

Use of Orwell's Literary Persona as a Political Engagement in Translation of *Animal Farm**

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1. Introduction

As Maria Tymoczko says, the questions of the translator as an ethical agent of social change have gone to the heart of the recent translation studies("Ideology" 181). Translation scholars who are more actively involved in social change are exploring how social change can be produced, and contributors to the volume *Apropos of Ideology*, for example, examine various ways in which translators accentuate or modify ideological aspects in the texts. Tymoczko herself sees translation 'as a sort of speech act: translation that

* This paper is a development of a part of my MA thesis, *Translation and Ideology: Animal Farm as Speech Acts in South Korea*, which explored the political function of translations of the novel from 1948 to the present.

rouses, inspires, witnesses, mobilizes, incites to rebellion, translation that actively participate in social movement"("Translation" 26).

It is comparatively easy for translators to oppose to the power and be subversive because they are supposed to be anonymous or invisible. Anthony Pym says that when we read a translation of a novel by Dostoevsky, we assume that we read Dostoevsky, not what the translator is saying"(51). Thus translation offers a "cover for the translator" to "go against the dominant constraints of his or her time, not in his or her name, but rather in the name of a writer who is considered great enough in another literature" (Bassnett 238).

There are more than 100 different translations of *Animal Farm* in Korea, and translations of the novel have served as a comment on various different regimes in and outside Korea at different times. Sometimes translators support the government ideology, and the 1948 translation by Kim Kil Jun is the typical case which shows the translator's allegiance to the dominant ideology.¹⁾ However, translators very often chose to oppose to the government. They did so in the name of translation.

Following the lead of Tymoczko, this paper explicates the active role of the translator as an ethical agent of social change. It focuses on translations of *Animal Farm* in the 1970s and 1980s which include vast materials on the original writer, George Orwell. The paper contends that use of original writer's literary persona is a specific translation strategy aimed for ideological intervention during the intense dictatorship of the period.

In order to support the above hypothesis, the paper makes use of Maria Tymoczko's proposal that translation is a form of metastatement, i.e. 'a text about a text'. Tymoczko says that the ideology of a translation is determined only partially by the content of the source text. It is rather complex, resulting

1) The 1948 version was the first translation of the novel worldwide, and it was sponsored by U.S.Information Agency to fight against communism(Rodden 202).

from the layering of the subject of the source text, the speech acts of the source text, its relevance to the receptor audience, the representation of the content by the translator, and the speech acts of the translation itself. Thus ideology of translation is the outcome of amalgam of these complex layerings("Ideology" 182).

In exploring the translator's voice and intention, the paper focuses on paratexts of translations.²⁾ As mentioned in Kim(37), many translation scholars such as Anthony Pym, Urpo Kovala, and Keith Harvey note that paratext is one of fertile fields for studying translator's mediation. Genette says that paratexts ensure a text's reception and consumption, and it constitutes 'a zone not only of transition but also of transaction, a dynamic place of pragmatic strategy', with illocutionary force(2). Harvey sees 'binding' as the 'revelatory' site for the translator's 'ideological intervention' with its own illocutionary and perlocutionary force. Binding is the site where the translator leaves 'a constitutive imprint on the target site'(51).

The paper is structured in following ways. First, it discusses the political appropriations of literature, including *Animal Farm*, as speech acts. Second, it explicates the meaning of *Animal Farm* in the context of Korean political history. Next, in order to explain the translator's ideological positioning, the paper gives a cursory view of the political circumstances in the 1970s and 80s with its accompanying situations regarding freedom of expression. The paper argues that the prevalent mood among intellectuals, including translators, was that they desired to be an awakened conscience. Explications of the paratexts of translations during this period constitute the next part. The paper concludes that in a given situation at the time, the use of Orwell's literary persona along with the translation itself was a vicarious means of social engagement for

2) The term paratexts refers to those elements which frame the main body of the text, i.e. titles, subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, and prefaces. It comprises those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book and on the outside cover, which mediate the book to the reader.

muted intellectuals. In order to support the above proposal, the paper also presents a contrast group of translations in the same period.

2. *Animal Farm* as a classical work and its political appropriations

2.1. Translation of Classics

In many Eastern societies, works from the Western society are introduced as an enrichment to the target audience with a low threshold in the target context, and appropriated for political purpose. Xiaomei Chen shows how many Western plays and poets were appropriated for the purpose of changing Chinese reality. Shakespeare's plays, Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, Brecht's plays were performed because Chinese people perceived some relevance to their situation. These plays could "help and inspire the Chinese Self to express the politically forbidden and ideologically impossible within the limitations of their indigenous cultural conditions"(160).

In explaining such a political appropriation of classical works, Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of transposition of cultural works is pertinent. Remarking on the case of circulating texts across national boundaries, Bourdieu notes that the meaning and function of a foreign work are determined at least as much by the field of destination as by its field of origin(indirect quote from Palumbo-Liu 9). That is, what is important is not what foreign authors say, but what one can make them say. He views consumption of foreign texts as context-specific.

Then in what circumstances and when does translation of classical works become political? It has to do with the real world conditions under which a sentence may be appropriated as an utterance. In a certain circumstance, saying equals doing. This is speech act theory, which views language as action made up communicative acts. It deals with the pragmatic dimension, relating it to the

ability to do things with words.

In explaining the way words can do something in a certain circumstance, Sandy Petrey's insight is very helpful. She says that opposition of constative(telling the truth)/performative becomes untenable when a certain saying is done in a community which shares the same background(37). In the above examples of political appropriation of classical works, the works tell the truth in the target community. The truth has a communal presence, and triggers an interaction among people. Thus 'words yield power' when the utterance of a statement is affirmed as the truth in a community(38).³⁾

2.2. Political appropriation of *Animal Farm* in Korea

Orwell critics such as Park Heung Kyu and Lee Dong Sik put significance to the fact the first translation of *Animal Farm* worldwide was done into Korean in 1948. Lee says that this may have foretold the dark history of Korea which unfolded afterwards. Park says that Orwell had use value and will have use value in Korea(319). To explain the use value of the novel from speech act theory, translating the novel becomes 'an utterance of a statement communally affirmed as the truth'.

