely disseminated knowledge of “natural” bodily processes, including menstruation as a biological sign of womanhood. Situating this history of gendered “enlightenment” in the context of nation-building in post-colonial Taiwan, I argue that modernizing women’s bodies has been a project that postcolonial elites and professionals have long deemed critical for negotiating Taiwan’s ambiguous status in the new world order.

4. Black Syphilis, Military Hygiene and South Korean Involvement in the Vietnam War, 1964-73
Jane Kim (Ph.D. in East Asian Languages & Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles)

This paper examines the venereal disease control of the South Korean military during Vietnam War. During Vietnam War, the South Korean government dispatched over 300, 000 soldiers to aid the United States in the fight against the communist take – over of the former colony of France in Southeast Asia. Called the war for the defense of the Free World, the Lyndon Johnson administration’s request to the Park Chung Hee regime resulted in the largest overseas dispatch and the very first participation in major international war by the South Korean military. Established barely over a decade as a creation of the U.S. Cold War defense strategy in East Asia, for the ROK military, the Vietnam War placed them in a unique sub – imperial position over fellow Vietnamese brothers who were just now undergoing what the South Koreans have already underwent a decade ago during their fight against the invading North Korean communists.

This sub – imperialist position as experienced by the ROK military was most visible in the sexual relations between the South Korean male soldiers and the Vietnamese women. Prohibited from bringing their spouses overseas, for most South Korean soldiers, their sexual needs were fulfilled through either purchasing prostitutes or establishing long term relations with women many of whom they ended up abandoning when the South Korean military service ended in Vietnam. Due to the Vietnamese government’s preference for the pursuit of doi moi (reform) and the official endorsement by the Vietnamese president Tran Durc Luong “to put aside

history” in 2004, the public discussion of the South Korean military participation has been somewhat intermittent and subdued in South Korea. However, what has been emerging over the years, thanks in part to the NGO efforts over issues such as the atrocities committed by South Korean soldiers and “Lai Dai” (offspring born to Korean fathers and Vietnamese mothers), is that regulating the sexual activities and monitoring the venereal disease control of the soldiers posed serious concerns for the Park Chung Hee government. By examining the types of activities and policies pursued by the Park government in regulating their soldiers in Vietnam War, what this paper hopes to show the striking similarity between the South Korean venereal disease policies to the types of controls that were once pursued by the United States over their soldiers during Korean War.

13:00-14:30 Lunch at Trattoria Storica

14:30-16:00 Panel III: Nation’s Other

5. “Whose Medicine?”: National Narratives, Medical Aid, and Mobilizing Health on the Korean Peninsula, August 1945-1964

John DiMoia (Assistant Professor of History, National University of Singapore)

Depending on which of the accounts one accepts, and which criteria one employs, biomedicine was first introduced to the Korean peninsula by Western missionaries in the late 19th century, or by Japanese colonizers, the second at a slightly later date. This paper seeks to interrogate the value of any account based strictly on the search for a single point of “origin,” arguing that multiple forms of practice have appeared, been implemented and enforced, and continue to impact (South) Korean medical practice to the present. Specifically, the paper seeks to examine the heightened tension surrounding medical practice during a two decade period (1945-1964) spanning the end of Japanese rule; followed by the period of military intervention associated with the American occupation (USAMGIK, 1945-1948); and leading up to the anti-parasite campaigns conducted by the South Korean government in the late 1960s.

If the USAMGIK occupation remains enormously controversial, lodged between the 1945 moment of liberation (haebang) and the start of the Korean War, it is the following decade (1954-1964) which receives surprisingly little coverage in the literature, even as the Rhee government had to aggressively mobilize and package its health initiatives to create a convincing national story. This hold true not just for the

domestic audience, but also for the numerous external partners and patrons with whom South Korea was working.

By choosing this period (1945-1964) with its distinct moments, each with a different trajectory and enforcement regime (colonizer, occupier, national renewal), I seek to complicate accounts that identify medical practice with continuity as enacted by any single actor, and in particular, want to question the nation as a historiographical frame for the introduction of such practice.

6. Stem Cells, Genomics, and Subimperial Presence in Taiwan

Jennifer Liu (Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Waterloo)

Warwick Anderson writes that “(t)he postcolonial study of science and technology suggests a means of writing a 'history of the present', of coming to terms with the turbulence and uncertainty of contemporary global flows of knowledge and practice” (2002: 644). Postcolonial here is not meant to imply an end to colonialism, but rather a destabilization of the universal and of hegemonic categorical schema. An attention to subimperial formations reshapes the focus within postcolonial studies of science and technology by attending to the continuities, sedimentations and rhizomic proliferations of specific colonial logics, values, and identities. Kuan-Hsing Chen (2010) traces sub-imperialist tendencies present in the construction of post-WWII nationalism in Taiwan.

In this paper, I consider the conjunction of science, nationalism and identity as they relate to emergent biomedical technologies in contemporary Taiwan. Specifically, stem cell research, genomics, and biobanking projects there create a rich analytic space for exploring subimperial logics, imaginaries, and practices. Taiwan’s specific past shapes the terrain of such emergent biomedical technoscientific research, its networks, and its associated meanings. Thus while, biomedtech in Taiwan is certainly part of an attempt to catch-up with the West on the international stage of science (Ong 2010), there are many refractory ‘others’ that shape these technologies there; these are made differently visible within a framing of subimperialism.