What is the truth? In the preface to Ukrainian edition of the novel, Orwell states that he did not intend to show his political allegiance, nor was he targeting the Soviet Union. He was against 'totalitarianism in general', i.e. the fact that 'power corrupts'. Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress's analysis of non-transitive verb is very useful in understanding what Orwell meant when he said that 'power corrupts'. The verb, 'corrupt', is non-transitive, and 'lacks the

3) See Kim (41) for further exploration of speech act theory. See also Sandy Petrey(36-38) for the untenability of the opposition of constative/performative from speech act theory. Petrey cites the episode of 'Naked King', in which the king loses his regality as the boy utters that 'the king is naked'. The boy's statement is an utterance of the truth that everyone has already known.

direction of causality, i.e. who is doing what to whom is left uncertain.' If asked why, the only answer could be that 'it is the property of such substances to do so.' Non-transitive verb such as 'corrupt', 'has the immediacy of a basic model without requiring an understanding on the part of the speaker or hearer of the causality involved. It may even seem more immediate, more palpable, and hence unarguable, because of this'(42-43). Orwell is saying that whoever takes power, he will eventually betray. It is in human nature.

When *Animal Farm* was introduced in Korea in the beginning, it was already a great work in the West. At the same time, it has been relevant to modern Korean history. The skeletal story line of the novel epitomizes modern Korean history beginning from the Korean War through the 1990s. It says that 'revolution fails' because 'pigs corrupt'. Later on, they further understood that 'revolution fails' because 'animals are ignorant'. The novel reflects the history and personal feelings under restricted circumstances, and the novel has been utilized as a vicarious means of expressing their feelings and thoughts when freedom of expression is heavily restricted and censored. Translating the novel itself is like uttering the truth, thus it constitutes a speech act that 'rouses and instigates' Korean people.

3. Political circumstances in the 1970s & 1980s and the desire for social engagement

During the intense dictatorship, which culminated in late 1970s and continued through early 80s, translations of *Animal Farm* differ somewhat from previous ones. It is as if translators are not content with just translating the novel. They are more articulate in their ideological stance and show themselves more socially engaged. As mentioned above, the ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the receiving audience. Thus the ideological

effects of the translations of this period are quite different from that of the previous ones. In order to show the above proposition, the next part will discuss the political circumstances and the translator's ideological positioning within that specific political situation.

3.1. Political Circumstances in the 1970s and 1980s

As mentioned in Kim via Buzo, the President Park's regime (1961-1979) can be characterized as 'the operations of a powerful military, a civil bureaucracy and a ruthless police and security network'(50). On 17 October 1972, President Park declared a state of martial law, dismissed the National Assembly, closed the nation's universities, and enforced strict censorship of the media in a series of moves known as the *Shiwol Yushin*, or October Revitalizing Reforms. The stated purpose was the need to strengthen executive power to deal more effectively with reunification and economic issues(Buzo 131).

During this period, Park's tight grip on power manipulated the free press system. In the name of fostering press corporations, the government tried to centralize the press, making it dependent on the government for special favor. Park secured a strong hold on the existing press system, and prevented new ones from emerging. Very often journalists and writers were arrested and confined for allegedly anti-government leaning. In the 1970s, monopoly of existing daily papers was secured by the government in return for their pro-governmental standing.

Against this political backdrop, journalists and writers declared independence from the power. In 1973, journalists declared the free press and demonstrated against government controlled press system proclaiming undistorted report of truth. As a result, emergency decree no. 9 came out in 1975, which was also triggered by the fall of Saigon in the same year. A number of dissidents were subsequently detained, and students came under

close scrutiny by the authorities. The government cancelled journals such as *Sasangae*, and arrested writers and editors(Kim Young Sun 49). Kim Chi Ha, the poet laureate of a protesting nation in the 1970s, suffered several jail terms. He was prosecuted under the national Security Law for poems said to have promoted 'class division, thereby allowing poetry to be manipulated as North Korean propaganda'(Cumings 368).⁴⁾

In 1979, Chun Du Whan seized power after Kwangju Rebellion, 'Korea's Tianamen nightmare', in which students and young people were slaughtered on a scale the same as or greater than that in People's China in June 1989 (Cumings 338). The rest is more or less the same as the President Park's period except that Chun was more severe in oppressing the freedom of expression. The censorship during Park's regime was not so intervening as Chun's regime. During Chun's regime, the institution which controlled the press and publishing consisted of former journalists, so they were knowledgeable enough to interfere with and manipulate even words or prepositional words (Kim Young Sun 71).⁵⁾

3.2. Translators as an intellectual in the time of political repression

Suffering in a jail became a badge of honor among intellectuals in the 80s, and, in that sense, Kim Chi Ha was a model for intellectuals. Some literature

4) In one poem, "The Road to Seoul", Kim commemorated the myriad sacrifices of young women in Korea.

5) Just one example will suffice what the situation was like. Han Su San, a writer, ran serial stories titled, *The Desire Streets*, in *Dong-A-Daily* in May 1981. The series was not intended to be political. It was a romantic story which depicts how a young woman marries a rich old man. There were passages with 'high official', 'military uniform', and 'someone went to the military service.' Just because some words such as 'official' and 'military' seemed to imply anti-government propaganda, Han as well as the editorial board were tortured for 70 hours. The shock was so great that Han left for Japan(Kim Young Sun 53).

professors were also politically oriented, and they tried to combine art and politics, and thereby be able to contribute to social change.⁶⁾ Most of the translators of Orwell's *Animal Farm* belonged to academia as well. To name just a few, they are Kim Jong Gun, Jung Byung Cho, Kim Byung Ik, Kim Jin Man, Kim Ki Hyuk, and Oh Kuk Keun.

Translators, who belong to academia, tend to assume the role of authoritative 'institutional readers' as Trilling did in America. Trilling in *The Partisan Review* as a 'well-located' institutional reader and a reception 'nodal point' was considered to represent far more than a private response. He was 'not just an influential critic, but rather possessed group-related authority'(Rodden 78-83). Translators with 'group-related authority,' are 'institutional readers' and committed to social change, and they manifest their ideological positioning in their translation. This becomes possible because they are 'translators'. As mentioned earlier, the translator's ideological positioning is reflected in the paratexts of the translations.

4. Paratextual features & the translator's mediation

4.1. The vogue of hard covered bindings in the 1970s and 1980s and its characteristics

There were just 2 new translations of *Animal Farm* in the 1960s, but the number increased to 11 in the 70s, and 20 in the 80s. In the 1970s, there emerged a vogue of hard covered bindings among publishing companies. This was a new trend prevalent at the time among leading publishing companies. This phenomenon partly had to do with life of rising middle class people, who

6) Professor Paik Nak Chung at Seoul National University is a typical case. He led a realist and people's literary movement in Korea. For example, he interprets D.H.Lawrence from reception perspective, thus focuses on what we Koreans can learn from Lawrence, the 'prophet'.

collected series in hard bindings, and sometimes displayed them to show themselves as educated and well-off.

In total, there are six translations of *Animal Farm* with hard covered bindings in the 1970s and the 80s, and three of them show similar features. Hard covered bindings make it convenient for translators to be anonymous. However, it contrasts with ample materials inside the book, which reveal the translator's voice as well as that of the original writer. Materials within the book consist of roughly two kinds: the translator's preface and interpretation and Orwell's biography and his works. What is important to note with regard to the translator's positioning in relation with this convention is that hard covered bindings could guarantee the translator's anonymity whereas inside materials on Orwell give them an opportunity to express their critical attitude. Against the backdrop of political atmosphere of the time, the general picture of aspirations and frustrations of intellectuals support the above hypothesis.

4.2. The translator's mediation in paratexts

Translator's mediation can be traced not only in the translator's preface but in interpretation of the original text, Orwell's personal life, and his works. These features function as a 'frame', which concept is advanced by Irving Goffman. In Goffman's Frame theory, 'frame' is concerned with phenomenology - how experiences, and hence personal realities, are categorized, organized and viewed(10-11). In Goffman, 'keying', 'bracketing', and 'embedding' are central concepts, and the translator's preface and his interpretation often function as a bracket, or a 'slot' for signals determining and declaring what sort of transformation is to be carried out on the materials within the text(251-52).

In prefaces and introductions, translators signal the kind of transformation to be carried out to the main body of the text. They differ from each other in the way they categorize the original text, and in the way they present the original writer himself. The translators who are socially engaged tend to

address readers more directly and present the novel as a political novel rather than a mere artistic form. They also present the original writer as a polemical writer and lead readers to identify themselves with the world of the novel. These all affect complex layerings of the translation, i.e. the subject of the source text, the speech acts of the source text, the representation of the content by the translator, etc.

What is notable among the translations of this period is the use of Orwell's literary persona. Lionel Trilling created his images of Orwell and appropriated them in order to create his own literary reputation and possess authority. Likewise, in Korea as well, translators bring Orwell into Korean context, and they confer some images to Orwell, or borrow Orwell's literary reputation in the West and appropriate him as a mouthpiece for muted intellectuals at the time. Using Orwell's persona is emphasizing the speech acts of the source text as well as that of the translator's, and functions as a vicarious means of social engagement. Then what is Orwell's literary persona, and how is it possible for the translators speak through Orwell?

4.3. Orwell as an engaged writer and as a mouthpiece for muted intellectuals in the troubled times

Orwell was more than a mere realist. In his essay, "Why I Write," Orwell says that 4 motives were operating when he was writing the novel: 'sheer egoism, aesthetic enthusiasm, historical impulse and political purpose'. The first two are clearly nonpolitical. The third, 'historical impulse', is 'desire to see things as they are, to find out true facts and store them up for the use of posterity.' The third motive could easily relate to public matters and thus explains the satiric and referential function of the novel. However, the fourth motive, 'political purpose,' shows that Orwell was more than a satirist(Orwell 460-61).

What he meant by 'political purpose' was a 'desire to push the world in a certain direction, to alter other people's idea of the kind of society that they

should strive after'(Orwell 460). It shows that Orwell is a polemical writer. The object of the polemic is "to implant in the reader's mind a point of view, often about some definite, limited topic, but in any case about an issue over which he feels it is wrong not to take sides." A writer of a polemic is always a man who, having himself chosen what side to take, uses his work as an instrument for strengthening the support for that side(Wain 89).

Orwell's image as a polemical writer is strengthened by his literary persona. He imputes his biographical elements in his many writings, and by the time he achieved a reputation as a writer, he was associated with constellations of certain images. They are 'honest', 'decent', 'saint', 'conscience', 'man of truth', 'rebel', 'plain-spoken', 'common sense', and 'common man'. The constellation of his image is built on the dual image, i.e. a common man and a saint. He gives forth 'the ideal of the common man airing plain common sense'(Rodden: 40).