18:30 Dinner at A La Vecia Cavana Restaurant

JULY 8, 2014

Panel IV: Subjects of Transformation

9:30-11:00 Part I

7. Yellow Men's Burden: Forensic Medicine, Conjugalities, and Scientific Masculinity in Colonial Korea
Jin-kyung Park (Assistant Professor of Korean Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Comment: *Howard Chiang*

This paper focuses on the Japanese physician Kudō Takeki (1878-?) and his medical study on female offenders in 1920s and 1930s Korea under Japanese rule (1910–1945). Throughout his medical career on the Korean Peninsula in the early twentieth century, Kudō painstakingly carried out a series of studies on the theme of forensic medicine/gynecology and women's criminality, conceptualizing Korean women's bodies and conjugal life as the rich objects of his forensic science and biomedical scrutiny. As both a high-profile public physician for the colonial state and a civilian doctor who ran his own private clinic (the Seoul Women's Hospital) in Seoul (Keijō), Kudō in particular showed much interest in the phenomenon of husband murder by Korean women, including nobi (female slaves). In this paper, I show how the colonial doctor forged a link between "Confucian conjugalities" and husband murder in an effort to advance, by means of forensic science, the colonial civilizing project of the non-Western, Japanese imperial power in late colonial Korea and to construct the masculine Japanese subject as "heroic savior." I argue that Kudō's self-claimed redemptive task of rescuing young Korean girls/slaves-turned-husband murderers from what he saw as the "pathological" Confucian marriage practice (i.e., early marriage) of the Chōson dynasty (1392-1910) is symptomatic of how Japanese imperialism constituted the civilization of Korea as its "burden." Kudō's project is also indicative of the colonial making of the Japanese male savior whose role was to liberate Korean girl-victims. Such construction of the heroic savior was enabled by the powerful amalgamation of colonial governmentality in support of forensic science and "scientific masculinity." Finally, this paper highlights that forensic science and medicine provided Kudō and Japanese colonialism with the privileged vantage point from which to diagnose and articulate the belatedness of Korean civilization, as well as to make clear the salvaging work of Japanese colonial governance.

8. 'Morning Glory' for the Sulky Rural Koreans: The Promotion of Medicinal Plant Cultivation in Colonial Korea
Jung Lee (Soon-Yung Kim Fellow in the History of East Asian Science and Technology, Needham Research Institute)

Comment: *Jin-kyung Park*

This paper seeks to discuss how such an object like flower became a national symbol and thus a political tool in the charged colonial setting for both the colonizer and the colonized by examining the policy of the colonial Korean government to make their sulky colonial subjects happy through the cultivation of decorative medicinal plants in the 1930s. And it would further analyze the various transitions of this 'national' symbol in the postcolonial world and their meanings. To that end, it firstly analyzes the shaping of the colonial policy of medicinal plant cultivation and its ambiguous success, in comparison with its Japanese counterpart to demonstrate its colonial characteristics, symbolized by the promotion of the 'Japanese flower' of the morning glory. Then, it would argue that the 'colonial' nature of imposing 'Japanese flower' on colonial subjects was in much response to Korean nationalists' cultivation of the hibiscus as a symbol of Korean resistance. This successfully cultivated national symbol through colonial conflicts, however, became a tool for various political purposes in the postcolonial society in a way often as imposing as the Japanese morning glory on Korean people.

11:00-11:15 Coffee Break

11:15-12:00 Panel IV Part II

9. Trans Formations in Sinophone Taiwan
Howard Chiang (Assistant Professor of History, University of Warwick)

Comment: *Jung Lee*

This article is divided into two parts. In the first section, I examine accounts of gender variance, especially in relation to unusual bodily conditions, that emerged in the Taiwanese press in the immediate postwar years. These examples include stories of gender transgression, defects of the reproductive system, uncommon

problems related to pregnancy, human intersexuality, and sex metamorphosis. Although I will situate these stories within an overall narrative of the sex change story of the first Chinese transsexual, Xie Jianshun, they provide important evidence for the growing frequency of sex change-related discussions in Chinese-speaking communities in the early Cold War era. The second half of this article aims to offer a historiographical framework in which these examples of “trans” formation could be adequately appreciated. In particular, I will contextualize them within the field of Sinophone postcolonial studies, demonstrating their broader historical import in terms of new analytic angles, new chronologies, and new theoretical vocabularies. The Sinophone world refers to Sinitic-language communities and cultures situated outside of China or on the margins of China and Chineseness. The history of transformations in Sinophone Taiwan offers an axial approach to provincializing China, Asia, and the rest. Subimperialism brings to light alternative frames of citationality and thereby broadens this history from Sinophone postcoloniality.

12:00-12:15 Coffee Break

12:15-13:00 Conclusion: Still Subimperial?

13:00 Lunch at Trattoria Storica