According to Kenneth Burke, Orwell's presenting himself as a common man has the effect of identifying himself with readers, and works as a powerful rhetorical strategy of persuasion: the writer's character, so far as it is the means by which the reader and writers are shown to be 'consubstantial', is basic to persuasion(20.26.27). Orwell as a model invites a certain kind of identification by his behavior. By assuming a certain rhetorical stance and tone, the writer as a model takes on a certain role and 'pressures' or guides' his readers into roles of his choosing(Rodden 83).

5. Case Studies

5.1. Translation of *Animal Farm* by Oh Kuk Keun (1978)

The 1978 version translated by Oh Kuk Keun was published by one of major publishing companies, Keum Seong Publishing Company. The translator

teaches literature at Dong Kuk University, and has translated other works such as *Wuthering Heights* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. This edition looks like a children's book having pictures on the front cover and in the back, and it has a brief summary of the novel outside(see picture 1 top). Though it looks different from the editions which began to be popular in the 70s and 80s, it is a forerunner of the prevalent layout of the later period: hard covered bindings and Orwell materials inside. Under the title of *Animal Farm*, it includes Orwell's biography and *Down and Out in Paris and London*, Orwell's autobiographical novel. This can be partly due to the make up of the text. That is, since series requires a certain size, the novel like *Animal Farm* does not merit a separate volume, hence the necessity for larger volume.

However, the characteristics of paratexts in this edition also have to do with the translator's intention of emphasizing Orwell's political aspect, especially Orwell as an engaged writer. This version is the first case which shows Orwellian figure on the front cover. On the front cover, there is a man in the center, probably Orwell, looking at animals. He is portrayed as a man clear sighted, and he looks doleful, not condoning animals(see picture 1 top). In the back cover, there is a man, probably Jones, who looks helpless surrounded by animals. Thus even the pictures on the cover have significance when we understand the translator's political intention.

The translator's political leaning, which is not certainly pro-governmental, can be glimpsed in other parts of paratexts. There is a blurb in the back cover summarizing the story mixing Korean and Chinese. It presents a skeletal story line: 'Animals revolted against human beings, and Napoleon becomes a new leader, but his dictatorship and atrocity become crueller, and the farm returns to the past'(see appendix 1 for Korean).

The summary epitomizes the political situation in Korea of the time. In 1978, to utter a word 'dictator' in public places was unthinkable. Thus to run the word, 'dictator', in the blurb, which is aimed for large public, should have caused a sentence in a jail. However, the sentence in the blurb says that the

dictator is an 'animal' called 'Napoleon'. The cover design and the word, 'animal', seem to categorize the novel as an 'animal story' for children. The translator, and the publishing company in this case as well, do not seem to intend to present the novel as a political statement.

However, inside the book, in the preface, the translator interprets the novel as applicable to Korean society, and assumes more personal and emotional voice, all claiming that he is translating what Orwell said. The translator says that Orwell intended the novel as a satire which exposes 'ugliness of power'. The translator seems to repeat the summary given in the blurb, but this time he omits certain words such as 'animals' and 'Napoleon', thus changing it from a fable to a realistic novel. He also focuses more on what revolutionary power is like. He emphasizes 'cruelty and violence of revolution' and 'monstrousness of power.' This clearly expresses his moral judgment which verges on anger. However, he says all this in the quoted form by referring to Orwell as the original source: 'This novel represents his(Orwell's) *exploding anger against totalitarian political system and deceit of revolution*(italics mine). The second paragraph also quotes Orwell.

Orwell does not espouse or protest against any political ideology, but, as a humanist, confronted against a puppet of totalitarianism which threatens the existence of individuality. This expresses Orwell's opposition against all the totalitarian political system regardless of left or right because he was rebellious by disposition and hated any doctrine(see appendix 2 for full text in Korean).

In the back of the book, there is Orwell's biography in which the translator describes Orwell's life, personal feelings and attitudes he has had through his life. Thus Orwell is described as an 'introvert boy who was sensitive to class issues', a boy with full of 'inferior complex'. Orwell was 'cruel to local people while serving in Burma', but quit his position because he felt 'guilty' about his behavior as a colonist. Hence this explains his 'wish for atonement for his

past'(275-277). These foibles of Orwell as a human being emphasized by the translator present him as 'one of us', and let readers identify themselves with the writer. At the same time, the translator describes Orwell as a sensitive person. He enumerates Orwell's feelings while he lived with low poor people in Paris and London:"Orwell felt the same with other people, which experience is also reflected in *Down and Out in Paris and London*"(276). The biography goes on describing what Orwell did as an engaged writer.

Thus descriptive words about Orwell in the biography reflect and accentuate images surrounding Orwell:'the ideal of the common man airing plain common sense'(Rodden 40). Moreover, the translator emphasizes Orwell's emotions toward injustice and inequality of the world. When these characteristics are repeated, they become watchwords which "constitute the orienting points and organizing frame for receptions scenes"(Rodden 87), and readers become emotionally involved in the world of *Animal Farm*. The book also includes *Down and Out in Paris and London*, put under the same binding of *Animal Farm*. This novel is one of many stories and essays which are structured around a report of personal feelings of the narrator who is Orwell's alter ego. The novel lets readers be emotionally involved and identify themselves with the narrator.

The 1978 version is the first case which shows the translator fully taking advantage of Orwell's literary persona. The translator imputes his own personal feelings to Orwell, somewhat exaggerating and fabricating, and conveys his attitude to the reader. He sets the tone of the translation, in this case, showing anger toward what is happening in the novel, also, in Korea. Throughout the description of Orwell's life and works, the translator emphasizes the relevance of the novel to Korean context while at the same time emphasizing Orwell's own speech acts. The translator combines his own speech acts with that of the original writer, and attempts at a political intervention. This all becomes possible because, after all, the translator is translating what Orwell said and he is presenting who Orwell was.

5.2. Oh Kuk Keun's Translation in 1983

Oh Kuk Keun's translation in 1978 was revised in 1983 and 1986, and published with the same publishing company. This indicates that his translation was valued in Korean market. Each time the book is published, it has different bindings. The 1986 version is the same as the 1978 version in the selection of essays and biography, except that it professes itself aiming for children, thus there is scarce use of Chinese (picture 1 bottom).

Compared to the 1986 edition, the 1983 version reflects changing contexts, i.e. stronger government repression and stronger dissidence on the part of people. It shows the typical layout of the book of the period, i.e. hard covered bindings with Orwell materials inside the book (picture 2). That is, hard covered binding does not show any trace of the translator, but the translator's own voice as a polemicist is more audible in his introduction, and there are more Orwell materials such as photos, essays, and novels than in the 1978 version.

The whole first page is devoted to a photograph of Orwell, which shows him as a very thoughtful intellectual (picture 3 top left). There are more pictures on Orwell, i.e. Orwell when he was in Burma in 1923 and his family photos. These pictures reproduce Orwell's personal life, which can be characterized as a common man and as 'one of us'.

Essays in the 1983 version include "Why I Write", "A Hanging", "Shooting an Elephant", "Inside the Whale", "As I Please," "Anti-Semitism in Britain", etc. In "Why I Write", as mentioned before, Orwell shows himself as a polemical writer. Thus putting the essay as the first one inside the translation of *Animal Farm* works as a 'key', suggesting readers how to respond to Orwellian world. Readers are supposed to see the relevance to Korean society, and at the same time, 'push the world in a certain direction.'

Other essays such as "A Hanging", "Shooting an Elephant", are narrated by an observer of an unjust world, and the narrator is haunted by the impressions of the scene. "A Hanging", which is based on Orwell's experiences

in Burma, is against imperialism. It is about the execution of a nameless Indian and the realization on the part of the narrator of the intrinsic wrongness of capital punishment. When Orwell wrote "Shooting an Elephant", his viewpoint is clearly defined: 'directly or indirectly, everything he wrote was against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism, as I understand it.' It has more deliberate didactic intention than the earlier piece(Hammond 212). These essays are narrated through Orwell's own personal experiences, observations and feelings, and these all add up to making Orwell's persona, and he carries us through his world.

The translator's intention in the selection of Orwell's essays, i.e. creation of Orwell's literary persona, becomes apparent when we read the translator's introduction. In 1983 version, Oh Kuk Keun adds an introduction, a form of criticism cum interpretation, at the end of the book. It runs 26 pages, and it is much longer and extensive than that of the 1978 edition. There the translator threads Orwell's biographical details with his essays, and interprets Orwell's writings from the writer's biographical perspectives. By juxtaposing Orwell's writings with his biography, the translator is more articulate in the making of Orwell as a polemical writer. He shows Orwell as a common man who is deeply aware of the injustice of the world. For example, in interpreting the meaning of "Burmese Days," the translator says:

His five years in Burma influenced his spiritual development immensely. The outcome of his life resulted in *Burmese Days*, which was published in 1934. In this book, his whole life, which was permeated with *the struggle of the dominator and dominated*, is reflected. For him those days, however insignificant daily life was, everything he saw and heard may have caused him to *be fully conscious of irrationality and unlawfulness of the domination of a human being by another human being*... The reason why Orwell was so interested in the repressed people is due to the guilty feeling for the repressed people, and he wanted to recompense the guilty feeling... This shows the agony of an individual

living in a society which ignores truth and individual freedom. (473-476)
 (italics mine)

By presenting Orwell as an honest witness, the translator invites his readers to a certain kind of identification, and leads them into roles of sympathetic and outraged allies in the struggle of an 'individual who lives in a society which ignores truth and individual freedom.' In those days in Korea, it was unthinkable for any writer to utter these words. However, the translator assumes the role of an 'institutional reader', hence gains authority, and instigates Korean readers to do something against the unjust world. He could do so only by appropriating Orwell the great man, whose feelings and thoughts permeate his essays and his photos.

5.3. Kim Ki Hyuk's Translation in 1982

The translation by Kim Ki Hyuk also shows the same characteristics of the period, i.e. hard covered bindings and Orwell materials inside the book such as photos, his essays, and biography. The difference between Oh Kuk Keun's translation with Kim's is that the former is more devoted to Orwell's essays and his biographical materials, thus leading readers to draw the meaning themselves. The latter does not devote much space for Orwell's writings. Kim takes more direct approach, gives his own interpretations of Orwell the man, and presents him as an engaged writer. Also Kim shows his own personal feelings and speaks as a polemicist. His voice is stronger than that of Oh Kuk Keun's. In fact, his voice is the strongest among all the translators so far in denouncing dictatorial regime. However, he says all this claiming that he is translating what Orwell said and showing who Orwell was.

The first page of the translation is devoted to Orwell's picture as a reporter with a caption where the translator presents the writer as an 'engaged writer'(see picture 3 top right).

He was the writer who is fully conscious of what he has to write. *The writer had a strong belief that he has to be honest and truthful, thus he must not hesitate in exposing and report all the falsities and absurdities.* The novels such as *1984* and *Animal Farm* are the typical anti-Utopian novels. In these novels, Orwell strongly supports the individualism of human beings against political totalitarianism and defense of democratic society (Italics mine. See appendix 3 for Korean).

As Kim Ji Ha, the poet, was a model for intellectuals at the time, the translator also presents Orwell as a model intellectual who was brave enough to fight against the injustice of the world. The translator also presents two pictures of Orwell in the next page. Unlike the edition of Jung Byung Cho, which de-emphasizes Orwell the writer, the photos in Kim's edition focus on Orwell himself. One picture has the caption as "Orwell who represented the conscience of intellectuals". Another picture is the same as the one presented in 1983 version by Oh Kuk Keun (picture 3 bottom).

On the third page, there is a statement to readers from the whole editorial board constituted by university professors.⁷⁾ This edition is exceptional in that it contains a statement of the editorial board, and it is like a manifesto showing ideological propensity of a group of intellectuals. It is as if they speak through Orwell the writer. The statement presents Orwell as one of the writers who represented the conscience of an intellectual in the 20th century. "Orwell firmly believed that a writer, through his works, has to be an engaged writer in any period, and Orwell himself held his authorial position, fought against totalitarianism which was prevalent in this century, and defended democratic socialism." The statement is very explicit in presenting who Orwell was: 'an engaged writer who fought against the injustice of the world'.

Thus the manifested propensity of the editorial board may explain the translator's comparatively explicit ideological positioning in the introduction,

7) They are Kwon Young Dae, Park Johg Hak, Shin Il Chul, Oh What Seop, Lee Keuk Chan, Lee Man Gap, Lee Eur Ryung, Lee Hang Dae.

which is attached at the end of the novel. The translator gives a short introduction titled as "Indomitable resistance against totalitarianism", which is the translator's own interpretation of Orwell's life and his works. He divides the introduction into two parts: "Orwell's life and his thoughts", and "Orwell's work". In the first part, the translator emphasizes Orwell as an engaged writer quoting what Orwell says: "many experiences which I had during the Spain War made me realize which position I have to take"(350). The translator presents Orwell as a reportage writer who "can be characterized as having fought with the basic social and political questions, and wrote based on the belief which came from his own experiences"(351).

He interprets *Animal Farm* as very closely relevant to Korean society.

In Napoleon's wicked dictatorial regime, *we* realize realities of world everywhere, though there may be slight ideological differences. *We* are forced to be silent in the friction between power struggles and endure whatever hardship may come in our way which might strangle our throat. Orwell trembles in the face of detestable Napoleon who *glosses over his expediencies to stupid farm family and deludes them by elaborate fabrication*(351). (Italics mine. See appendix 4 for Korean)

By adding the deictic, 'we', he is more directly addressing readers. The phrase, "though there might be slight differences in ideology," along with the use of present tense renders the world of the novel as being also true in Korea, and transposes it into Korean context. Then the following specific details seem to describe and correspond to historical realities in Korean society at the time. Thus he leads readers to be fully aware of the realities at the time. In Kim's translation, we can see that readers hear the translator's own strong voice which becomes unified with that of Orwell's. Even though they speak in unison, still the translator is speaking through Orwell the great writer.

5.4. Jung Byung Cho(1989) and Jung Sung Whan (1988) after June Breakthrough in 1987

Translations which came out after June Breakthrough are very different in the presentation of Orwell's literary persona. Both Jung Byung Cho and Jung Sung Whan de-emphasize Orwell's political intention, and present Orwell's literary persona differently. Both of them are far from appreciating Orwell's relevance to Korean people. Moreover, Jung Sung Whan criticizes Orwell's artistic talent and even highlights Orwell's personal defects.

The changed political atmosphere at the time partly explains this revision of Orwell's persona. During mid 1980s Korean society was repoliticized and the angry society revolted. Visitors from foreign country to Seoul could not miss the warlike atmosphere of resistance and repression(Cumings 387). After June Breakthrough, Chun's regime fell, or entered crisis, and his control on every corner of Korea has somewhat loosened. His next successor, Roh Tae Woo's government(1988-1992), manifested that his government was not a military regime any more. It was not 'a civilian regime' either (Cumings 390), still having a trace of military regime, but it loosened its control slightly.

The difference also has to do with the translator's individual differences in his ideological positioning. Chung Byung Cho was a literature professor at Sung Kyun Kwan University. Unlike other translators in early 80s, he does not intend to present *Animal Farm* as a social engagement, thus his translation in hard bindings in 1989 does not share the same feature as the ones in early 1980s. It can be partly explained by his political inclination, which can be glimpsed in his other editions of the translation. Jung published the same translation with different publishing companies in 1982, 1989 and 1992.

The 1982 version comes in a soft binding with a blurb in the back cover where his political leaning can be glimpsed. It shows that he is not supporting the current political regime since he does not interpret the novel as a satire aiming at communism when anti-communism was the ideology of the

government. Neither does he attempt to draw readers into sympathetic commiseration of the world of the novel. Instead, he generalizes the meaning of the novel making it applicable to any totalitarian world.

Orwell was in a democratic position, and wrote his works confronting totalitarianism which threatens the existence of individualism. *Animal Farm* is one of those works, and it is written as a fable. In the novel, he depicts the time of Russian Revolution through which he expressed his enmity against the totalitarian political regime and falsity of revolution (See the appendix 5 for Korean).

The translator's neutral position is also reflected in his 'interpretation' attached at the end of the novel. Jung gives a short summary of Orwell's life and his works. Unlike Kim, Jung does not show Orwell's personal feelings. Instead, he threads Orwell's life and his writings from 'outside', and he is more interested in 'ups and downs' in Orwell's personal life. Also he describes Orwell's works as applicable to general human beings, and evaluates his works only from artistic point of view, i.e. whether Orwell was successful as a writer. When interpreting *Animal Farm* itself, the translator emphasizes more on aesthetic aspects rather than historical or political purpose. It is also shown in the part of the quotations from "Why I Write." He quotes the end of the essay, and his interest lies in whether Orwell was successful in combining his political and artistic intention. Thus even though Jung takes note of Orwell's political intention, he subsumes politics into art:

And looking back through my work, I see that it is invariably where I lacked a political purpose that *I wrote lifeless* books and was betrayed into purple passages, sentences without meaning, decorative adjectives and humbug generally(325). (italics mine. see appendix 6 for Korean)

Jung's political propensity is also reflected in the make up of hard covered

binding, which came out in 1989. The 1989 version in one binding with *1984*, and Huxley's *Brave New World*. The novel *1984* was translated by Kim Byung Ik, and Huxley's novel by Yu Jong Ho, both of whom were professors at universities. This edition does not devote much space for Orwell materials since there are 3 novels in one binding. Also the fact that the translation is not intended to politicize Korean people partly explains the comparatively less extensive materials on Orwell. As mentioned, Jung was not inclined to criticize the government, and this propensity is also reflected in the making of inside materials on Orwell.

Jung gives a cursory summary of Orwell's life and his works combining these two elements. Unlike Kim Ki Hyuk, Jung presents Orwell as an 'apolitical' writer who was interested not in his time, but in general human condition. In fact, Jung invariably adds his own comments on what Orwell achieved as a writer, thus deflecting Orwell's political intention.

This work(*Down and Out*...) closely portrays psychology and attitude of people in extreme situation, and strong human nature which endures such extremes. *This book was applauded by critics as soon as published*... After publishing *Burmese Days*, George Orwell shows *the possibility as a great writer* for the first time... In *The Road to Wigan Pier* he portrayed miserable lives of laborers, and exposed the realities of British socialism, but *it was a mediocre work*.(italics mine. see appendix 7 for Korean).

Throughout his interpretation of Orwell's work, Jung Byung Cho does not present Orwell as a model who 'fronts the world with his simple, direct, undeceived intelligence.'

Jung Sung Whan goes further in de-mythifying Orwell. He is not interested in Orwell's social engagement. Instead, he sees 'wit, humor, and persevering mind' in his essays and political reviews. According to Jung, Orwell's main concern is 'human dignity'. Moreover, the translator is very harsh in criticizing Orwell's talent as a writer and even his character. He quotes Tom Hopkins

who pointed out that 'Orwell was sarcastic, and he was low spirited because of the feeling of defeat which came from the gap between the rich and the poor.' According to Jung, Orwell was 'unsociable with other people, and very hard to please.' The guilty feeling he describes in "Shooting an Elephant" was partly due to 'his sensitive character'(441-43).

After all, for Jung Sung Whan, Orwell was a 'middle class person whose hobby was rather conservative'. Thus in *The Road to Wigan Pier*, despite Orwell's effort to identify himself with working class people, 'Orwell himself could not become one of them because Orwell was not an easy going person and could not get along with other people'(442).

6. Conclusion

This paper studied the role of the translator as an ethical agent of social change, and analyzed how Orwell's literary persona was appropriated for political purpose during the period of intense dictatorship. The premise of the above thesis was based on the proposition that translation is a 'metastatement.' In order to find the way translator transforms the main body of the text, the paper focused on paratexts of the translations of *Animal Farm* in the 1970s and 80s with hard covered bindings.

As we could see, translators who are socially engaged tend to show similar characteristics. First, compared to the other group of translators, Kim Ki Hyuk and Oh Kuk Keun interpret *Animal Farm* as referential, thus trying to anchor the world of the novel to Korean society. Second, related with the above, they address readers more directly, and they tend to enunciate their ideological stance. Third, they emphasize political and polemical aspects rather than artistic aspects in Orwell the writer. Most importantly, they highlight Orwell's literary persona with many constellations of images, which all contribute to making Orwell as an engaged writer.

The above characteristics contribute to accentuating speech acts of both the translator and the original writer. The translator is urgent in addressing readers, and his voice veers towards expressive and verdictive, sometimes verging on directives and commissives. However, he cannot reveal his own ideological propensity. Thus he draws on Orwell's voice and makes use of the original writer's voice as his own. It is as if the translator and Orwell speak in unison. He does so by emphasizing Orwell's literary persona, which can be characterized as an engaged writer. Thus the combining of the original writer's voice with that of the translator works as a powerful means in leading readers to view the world of the novel as reflecting their own world. Presenting Orwell's literary persona along with the translation itself works 'as a sort of speech act: translating that rouses, inspires, witnesses, mobilizes, incites to rebellion, translation that actively participate in social movement.'

Keith Harvey states that it is difficult to gauge the degree of involvement of the translator in the making of paratexts. Translators themselves are not uniquely responsible for those paratextual features. Thus Harvey prefers the term, 'agency', to an individual translator(69). However, we could see that through the analysis of paratexts, there is a correlation between the translator's ideological positioning and the use of Orwell's literary persona. In the time of high dictatorship without any freedom of expression, it was not enough for the translators just to translate the novel. The necessity of and desire for resistance were pressing since they were living at the time of intense oppression, and the use of Orwell's persona was such an effective way of political intervention. Luckily, hard covered bindings provided them with a cover for their free play at various speech acts. Under the given circumstances at the time, it might have been the only way the translator could prove himself as an awakened conscience.

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Appendix.

1 오국근 옮김 (1978)

착취에 시달리던
 莊園農場의 동물들이
 反亂을 일으켰다.
 쫓겨난 인간 대신
 돼지 나폴레옹이
 새로운 支配者가 됐지만
 인간 아닌 나폴레옹의
 獨裁와 暴虐은
 더욱 가혹하고
 農場은 과거로 돌아간다.

appendix 2 오국근(1978)

이 책에 실린 동물농장은 영국작가 조오지 오웰의 대표적 작품이다. 이 작품은 전체주의적 정치체제 혁명의 기만성에 대한 그의 열화 같은 증오를 우화로 꾸민 것이다. 다시 말해서 제정 러시아를 무너뜨린 러시아혁명에 대한 풍자로서 폭동적인 혁명을 겪은 뒤에는 혁명의 미명하에 반동적 전제권을 쥐는 집단이

등장해서 피압박자는 언제나 비참한 처지에 놓인다는 것이다. 뿐만 아니라 이 작품에는 권력의 추악상을 여지없이 폭로하는 대목이 많아서 동물을 빌어서 인간을 심판하는 그 본직적인 풍자와 더불어 강렬한 아이러니를 느끼게 한다.

오웰은 본질적으로 정치적인 작가라고 할 수 있다. 다만 어떤 정치이념을 선전하거나 이를 반대하기 위해서 쓴 것도 아니고 자유주의적인 입장에서 개성의 존립을 위협하는 전제라는 허수아비와 맞섰다고 할 것이다. 그는 좌우익을 막론하고 무슨 주의에 대해서든 체질적인 반항의식을 가지고 있었으므로 이 작품이 반드시 사회주의에 대한 공격이라기보다 모든 전체주의적 정치체제에 대한 반대를 표명한 것이라 할 수 있을 것이다.

appendix 3 김기혁(1982)

조오지 오웰/ 그는 자신이 무엇을 써야 하는가를 분명하게 깨닫고 있던 작가였다. 작가는 정직하고 진실되어야 하며, 따라서 모든 허위와 비리를 폭로하고 고발하는 데 주저해서는 안 된다는 것이 그의 작가적 입장이었다. 1984년 동물농장은 그의 작가 정신이 가장 투철하게 드러난 반유토피아 문학의 대표적 작품으로 오오웰은 이 작품들을 통해 정치적 전제주의에 맞서 인간의 개성과 민주적 사회의 옹호를 강력하게 주장하고 있다.

appendix 4 김기혁(1982)

우리는 나폴레옹의 음흉한 독재 구축에서, 비록 근소한 이념의 차이가 있다손 치더라도 권력 조작의 마찰 사이에서 목종을 강요당하고, 아무리 삶의 조건이 숨통을 막는다 하더라도 이를 달게 감수해야 하는 지구상의 곳곳의 모습을 실감케 된다. 갖가지 책략으로 우직한 농장 구성원을 호도하며 치밀한 조작으로 이들을 우롱하는 독재자 돼지 나폴레옹의 가증스러움에 오웰은 치를 떠는 것이다.

appendix 5 (정병조1982)

오웰은 자유주의적인 입장에서 개성의 존립을 위협하는 전체에 맞서 작품을 썼다. 동물농장은 그 중 하나로 전체주의적 정치체제와 혁명의 기만성에 대한 그의 증오를 러시아 혁명과 그 전후 시기의 경우에 빗대어 우화적으로 표출한 작품이다.

appendix 6 (정병조 1982)

내 작품을 돌아보건대 정치적 목적이 없는 작품에서는 반드시 내가 생명 없는 글을 썼고, 일반적으로 화려한 귀절이며, 의미 없는 문장, 수식적인 형용사, 실 없는 수작을 늘어놓았다는 것을 알았다

appendix 7 (정병조 1989)

이 작품은 육체적 극한 상황에 대한 인간들의 심리와 생활태도, 그리고 그런 극한 상황을 끈질기게 견디어내는 강인한 인간성들을 밀도 있게 그려냈다. 이 책은 출판되자 비평가들의 격찬을 받았다. 버마시절을 발표하면서 조지 오웰은 비로서 한 작가로서 대성할 가능성을 보여주었다…. 노동자의 비참한 생활을 그려 영국 사회주의의 실체를 고발한 위건 부두로 가는 길 따위를 썼지만 보잘 것없는 작품이었다.

Pictures

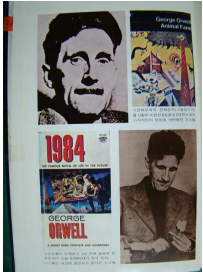
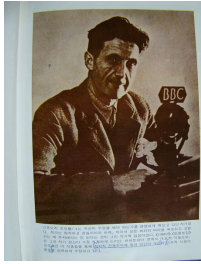
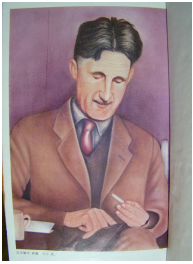
1. Translations by Oh Kuk Keun in hard binding with pictures. (top 1978, bottom 1986)



2. Translations with hard covered bindings in 1980s (from top left clockwise: Kim Ki Hyuk 1982, Oh Kuk Keun 1983, Jung Byung Cho 1989, Jung Sung Whan 1988)



3. Orwell's photos inside the book. (from top left clockwise: Oh Kuk Keun 1986, Kim Ki Hyuk 1982, Kim Ki Hyuk 1982)



[Abstract]

**Use of Orwell's Literary Persona as a Political Engagement in
Translation of *Animal Farm***

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This paper explores the role of the translator as an ethical agent of social change focusing on paratexts as the site for the translator's intervention. Based on Maria Tymoczko's proposal that translation is a metastatement, i.e. a text about a text, the paper maintains that the use of Orwell's literary persona was a specific translation strategy aimed for political intervention in the time of intense dictatorship from mid 1970s through 80s. In order to demonstrate the way Orwell's literary persona was appropriated for political purpose, the paper discusses the general picture of intellectuals in the time of political repression, which can be characterized as the cycle of repression-dissidence-further repression-further dissidence. It shows that, in the given circumstances, translators as intellectuals also had the same aspirations and frustrations, and Orwell as an engaged writer was a model intellectual. The paper claims that hard covered bindings secured the translator's anonymity whereas recreation of Orwell's literary reputation or his literary persona through Orwell materials inside functioned as an effective means of social engagement for the muted intellectuals at the time.

▶ Key Words: *Animal Farm*, translator, Orwell's literary persona, paratexts, political appropriation, speech acts

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